

INTRODUCTION

Brazilian sacred music has been one of the most fruitful fields within musicology in Brazil. Since Francisco Curt Lange's first publications about music in Minas Gerais in mid-twentieth century,¹ the number of studies focusing on Brazilian sacred music, especially that of the colonial period,² has increased considerably. Inspired by Lange, one could even say provoked, several scholars have not only contributed to the literature about music in Minas Gerais but also have expanded the focus of attention to include music from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the Northeastern region. Cleofe Person de Mattos published the thematic catalogue of the works by the composer Father José Maurício Nunes Garcia in 1970,³ and also his biography in 1996.⁴ José Maria Neves dedicated his entire life to studying the music of Minas Gerais and, among other works, he edited a series dedicated to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sacred music from Minas Gerais.⁵ Régis Duprat has one of the most significant outputs of Brazilian musicology, including a three-volume thematic catalogue of the manuscripts previously collected by Curt Lange,⁶ as well as several studies about the music in the Northeastern region and in the state of São Paulo.⁷ Duprat is also responsible for the revival of the

¹ Lange, "A Música em Minas Gerais," in Morão, *O Alemão que descobriu a América*. This is a translation to Portuguese of the text *La Música en Minas Gerais*, written originally in Spanish, in 1946.

² Politically, Brazil experienced three distinct phases: (1) Colony, from 1500 to 1822; (2) Empire, from 1822 to 1889; and (3) Republic, from 1889 to the present day.

³ C.P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*.

⁴ C.P. de Mattos, *José Maurício Nunes Garcia*. The historiography related to Father José Maurício is an exception in Brazilian musicology. Differently from the composers of Minas Gerais who were his contemporaries, it is possible to track a line of studies about José Maurício that goes back to the time of his activities.

⁵ Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*; Neves, *Música no Brasil*, vol. VI.

⁶ Duprat and Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vols I-II; Duprat and Biazon, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vol III .

⁷ Duprat, *Garimpo Musical*.

Portuguese/Brazilian composer André da Silva Gomes.⁸ In addition to the contribution of these eminent scholars, the establishment of graduate programs in musicology in some of the most important universities in Brazil in the last decades has stimulated the appearance of several young scholars dedicated to Brazilian sacred music, especially from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In examining the literature about Brazilian sacred music published in the last six decades we can say that very few references were dedicated to the music of the state of Goiás.⁹ This is quite intriguing, because Goiás had a process of settlement not so different from that of Minas Gerais or São Paulo, states whose musical activities have been much more examined by Brazilian musicology. Was the production of sacred music in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries not significant enough or was it indeed relevant, but there are not much extant signs of it? This is one of the questions that the present research intends to examine.

The general historiography about Goiás has developed significantly in the last decades. Luis Palacín brought the historiography of Goiás to a new level with his studies, most of them focusing on the colonial period.¹⁰ Following Palacín, and also focusing on the colonial period, Paulo Bertran substantially expanded the sources examined in the reconstruction of the history of Goiás. Bertran's work, *História de Niquelândia* was

⁸ Duprat, *Música na Sé de São Paulo*.

⁹ In 1946, Curt Lange stated that "Nas publicações sobre música brasileira, poucas referências foram dedicadas à música em Minas Gerais" (In the publications about Brazilian music, few references were dedicated to the music in Minas Gerais) (all translations from Portuguese or Spanish to English were made by the author of this dissertation). Lange, "A Música em Minas Gerais," 99. This statement was true for Minas Gerais sixty years ago and it is still valid for Goiás in the present moment.

¹⁰ See especially Palacín, *O Século do Ouro em Goiás*; and Palacín, *História de Goiás em Documentos*.

especially important for the present research.¹¹ In addition, Nasr Chaul brought an important wave of revisionism into more than two centuries of history and concepts. His *Caminhos de Goiás: da construção da decadência aos limites da modernidade* is one of the most stimulating works of the area, and has been an invitation to different approaches to the history of Goiás.¹²

Together, these authors have given us a deep perspective of the history of Goiás, especially in its social, political, and economic aspects. Accurate dates and routes of the *Bandeiras*, expeditions which explored the territory of what would later become the state of Goiás, have been presented and examined. The economy of Goiás has been convincingly reconstructed from its beginnings to the present time, and several changes in politics and ideology have been consistently described and analyzed.

However, when we talk about research focusing on the cultural aspects of Goiás, the situation is quite different. Even in relation to the colonial period, which is probably the most investigated period in the historiography of Goiás, the situation is not satisfactory. In 1978, the writer Bernardo Élis pointed out the scarcity of studies focusing on social-cultural aspects of the Captaincy¹³ of Goiás.¹⁴ Almost twenty years later, Palacín was still complaining about the lack of research on this subject, stating: “os documentos até agora disponíveis oferecem apenas uma pálida idéia, breve lampejo do

¹¹ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*. This is a second edition, revised and enlarged of Bertran's *Memória de Niquelândia* (Brasília: Fundação Nacional Pró-Memória, 1985). By Bertran, see also: *Formação Econômica de Goiás* and *História da Terra e do Homem no Planalto Central*.

¹² Chaul, *Caminhos de Goiás*.

¹³ During the Colony the territory was divided into captaincies; after the independence, in 1822, it was divided into provinces; and finally, since the proclamation of the Republic, in 1889, Brazil is divided into states. Goiás underwent all these three phases. It was created as a captaincy (see chapter 1), becoming later a province, and finally the state of Goiás.

¹⁴ Bernardo Élis, preface of Chaim, *A Sociedade Colonial Goiana*, 16.

que foram, e como operaram, a sociedade, a cultura e as mentalidades em Goiás Colonial” (the documents so far available offer us but a faint idea, a brief notion of what society, culture, and mentalities were and how they operated in colonial Goiás).¹⁵ It is unlikely that any of these authors would change their opinions about this subject if they were still alive nowadays.

The present research intends to contribute to the development of the historiography of Goiás by investigating one of the cultural aspects of its history. It is concerned with sacred music in Goiás during the Colony, Empire, and first decades of the Republic, and shows that sacred music was indeed a very important part of culture during that time. The dates indicated in the title, 1737-1936, are more symbolic than rigid temporal limits. The year 1737 is the date of the foundation of the *arraial* of Jaraguá, the place which is the center of our research, but the earliest extant information about music in Goiás is from 1750. The year 1936 was chosen because this is the year of the death of Balthasar de Freitas, the last musician who worked consistently with the body of documents that we will examine. Moreover, it is around 1936 that an important political and social change took place in Goiás: the shift of the capital of the state from the City of Goiás to the new planned city of Goiânia. This in some sense marks the entry of Goiás into the modern era. From that period on, people in Goiás would tend to look more towards the future, seen as synonymous of progress, than to the past, seen not as tradition, but as backwardness. Therefore, the time frame of this research will be usually referred to as eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but a shortened eighteenth century

¹⁵ Palacín, *História de Goiás em Documentos*, 182.

which begins actually in its second half (or at the earliest in the 1720s), and a “long” nineteenth century which encompasses the first decades of the twentieth century.

The shift of paradigm caused by the transference of the capital of the state allied to the new resolutions regarding Catholic music formulated during the Second Vatican Council some years later, especially that which changed the language used in the liturgy from Latin to vernacular, made it so that most collections containing manuscripts of sacred music produced during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries in Goiás were lost or intentionally destroyed. Only a very few of these collections have survived to our days, being thus precious witnesses of the musical past of the state. One of these witnesses is the body of documents which belongs to the Ribeiro de Freitas family, from Jaraguá, Goiás. This body of documents is now known as Balthasar de Freitas’s collection. The present research has as its object of study the sacred works preserved in Balthasar de Freitas’s collection.

The main objective of this dissertation is to present a description of the sacred works of Balthasar de Freitas’s collection. This description includes an analysis of this repertory, but considered more as a group of pieces than as individual works, as well as an investigation of the historical background in which this collection was formed. Therefore, on one side it seeks to present a systematic description of each piece, which allows then the identification of the pieces and a categorization according to their liturgical/paraliturgical function, and, on the other, the reconstruction of the religious musical activities in Goiás during the period in question, including also the biographies of the main musicians related to the collection. Unifying these two approaches, systematic-descriptive and historical-investigative, it presents also an analysis of the performance

practices and the reception of sacred music in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In doing so, it intends to contribute to the development of the historiography of Goiás by studying one of the cultural aspects of its history, and to improve the historiography of Brazilian music from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by presenting research about a region usually neglected by Brazilian musicology.

In comparison with both the general historiography of Goiás and the historiography about Brazilian music, the study of the history of music in Goiás is very underdeveloped. However, it certainly does not begin with the present research. *A Música em Goiás* by Belkiss Spencièrre Carneiro de Mendonça is probably the most important work published about music in Goiás.¹⁶ It is a comprehensive overview, which encompasses sacred to folk music, including other genres such as opera and wind-band music. It is especially important in relation to the music made in the City of Goiás and Pirenópolis during the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Because it represents one of the first attempts to offer a panoramic view of the music in Goiás, *A Música em Goiás* is a mix of compilation and original research, and its format is also a hybrid of textbook and scholarly work. Today it is undoubtedly a point of departure for every research about music in Goiás.

A pioneer author for the study of music in Goiás is Braz Wilson Pompeu de Pina Filho. Pina Filho published several articles about music in Goiás, among which we have the precursor of Mendonça's work, also entitled *A Música em Goiás*,¹⁷ and *Antônio da*

¹⁶ Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*.

¹⁷ Pina Filho, "A Música em Goiás."

*Costa Nascimento (Tonico do Padre): Um Músico no Sertão Brasileiro.*¹⁸ Pina Filho also played a fundamental role in the promotion of the music made in Goiás by his activities as a conductor and journalist.

Works which are less panoramic and more monographic have also contributed to the understanding of the music in Goiás. Maria Augusta Calado de Saloma Rodrigues published in 1982 *A Modinha em Vila Boa de Goiás*,¹⁹ which deals with this genre that was so appreciated by the people in Goiás. Maria Helena Jayme Borges published *A Música e o Piano na Sociedade Goiana (1805-1972)*,²⁰ explores the history of the instrument that would become the center of musical life in Goiás in the twentieth century. Borges's research dialogues with Pina Filho's *Conservatório de Música da UFG: 16 Anos*,²¹ and *Memória Musical de Goiânia*.²²

A field in which the underdevelopment is not restricted to Goiás, but characteristic of Brazilian musicology as a whole, is the study about wind bands. In Goiás, the pioneer and almost only works are Basileu Toledo França's *Música e Maestros*,²³ which deals with the history of wind bands in the region of the city of Jataí, and Jacy Siqueira's *A Banda Ontem e o seu Futuro*,²⁴ which is partly historic and partly a guide for the establishment of wind bands in Goiás.

Some important works about music in Goiás have been written in the last years but have not been published yet. Ana Guiomar Rego Souza wrote *A "Era dos*

¹⁸ Pina Filho, "Antônio da Costa Nascimento (Tonico do Padre)."

¹⁹ Rodrigues, *A Modinha em Vila Boa de Goiás*.

²⁰ Borges, *A Música e o Piano na Sociedade Goiana (1805-1972)*.

²¹ Pina Filho, *Conservatório de Música da UFG*.

²² Pina Filho, *Memória Musical de Goiânia*.

²³ França, *Música e Maestros*.

²⁴ Siqueira, *A Banda Ontem e o seu Futuro*.

Barracões”: uma abordagem histórico-social da ópera em Pirenópolis, século XIX²⁵ and *Paixões em Cena: A Semana Santa na Cidade de Goiás (Século XIX)*.²⁶ Souza’s works successfully investigate two of the most important musical traditions of Goiás: opera in Pirenópolis and sacred music for Holy Week in the City of Goiás. In addition, Yara Moreyra has been working on a collection of manuscripts copied in the City of Goiás during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and collected by Friar Simão Dorvi in the mid-twentieth century. Thanks to Moreyra’s generosity, I have had access to this collection and to the partial results of her research.

The first publication in which Balthasar de Freitas’s collection is mentioned appeared in 2004. It is my own *Da Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo ao Credo de São José do Tocantins: um episódio da música colonial em Goiás*.²⁷ This work deals with a Mass which was attributed in Goiás to Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, but which also had attributions to other composers in Minas Gerais. It was during the research about Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas that the author of this dissertation made contact for the first time with the manuscripts which had belonged to Balthasar Ribeiro de Freitas, Father Manoel’s nephew. The results of this first contact were then communicated on the pages of *Da Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*.²⁸ In this same year, I collaborated with Ms Ivana Carneiro, the owner of the collection, on a project which included digitalization, cleaning, treatment, and proper placement of all its documents. It resulted also in the publication of *Danças Para Banda*²⁹ and the release of the CD *Danças de Outros Tempos*,³⁰ both

²⁵ Souza, *A Era dos Barracões*.

²⁶ Souza, *Paixões em Cena*.

²⁷ Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*.

²⁸ Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*, 20-21.

²⁹ Pinto, *Danças Para Banda*.

containing instrumental pieces found in the collection.³¹ The present dissertation is a development of the research initiated in 2004.

The dissertation is organized in two volumes. The second volume presents the thematic catalogue of the sacred music sub-collection of Balthasar de Freitas's collection, plus two appendixes. The methodology used in the elaboration of the thematic catalogue is discussed in the introduction to the second volume. The two appendixes bring complementary information which can be useful in future research and can help in our understanding of the repertory which was preserved in Balthasar de Freitas's collection. Appendix 1 shows some lists of payments to musicians who worked in musical activities in the region of Jaraguá, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as similar data related to musical activities in other cities of Goiás. Appendix 2, on the other hand, contains editions of some of the works of the sacred music sub-collection. A volume containing the most significant pieces of the collection has been prepared and should be published soon.

The first volume is divided into four chapters, plus introduction and conclusion. The first chapter is an overview of the history of music and the Church in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It shows how music in general, and sacred music in particular, was a very important activity in the society during that time. In relation to the history of the Catholic Church in Goiás, it is largely based on published literature, especially on the authors cited in the beginning of this introduction. For the part directly related to the music in Goiás, however, it is based not only on the relevant published

³⁰ Pinto, *Danças de Outros Tempos*.

³¹ The whole project was funded by the Agency of Culture of the government of Goiás (AGEPEL).

literature, especially Mendonça's work and the chronicles of several European travelers who visited Goiás during the nineteenth century, but also on an extensive archival research. The archival research investigated two large groups of primary sources: (1) documents related to religious activities, especially the ones preserved in the Archive Frei Simão Dorvi and in the collections of the Instituto de Pesquisa e Estudos Históricos do Brasil Central (IPEHBC); and (2) music manuscripts found in Balthasar de Freitas's collection and three other collections of music manuscripts from Goiás (private collection of Antônio Pinheiro, Dorvi/Moreyra collection, and collection of the Pina family). Newspapers which circulated in Goiás during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were also an important complement to the sources listed above.

Chapter 2 presents a biographical overview of the primary musicians who worked with the manuscripts of the collection during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It gives special attention to three musicians, Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas, Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, and Balthasar Ribeiro de Freitas, but it includes also other members of these families, as well as some of the leading religious leaders of Traíras, São José do Tocantins, and Jaraguá. The figure of Balthasar de Freitas, though, stands at the center of the chapter. The sources used for this chapter are basically the same ones employed for chapter 1.

In chapter 3, the focus shifts from the musicians and their society to the manuscripts themselves. In some sense we could say that chapter 3 is the center of the whole dissertation: it presents in prose what the second volume presents systematically. The text gives a description of the whole collection, with more details on the sacred music sub-collection. An analysis of the main genres found in the sub-collection is

presented. Moreover, it situates Balthasar de Freitas's collection in relation to other collections of music manuscripts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from Goiás and from other states as well. The discussions present in this chapter make two points clear. First, that there was an active exchange between musicians from Goiás and musicians from other parts of Brazil, and second, that, although being mostly from the second half of the nineteenth century, in several cases the manuscripts from Balthasar de Freitas's collection preserve a much older repertory. For the description and analysis which are presented, the main sources are, of course, the manuscripts themselves. For comparison of Balthasar de Freitas's collection with other collections of music manuscripts, I used all the thematic catalogues and editions of Brazilian sacred music which have been published since Curt Lange's pioneer article.

Finally, chapter 4 investigates some procedures related to performance practices and reception of sacred music in Goiás during the nineteenth century. It presents, in some sense, a synthesis of chapters 2 and 3. It is less descriptive and more speculative than the preceding chapters. Among other things, it demonstrates that on several occasions, the copyists of the collection were responsible for adapting the old repertory to the circumstances available to them. These adaptations included several procedures, such as replacing strings by winds and performing some pieces one tone lower. Although applied to the sacred music performed in Goiás, its approach can contribute to the understanding of how the nineteenth century dealt with its musical tradition in the interior of Brazil as a whole.

For clarity, the references to two instruments are made through their Portuguese terms. The term "pistom" (plural "pistons") is used to indicate trumpets and cornets. In

nineteenth- and twentieth-century Brazilian music, “pistom” refers both to trumpets and cornets. To preserve this ambiguity, this term is used here in place of the standard English terms. “Requinta” is an archaic Portuguese term to indicate the small Eb clarinet. Because there are several references to this instrument and to the standard Bb clarinet, “requinta” is used for the former and “clarinet” for the latter. Moreover, voices are indicated by capital letters (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass), whereas for instruments, small letters are used (violin, clarinet, bass). This helps to clarify the ambiguity of the term “bass.”

CHAPTER 1: CHURCH, MUSIC, AND CHURCH MUSIC IN GOIÁS DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Brazil was experiencing a new social-economic phase of its development, the *ciclo do ouro* (cycle of gold). The first gold mines were discovered during the last decades of the seventeenth century and in 1709 the territory in which these mines were located became politically independent from the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro. The “Capitania de São Paulo e das Minas do Ouro” (Captaincy of São Paulo and of the Gold Mines) was then created.³² Roughly a decade later, in 1720, the Captaincy was divided into two new ones, the Captaincy of Minas Gerais and the Captaincy of São Paulo, leaving thus the *Paulistas*,³³ who were the original discoverers of the mines, separated from their “sonho do Eldorado.”

This situation motivated the *Paulistas* to explore new territories. On the public level, the government of São Paulo was trying to expand the limits of the Captaincy in order to compensate for the territories that it had lost to Minas Gerais. On the private level, on the other hand, the *Paulistas* were keen to find new gold mines, also as compensation for the loss of Minas Gerais after the *Emboaba* War. Moreover, they were trying to establish a river passageway from São Paulo to the recently discovered mines of Cuiabá, in the extreme West frontier. All these factors led to what the historian Luis Palacín called “the definitive discovery of Goiás.”³⁴

³² Botelho, “Capitania das Minas Gerais,” 68.

³³ “Paulista” is the person who was born in São Paulo.

³⁴ Palacín, *O Século do Ouro em Goiás*, 16.

Palacín called it “definitive,” because in fact, since the late sixteenth century, Paulistas and Jesuits went after *Índios* (Native Brazilians), the former after their bodies as goods for the slavery market, and the latter after their soul, to teach them the Christian doctrine and save them from Hell. In practice, though, this distinction was not always so clear. The fact is that from 1590 to 1674, several expeditions called *Bandeiras*, formed by Paulistas and Portuguese citizens, had achieved the *Sertão dos Goyazes* after they had departed from São Paulo. Conversely, since after 1653, several other expeditions, mostly by Jesuits, had arrived in Goiás departing from Belém, passing through the Amazon and later the Tocantins and Araguaia rivers.³⁵

Each of these expeditions, however, had a transitory character. They entered into the wild territory, got what they were looking for, and left without establishing any permanent settlement. Things would change forever thanks to a particular *Bandeira* formed at the beginning of the third decade of the eighteenth century. In July 1722, a new *Bandeira* departed from São Paulo. It was coordinated by Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva, João Leite da Silva Ortiz, and Domingos Rodrigues do Prado, and its objective was to find gold, silver, and other precious gems. This was the expedition that would result in the settlement of the territory which now includes the states of Goiás and the Tocantins, as well as parts of the states of Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso.

The *Bandeira* wandered through this territory for more than three years. Its aim was to find the place that Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva had visited many decades before. On this first occasion, the young Bartolomeu was part of another *Bandeira*, this one captained by his father, also named Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva. What they actually saw

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 17-19.

is difficult to know, but it was enough to stimulate the imagination of the young Bartolomeu for the rest of his life.

All these years of hoping were compensated for in 1725. On 21 October of that year, Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva, the son, and his Bandeira, or to be more precise, what had remained of it, arrived in the City of São Paulo. In spite of many desertions and deaths (some caused by hunger, others by the attack of the Índios), the objective of the Bandeira was fully achieved. Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva had discovered several rivers full of gold, ready to be explored.³⁶

This Bandeira has now acquired an epic status and several myths related to it and to the two Bartolomeus have circulated since then, making history and legend difficult to distinguish. One of these legends present in the historiography of Goiás is that the Bandeira of 1722 was actually a failure. According to this point of view, only in the next expedition would Bartolomeu achieve success. As Palacín suggested, the origin of this legend can be twofold. On one hand, it can be seen as a failure because of the fact that a lot of people, probably the majority of the original participants, had deserted or died in terrible circumstances. On the other hand, this first failure serves perfectly to the project of mythification of the figure of Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva, the founding father of the state of Goiás. He thus could be seen even more emphatically as the hero who persevered under all kinds of adversities, even when everybody else had given up.³⁷

Another fascinating legend is related to Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva, the father. He was known as “Anhangüera,” a nickname which was later inherited by his son.

³⁶ Ibid., 21-22.

³⁷ Ibid., 19-22.

According to this legend, the name “Anhangüera” was given to Bartolomeu by the Índios from the tribe of the *Goyazes*.³⁸ The story begins when during the expedition in which both Bartolomeus, father and son, took part, the former saw necklaces and other jewels made of gold adorning the body of the women of the tribe. Bartolomeu then set fire to a plate full of *aguardente*,³⁹ and threatened to do the same with all the water of the rivers if the Goyazes did not show him where they had gotten the gold. Terrified, the Goyazes agreed to take Bartolomeu to the place, but, first, they gave him the name “Anhangüera,” meaning “Old Devil.”⁴⁰

In 1727, less than two years after Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva, the son, had returned to São Paulo with news about his discoveries, the *Arraial* of Sant’Ana was founded. Later it would change its name to *Vila Boa de Goiás*, and become the head office of the Government of the new Captaincy.⁴¹ The name “Vila Boa de Goiás” (Good Village of Goiás) is a double homage to its founder (“Boa” from “Bueno”) and the tribe which was the “original” owner of its land (“Goiás” from the “Goyazes”). This first wave of settlements included also Meia Ponte (1731), Crixás (1734), Traíras (1735), São José do Tocantins (1735), São Félix (1736), Córrego do Jaraguá (1737), and Santa Luzia (1746).

The meteoric settlement of the lands of the new gold mines, followed by the establishment of several urban centers, resulted in the creation of the Captaincy of Goiás. This occurred on 8 November 1744, when the whole region became politically

³⁸ The history of the Goyazes, whose name was given to the State, is also full of uncertainties and speculations.

³⁹ “Aguardente” is liquor made of sugarcane.

⁴⁰ Alencastre, *Anais da Província de Goiás*, 30-31; Brasil, *Pela História de Goiás*, 29-30; and Artiaga, *História de Goiás*, 39.

⁴¹ It would change its name again in 1818, becoming City of Goiás. McCreery, *Frontier Goiás*, 11.

emancipated from the Captaincy of São Paulo. Yet, the citizens of Goiás would have to wait for a long period of five years to receive their first Governor. He was D. Marcos de Noronha, later appointed Count of Arcos.

The production of gold in Goiás began right after its discovery, in the mid-1720s. According to Palacín, production would achieve its peak three decades later, in 1753.⁴² It would subside in the coming decades, although historians do not agree on the time of its decline. The Portuguese Brigadier Raimundo José da Cunha Mattos, who traveled through Goiás in the early nineteenth century, indicates the year of 1764; the Governor of Goiás from 1809 to 1820, Delgado Freire de Castilho, says 1778 (a date which is advocated by Palacín); and the historian Paulo Bertran states that 1780 was the year in which the decline of the production of gold initiated in Goiás.⁴³ By any means, it is clear that in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, the production of gold was already in decline.

Therefore, the expansion of the gold mining enterprise in Goiás lasted less than sixty years. When we compare it with the same process which took place in Minas Gerais, we can see that in Goiás, the period of richness was considerably shorter. Yet, if on one hand it was not sufficient to consolidate the institutions (private, public, or religious) to the same extent as in Minas Gerais, on the other hand, it anticipated the conquest of the territory of Goiás in one or two centuries. Moreover, as Palacín pointed out, the process of settlement in the region of the gold mines (Minas Gerais, Cuiabá, and

⁴² Palacín, *O Século do Ouro*, 31.

⁴³ Palacín, *O Século do Ouro*, 65; Bertran, *Formação Econômica de Goiás*, 40.

Goiás) was of a new kind in Brazil. It was urban rather than rural, as had been the case in other regions of Brazil.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Palacín, *História de Goiás em Documentos*, 33.

The Church in Goiás During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

The Catholic Church played an important role in the process of conquest and settlement of the region that is now the state of Goiás from its very beginning. It had two representatives among the participants of Anhangüera's *Bandeira*. One of the participants of the *Bandeira*, the Alferes José Peixoto da Silva Braga, wrote in 1734 that he had left São Paulo on 3 July 1722,

em companhia do capitão Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva, o Anhangüera de alcunha, que era cabo da tropa, com trinta e nove cavalos, dois religiosos bentos: frei Antônio da Conceição e frei Cosme de Santo André, e cento e cinquenta e duas armas, entre as quais iam, também, vinte índios...⁴⁵

(in company of captain Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva, nicknamed Anhangüera, who was the commandant of the troupe, with thirty-nine horses, two Benedictine (blessed?) religious men: friar Antônio da Conceição and friar Cosme de Santo André, and 152 guns [men], among of whom went, also, twenty *índios*...)

Seven years later, four years after the discovery of the gold mines had been announced in São Paulo, or two years after the foundation of the *Arraial* of Sant'Ana, the Parish of Sant'Ana was officially created. This was the year 1729. The church had actually been active from 1726, when Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva himself had build a small chapel close to the banks of the *Rio Vermelho*, where the extraction of the gold was being carried out.⁴⁶ In 1743, a new building was constructed to replace the original chapel. The roof of this new church, though, fell down in 1759, initiating a cyclical process of destruction and reconstruction, which, sadly, lasted through the nineteenth and

⁴⁵ In Palacín, *História de Goiás em Documentos*, 26.

⁴⁶ Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 59.

twentieth centuries.⁴⁷ In 1824, the *Matriz de Sant'Ana* was one of the eight Catholic Churches in Vila Boa, and it housed nine altars and four brotherhoods.⁴⁸

The creation of the Parish of Sant'Ana in 1729 is only the beginning of the process of establishing an official structure of the Catholic Church in Goiás. In 1745, Pope Benedict XIV issued the pontifical letter *Candor Lucis Aeternae*, creating the bishoprics of São Paulo (SP) and Mariana (MG), and, what concerns us more here, the prelaties of Cuiabá (MT) and Goiás (GO).⁴⁹ The process of establishing the Prelacy of Goiás, though, was extremely slow. Its first prelate, Friar Vicente do Espírito Santo, was appointed only thirty-seven years after the release of *Candor Lucis Aeternae*. However, Friar Vicente did not assume the position. He managed to be transferred to another, less remote area. This is, actually, the first of a series of frustrations for the people in Goiás who were waiting for their religious leader. The prelate indicated in substitution of Friar Vicente was José Nicolau de Azeredo (in 1788), who also did not accept the position. Fourteen years later, the Church found a clergyman who had the qualities, and probably even more important, the disposition, to become the head of the Prelacy of Goiás. He was Vicente Alexandre de Tovar. Fortune, though, inflicted upon the *Goianos*⁵⁰ one more frustration. Vicente Tovar died during his trip to Goiás in 1808. In 1810, Antonio Rodrigues de Aguiar was appointed Prelate of Goiás, in substitution of Tovar. Surprisingly, Aguiar, too, was not the one who would initiate the prelacy in Goiás. Similarly to his predecessor, he died in Rio de Janeiro when he was leaving for the *Sertão dos Goyazes*. The one who would be the actual first Prelate of Goiás was Francisco

⁴⁷ R. J. C. Mattos, *Corografia Histórica*, 97; Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 59-60.

⁴⁸ R. J. C. Mattos, *Corografia Histórica*, 97-98. About brotherhoods in Goiás, see later in this chapter.

⁴⁹ Fleury, *Notas Históricas*, 13.

⁵⁰ "Goiano" is the person who was born in the state of Goiás.

Ferreira de Azevedo. He was appointed in 1819 and arrived in Goiás in 1824, seventy-nine years after the creation of the prelacy by Pope Benedict XIV.⁵¹ Francisco Ferreira de Azevedo was a very active man, who was able to overcome his physical limitations—he was blind—and play a very important role in the establishment of the Catholic structure in the center of Brazil.

Francisco Ferreira de Azevedo became also the first Bishop of Goiás. On 15 October 1826, two years after Azevedo arrived in Goiás, Pope Leo XII promoted the Prelacy of Goiás to Bishopric, appointing its Prelate as the first Bishop of Goiás. Francisco Ferreira de Azevedo remained the head of the Bishopric until his death in 1854. His successors were D. Domingos Quirino de Souza (1860-1863), D. Joaquim Gonçalves de Azeredo (1865-1877), D. Cláudio José Gonçalves Ponce de Leão (1881-1890), D. Eduardo Duarte Costa (1890-1906), D. Prudêncio Gomes da Silva (1908-1921), and D. Emanuel Gomes de Oliveira (1922-1932).⁵² Recognizing the growth of the Catholic community in Goiás, thanks in part to the names listed above, Pope Pio XI created, on 18 December 1932, the Archbishopric of Goiás. D. Emanuel Gomes de Oliveira was its first and only Archbishop. Soon afterward, the ecclesiastical structure of Goiás would be reorganized and the Archbishopric of Goiás would be transferred to the new capital of Goiás, creating thus, in 1956, the Archbishopric of Goiânia.⁵³

At the time that Vila Boa received its first prelate, in 1826, it had a vivid religious life, housed by the *Matriz de Sant'Ana* and seven other churches. These other churches were dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte, Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Nossa

⁵¹ Fleury, *Notas Históricas*, 13-14.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 14-16.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 17-19.

Senhora da Lapa, Nossas Senhora da Abadia, Nossa Senhora do Carmo, São Francisco de Paula, and Santa Bárbara (see Table 1.1 below).⁵⁴

As the head of the Matriz of Vila Boa (later Matriz of the City of Goiás) there were several Vicars who had an important influence in the cultural life of Goiás. Father Dr. Pedro Ferreira Brandão was the first Vicar of Vila Boa, staying at the head of the parish since its creation in 1729 until 1735.⁵⁵ Father Dr. João Perestrello de Vasconcelos was Vicar of Vila Boa in 1748. Vasconcelos was a Spaniard and was responsible for establishing the celebrations of the Holy Week in the manner that is still carried out in the present.⁵⁶ Father Dr. Manoel de Andrade Vernek stayed in the Parish of Vila Boa from 1762 to 1767. Before coming to Goiás, Father Vernek was *Chantre* of the See of Rio de Janeiro.⁵⁷ Finally, *Cônego* José Iria Xavier Serradourada, who was Vicar of the City of Goiás in 1886,⁵⁸ was a musician, composer of the *Jaculatória das Dores*, a work which is still performed during Holy Week in the City of Goiás. José Iria was son of Basílio Martins Braga Serradourada, who has been indicated as the possible composer of the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross.⁵⁹ José Iria left his compositions (“papeis de Musicas”) to the Cathedral of the City of Goiás, asking his brother João Baptista to take care of them in order to keep them from getting lost. Unfortunately, José Iria’s instructions were in vain. There are no signs of his autographs today.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ R. J. C. Mattos, *Corografia Histórica*, 97-98.

⁵⁵ Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 60.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 60; Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 171.

⁵⁷ Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*, 22; Dottori, “Acheegas Para a História,” 42.

⁵⁸ Brandão *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 61.

⁵⁹ Rodrigues, *A Modinha em Goás*, 47; Rodrigues, notes to the CD “A Semana Santa em Goiás.”

⁶⁰ José Iria Xavier Serradourada’s will, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, now deposited at IEPHBC.

The religious life, and the buildings which housed it, was certainly not restricted to the City of Goiás. It was, indeed, an important feature of the society in every urban center of Goiás, regardless of its size. The historical process described in relation to Vila Boa, (1) discovery of the gold, (2) beginning of the settlement and construction of a small rustic chapel, and (3) construction of a bigger (and better) church in substitution of the old one after the *arraial* was established, happened in each of the urban centers founded during the cycle of gold in Goiás. In the early 1820s, when the discoveries of new gold mines in Goiás had virtually come to an end, Raimundo José da Cunha Mattos visited Goiás on an official mission and produced an interesting and detailed report about what he saw. His observations were published later in two works, *Chorographia Histórica da Província de Goyaz*, written in 1824, and *Itinerário do Rio de Janeiro ao Pará e Maranhão Pelas Províncias de Minas Gerais e Goiaz*, written in 1836. These works became primary for the study of Goiás in early nineteenth century. Among other things, Mattos gave a description of the church buildings found during his visit. Table 1.1 shows the church buildings mentioned by Mattos in some of the main towns of Goiás in the early nineteenth century.

Table 1.1: Some of the churches mentioned by Raimundo José da Cunha Mattos during his visit of Goiás in 1820s.⁶¹

Place	Church Buildings
City of Goiás	Igreja Matriz de Sant'Anna
	Igreja da Senhora da Boa Morte
	Nossa Senhora do Rosário
	Nossa Senhora da Lapa
	Nossa Senhora da Abadia
	Nossa Senhora do Carmo
	São Francisco de Paula
Meia Ponte	Santa Bárbara
	Igreja Matriz de Nossa Senhora do Rosário
	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos
	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Carmo
Córrego do Jaraguá	Igreja do Senhor do Bomfim
	Igreja da Lapa e Boa Morte
	Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Penha
Bomfim	Ermida de Nossa Senhora do Rosário
	Igreja do Senhor do Bomfim
Santa Luzia	Ermida de Nossa Senhora do Rosário
	Ermida de Nossa Senhora da Abadia
	Igreja Matriz de Santa Luzia
Pilar	Ermida de Nossa Senhora do Rosário
	Ermida de Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte dos Homens Pardos
	Ermida de Nossa Senhora as Mercês
	Igreja Matriz de Nossa Senhora do Pilar
Traíras	Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Conceição
	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário
	Igreja do Senhor do Bomfim
	Hospício dos religiosos esmoleres da terra santa
São José do Tocantins	Igreja Matriz de São José
	Nossa Senhora do Rosário ⁶²
	Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte
	Santa Efigênia

⁶¹ R. J. C. Mattos, *Corografia Histórica*, 97-117.

⁶² These last three churches appear unidentified in Mattos's work. The identification present here came from Silva e Souza, *Memória Sobre o Descobrimento*, 121.

The establishment of the Catholic Church in Brazil happened according to the principles defined by the Council of Trent (1545-1563). These principles were adapted to the circumstances of the new land by the *Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia* (First Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia), elaborated in 1707 by D. Sebastião Monteiro de Vide, bishop of Bahia.⁶³ In order to carry out the evangelization of the new lands, the Church of Rome and the Kingdom of Portugal established an agreement called “Padroado Régio.” According to this agreement, the Pope transferred to the Portuguese King all the responsibilities of the establishment of the Catholicism in Brazil. On one hand, the King had the right to collect the *dízimo* related to all the religious activities and to appoint bishops, prelates, vicars, etc. On the other hand, it was the King’s duty to fund all the expenses involved in the construction of new churches, maintenance of existing ones, and salaries of priests and other religious officials.⁶⁴

The *Padroado* led naturally to the weakening of the Papal authority in the new lands. Actually, the establishment of the Catholic Church in Portuguese America was marked by a de-Romanization process in which a new kind of Catholicism was created, a lay Catholicism. This lay Catholicism, in turn, resulted in a society in which civic and religious power and structure were completely mixed. The Church, for example, was in charge of the expedition of registers of lands and other similar documents, as well as birth, wedding, and death certificates.⁶⁵ In addition, the role played by bishops, prelates, priests, and other Church figures, especially in the interior of Brazil where the State was much less present, went well beyond liturgical and doctrinal matters. These bishops and

⁶³ Botelho, “Igreja Católica,” in *Dicionário Histórico*, 165; Vide, *Constituições Primeiras*.

⁶⁴ Castro, *A Organização da Igreja*, 22; Botelho, “Igreja Católica,” 165.

⁶⁵ Botelho, “Igreja Católica,” 166.

priests were not only religious leaders, but also cultural, economic, and, especially, political leaders of their communities. Historian Paulo Bertran, for example, referred to Father Manoel Álvares da Silva and Manuel Ribeiro de Freitas as true pillars (“sustentáculos”) of the society of Traíras, one of the main towns of Goiás in the Colonial period.⁶⁶

Another characteristic of this lay Catholicism was the strengthening of brotherhoods and confraternities in Brazil. Brotherhoods were religious associations of lay people which had as their main purpose to congregate around a sacred figure, usually a Saint or one of the invocations of the Virgin Mary, asking from their Patron/Patroness protection in spiritual as well as material matters. The brotherhood was supposed to give support to its associates in the case of social or even economic problems during their lives, and after their deaths, to take care of all the necessary procedures for the salvation of their soul.⁶⁷ Moreover, brotherhoods were important institutions in which the population would negotiate their place in the society.⁶⁸ Thus, it was common to use ethnic, economic, or professional criteria to select the members that would participate in these associations. Therefore, Irmandades do Santíssimo Sacramento were usually reserved for white people; Irmandades de Nossa Senhora do Rosário for black people; and Irmandades de Santa Cecília for musicians, both white and black or *mulatos*.

The main occupation of the brotherhood was to celebrate its Patron/Patroness with dignity and honor. This was done through a *Festa*, a group of ceremonies which

⁶⁶ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 68.

⁶⁷ Moraes, “Do Corpo Místico de Cristo,” 25; Castro, *A Organização da Igreja*, 159; Chahon, *Convidados Para a Ceia do Senhor*, 228.

⁶⁸ Chahon, *Convidados Para a Ceia do Senhor*, 128.

took place on the day of the Patron/Patroness or, sometimes, on the following Sunday. The number and kind of these ceremonies depended on the funds available for the brotherhoods in each year and it was decided by the officials of the brotherhood in an assembly. Usually, the *Festa* would have at least a sung Mass, a sermon, and a procession. In the case of a wealthy brotherhood, it could include also exposition of the Holy Sacrament, novena, communion, confessions, and even a Te Deum.⁶⁹ In Goiás, in the late nineteenth century, it could have also secular events, such as a ball and an *alvorada*.⁷⁰ Depending on the funds, the ceremonies which form the *Festa* could be more or less elaborate. There might be one sermon in the simplest *Festa* or as many as three in the most elaborate. But probably the biggest difference would be in the way to celebrate the Mass, which was certainly the center of the whole *Festa*. It could be as simple as a *Missa Rezada* (Spoken Mass), celebrated by a single priest, or as festive as a Solemn Mass, celebrated by the bishop, with deacons, acolytes, and music performed by choir and orchestra.

The proper way to celebrate their Patron/Patroness was registered in two kinds of books of the brotherhoods: a) *Termo de Compromisso* and b) *Livro de Despesas*. The former was prescriptive and usually general in its references; the latter was descriptive, and sometimes can provide a fair amount of details regarding the *Festa*. The *Termo de Compromisso* or *Livro de Compromisso* of the brotherhood was the document which would guide the associates in all matters, from the criteria of acceptance of new brothers, to the proper way to celebrate their Patron/Patroness, to the right procedures in the case of the death of a brother. It was written in the Parish in which the brotherhood was

⁶⁹ Ibid., 204, 247, 306-7, 370-71.

⁷⁰ Balthasar de Freitas's collection, other documents sub-collection, list of payments.

located and sent to the *Vigário Geral* (General Vicar); after it was approved, it was then sent to the Bishop responsible for the Prelacy or Bishopric. The Bishop, in turn, would send it to Lisbon to be examined by the King's officials. Finally, if it was approved by the King's officials, it would receive the *Termo de Confirmação* signed by the King (or Queen), and then be sent back to the original Parish.⁷¹

Brotherhoods played a crucial role in the process of settlement and evangelization of Goiás. Brotherhoods were important institutions in the entire Portuguese America but in the remote areas of the center of Brazil they were even more important. As we previously saw, the official structure of the Church could take literally decades to be established in the settlements which were formed around the new gold mines. The brotherhoods, on the contrary, were much more easily formed. Usually their activities would begin before the process of formalization took place. Thus, in general, when the Church structure arrived in a new urban center, it would find already a brotherhood taking care of the religious activities. Frequently, though, this situation resulted in heated disputes.

The first brotherhood that we know about in Goiás appears, naturally, in its first urban center, the *arraial* of Sant'Ana. Castro tells about the presence of a brotherhood in the main church in the *arraial* of Sant'Ana in 1734,⁷² and, in fact, Moraes indicates that the first brotherhood in Goiás, the Irmandade de São Miguel e Almas, was created there in 1733.⁷³ Almost one century later, in the 1820s, there were at least seven brotherhoods in activity in the City of Goiás: four in the Matriz de Sant'Ana (Irmandade do Santíssimo

⁷¹ Moraes, "Do Corpo Místico de Cristo," 19.

⁷² Catro, *Organização da Igreja Católica*, 165.

⁷³ Moraes, "Do Corpo Místico de Cristo," 18.

Sacramento, de Sant'Ana, Santo Antônio dos Militares e Empregados Públicos, and Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos), one in the Church of Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte (Confraria dos Homens Pardos da Boa Morte), one in the Church of Nossa Senhora do Carmo (Irmandade dos Pretos de Santa Ifigênia), and one unidentified in the Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário.⁷⁴

The activities of the brotherhoods in Goiás, nevertheless, were not restricted to the City of Goiás. Brotherhoods were formed in virtually all the urban centers of the cycle of gold. Cristina Moraes pointed out the existence of thirty-one brotherhoods in Goiás in the period ranging from 1736 to 1808 (see Table 1.2). Based on the criteria for acceptance of new brothers described in the *Termos de Compromisso*, Moraes divided these thirty-one brotherhoods into four categories: (1) brotherhoods which accepted only white people; (2) brotherhoods which accepted only black people; (3) brotherhoods which accepted free men and women, regardless of their “color;” and (4) brotherhoods which have no ethnic or social restrictions.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ R. J. C. Mattos, *Corografia Histórica*, 97-98.

⁷⁵ Moraes, “Do Corpo Místico de Cristo,” 39 and footnotes 10, 11, 12, and 13.

Table 1.2: Brotherhoods in activity in Goiás from 1733 to 1808. Based on Cristina Moraes, *Do Corpo Místico de Cristo*.

Table 1.2a: Brotherhoods which accepted only whites.

Brotherhood	Place	Creation
São Miguel e Almas	<i>Arraial de Sant'Ana</i>	1733
Santíssimo Sacramento	Vila Boa	1745
Nosso Senhor dos Passos	Vila Boa	1745
Santíssimo Sacramento	Meia Ponte	1747
Santíssimo Sacramento	Traíras	1748
São Miguel e Almas	São José do Tocantins	1757
Nossa Senhora da Lapa	Vila Boa	1757
Santíssimo Sacramento	Pilar	1757
Santíssimo Sacramento	Jaraguá	1762
Nosso Senhor dos Passos	São José do Tocantins	1765 ⁷⁶
São Miguel e Almas	Crixás	1767
Nosso Senhor dos Passos	Pilar	1782
Glorioso Santo Antônio		1792
Santíssimo Sacramento	Cavalcante	1803
Santíssimo Sacramento	Crixás	

Table 1.2b: Brotherhoods which accepted only blacks.

Brotherhood	Place	Creation
Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos	Vila Boa	1734
Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos	Traíras	1748
Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos	São José do Tocantins	1762
Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos	Pilar	1762
Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos	Crixás	1777

⁷⁶ Bertran states that the Brotherhood of Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins was already in activity in 1759. *História de Niquelândia*, 58.

Table 1.2c: Brotherhoods which accepted free men and women, regardless of their “color.”

Brotherhood	Place	Creation
Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte	Vila Boa	b. 1752
São Miguel e Almas	Bomfim	1767
Nossa Senhora da Abadia	Moquém	1775
Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte	São José do Tocantins	1776
São Benedito	Vila Boa	

Table 1.2d: Brotherhoods which had no ethnic or social restrictions.

Brotherhood	Place	Creation
São José dos Quatro Ofícios	Vila Boa	1750
Santa Efigênia	São José do Tocantins	1753
Nossa Senhora das Mercês da Redenção dos Captivos		1772
Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos	Meia Ponte	1782
Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos	Bomfim	1791
São Benedito	Meia Ponte	1803

At the end of the nineteenth century, the brotherhoods in Goiás were already experiencing a process which resulted ultimately in the extinction of these religious associations. Changes related to several agents of the society in Goiás affected the functioning of the brotherhoods. The first and most apparent change was the decline of the production of gold. As we saw in the beginning of this chapter, this production was already diminishing in the last decades of the eighteenth century, but it decreased drastically during the nineteenth century. The disappearance of the gold resulted in the

impoverishment of the lay people who, in fact, were responsible for funding the activities of the brotherhood. A rich brotherhood like the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins, which was able in the eighteenth century to pay two kilos and a half of gold to a single artist for the renovations of its chapel, had to be helped by its treasurer in the mid-nineteenth century to pay expenses of wax, incenses, and other bagatelles.⁷⁷

With the proclamation of the Republic in 1889, things got even worse for the brotherhoods. The collapse of the *Padroado* in the last decades of the Empire, resulting in the final separation between Church and State in the beginning of the Republic, led to an effort for a re-Romanization of the religious life in Brazil. This movement, known as “ultramontanismo,” was characterized by a process of marginalization of the brotherhoods by the official Church, which began to favor religious associations that were closer to the clergy, such as the *Congregações Marianas* (Marian Congregations) and the *Filhas de Maria* (Daughters of Mary).⁷⁸ Thus, abandoned by the people who had no money to fund the religious activities; by the State, which no longer was interested in religious matters; and by the Vatican, which wanted to recover the Papal authority in the lands of the New World, the brotherhoods arrived in the twentieth century as just a pale resemblance of what they were during the cycle of gold. In the words of the historian Paulo Bertran,

⁷⁷ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 58.

⁷⁸ Castro, *Organização da Igreja*, 161. For the “ultramontanismo” in Goiás, see L. B. D. Santos, *Ética da Súplica*. For a narrative of one of the conflicts between lay people and Church officials in Goiás at that time, see E. D. Silva, *Passagens*, 95-105.

da antiga opulência restaram apenas os rótulos vazios das instituições montadas no século XVIII e que, muito transformadas no século XIX, chegaram muitas delas até nossos dias...⁷⁹

(of the old opulence, only the empty labels have remained of the institutions which were created in the eighteenth century and which, very much transformed in the nineteenth century, have arrived in the present days...)

⁷⁹ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 58.

Church Music in Goiás during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

The earliest extant information about music in Goiás is found in a letter written on 30 May 1750 by the “oficiais da Câmara” of Vila Boa and addressed to the King of Portugal D. João V. In the letter, the officials are complaining to the King about the cancellation of the procession of Corpus Christi in Vila Boa, due to the refusal of the coadjutor of the Matriz to sing the Mass, after which the procession could begin. The reason for the refusal, say the officials, was that the priest, against the custom, was demanding a payment in order to sing the Mass.⁸⁰

Problems involving religious services and finances seem to have not been unusual in Goiás. In another letter, written in 1789, Dr Antônio de Souza Telles e Menezes, Captain-Mor of Vila Boa, was complaining about the high fees imposed by some clergymen for participating in religious services. According to Menezes, there were no rules for the prices, thus the priests continued to charge high fees, even after the gold had drastically diminished and the Captaincy got impoverished. Among other services, the people had to pay 2\$600 for a Sung Mass and 9\$600 for Sung Vespers or Matins.⁸¹

People had to pay for this kind of services not only in Vila Boa, but in each of the *arraiais* of the Captaincy, no matter its size. People from the *arraial* of Anta paid in 1783 eight *oitavas* of gold for a Sung Mass and half *oitava* for a Memento.⁸² The residents of

⁸⁰ Teles, *Catálogo de Verbetes*, 100.

⁸¹ In Palacin, *História de Goiás em Documentos*, 197-198.

⁸² Bertran, *Notícia Geral*, 142.

Crixás paid, also in 1783, eight *oitavas* and one “libra de cêra” (pound of wax) for a Sung Mass and sixteen *oitavas* for one Office with a Sung Mass at the end.⁸³

It is probably not coincidence that the earliest extant information about music in Goiás is related to music for liturgical services, performed by clergymen. The Sung Masses and Offices referred to above are certainly Masses and Offices with Chant performed by the celebrants. The documents from eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Goiás tell about three categories of ceremonies according to the role of music in them. This is best exemplified in relation to the Mass. These documents mention three types of Masses: (1) “Missa Rezada” (Spoken Mass); (2) “Missa Cantada” (Sung Mass); and (3) “Missa Cantada com Música” (Sung Mass with Music). The solemnity of the day and, more important, the funds of the congregation, would indicate which one of these Masses would be more appropriate for the occasion. The “Missa Rezada” was the simplest one, and it would mean that the celebrant would say the text of the Mass, instead of sing it. This was the cheapest type of Mass. The term “Missa Cantada,” on the other hand, implied the use of music during the ceremony. However, it seems to have been used to indicate Masses in which the celebrant (or celebrants) would sing the text of the Mass in Chant. The reason for this understanding comes precisely from the term used for the ceremonies of our third category, Sung Mass with music. This apparent redundancy is clarified by the analysis of account books from brotherhoods and other institutions. In these documents, it is common to find payments for a priest for having sung the Mass, and for another lay person, for the music of the Mass.⁸⁴ Therefore, “Missa Cantada com

⁸³ Ibid., 147.

⁸⁴ The Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Vila Boa listed in 1800 the following payments in its *Livro de Receitas e Despesas*: (a) twelve *oitavas* and a half to the Priest for having sung the Mass and the

Música” means a Mass in which part of its text was sung with Chant by the celebrant(s) and part was sung (and played) by professional musicians in “polyphony.”

It is quite natural, thus, that the first signs of music in Goiás refer to Chant sung by clergymen in religious ceremonies. What probably happened in the beginning of the settlement of the Captaincy was that the *Bandeirantes*⁸⁵ had to be satisfied by this kind of music only. Only later, professional musicians would be available to the people of the *sertão dos Goyazes*.

However, people from Goiás probably did not wait for too long to have professional musicians performing in their religious services. In 1756, João dos Santos Miranda received twenty oitavas from the “Senado da Câmara” of Vila Boa for the music for the Mass and the procession of the feast of São Sebastião.⁸⁶ The receipt was signed on 3 April 1756. João dos Santos Miranda is the first professional musician working in Goiás that we know about.

The “Senado da Câmara” was responsible for funding and organizing the official feasts of the Portuguese Kingdom in Vila Boa. Among these feasts there were the feast of São Sebastião and the procession of Corpus Christi. Indeed, in 1796 the *Senado* paid the Alferez Theodozio Ferreira Pontes sixteen oitavas and a half for the music of the feast of São Sebastião (receipt signed on 2 February 1796) and sixteen oitavas and a half and four vintens of gold for the music for the feast of Corpus Christi (receipt signed on 16 July

novena; (b) six oitavas and a half to the Sacristan for having helped with the Mass, novena, and epistles; (c) fourteen oitavas and a half for the music of the Mass and of the novena; (d) four oitavas for the rent of the ornaments of the Santíssimo Sacramento. Livro de Receitas e Despesas da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Goiás, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi.

⁸⁵ “Bandeirante” is a Person who participates in a Bandeira.

⁸⁶ At this same occasion, Father João Lopes França, Vicar of Vila Boa, received thirty oitavas for delivering a Sermon.

1796). In the justification for making the payment for the feast of São Sebastião, the scrivener stated that the music was “hua das Principais couzas p^a. a Missa Cantada e Procissão” (one of the main things for the Sung Mass and the Procession).⁸⁷

The City Council of Meia Ponte was responsible for the official festivities in the *arraial*. Manoel Joaquim Baptista made a request to this council of twenty oitavas for the music of the festivities of 14 December 1828 and 4 January 1829. The City Council, though, alleged that its incomes were too low, and then decided to pay Baptista only twelve oitavas for both feasts. The receipt was signed on 20 January 1829.⁸⁸

The state made use of sacred music not only to celebrate the official religious feasts, but also to mark extraordinary events, as well as birthdays and other important dates related to the members of the Royal family. The most common way to do this was through a celebration of a Te Deum. Five years before João dos Santos Miranda has received his payment for the music of the feast of São Sebastião, the *arraial* of Santa Luzia was celebrating the coronation of D. José I as King of Portugal with a Solemn Mass, a Te Deum, and some plays (*comédias*).⁸⁹

Te Deums were used to mark local events as well. In July 1780, Luís da Cunha Menezes, Governor of Goiás, ordered the celebration of a Te Deum in the Matriz de Vila Boa. The event that Menezes was commemorating was the conversion of several *índios* from the tribe of the Caiapós, who in the past had treated Portuguese and Brazilian people

⁸⁷ Archive Frei Simão Dorvi.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Joseph de Mello Álvares in Pina Júnior, *Comédias*, 12.

with hostility. On that occasion, Menezes also ordered the baptism of several children from the Caiapós, being himself the godfather of some of them.⁹⁰

The chronicles of the travelers who visited Goiás during the nineteenth century, as well as the newspapers which circulated in Goiás at that time are full of references to performances of Te Deums. It is possible even to give an overview of the history of Goiás in the nineteenth century through the analysis of the occasions in which a Te Deum was performed. Let us take the figure of D. Pedro I and the process of independence of Brazil as they were seen in Goiás. In 1821, a Te Deum was performed to celebrate the act of ratification of the oath of obedience and loyalty to the Portuguese King and the adherence to the Court and to the future constitution. One year later, another Te Deum was performed, this time for almost the opposite reason, to celebrate the independence of Brazil and the acclamation of D. Pedro I as the First Emperor of Brazil.⁹¹ On 14 October 1830, a Te Deum was used to celebrate D. Pedro I's birthday, but less than one year later, on 25 August 1831, another Te Deum, perhaps the same music performed by the same musicians, took place in order to celebrate the abdication of D. Pedro I as Emperor of Brazil. On 8 September of the next year, the *Goianos* were celebrating once more the anniversary of the independence with a Te Deum Laudamus.⁹²

It is possible that the music of some of the performances referred to above was, in fact, Chant sung by the celebrants. However, the very nature of the events, as well as some descriptions of these ceremonies, indicates otherwise. Luís da Cunha Menezes

⁹⁰ Alencastre, *Anais da Província de Goiás*, 235; Pohl, *Viagem ao Interior do Brasil*, 135; Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem à Província de Goiás*, 63; Jayme, *Esboço Histórico de Pirenópolis*, 48.

⁹¹ Alencastre, *Anais da Província de Goiás*, 350-351, 390-391.

⁹² Jayme, *Esboço Histórico de Pirenópolis*, 248-249, 344, 377-378.

ordered that the Te Deum celebrating the conversion of the Caiapós should be done with all the pomp and circumstance. Cunha Mattos, on the other hand, stated that the celebrations of the birthday of D. Pedro I in the *arraial* of Traíras, in 1823, included a Benedictus, a Sung Mass, and a Te Deum, all of them “à música vocal e instrumental” ([performed] with vocal and instrumental music).⁹³

Of course, not all the music performed in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was sacred. Among other genres, it is common to find in the documents of that time references to operas, wind-band music, and ballroom dances. In the festivities of the birthday of D. Pedro I, in Traíras 1823, described above, Cunha Mattos stated that apart from participating in the religious ceremonies which marked the occasion, he also attended the parade of several wind bands.⁹⁴ In fact, during his trip through Goiás, Cunha Mattos was informed that there were wind bands in all the *arraiais* of Goiás; the best ones were from the Capital and from the *arraial* of Meia Ponte. On 7 August 1823, Mattos was in Meia Ponte, and he had the opportunity to listen to “hum bando de música” which “andou tocando pelas ruas varias symphonias agradaveis” (a band of music which was playing in the streets pleasant symphonies).⁹⁵

Some years earlier, another European traveler registered his impressions about the culture and the lands of the Goianos. Johann Emanuel Pohl was an Austrian naturalist who traveled through Goiás from 1817 to 1821. Pohl mentions several aspects of the musical activities in Goiás during that period. He was able to listen to a march played by

⁹³ R. J. C. Mattos, *Itinerário do Rio de Janeiro*, vol. I, 195.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

two violins and one clarinet in Santa Luzia,⁹⁶ and to a “noise music” played by two violins (rabecas), a guitar, and one drum during the novenas in Natividade.⁹⁷ He points out further, that on the feast of Pentecost in Santa Cruz, the music included trumpets and drums (“trombetas e tambores”).⁹⁸

During the nineteenth century, wind bands would become even more important to the musical life of Goiás. One century after Pohl and Mattos had visited Goiás, all the major musicians in activity would be “Mestres de banda” (Conductors of wind band), including Antônio da Costa Nascimento, Braz de Arruda, and Balthasar Ribeiro de Freitas in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Another genre of secular music that was quite popular in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the opera. Roughly one century after it became a popular genre in Venice, operas were performed quite frequently in the most remote areas of the interior of Brazil. In 1773, D. José de Almeida was the Governor of Goiás. One of the common procedures of a new Governor was to visit each of the *arraiais* of the Captaincy, in order to see *in loco* the actual situation of their inhabitants. So did Governor José de Almeida. During his visit in 1773, Almeida attended to eight operas in less than five weeks: four in São Félix, two in Pilar, and two in Traíras.⁹⁹ What makes this story even more interesting is the fact that all this cultural movement witnessed by Governor Almeida was happening outside of the main urban centers of Vila Boa and Meia Ponte.

⁹⁶ Pohl, *Viagem ao Interior do Brasil*, 113.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 272-273.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 297.

⁹⁹ Palacín, *História de Goiás em Documentos*, 220.

Some decades later we have a reference to another opera in a small *arraial* of Goiás. August de Saint-Hilaire, a French naturalist, traveled through Goiás from 1816 to 1822. When he arrived in Bomfim, it was the time of the feast of Nossa Senhora da Abadia. The feast was certainly constituted of Sung Mass, novena, and other religious ceremonies, but, according to Saint-Hilaire, it had secular events as well. Saint-Hilaire says that on that occasion, he had the “oportunidade de ouvir os músicos que iriam tocar durante a representação da opera,” when “mais uma vez pude apreciar o talento natural dos brasileiros para a música” (opportunity to listen to the musicians who would play during the performance of the opera, [when] once more, I was able to appreciate the natural talent of Brazilians for music).¹⁰⁰

These operas were performed in theaters, called “casas de ópera,” spread throughout Goiás. Palacín stated that there were opera houses in most of the *arraiais* of Goiás.¹⁰¹ Moreover, Jesus de Aquino Jayme pointed out that, in Traíras, there were two theaters in the eighteenth century, one for white and another for black people.¹⁰² Nevertheless, the lack of theaters was not an impediment for performances of operas in Goiás. In places where there were no theaters, it was common to present an opera in the streets, using an improvised platform as the stage.¹⁰³

A common way to finish a day of civic or religious celebrations in Goiás during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries was with a ball, offered to all good people of the society. In those occasions, a citizen would have the opportunity to meet his or her

¹⁰⁰ Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem à Província de Goiás*, 106.

¹⁰¹ Palacín, *História de Goiás em Documentos*, 220.

¹⁰² In Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 14.

¹⁰³ See Souza, “A Era dos Barracões.”

comrades, renew the oath to the State or to the Church, eat good food, and listen to music and engage in ballroom dance. One reader of the newspaper *Matutina Meiapontense*, which circulated in Meia Ponte from 1830 to 1834, described one of these balls which took place in the City of Goiás on 7 February 1830:

e termiando com a noite o jantar, continuou o prazer intremeando-se as danças, e Música com magníficos refrescos sendo para se observar a alegria com que rompéo o Baile o Exmo. Governador das Armas, o Exmo. Presidente, sua virtuosa Consorte, filha, e mais Senhores; horverão walças, Rils [sic.], Modas brasileiras (...) Senhor Redactor, nesse dia Goyaz foi um arremêdo da Côrte.¹⁰⁴

(and finishing the night with a dinner, the pleasure continued with alternation of dances, music, and refreshments, being worth notice the joy with which the Ill. *Governador das Armas*, the Ill. President [of the Province], his wife, daughter, and other gentlemen participated in the ball; there were waltzes, Rils [sic.], *Modas Brasileiras* (...) Mr. Editor, on that day, Goiás was a simulacrum of the Court.)

Two years later, in another exemplar of the *Matutina Meiapontense*, Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas¹⁰⁵ commented on a ball which took place in São José do Tocantins, on 01 February 1832, in order to celebrate the creation of the National Guard in Goiás. According to Freitas, in the ball there were divertimentos played by an orchestra, harmonious hymns, and several contredanses.¹⁰⁶ This type of entertainment seems to have been quite popular in Goiás at that time. One century earlier, Father Dr Alexandre Marquez do Valle, an official from the Church responsible for overseeing the discipline of the clergymen in Goiás, threatened with excommunication and penalty of twenty

¹⁰⁴ *Matutina Meiapontense*, No. 1, 5 March 1830.

¹⁰⁵ About Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas and the music in Goiás, see chapter 2.

¹⁰⁶ *Matutina Meiapontense*, No. 368, 18 March 1832.

oitavas of gold every lay person or religious men who participate in masquerades, balls, or serenades wearing a cassock (hábito clerical).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ *Cópia dos capítulos da primeira e última visita que fez o Dr Alexandre Marquez do Valle, visitador que foi das Minas de Goiás – 1734-1824, Archive of IPEHBC.*

Music and the Brotherhoods in Goiás

Music was a constant concern of the officials and other members of the brotherhoods in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As we previously saw in this chapter, one of the main occupations of the brotherhoods was to properly celebrate their Patron/Patroness. These celebrations usually included several ceremonies on the day of the feast, and sometimes also activities on the preceding days. The Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of the City of Goiás celebrated its Patroness in the year of 1852 with a Sung Mass, sermon at the Gospel, and procession in the afternoon.¹⁰⁸ Three years later, the feast included also the exhibition of the Holy Sacrament, novena, and “alvorada de vespera de noite com muzicas pelas ruas” (*alvorada*¹⁰⁹ in the preceding night, with music in the streets).¹¹⁰

Music was probably part of each of the ceremonies listed above. There was music sung by the celebrants during liturgical ceremonies, sacred music sung and played by professional musicians during liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies, and not-necessarily-sacred music played by musicians during paraliturgical or even secular events of the feast. The extant documentation is full of references to payments to clergymen for musical services. Father Joaquim Antônio da Rocha received in 1799 twenty oitavas of gold from the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Santa Luzia; sixteen oitavas

¹⁰⁸ *Livro de Termos* of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of the City of Goiás, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC. In this same year, the brotherhood celebrated the feast of São Benedito with a Sung Mass and a sermon, but without the procession. Usually, the Irmandades de Nossa Senhora do Rosário celebrated both dates, of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and of São Benedito. In general, the day of Our Lady of Rosary was marked with more solemnity though.

¹⁰⁹ “Alvorada” is a kind of reveille where the wind band goes marching through the city, before the sunrise, announcing an important feast or other civic event.

¹¹⁰ *Livro de Termos* of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of the City of Goiás, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

were relative to Spoken Masses for the deceased brothers and four oitavas to the Sung Mass on the day of the feast.¹¹¹ In 1839, the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of the *arraial* of Carmo paid also twenty oitavas to Father Manoel de Souza Moreira, vicar of the parish. The services provided by the vicar included performance of the novenas (four oitavas and a half) and giving the sermon and singing the Mass (twelve oitavas).¹¹²

Having professional musicians performing during the liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies of the feast was one of the priorities of the brotherhoods in Goiás. Actually, it is common to find in the *Livro de Termos* of the brotherhoods, indications to celebrate the Sung Mass “with musicians.” In 1831, the brothers of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos of the City of Goiás authorized the treasurer to prepare the feasts of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and of São Benedito with “Missa Cantada e Muzicos” (Sung Mass and musicians).¹¹³ Some years earlier, in 1799, the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of the *arraial* of Natividade paid fourteen oitavas of gold to the *Mestre de Cappela* Caetano Alberto dos Santos e Araujo for the music of the day of the feast.¹¹⁴

A third group of musicians who participated in the feasts of the brotherhoods was formed by the players who performed in the streets. There were two occasions in which these musicians were employed: processions and *alvoradas*. As we saw above, in 1855 the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos of the City of Goiás decided to initiate the day of the Patroness with musicians playing in the streets before the sunrise,

¹¹¹ *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Santa Luzia, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

¹¹² *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of *arraial* of Carmo, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

¹¹³ *Livro de Termos* of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos of the City of Goiás, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

¹¹⁴ *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of the *arraial* of Natividade, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

announcing the festivities. Today, when we talk about *alvorada*, the image which comes to our mind in Brazil is a wind band playing marches and *dobrados* in the streets of a small city of the interior. It is difficult to know the repertory that was played in *alvoradas* in the nineteenth century, but it probably consisted of instrumental music, most likely for winds and percussion. Cunha Mattos attended to the feast of Nossa Senhora do Rosário in the *arraial* of Arraias, in early nineteenth century, and described black men and women dressed in white, singing and playing “paós, cabaças e pandeiros.”¹¹⁵

Musicians for performance during processions on the day of the feast were an important element for the proper celebration of their Patron/Patroness for some brotherhoods. Usually these musicians were trumpeters (“trombeteiros”) and percussionists. The Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins maintained expenses for this kind of musician for virtually a century. In 1780 it paid one quarter of an oitava of gold for the *farricoco* for playing the trumpet (“trombeta”) during the procession; in 1855 the Irmandade paid 160 réis to the “tambor na Procissão” (drum in the Procession); and in 1873, it paid 500 réis to the Sacristan for playing “Zabumba” (bass drum) during the procession.¹¹⁶ The Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Natividade also made payments for “trombeteyro e Caixa” (trumpeter and snare drum) relative to the feasts of 1792 and 1793.¹¹⁷ These payments corroborate the description

¹¹⁵ R. J. C. Mattos, *Itinerário do Rio de Janeiro*, vol. I, 244. The instruments described by Mattos are probably reco-reco, afoxe, and tambourine.

¹¹⁶ *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

¹¹⁷ *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Natividade, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

that Johann Emanuel Pohl made of the feast of Pentecost in the *arraial* of Santa Cruz, in which Pohl affirmed to have listened to “trombetas e tambores.”¹¹⁸

Most of the information found in the extant documents of brotherhoods in Goiás is quite vague in its references to musical activities. A fair amount of these references consist only of the word “music” plus an indication of the value paid for the service (e.g.: “Música 6\$000”). However, in some cases is possible to know the number, name, and more rarely, the kind of musicians who performed at the feast. Several entries in the *Livro de Despesas* of the brotherhoods present the name of the musician and an amount of gold (or money) which was paid on the occasion. Thus, we know that in 1794, Antônio de Freitas Caldas received ten oitavas and four vintens of gold for the “muzica do dia da Festa e Muzica da posse” (music of the day of the feast and the music of the *posse*) of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Santa Luzia.¹¹⁹ Some scribes were a little bit more careful and added to the name of the musician some expression which now helps us to understand the role played by this musician in the performance for which he has been paid. Joaquim Guilherme da Gama, scribe of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of the *arraial* of Carmo in 1836, wrote that the treasurer Joaquim Furtado de Santa Anna paid “ao Mestre da Muzica o Senhor Tenente Pedro Gonçalves / d’Oliveira Negry a quantia de vinte e duas oitavas em / moeda de Cobre para Repartir com os mais operarios” (to the Master of Music the Lieutenant Pedro Gonçalves d’Oliveira Negry the amount of twenty-two oitavas in coin of copper, in order for him to distribute among the

¹¹⁸ Pohl, *Viagem ao Interior do Brasil*, 297.

¹¹⁹ *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade of Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Santa Luzia, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

other workers).¹²⁰ By the expression “Mestre da Muzica” (Master of Music), which was used as synonymous of “Mestre de Cappela” (Chappell Master), and by the fact that Negry was supposed to pay the rest of the musicians, we infer that he was the music director of the group which played in the feast of that year.

Six years later, in 1842, a receipt relative to the musical activities of the feast of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Santa Luzia was even more detailed than the one transcribed above. The receipt indicates not only the amount paid for the music and the name of the music director, but also the names of the other musicians who performed with him during the feast. Therefore, Ignacio Pereira de Araujo Costa received 2\$620 to distribute among Antônio de Freitas Caldas, Thomas da Costa Malheiros, and Gabriel de Souza Vasques and his nephew Joze. If Ignacio Costa was certainly the music director, the other four musicians fit quite well the kind of voices employed for sacred music in Goiás during the nineteenth century: an all-male-voice quartet, with a male voice for the alto and a boy for the soprano.¹²¹

The groups which performed during the feasts of the brotherhoods in Goiás were probably closer to a chamber-like ensemble than to a symphonic ensemble. The Livro de Despesas of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins shows payments to nine musicians in the feast of 1837, seven in 1839, six in 1840, and just two musicians in the feast of 1844. The amount of money which was paid on these occasions also decreased from 20\$800 in 1837 to 2\$560 in 1844. Three years later, though, the

¹²⁰ *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade of Nossa Senhora do Rosário of the *arraial* of Carmo, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

¹²¹ *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Santa Luzia, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

Irmandade seems to have been in better condition, and paid 11\$120 “ao Ten^e José Pedro Alex^o Sal^{do} como Mestre / da Muzica p^r ter dividido p^{los} Muzicos operarios” (to the Lieutenant José Pedro Alexandrino Salgado as Master of Music for distribution to the musicians).¹²²

The documentation relative to the brotherhoods in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is now very fragmented. In some cases, the only extant documents are a few pages of a *Livro de Registros* or *Livro de Termos* of the Irmandade, now bounded with other miscellaneous documents. Therefore, in most of the cases we have only a vague idea of what might have been the musical activities of the brotherhoods. In a few cases, however, the extant documents are enough to reconstruct the musical life of the brotherhood in some detail. That is the case of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins.

The Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos was created before 1759. In contrast to the other brotherhoods of that time in Brazil, it was approved not by the King of Portugal, but by Pope Clement XIII himself. The Irmandade was formed by the wealthiest citizens of São José do Tocantins and, in fact, it was quite rich during the eighteenth century. As we saw before, the brotherhood paid in 1761 two and a half kilos of gold to the artist José Carvalho for his work on the *Capela dos Passos*. As happened with all the other similar institutions in Goiás, after the disappearance of the gold, the Irmandade started having serious financial problems. During the nineteenth century, its

¹²² *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

funds were barely sufficient to pay for its most basic needs. The musical activity was one of these needs.¹²³

There are registers of payments for musical activities in the *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos from São José do Tocantins from 1776 to 1885. Nevertheless, it is likely that these musical activities took place also before 1776 and after 1885. The year 1776 is the date of the earliest extant list of payments of the brotherhood. If we had earlier documents, they would almost certainly include expenses with musical activities. The year 1885 is the last date in which payments for musical activities are listed, but historian Paulo Bertran affirms that still in 1892, João Baptista Ribeiro de Freitas was the “encarregado a música” (responsible for the music) of the brotherhood.¹²⁴

There are three basic types of expenses with music listed in the *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins: (1) payments to clergymen for Sung Mass; (2) payments to the music director responsible for the feast; and (3) payments to trumpeters and percussionists for playing during the procession. From 1778 to 1885, there were six different music directors working for the brotherhood: Bonifácio Pinto da Costa (1778-1814), Joaquim José Toledo (1815-1818), Joaquim Florêncio (1819-1820), Marcelino Gomes dos Anjos (1821-1826), José Pedro Alexandrino Salgado (1847-1852),¹²⁵ and João Baptista Ribeiro de Freitas (1854-1885 or

¹²³ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 58.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ From 1827 to 1846, there are payments to the music, but the names of the music directors were not indicated.

1892?).¹²⁶ The brotherhood seems to have been faithful to its music directors both in the times of abundance and privation. In the golden ages of the eighteenth century, Bonifácio Pinto da Costa was its music director for more than thirty years. Conversely, during the melancholic years of the nineteenth century, the Irmandade keeps as its music director, also for more than thirty years, the Major João Baptista Ribeiro de Freitas.¹²⁷ As we are going to see in the next two chapters, during that time, João Baptista might have helped to form the collection that now bears the name of one of its relatives: Balthasar de Freitas's collection.

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¹²⁶ *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

¹²⁷ In 1854, when João Baptista Ribeiro de Freitas started to work for the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos, his name appears on the receipts without any military patent. From 1872, he started to be called "Alferez João Baptista Ribeiro de Freitas," and from 1883 on, the brotherhood refers to him as "Major João Baptista Ribeiro de Freitas." *Livro de Despesas* of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins, Archive Frei Simão Dorvi, IPEHBC.

CHAPTER 2: BALTHASAR DE FREITAS AND HIS MUSICAL WORLD

Balthasar Ribeiro de Freitas was an active musician who lived in the state of Goiás during the end of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century. He was born in Jaraguá, Goiás, on 7 December 1870, and died there on 31 May 1936.¹²⁸ His parents were Antonio Ribeiro de Freitas and Pacífica Soares de Camargo. Antonio came from Traíras to Jaraguá in the early nineteenth century with two other brothers, Joaquim Ribeiro de Freitas and Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas.¹²⁹ In Jaraguá, Antonio met and married Pacífica Soares de Camargo, with whom he had Balthasar and three other children.¹³⁰ Antonio was the son of Captain Joaquim Ribeiro de Freitas, who was born in Traíras in 1759,¹³¹ and both were probably descendants of the Portuguese Captain Felipe Ribeiro de Freitas. However, according to Bertran, the number of members of the Ribeiro de Freitas family is so large, and there are so many variations on the form of the name (Ribeiro de Freitas, Freitas Ribeiro, Freitas, Freitas Machado) that it is possible that Captain Felipe was accompanied by other relatives, during the mid-eighteenth century, in his immigration from Portugal to Goiás.¹³²

Balthasar de Freitas, probably influenced by his uncle, Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, joined the *Seminário de Santa Cruz* in the City of Goiás. There he received minor

¹²⁸ The biographical information in regards to Balthasar de Freitas comes from Pedroso, *Síntese da vida de Balthasar de Freitas*, or otherwise indicated.

¹²⁹ Pedroso points out that the motivation behind the migration of part of the Ribeiro de Freitas family from Traíras to Jaraguá was not economical, as was the case with many other families, but because the confrontation with indigenous tribes. "Memória de Migração," 60.

¹³⁰ "5 de Março," No. 744, 1975. Pacífica Soares Camargo Ribeiro de Freitas appears as owner of a tavern at the Rua do Comércio, 37, in Fonseca, *Jaraguá*, 76.

¹³¹ Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 97.

¹³² Bertran, *História de Niquelânida*, 137.

orders, though leaving the seminary spontaneously in 1888 without having been ordained. As Dulce Pedroso has pointed out, Balthasar de Freitas might have initiated his musical studies while he was a student at the seminar.¹³³ Indeed, it seems that Freitas had brought with him to Jaraguá some copies of the musical repertoire performed at the seminar. In 1890, he gave to Miquelino Raymundo de Lima a copy of a Litany in C Major (BF-069), writing: “Ladainha do Seminário Dada por B. de Freitas ao S^r Miquelino de Lima” (Litany from the Seminary Given by B. de Freitas to Mr. Miquelino de Lima). One year earlier Freitas had worked as a copyist for Lima. There is a copy of a Mass in C Major (BF-011) known as *Missa Carne de Vaca*, made in Jaraguá in 1889, where Balthasar appears as the copyist and Miquelino as the owner of the manuscript. Balthasar de Freitas and Miquelino de Lima enjoyed a friendly relationship, which often would be manifested through the exchange of manuscripts. Lima later gave to Freitas a copy of his Litany in F Major (BF-077).

The Seminário de Santa Cruz was founded in 1872, in the City of Goiás, by D. Joaquim Gonçalves de Azevedo, Bishop of Goiás.¹³⁴ It was named “Santa Cruz” after Felipe Cardoso de Santa Cruz, who was the proponent of the project which provided funds for the creation of the seminary.¹³⁵ It was closed in 1879¹³⁶ and reopened in 1880 by Mons. Joaquim Vicente de Azevedo.¹³⁷ The seminary was active in the religious celebrations of Goiás and it seems to have had a stimulating musical environment. In 1881, D. Claudio José Gonçalves Ponce de Leão, the new Bishop of Goiás, appointed

¹³³ Pedroso, *Síntese da vida de Balthasar de Freitas*.

¹³⁴ This and the following data are from T. F. Silva, *Lugares e Pessoas*, 216-283.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 222.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 282-283.

Fathers Laffayette José Godoy and Mariano Ignácio de Souza as instructors of gregorian chant. In addition, composers José Iria Xavier Serradourada and José do Patrocínio Marques Tocantins were also instructors at the Seminário de Santa Cruz. The former taught moral classes and, according to Ana Guiomar Souza, the latter was the music teacher of the seminary.¹³⁸

After he left the seminar in 1888, Balthasar de Freitas returned to Jaraguá. At that time, Jaraguá was probably not so different from when Cunha Mattos visited it in 1823. Mattos stated that Jaraguá was a pleasant *arraial* with two hundred very good and quite clean houses.¹³⁹ It had been founded almost one hundred years before, in 1737, by gold washers, but in 1823 most of the people were farmers and only a few still dedicated to gold mining.¹⁴⁰ It had two churches, the main one, well ornamented and with five altars, dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Penha, and the other, with two altars, dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Rosário.¹⁴¹

Cunha Mattos observed that in Jaraguá there were several quite beautiful and ruddy women and that they did not hide from him when he was walking in the streets.¹⁴² About seventy years later, Balthasar de Freitas would meet a young woman from Jaraguá who would be beautiful enough to attract his attention and become his wife. She was Maria Catarina de Campos Fonseca, and together they had four daughters and five sons: Diva, Maria Córdoba, Cristóvão Colombo, Ana das Neves, Clotário, Constâncio, Salvador Teodoro, Geraldo Bonfim, and Affonsina. Salvador and Geraldo might be two

¹³⁸ Souza, "Paixões em Cena."

¹³⁹ R. J. C. Mattos, *Itinerário do Rio de Janeiro*, vol I, 147-149.

¹⁴⁰ R. J. C. Mattos, *Corografia Histórica*, 34-35.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁴² R. J. C. Mattos, *Itinerário do Rio de Janeiro*, vol I, 147-149.

of the boys assigned to play percussion during the Feast of the Holy Spirit in 1924.¹⁴³ Clotário de Freitas was also a musician and would contribute in Belkiss Mendonça's *A Música em Goiás*, writing about music in Jaraguá.¹⁴⁴ Affonsina, who was the youngest, was the owner of Balthasar de Freitas's collection when I first encountered it in 2000.

Even though we do not have any proof that Balthasar de Freitas studied music at the Seminário de Santa Cruz, some facts indicate that he was already a musician when he went back to Jaraguá. Apart from having brought with him some music manuscripts from the seminary, he was already copying music in 1889, as we can see by the existence of several manuscripts signed by him in that year, including the Mass in C Major cited above. A letter addressed to Balthasar de Freitas written by José Bernardo de Freitas Machado,¹⁴⁵ another musician from Freitas's family, gives us more indications of Balthasar's musical activities after he had left the seminary. The letter was written in 1901, and it is an answer to a request made by Balthasar. Below is Balthasar's request, followed by José Bernardo's answer:

Jaraguá, 23 de Novembro de 1901

Ill^{mo}. Senr^o P^e J^e Bernardo de F. Machado.

Rogo-vos responder-me ao pé desta com toda franquesa e verdade os itens seguintes:

Sabe haver eu durante a vida do finado Vigario Padre Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, meu Tio, tido com elle alguma inimizade?

Sabe ou não de que depois de m^a expontanea sahida do Seminario de Goyaz, em 1888, vim p^a aqui, frenquentando sempre a casa do meu Tio?

¹⁴³ See appendix 1, list of musicians who played in the Feast of Pentecost in 1924.

¹⁴⁴ I met Clotario in the 1980s, when I was conducting a concert in Jaraguá. We exchanged a few words, but at that time, I had no clue that I would be so involved with the Freitas family and its tradition with music.

¹⁴⁵ For more information on José Bernardo de Freitas Machado, see later in this chapter.

É ou não real, que no mesmo anno de 1888, tomei parte em uma Corporação musical d'aqui por nome "Euterpe jaraguense," a qual tinha por principal protector o Padre Manoel?

Funcionei o não nessa Corporação até o fim da vida do m^{mo} Vigario, com ella acompanhando seus restos mortaes em Out. de 1892?

Aguardando vossa resposta, peço-vos licença p^a. della utilizar-me como melhor entender.

Assigno-me

Vosso p^e am^o e Co^e

(Jaraguá, 23 November 1901

To the Illustrious Senhor Father José Bernardo de Freitas Machado,

I pray that you will respond at the foot of this letter with all frankness and truth to the following items:

Are you aware of any hostility between myself and the late Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, my uncle, during his lifetime?

Are you aware that following the departure of my own volition from the Seminary of Goiás in 1888, I came here, thereafter always frequenting the house of my uncle?

Is it not true that in the same year of 1888 I played a part in a local musical ensemble—"Euterpe jaraguense"—whose principal patron was Father Manoel?

And did I not play in this ensemble until the end of the life of the same Father, accompanying his funerary procession with the rest of the ensemble in October 1892?

Awaiting your response, I ask permission to use your answers as I see fit.

I subscribe myself

Your relative, friend, and *compadre*,¹⁴⁶

[signature])

Am^o e Par^e. Balthasar de Freitas

Em resposta a vossa carta acima, tenho a dizer-vos:

Não me consta que em tempo algum tivestes inimizade com o vosso finado tio e meu padrinho P^e Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas. Depois que sahistes do Seminario de Goyaz em 1888 vindo para aqui, frequentastes sempre a casa do v. tio e meu padrinho, e tomastes parte na corporação musical "Euterpe Jaraguense" da qual ereis contramestre e o finado P^e Manoel tido como principal protector, tendo o amigo funcionado nella ate 1893, e tomado parte no funeral do mesmo finado em Out. de 1892.

Podeis usar desta resposta como entenderdes.

Vosso Par^e e am^o

¹⁴⁶ "Compadre" is the person who is godfather of your son or the father of your godson.

José B de Freitas Machado
23 de Novembro 1901

(Dear friend and relative Balthasar de Freitas
In response to the above letter, I can tell you that:
I am not aware of any hostility at any time between yourself and your late uncle and my godfather, Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas. After you left the Seminary of Goiás in 1888 and came here, you always frequented the house of your uncle and my godfather. Additionally, you took part in the musical ensemble “Euterpe Jaraguense,” being assistant conductor while the deceased Father Manoel was its principal patron. And you were part of this ensemble, my friend, until 1893, having participated in the funeral of the same Father in October 1892.
You may make use of these answers as you see fit.
Your relative and friend
José Bernardo de Freitas Machado
23 November 1901)

We can infer several points related to Balthasar’s musical activities from the letters above. But before that, it would be interesting to examine some aspects of these letters. First, there are two other letters very similar to these in Balthasar de Freitas’s collection. The first is written by Balthasar and addressed to Joaquim Antonio de Freitas Machado,¹⁴⁷ and, as in the case presented here, the second is Joaquim Antonio’s answer. The dates and contents of those letters are virtually the same from the ones above, and both letters were intended to be used by Balthasar in some sort of public situation, as Balthasar makes clear in his letters. Another interesting point is the identity of José Bernardo de Freitas Machado and Joaquim Antonio de Freitas Machado. Both identified themselves as godsons of Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, as well as friends and relatives of Balthasar. However, there are reasons to believe that José Bernardo and Joaquim Antonio might be more than just godsons of Father Manoel. We know that

¹⁴⁷ Joaquim Antonio de Freitas Machado appears as *Vereador* of Jaraguá in 1882, right after Jaraguá became a City. Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 91.

Father Manoel had eight children with a woman called Joaquina da Silva Machado.¹⁴⁸ Even though we had other people who lived in Jaraguá and São José do Tocantins during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the family name “Freitas Machado,” it is not out of the question that in José Bernardo’s and Joaquim Antonio’s cases, the name “Freitas Machado” could be a junction of “Freitas” from Manoel’s and “Machado” from Joaquina’s name. The reason that José Bernardo and Joaquim Antonio would not identify themselves as actual sons of Father Manoel would be that the letters were intended to be used in a public way and they were probably not officially recognized as such.¹⁴⁹ However, as previously mentioned, because of the number of members of Freitas’s family who lived in Goiás since the eighteenth century—especially in São José do Tocantins, Traíras, and Jaraguá—every assumption in regards to the genealogy of the family should be carefully considered.

Going back to our point, what can we infer about Balthasar de Freitas’s musical activities from the two letters presented above? First, we saw that he left the seminar in 1888 and went back to Jaraguá. There, he joined the wind band Euterpe Jaraguense, staying in the ensemble from 1888 to 1893. Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas was the patron of the band, and we know from other documents in Balthasar de Freitas’s collection that Miquelino Raymundo de Lima was its conductor at that time. Lima signed

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 71-72.

¹⁴⁹ Professor Paulo Bertran tells us of the story of Father Daniel da Silva Rocha Vidal, who lived in São José do Tocantins in mid nineteenth century. As it was so common at that time in Brazil, Father Vidal had five children with a woman called Rosalina Martiniana de Souza. Being a good father, in the biological sense of the term, he decided to donate a house to Rosalina de Souza and also to officially recognize the paternity of their children. The problem was that in 1868 D. Joaquim de Azevedo, Bishop of Goiás, went to visit São José, and thus became aware of Father Vidal’s deed. As the result of D. Joaquim de Azevedo’s visit, Father Vidal was forced to produce a weird *escritura de derrogação de paternidade* (certificate of derogation of paternity), according to Bertran, a unique document in Brazilian historiography. *História de Niquelândia*, 221.

one of his compositions in 1890 as “Director-Mestre da Banda Euterpe Jaraguense” (Master-Director of the wind band “Euterpe Jaraguense”).¹⁵⁰ Additionally, as José Bernardo stated, Balthasar later became assistant conductor of the Euterpe. Indeed, in this regard there is a copy of the Mass in G Major (BF-008.1), known as *Missa Lyra*, where Balthasar wrote: “Jaraguá 30 de Maio de 1890 Cópia do Contra-Mestre B. de Freitas” (Jaraguá, 30 May 1890 Copy of the Assistant Conductor B. de Freitas). Finally, we see from José Bernardo’s letter that Balthasar performed in Father Manoel’s funeral in 1892 and that he left the Euterpe the next year.

There seem to have been three wind bands in Jaraguá during Balthasar de Freitas’s life. These wind bands are Euterpe Jaraguense, União Jaraguense, and Santa Cecília. However, their history and, especially, their origin is very confusing, with the few authors who have written about them drawing different conclusions. According to Luciano Fonseca, Santa Cecília is the oldest wind band in the State of Goiás that is still active, having been founded in the first half of the nineteenth century, probably by Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas.¹⁵¹ Fonseca also states that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, thanks to a schism in the Santa Cecília, the União Jaraguense was created.¹⁵² Clotário de Freitas, on the other hand, says that the União Jaraguense was founded in 1876 and, after that, the Santa Cecília was established. Finally, still according to Clotário, in 1910 the Santa Cecília became Euterpe Jaraguense.¹⁵³ Both Clotário and Fonseca point out that the União Jaraguense was also known as “Banda do Mestre Quilú,” after its conductor, the *Maestro* Miquelino Raymundo de Lima.

¹⁵⁰ Balthasar de Freitas’s collection, Sub Tuum Praesidium in C Major BF-089.

¹⁵¹ Fonseca, *Jaraguá*, 215.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 107-109.

¹⁵³ In Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 378.

As we have seen above, the documents of the collection give a different perspective. In regards to the Santa Cecília the documents are quite silent. However, through them we can see that the Euterpe Jaraguense was in activity before 1888, and that Miquelino Raymundo de Lima was its conductor and Balthasar de Freitas its assistant conductor. Thus, at that time, “Banda do Mestre Quilú” was how the Euterpe was known and not the União Jaraguense. In addition, there is a manuscript by Balthasar de Freitas, copied in 1897, in which he refers to Joaquim Antunes da Silva as the “Director da velha corporação ‘União Jaraguense’” (Conductor of the old ensemble ‘União Jaraguense’).¹⁵⁴ It is quite probable that at some point in the 1880s or 1890s both the Euterpe and the União were active, justifying thus the stories of rivalry referred to by Fonseca and Clotário. In regards to whether Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas was the founder of the first wind band in Jaraguá, be it the Santa Cecília or another one, I was not able to find any document which would confirm that. What I did find was confirmation that he was the patron of the Euterpe Jaraguense, as we saw above.¹⁵⁵

After Balthasar de Freitas had left the Euterpe Jaraguense in 1893, he continued to participate in musical activity, as we can see by several copies of musical manuscripts made by him in the subsequent years. Moreover, there are some documents found in his collection that show his activity as a musician in Jaraguá. These documents are actually only rough drafts used to help to control attendances and payments of musicians who were supposed to perform in the functions.

¹⁵⁴ Motetos dos Passos, BF-152. See also the dedication of Spiritus Domini in F Major (BF-036), in which Balthasar wrote: “composto as pressas p^r B Freitas, a pedido do am^o Joaq^m Antunes, e dedicado / ao mesmo am^o / Jaraguá, 7: J: 94.” (composed in a hurry by B Freitas, after a comition of my friend Joaquim Antunes, to whom it is dedicated. Jaraguá, 7 July 1894).

¹⁵⁵ For the role of Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas in the music in Goiás, see later in this chapter.

One of these documents is a list of attendance for the Feast of Pentecost of 1924. It includes the Feast of Pentecost as well as minor celebrations for the days of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and São Benedito. It began with a *matina* or *matinê*¹⁵⁶ on 30 May, and was followed by a novena, which went from 30 May to 07 June. On the actual day of the feast, 08 June, there were a sung Mass (“Missa acomp^{da}”), a procession, and an *alvorada*. Moreover, in the three last days of the novena (5, 6, and 7 June), the instrumentalists performed, without the singers, in events registered in the document as “Toque Meio Dia” (performance at noon). Finally, probably during the octave of Pentecost, the celebrations of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and São Benedito took place. These celebrations consisted of a sung Mass for São Benedito as well as two “Marchas das Bandeiras” (Marches of the Flags or Marches of the Banners?) for São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosário.¹⁵⁷

The ensemble was formed by four singers (two men and two women), 13 instrumentalists, and four boys playing percussion instruments.¹⁵⁸ However, the entire ensemble did not participate in all of the ceremonies. In the *matinas* (or *matinê*), procession, *alvorada*, two marches, and toques, only the instrumentalists were present, whereas in the novena and two sung Masses both instrumentalists and singers were employed. There is no record of what they performed on these occasions, but Freitas was

¹⁵⁶ The word could be “*Matinas*” or “*Matinê*.” The absence of singers as well as its placement in the first day of the celebrations, nine days before the day of the actual feast, make me believe that this performance was actually an *alvorada*, as the one indicated for 08 June (see next note). Another significant point is the fact that we cannot find any manuscript in the whole collection labeled as *Matinas* (Matins). The independent movements usually used at Matins, which are found in the collection, seem to have been used in paraliturgical ceremonies such as novenas and blessings of the Holy Sacrament. For liturgical and paraliturgical use of the repertory of Balthasar de Freitas’s collection, see chapter 3.

¹⁵⁷ These two *Marchas das Bandeiras* are probably the same ceremony referred to elsewhere as *fulia*, or it could also be just a regular procession. For an interesting description of a *fulia* in early nineteenth century in Goiás, see Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem à Província de Goiás*, 96-97.

¹⁵⁸ For the complete list of players see Appendix 1.

copying, some days before the beginning of the Feast, a Veni Creator, which was part of a Novena for Pentecost (BF-043), as well as a Sub Tuum Praesidium in C Major (BF-090).

Some years earlier, in 1898, Miquelino de Lima directed an ensemble on the Feast of São Francisco very similar to the one cited above. The main difference between the two groups was the type of voices that were employed. Whereas in 1924 Freitas was using a mixed ensemble, with two female voices singing the soprano and alto parts, Lima used only male voices in his ensemble. Apart from the four percussionists, neither Freitas's nor Lima's list indicates the specific instruments that were used. However, based on the extant copies of the collection, these ensembles were likely to have consisted of wind and percussion instruments, with the possible addition of two violins.¹⁵⁹ Balthasar de Freitas was one of the singers, probably the bass, in the 1924 ensemble. It seems that he was also the music director of the ensemble, because he was the only one among the singers who was also present in the matinas (or matinê) of the Feast of Pentecost.

As we can see by these and other extant documents, a musician could be quite busy in Jaraguá in the early 1900s. In a single month he could be requested to perform on several occasions. In fact, on 01 January 1909, Balthasar de Freitas and 16 other musicians received 3\$528 each for performing at the Feast of Nossa Senhora da Guia. Some days later, he was part of a group of 15 musicians who performed during the funeral of Benedito da Silva Moreira; each musician received 2\$666 for this service. Moreover, in 22 January of the same year, he received 3\$611 for participating in the

¹⁵⁹ For a more detailed discussion of instrumentation in Balthasar de Freitas's collection, see chapter 4.

Feast of São Sebastião. In all, 200\$000 was spent for 18 musicians for this feast. Unfortunately, none of these documents give details about the specific ceremonies where the musicians were employed, but in the case of a major official feast like São Sebastião, it is likely to have consisted of at least a novena, a procession, and a sung Mass.

Outside of the music field, Balthasar de Freitas was involved with two other activities, law and politics. Dulce Pedroso points out that Freitas worked as *advogado provisionado* in the cities of Jaraguá, Pirenópolis, City of Goiás, Itaberaí, and Corumbá, explaining that an *advogado provisionado* was a citizen who, after passing an exam, was allowed to practice law in some specific occasions, although not qualified for working at the court. These trips to neighboring cities were always good opportunities for Freitas to exchange copies of music with his fellow musicians.¹⁶⁰

According to Pedroso, the other extra-musical activity exerted by Balthasar de Freitas, politics, was his passion. Indeed, after changes in local politics occurred in 1909, Freitas was forced to leave Jaraguá. Invited probably by his friend, Benedito Rodrigues Braga – a notary and also a musician – Balthasar de Freitas moved with his family to Bomfim (Silvânia). Pedroso affirms that Freitas lived there until about 1913. According to the musical copies of his collection, Freitas must have moved to Bomfim at some point between September and December of 1910. On 08 September 1910, he made a copy of the Mass in C Major (BF-011) while still in Jaraguá. On 17 December 1910, he was already in Bomfim, as we can see by his copy of the *dobrado* Apulchro de Castro (MI-10). In addition, a newspaper from the neighboring city of Santa Luzia (Luziania)

¹⁶⁰ Pedroso in Pinto, *Danças Para Banda*, 11-12.

announced that in 1910 he was living in Bomfim.¹⁶¹ According also to the newspaper, in 1910 Freitas was established in the city, teaching music, and working on the reorganization of the local wind band.¹⁶²

Indeed, we have signs of Freitas's work in Bomfim on the reorganization of the local wind band. In his collection we find fragments of the document of creation of the Euterpe Bomfinense; the "Statute of the Musical Corporation Euterpe from the City of Bomfim," written on 27 April 1907. The extant pages found in the collection deal with the responsibilities of the director and sub-director of the Euterpe. Fortunately, the first and last pages of the document are among the extant pages. Therefore we can see the official name of the ensemble and the names of the musicians who founded it. In addition, we have the names of the three members who were first elected as director, sub-director, and treasurer of the Euterpe Bomfinense, respectively Augusto Peixeira, Alfredo Fleury and Manoel Estelita Lobo.¹⁶³ Appendix 1 presents the list of the members who on 27 April 1907 founded the Euterpe Bomfinense. In this list we can see once more the tendency to nepotism that is so commonly found in wind bands in Goiás during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Apart from several members of the Lobo and Souza families, there are also representatives of the families Costa Campos and Nascimento, common names among musicians in the state. Three years later the Euterpe Bomfinense would be reorganized by Balthasar de Freitas, and in 1913 Benedito Rodrigues Braga appears as its conductor.

¹⁶¹ "O Planalto," Santa Luzia 1910 in Mendonça, p 384. Unfortunately, we do not have the precise date of this article. Only the year is indicated.

¹⁶² In Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 384.

¹⁶³ Manoel Estelita Lobo appears as "Tenente quartel-mestre" of the "6º Batalhão do serviço activo" of the "Guarda Nacional" in 1886. Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 92..

In Bomfim, Balthasar de Freitas maintained more or less the same occupations that he had in Jaraguá. He taught music, worked with the wind band, performed church music, was involved with the production of plays, and continued to work as a lawyer.¹⁶⁴ Freitas probably stayed in Bomfim until the end of 1912. There is a copy made by him on 21 December 1912 of a *dobrado* called *Adeus a Bomfim* (MI-7) (Farewell to Bomfim). As is quite clear by its title, the piece was a tribute to the people of Bomfim, probably composed by Freitas in order to mark the moment of his departure.¹⁶⁵ On 5 February 1913 he had already returned to Jaraguá, as we can see by his copy of the *dobrado* *Silvino Rodrigues* (MI-59). During the years that Freitas lived in Bomfim, he went back to Jaraguá at least in one occasion. He made some copies of the waltz *A Goianinha* (MI-238) in Jaraguá, in 8 March 1912. Some days later, between 18 and 22 March 1912, he would make more copies of this piece, but this time, without indicating the location of copying. The absence of indication of place in these copies may be a sign that he was already back in Bomfim. Balthasar de Freitas seems to have had a tendency to omit the place of his copies when they were made at home. In 1912, home for Freitas meant Bomfim.

Regardless of the date of Balthasar de Freitas's return to Jaraguá, the fact is that his connection with Bomfim continued for many years, as is clear by the number of manuscripts copied in Bomfim that are found in his collection. These copies are from both before and after Freitas's exile. Another testimony of Freitas's extended connection

¹⁶⁴ Pedroso, in Pinto, *Danças Para Banda*, 12.

¹⁶⁵ Balthasar de Freitas's collection, *Adeus a Bomfim* MI-7. These manuscripts have no indication of the place of the copy. For a discussion of this and other pieces attributed to Balthasar de Freitas, see later in this chapter. For a discussion of the role of *dobrado* in the society of Goiás in nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see chapter 3.

with Bomfim is a picture of him in front of the local wind band in 1920 presented by Jacy Siqueira.¹⁶⁶

Once he returned to Jaraguá, Freitas spent the rest of his life dividing his attention among law, politics, and music. He died on 31 May 1936, at the age of 65, and one year before his death he was still producing musical manuscripts. In one copy of the Novena for Nossa Senhora da Penha (BF-050), made by him on 29 August 1935, he wrote: “Novenario da Penha, nossa Padroeira” (Novena for [Nossa Senhora da] Penha, our Patroness). At the end of his life, Balthasar de Freitas summarized in this short statement the three constant elements of his entire life: music, religion, and his city.¹⁶⁷

Balthasar de Freitas was a composer, copyist, conductor, singer, and multi-instrumentalist. According to his descendants, he was able to play organ, piano, euphonium, guitar, cello, flute, clarinet, trombone, saxophone, and ophicleide.¹⁶⁸ It is still a tradition for wind bands in some parts of Brazil to have a *Mestre*, as the conductor is called, who is a multi-instrumentalist. This is necessary because in most wind bands from small cities, the *Mestre* is responsible for conducting the ensemble, writing music (composing or copying/adapting), and teaching the young musicians any of the available instruments. The fact that Freitas also worked with church music explains his abilities in singing and playing the organ.

It is quite complicated to separate Freitas’s production as a composer from his work as copyist/arranger. The problem is that these activities were not as distinguishable from each other in Goiás during Freitas’s life as they were in the main musical centers.

¹⁶⁶ Siqueira, *A Banda e Seu Tempo*.

¹⁶⁷ *Nossa Senhora da Penha* is the Patroness of the city of Jaraguá.

¹⁶⁸ Pedroso, in Pinto, *Danças Para Banda*, 11; Clotário, in Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 378.

Actually, in regards to eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazilian music it is often difficult to differentiate autographs from copies, as explicit attributions of authorship are only rarely present in the manuscripts. Therefore, the list of Freitas's compositions presented here should not be seen by any means as definitive. It is very likely that several works which appear as anonymous in the catalogue were in fact composed by him. In addition, the dates indicated in the list are only the ones of the earliest extant copies; they are not necessarily the dates of composition of the pieces.

The criteria that are being used here to establish an attribution of authorship, which is better explained in the introduction of the catalogue, can be summarized in the following points: (1) a name in a manuscript is considered indication of authorship only when it is preceded by unequivocal expressions like "composto por" (composed by) or "composição de" (composition by or of); (2) authorship can as well be established by extra manuscript data (letters, editions, catalogues, etc); (3) when a name is found in a manuscript without any other indication it is considered the copyist's signature; (4) inconsistencies between tradition and the written sources, or absence of indication in the extant manuscripts are discussed individually. Below is Table 2.1 showing Freitas's output. The pieces are presented according to the status of their attribution of authorship.

The first fifteen pieces of table 2.1 were undoubtedly composed by Balthasar de Freitas. In the manuscripts of these pieces there are explicit indications of Freitas's authorship; terms like "composed by" or "composition by" were employed.

Table 2.1: Works composed by Balthasar de Freitas.

Item	Genre	Title	BF MI	or Year	Observation
01	Funeral March	<i>Lacrimosa</i>	MI-101	1892	
02	Quadrille	<i>Minhas Moças</i>	MI-177	1892	
03	Introit	Spiritus Domini in F Major	BF-036	1894	
04	Litany	Litany in G Major (<i>4 de Maio</i>)	BF-080	1894	
05	Dobrado	Floriano Peixoto	MI-026	1894	
06	Funeral March	<i>Dor das Mães</i>	MI-098	1894	
07	Jaculatory	Jaculatory for Christmas	MS-191	1895	
08	Litany	Litany in Bb Major (<i>à Virgem do Rosário</i>)	BF-088	1898	
09	Novena	Novena for <i>Nossa Senhora da Conceição</i>	BF-048	1899	
10	Litany	Litany in G Major (<i>a terceto</i>)	BF-082	1900	
11	Hymn	Hymn to <i>Santa Ana</i>	BF-041	1903	
12	Mazurka	<i>Mês de Maria</i>	MI-120	1907	
13	Mazurka	<i>Marica Machado</i>	MI-119	1909	
14	Hymn	<i>Hino a D. Prudêncio</i>	MI-072	1917	
15	Tantum Ergo	Tantum Ergo in C Major (<i>a Solo</i>)	BF-129	No date	
16	Dobrado	<i>Adeus a Bomfim</i>	MI-007	1912	No indication of attribution in the extant copies
17	Mass	Mass for <i>Santo Ambrósio</i>	BF-001	1916	No indication of attribution in the extant copies
18	Polka	<i>O Gato Preto</i>	MI-151	No date	No indication of attribution in the extant copies
19	Waltz	Diva		No date	No extant copy
20	Waltz	<i>Yolanda</i>		No date	No extant copy
21	Waltz	<i>O Silêncio é Ouro</i>		No date	No extant copy

The next two pieces, items 16 and 17 of Table 2.1, can be attributed to Balthasar de Freitas, even though their manuscripts lack unequivocal indications of authorship. In both cases we have extra-musical data that corroborate the attributions to Freitas. *Adeus a Bomfim* (MI-7) is a dobrado which was preserved only through Freitas's copies. Some parts carry the ambiguous indication “do B[althasar de] F[Freitas],” which can be

translated as “of Balthasar de Freitas” or “by Balthasar de Freitas.” The first alternative would suggest ownership of the manuscripts. The second alternative could indicate either copy (“copied by B.F.”) or composition (“composed by B.F.”). However, the composition’s title and the circumstances in which its manuscripts were produced make the attribution of this piece to Freitas plausible. As we have seen before, *Adeus a Bomfim* (Farewell to Bomfim) was copied on 21 December 1912.¹⁶⁹ 1912 is precisely when Freitas was leaving Bomfim to return to Jaraguá, making the hypothesis that he decided to compose a *dobrado* in order to show his gratitude to his friends from Bomfim quite convincing. That, plus the fact that Balthasar de Freitas is the author of the only extant copies of *Adeus a Bomfim* seem to me enough reason to consider him the composer of the piece.

In regards to the Mass in C Major (BF-001), known as *Missa de Santo Ambrósio*,¹⁷⁰ the situation is similar to the one discussed above. We have copies of this Mass by Balthasar de Freitas, José Pedro de Amorim, and Sebastião José Siqueira “Nenzão,” as well as an anonymous copy of the part for helicon in Eb. Freitas’s copy was made in 1916 and it is the earliest extant copy of the piece; Amorim’s copy was made in 1936 and Siqueira’s copy was made in 1948. There are also several other modern copies of the Mass that were not included in the catalogue.¹⁷¹ As it was the case with *Adeus a Bomfim*, none of the copies of the *Missa de Santo Ambrósio* bear indication of its composition to Balthasar de Freitas or to any other composer. Once more, the authorship would be suggested by data found outside the manuscripts. In contrast to *Adeus a*

¹⁶⁹ Balthasar de Freitas’s collection, MI-7, copy of trombone I.

¹⁷⁰ Another title used in the manuscripts is *Pequena missa a 3 vozes* (small Mass for 3 voices).

¹⁷¹ For a more detailed discussion of these copies, see the thematic catalogue.

Bomfim, Freitas's authorship of the Missa de Santo Ambrósio has been preserved by his relatives. Both Clotário de Freitas, Balthasar's son, and Ducle Pedroso, historian and also Balthasar's descendant, attribute the composition of the Mass to him. Pedroso gives the explanation for the dedication of the Mass to Saint Ambrose: Balthasar de Freitas was born on 7 December, day in which Saint Ambrose is celebrated. It is likely that Balthasar would see Saint Ambrose as his patron, and, therefore, quite natural that he would compose a mass dedicated to the saint.¹⁷²

The attribution of item 18 of table 1 is a little bit more problematic. The polka *O Gato Preto* (MI-151) is listed by Clotário de Freitas as one of Balthasar's compositions.¹⁷³ However, the only extant manuscript is an anonymous copy of the part for trombone I. This copy, definitely not by Balthasar de Freitas, bears no date, place of copy, nor any other indication of authorship. The absence of copies by Balthasar makes the attribution to him less conclusive than the previous cases. Nevertheless, it is possible that the copies of *O Gato Preto* were separated from the collection by some of Balthasar's descendants. Some of the pieces of the collection continued to be performed in Jaraguá until about 1980.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² In Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is common practice to relate facts of the daily life with the Saint calendar (Sanctorale?). Most of the urban centers formed during this period in Goiás had as their names the names of the Saint of the day in which the first portion of gold was extracted.

¹⁷³ In Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 378.

¹⁷⁴ Pedroso, in Pinto, *Danças Para Banda*, 13. There is a quadrille in the collection with the same title as this polka discussed here: *O Gato Preto*. However, apart from the title, they seem to have no other common element. The copies of the quadrille are from Corumbá, Goiás, by Erico Fleury Curado (1892) and anonymous (1906).

The three last pieces in Table 2.1, items 19-21, have been attributed to Balthasar de Freitas,¹⁷⁵ but none of them have extant copies in the collection. The same reason discussed above to explain the absence of copies by Balthasar de Freitas of the polka O Gato Preto can be used in regards to the waltzes Diva, Yolanda, and O Silêncio é Ouro. Clotário de Freitas stated also that Balthasar de Freitas composed several other sacred works, especially litanies and Tantum Ergo. However, the general indications used by Clotário make the identification of those pieces difficult to be established, thus preventing their authorship of being examined.

Besides his contribution as a composer, Balthasar de Freitas's production as a copyist is one of the most important in the collection. Of about 505 works in manuscripts, Freitas was responsible for copying, at least partially, 224 pieces. In several of these works he produced on different occasions more than one group of copies. He has copies in 95 works from the sacred music sub-collection (of a total of about 162), and 129 from the instrumental music sub-collection (of a total of 343). His copies were produced in Jaraguá and Bomfim, where he lived, as well as São Francisco, Pirenópolis, Currálinho, and Campinas, places which he visited, probably in relation to his activities as a lawyer. Freitas's earliest extant copies are from 1889, the year following his departure from the seminary. In May 1889 he made copies of an Ave Maria (BF-098) and of the Missa Carne de Vaca or São Tomé (BF-011). In this same year he would also contribute in copies of the Missa Brasileira (BF-013) and of the Ladainha do Seminário (BF-069). His career as a copyist lasted at least 46 years. In 29 August 1935, less than a year before his

¹⁷⁵ Clotário in Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 378; Fonseca, *Jaraguá*, 109.

death, Balthasar de Freitas copied some parts of the Novena for Nossa Senhora da Penha (BF-050), a piece that he copied for the first time 39 years before, in 1896.

Other Musicians From Freitas's Family

Balthasar de Freitas was not the only representative of the Ribeiro de Freitas family who was active as a musician in Goiás. Members of the Ribeiro de Freitas family from preceding generations or contemporaries of Balthasar had their production as copyists/performers preserved in his collection. On the other hand, Balthasar was also not the last musician in his family. Some of the Freitas from the following generation, among them Clotário, his son, and Antônio de Paula, his nephew, were also musicians. In fact, there seem to have been musicians in all generations of the Ribeiro de Freitas family. The current owner of Balthasar de Freitas's collection, Ms Ivana de Castro Carneiro, and her sister, Ms Gyovana Carneiro, are important piano teachers in the state of Goiás. Ivana was the owner of a traditional school of music in Goiânia and Gyovana is Professor at the School of Music of the Federal University of Goiás. However, for the present dissertation, I will limit my research to the members of the Ribeiro de Freitas family up to Balthasar's generation.

Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas was certainly one of the most important musicians in the family. Unfortunately, apart from the fact that he was active in Jaraguá during the 1870s and 1880s, very little biographical information about him is available. He might have been born in Jaraguá or São José do Tocantins, which were the two towns where most of the members of Freitas's family were living during the nineteenth century. Silvestre was already copying music at the time Balthasar de Freitas was born, and it is very likely that he had an influence on Balthasar's decision to become a musician. However, there is no proof of their contact and Silvestre's latest extant manuscript was produced one year before Balthasar's earliest extant copy.

Virtually all we know about Silvestre comes from the music manuscripts he produced. There are 22 works in the collection with copies by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas, half of them with indication of date of copying on the manuscript. The time range of the dated copies is from 1873 to 1888. The earliest extant copy by him is the Novena de Nossa Senhora da Conceição (BF-046), from 1873, and the latest is the Missa dos Anjos (BF-006), from 1888. 1888 is not the year of his first copy of the Missa dos Anjos, however; he had made copies of it five years before, in 1883.

Table 2.2 shows the 22 works of the collection in which copies by Silvestre are found. Of these 22 works, 20 were signed and two, items 21 and 22 of the table, were attributed to him by me. However, it is possible that other copies produced by him appear in the collection as anonymous manuscripts. Silvestre signs his name in several different forms. The most common is “RFreitas,” but “S.R.F.,” “S.R. Freitas,” “Freitas,” and “Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas” are also found. The only three places in which he signed his full name are on the title pages of the Te Deum in D Major (BF-161) and of the Jaculatory for Nossa Senhora da Penha (BF-115), as well as on the document written on the verso of the Sub Tuum Praesidium in F Major (BF-096) that will be discussed later. Finally, examining the list of works copied by Silvestre and how he signs them, two points come to our attention. First is the fact that all works copied by him are part of the sub-collection of sacred music. There is no copy by Silvestre in the works from the instrumental music sub-collection.¹⁷⁶ Second is the fact that Silvestre never identifies himself as the composer of the piece he is copying. Expressions such as “composed by” or “composition by” are not found in his manuscripts. Thus, as far as we can see by the

¹⁷⁶ In fact, as we can see on chapter 3, the sub-collection of instrumental music was formed much later than the sub-collection of sacred music.

extant documents, Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas was an important copyist of sacred music in Goiás during the nineteenth century, but not a composer.

Table 2.2: Works copied by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas.

Item	Title	MS	Year	Place	Observation
01	Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição	034	1873	Jaraguá	Date and place of copy appear in the title page, which is not signed.
02	Veni Sancte Spiritus	005	1874	Currálinho	
03	Vinde Espírito Divino	021	1874	Currálinho	
04	Te Deum in D Major	022	1875		
05	Memento	004	1876, 1887	Jaraguá	The copy from Jaraguá is the one made in 1887; the copy from 1876 has no indication of place.
06	Jaculatory for Nossa Senhora da Penha	030	1876		
07	Motets for the Stations of the Cross	172	1879		
08	Bendita Sejas	099	1879		
09	Ave Maria in F Major	024	1880		
10	Missa e Credo dos Anjos	100	1883, 1888		
11	Ladainha Romana	007	1887		
12	Missa Carne de Vaca or São Thomé	171			
13	Beata Es	045			
14	Possuisti	025			
15	Sub Tuum Praesidium in C Major	023			
16	Sub Tuum Praesidium in F Major	109		Jaraguá?	The indication of place appears in the verse of the title page, which is used to write a document signed by Silvestre.
17	Letabitur Justus in D Major	002			
18	Solemnitate Santissima	026			
19	Virgem Sagrada	020			
20	Tantum Ergo and Vos Adoro	037			
21	Spiritus Domini	008			Copy without signature.
22	Regem Immaculata	049			Copy without signature.

As we can see in Table 2.2, the majority of Silvestre's manuscripts (seventeen of the twenty-two) does not indicate the place of copying. Of the other five works, two were copied in Currálinho and three in Jaraguá. The two manuscripts from Currálinho were

copied on the same occasion. The Veni Sancte Spiritus in G Major (BF-108) was copied on 14 May 1874 and the Vinde Espírito Divino (BF-113) was copied on 15 May 1874. In addition, the copy of the Veni Sancte Spiritus was dedicated to the “Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Vigario Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas.” From the works copied in Jaraguá, the Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição (BF-046) is from 1873, the Memento (BF-147) from 1876 (recopied by Silvestre in 1887), and the Sub Tuum Praesidium in F Major (BF-096) does not indicate the date of copy. Actually, it is not completely clear whether the Sub Tuum Praesidium was copied in Jaraguá. Its extant parts (A, rq, cl II, and pt) have no indication of place of copying. My assumption that this piece might have been copied there comes from the fact that there is a document which was written in Jaraguá copied in the verso of its title page.

The document referred to above is a contract of sale of a house signed by Manoel Malaquias da Rocha, Lorença Nunes Viana, and Manoel Batista da Rocha. Manoel Malaquias and Lorença Nunes were the buyers, and Manoel Batista, the seller. The house was located in Jaraguá and it was sold for 55\$000. Apart from the fact that it was written in the verso of the title page of the Sub Tuum Praesidium in F Major, there are two other points connecting this contract and Balthasar de Freitas’s collection. Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas was the former owner of the house and Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas signed the document as witness of the contract.

Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas’s copies were produced in an older style than Balthasar’s manuscripts. All of his copies are written in old clefs, with soprano in C clef on the first line, alto in C clef on the third line, tenor in C clef on the fourth line, and bass in F clef on the fourth line. The soprano is usually indicated as “Suprano” but in some

cases Silvestre uses the older indication “Tipli.” The instrumental bass part is a melodic bass part without figures, usually referred to as “Baxo.” The way Silvestre indicates blank measures is also worth noting. He usually employs two systems simultaneously; he indicates the number of blank measures with Arabic numerals, and also with vertical lines. A vertical line touching two lines of the staff is equal to two measures of rest; when it touches three lines it is equal to four measures, and one line equal one measure of rest. His copies of the Memento (BF-147) present some other archaic elements in its notation to be examined in Chapter 4. Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas’s contribution to the collection is very important as a link with preceding generations of copyists and composers. He is the author of the earliest extant copies (some of them unica) in most of the works he copied.

José Bernardo de Freitas Machado was another musician from Freitas’s family. He lived in Jaraguá during the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. The earliest extant record of his activity is from 1888 and the latest from 1909. Balthasar refers to him as his relative, friend, and *compadre*. It is not clear, however, how José Bernardo and Balthasar were related, but the key figure in this regard seems to be Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas. As we saw before, even though José Bernardo identified himself in a letter as Father Manoel’s godson, we have reasons to believe that he was actually his illegitimate son. Thus, if that is the case, José Bernardo would be Balthasar’s first cousin.

Balthasar’s letter, previously discussed, also suggests that José Bernardo might have been a priest, although this issue is also complicated. Balthasar addresses José Bernardo in his letter as “Ill^{mo}. Senr^o. P^e J^e Bernardo de F. Machado.” The abbreviation

“P^e” usually stands for “Padre” (Father, Priest) but Balthasar also used it as abbreviation of “parente” (relative); he signed his letter as “Vosso p^e am^o e Co^e” (Your relative, friend, and compadre). On the other hand, the abbreviation for “Parente” used by José Bernardo in his answer to Balthasar is “Par^e.” Thus, some points seem to indicate the use of “P^e” as abbreviation of “Padre” in the beginning of Balthasar’s letter. First, the phrase “Ilustríssimo Senhor Padre José Bernardo de Freitas Machado” (Most Illustrious Senhor Father José Bernardo de Freitas Machado) appears to make more sense than “Ilustríssimo Senhor Parente José Bernardo de Freitas Machado” (Most Illustrious Senhor Relative José Bernardo de Freitas Machado). Second, Balthasar seems to make a paleographic differentiation between the two abbreviations, using “P^e” with capital “P” as abbreviation of “Padre” and “p^e” with lower case as abbreviation of “parente.” He proceeded thus in the two letters written by him that were preserved in the collection. Finally, if José Bernardo was actually Father Manoel’s son, as has been suggested here, it is not unexpected that he would follow his father’s career.¹⁷⁷

Based on the documents of the collection, one more assumption can be made in regards to José Bernardo de Freitas Machado: the fact that he was also known as Zeca Machado. Even though Zeca is short for José, the number of people called José in Jaraguá during that time is large enough to prevent a precipitate conclusion. Nevertheless, an indication that such was the case appears in a single folio containing three lists of payments for the musicians who performed in the feast of Nossa Senhora da Guia, the funeral of Benedito da Silva Moreira, and the feast of São Sebastião, in January 1909,

¹⁷⁷ For another case of a Priest’s son who became a Priest, see Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 149.

probably in Jaraguá.¹⁷⁸ The musicians who performed on these three occasions were virtually the same. However, in the feast of Nossa Senhora da Guia and in the funeral of Benedito da Silva Moreira the name “Zeca Machado” appears as one of the musicians, whereas “José Bernardo de Freitas Machado” does not. For the feast of São Sebastião, on the other hand, the situation is inverted. “José Bernardo de Freitas Machado” is the name that appears on the list, whereas “Zeca Machado” is not found. I am accepting these facts as sufficient for formulating the hypothesis that José Bernardo de Freitas Machado and Zeca Machado were actually the same person, and it was with that assumption that the following analysis was made.

Differently from Balthasar and Silvestre, the extant information in regards to José Bernardo indicates that his main activity was singing rather than copying or composing. Actually, as far as we can tell from the extant documentation, his small contribution as copyist of the collection seems to have been closely related to his activity as a singer. José Bernardo’s earliest extant copy is a single part for soprano of the Mass in C Major (BF-012), copied in Jaraguá on 15 March 1888. Twelve years later he copied two more manuscripts, a tenor part of the Missa dos Anjos (BF-006), in Jaraguá on 26 May 1900, and another tenor part, this time for the Te Deum in D Major (BF-161), on 18 August 1900. In these three cases, José Bernardo copied only a single vocal part of each work, soprano in the first piece and tenor in the last two. My point of view is that José Bernardo copied only the parts that he would use himself in the performance.

The corollary of the phrase above is that José Bernardo performed as both soprano and tenor in the sacred ceremonies in Jaraguá at the end of the nineteenth and

¹⁷⁸ See Appendix 1.

beginning of the twentieth century. Indeed, at the end of the part for ophicleide of the Benedictus in G minor (BF-025), Miquelino Raymundo de Lima wrote: “Copy from 16 April 1892 (Sabbado de Alleluja) / to be sung tomorrow Sunday by Zeca Machado and Benedicto / das Chagas Leite. Miquelino Raymundo de Lima.” *Sabbado de Alleluja* is the Saturday after Good Friday, thus the performance of the Benedictus took place on Easter Sunday 17 April 1892. This Benedictus in G minor is a duet for two sopranos, accompanied by two violins and bass (the bass part is indicated as ophicleide on Limas’s copy). Therefore, José Bernardo sang soprano I or soprano II of the Benedictus, showing that he was in fact able to sing the soprano part of the Mass in C Major (BF-012) cited above.

On 19 June 1898, also under the direction of Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, José Bernardo sang in the Novena¹⁷⁹ and Mass for the feast of São Francisco. He must have sung soprano as well, because the group was an all-male voice ensemble. Actually, Miquelino kept the same high voices he had used in 1892: José Bernardo, soprano, and Benedito das Chagas Leite, alto.¹⁸⁰ The other singers were Francisco C. de (...) ¹⁸¹ and Miquelino Raymundo de Lima himself. Apart from the four voices, the group had also 14 instrumentalists, four of them percussionists.¹⁸² José Bernardo received 3\$600 for singing

¹⁷⁹ This ceremony was not indicated as Novena; it is my assumption that it was so.

¹⁸⁰ There is no precise indication of voices in the list of payments of the feast. My assumption that José Bernardo was the soprano is based on the fact that he had copied a soprano part of the Mass in C Major cited above and also because his name appears before Benedito’s name in both instances, Miquelino’s copy from 1892 and the list of payments from 1898. Although this evidence is not conclusive, it is more likely that Miquelino and the scribe of the list of payments would list the voices from the highest to the lowest. The reason why Miquelino appears first in the 1898 list, however, is because he was the music director of the ensemble.

¹⁸¹ The last name of Francisco appears illegible on the source.

¹⁸² For more details, see Appendix 1.

in the Novena and 3\$000 for the Mass. During the feast there were also a procession, a *fulia*, and a ball, but only the instrumentalists performed at them.

José Bernardo de Freitas Machado also sang in the three events of January 1909 previously discussed. These three events were the feast for Nossa Senhora da Guia, on 1 January 1909, the funeral of Benedito da Silva Moreira, held sometime between 2 and 22 January 1909, and the feast for São Sebastião, on 22 January 1909. In spite of the fact that the voices and instruments were not indicated in these lists of payments, the four singers were probably Lica (soprano), D. Brazilina¹⁸³ (alto), José Bernardo (tenor), and Balthasar de Freitas (bass). Balthasar de Freitas, who was probably the director of the group, seems to have preferred a mixed-voice ensemble for his performances. On the list of payments for the feast of Pentecost of 1924, where the singers were indicated, Balthasar de Freitas employed female voices.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, Lica and D. Brazilina were the only women in the group. Lica's name appears also on some soprano copies in the collection and seems to have been one of Balthasar's favorite singers. The hypothesis that José Bernardo sang the tenor part is reinforced by the fact that he copied parts for tenor of the Missa dos Anjos and the Te Deum in D Major, as we saw above. Finally, the payments received by José Bernardo on these three occasions were 3\$528 for the feast of Nossa Senhora da Guia, 2\$666 for the funeral of Benedito da Silva Moreira, and 3\$611 for the feast of São Sebastião.

Benedita de Freitas is another name which appears in the collection. She is the copyist of a single extant part. It is the part for alto of the Missa São Thomé, also referred

¹⁸³ See Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 107.

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix 1 and discussion earlier on this chapter.

to as *Missa Carne de Vaca* (BF-011). Her copy was made on 23 December 1906, just a few days after Balthasar de Freitas had copied a part for soprano, certainly for the same performance. Benedita does not seem to have been a very active musician. She produced only this extant copy and her name does not appear in the lists of payments or other documents of the collection. In addition, her handwriting seems to be that of an inexperienced copyist. Moreover, it is unlikely that she would have been responsible for singing the part that she copied, as in José Bernardo's cases cited above. Benedita copied the alto part on modern tenor clef, G clef sounding one octave lower. This practice of writing the alto part in modern tenor clef is characteristic of Miquelino's copies and seems to have been used by a male voice, instead of a female one.¹⁸⁵

At least two sets of parts in the collection were produced by another member of the Ribeiro de Freitas family. José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho produced sets of parts for the *Benedictus* in Eb Major (BF-024) and the *Sub Tuum Praesidium* in D Major (BF-094). Both sets present copies for four voices, two violins, and basso continuo, and none of the manuscripts bear any indication of date or place of copying. His signature on the copies of the *Sub Tuum Praesidium* in D Major, which appears at the bottom of the page, is "De José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho" or "P^e. a Jose Ribr^o de Fr^{tas} Carv^o." Both the preposition "De" (of) and the verb "P^e," abbreviation of "Pertence" (belong), indicate ownership and probably copying by José Ribeiro.

Carvalho's copies of the *Sub Tuum Praesidium* present an interesting mixture of old and modern characteristics. His notation is similar to the notation used in the older copies of the collection, whereas the support on which he wrote the music, with one

¹⁸⁵ For a discussion on the systems of clefs found in the collection, see chapter 4.

exception, seems closer to the more modern copies of the collection than to the older ones. Carvalho's part for four voices and two violins were written on modern printed ruled paper, on which he later drew the music staves. His basso continuo part, on the other hand, was written on the same bluish paper found in other copies of the collection produced during the 1850s to 1870s, including the earlier copies by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas. In regards to the music notation employed, this set of parts presents all vocal parts written in low clefs. The same archaic indications of blank measures found in Silvestre's copies are also used by Carvalho. Moreover, in the instrumental parts the number of measures of the piece is written at the end of the music. Finally, Carvalho's set is one of the few in the collection which have a basso continuo part (bass part with figures indicating chords), instead of just a simple bass part.

José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho's copies of the Benedictus in Eb Major are very similar to the copies of the Sub Tuum Praesidium discussed above. The notation used by Carvalho is exactly the same in both pieces, and, as was said before, none of the manuscripts indicate date or place of copy. The paper used in the copies of the Benedictus is the same modern printed ruled paper used in most copies of the Sub Tuum Praesidium. Also similar is Carvalho's signature. In all but one part, the signature employed is "P^e a José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho" (Belongs to José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho). The exception is the part for second violin, in which the last name "Carvalho" is omitted.

The main distinction between the set of parts of the Benedictus in Eb Major and the Sub Tuum Praesidium in D Major is related to the indication of the vocal parts and their respective clefs. There is no problem with the copies of the Sub Tuum Praesidium in

this regard; the vocal parts are written in standard low clefs, with soprano in C clef on the first line, alto C clef on the third line, tenor C clef on the fourth line, and bass F clef on the fourth line. In the Benedictus, however, Carvalho had problems coordinating voices and clefs. His alto and bass parts present no problem, being written in C clef on third line and F clef on fourth line respectively; the problem appears in his copies for soprano and tenor. Carvalho labeled “1^o Suprano a 4” a part written in C clef on the fourth line, and “(Tenor a 4) Suprano 2^o a 4” a part written in C clef on the first line. The double indication in this case is already a sign of his confusion. Therefore, considering the traditional association between voices and clefs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, what Carvalho indicated as “1^o Suprano a 4” is actually a tenor part. Conversely, what he indicated as “(Tenor a 4) Suprano 2^o a 4” is, on the other hand, a standard soprano part.

Another work that is worthy of consideration in the analysis of José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho’s contribution to Balthasar de Freitas’s collection is the Te Deum in A minor (BF-160). There are no extant copies of this piece by Carvalho, but two sets of parts may be connected with him. Balthasar de Freitas produced copies of this work in 1908, and at the end of the music he wrote: “Offering of friend, *compadre*, and relative José Ribeiro.” As Balthasar indicates that the José Ribeiro who offered him this Te Deum was his relative, it is likely that his name would be “José Ribeiro de Freitas.” Yet, it is still difficult to know whether the José Ribeiro de Freitas from Balthasar’s copies is the same José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho discussed here. If suppressing one of the family names is a frequent practice in documents of that time, it is also true that “José Ribeiro de Freitas” is a name quite common in São José do Tocantins and Jaraguá during

the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, there seems to be one more connection between José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho and the copies of this Te Deum. It is the set of anonymous parts produced in 1874. This set of parts, constituted of copies for voices,¹⁸⁶ two violins, and basso continuo present several paleographic similarities with Carvalho's copies of the Benedictus in Eb Major and the Sub Tuum Praesidium in D Major discussed above. Unfortunately, once more these similarities are not enough to indicate whether these copies were made by Carvalho himself or by someone who had influence on or was influenced by his copies.

Furthermore, the title used by Balthasar de Freitas, Luiz de Sá, and copyist b in their copies of the Te Deum in A minor is "Te Deum de São José." São José in the title is São José do Tocantins (Niquelândia), the original center of the Ribeiro de Freitas family in Goiás. As we are going to see below, this is not the only piece with this indication. What is interesting to notice now is the fact that there is another connection between works from São José do Tocantins and a person called José Ribeiro. On 13 August 1904, Eugênio da Costa Campos went to São José and took 12 pieces from a local collection in order to copy them in Corumbá, Goiás, his hometown. Campos wrote on a piece of paper now found in Balthasar de Freitas's collection: "Musicas que levei / p^a copiar em Corumbá / bá pertencente ao / Sr^o Cap^m J^e Ribeiro [list of 12 works] S. José, 13 de Agosto 904 / Eugenio da C^a Campos" (Musical works which I took to be copied in Corumbá, belonging to Senhor Captain Jose Ribeiro [list of 12 works] São José [do Tocantins], 13 August [1]904 Eugenio da Costa Campos). Unfortunately, again it is impossible to know if the Captain José Ribeiro from São José do Tocantins is the same José Ribeiro de

¹⁸⁶ It was originally written for 4 voices, but the tenor part is missing.

Freitas Carvalho. What we do know is that there was an important connection between musicians from São José do Tocantins and the musicians who formed Balthasar de Freitas's collection in Jaraguá. To what extent José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho was active in that connection is something that is still unclear.

Another possible explanation for this connection is the fact that during the time in which most copies of Balthasar de Freitas's collection were produced, a member of Ribeiro de Freitas's family was the music director of one of the most prestigious religious institutions of São José do Tocantins. The institution was the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos and its music director during most of the second half of the nineteenth century was João Batista Ribeiro de Freitas.

João Batista Ribeiro de Freitas collaborated with the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos for more than 30 years. His earliest extant payment is from 1854, in which he received 7\$640 for "a choir of music in the procession." The latest extant payment to him is from 1885, when he received 5\$760, but according to Bertran, he worked for the brotherhood until 1892.¹⁸⁷ From 1854 to 1885, the brotherhood seems to have trusted its musical activities almost entirely to João Batista. With the exception of Romão da Silva Rocha Vidal, who appears as music director for the year 1877, and Pedro Nunes and João Nunes da Fonseca, who participated as performers, not music directors, in the feast of 1871, João Batista is the only name in the documents which is connected with payments related to music. In addition, there is a gap encompassing the years 1857-71, in which no name for a music director is indicated. Nevertheless, as João Batista is the music director

¹⁸⁷ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 58.

indicated for the years right before and after this period, we can assume that he was responsible for the music during these years as well.

João Batista actually joined the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos as a brother in 1859. According to the *Livro de Registros*, João Batista Ribeiro de Freitas presented himself to the brotherhood on 25 September 1859 and declared that he wanted to be a “brother of this venerable brotherhood,” and also that he agrees to follow the rules present in the *Compromisso* of the brotherhood.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, in the first three entries in the account book of the Irmandade related to him (years 1854 to 1856), João Batista is referred to by his name only. From 1872 to 1881, on the other hand, he is referred to as “Alferez João Batista Ribeiro de Freitas.” Finally, from 1883 on, he is indicated as “Major João Batista Ribeiro de Freitas.” Indeed, according to the *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, written by Antonio José Costa Brandão in 1886, João Batista was “Major Comandante” of the “2^a Sessão do batalhão do serviço activo.”¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, his function as music director of the brotherhood is sometimes indicated as “Encarregado da Música” (Responsible for the Music) and sometime as “Mestre de Capela” (Chapel Master). Another term used in the book, though not related to João Batista, is “Mestre da Música” (Master of Music).¹⁹⁰

As was the case with most of the composers in Goiás during the second half of the nineteenth century, João Batista did not limit his professional life to musical activities. As

¹⁸⁸ Six years later he also signed the register for D. Maria Francisca Barros. We do not know what kind of relationship João Batista had with her, but it is common in these books of registers to have someone signing for someone else, usually when the other person was illiterate. In several cases, the person who signs the document would be relative of the person who was entering the brotherhood; but in other cases would be the owner of the slave signing for him, or sometimes just a witness chosen by the circumstance.

¹⁸⁹ Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 91.

¹⁹⁰ For a discussion of the music activities in the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins and other brotherhoods, see chapter 1.

we saw above, parallel to his activities as a musician, João Batista pursued a military career as well. He was also appointed as official representative of the post office of São José do Tocantins in 1867, a position that he occupied until 1886.¹⁹¹ Finally, João Batista was *Juiz de Paz* (city councilman) of São José from 1869 to 1873, having been the president of the city council during the year 1873.¹⁹²

Up to now, we have three points of connection between São José do Tocantins and Balthasar de Freitas's collection. First is Captain José Ribeiro, who – if not a musician – was at least the owner of a music collection from São José do Tocantins, from which Eugênio da Costa Campos took some pieces in 1904 to be copied in Corumbá. Regardless if this Captain José Ribeiro was the same José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho, the fact is that the document signed by Campos to indicate how many pieces he had taken was found in Balthasar de Freitas's collection, establishing thus the connection. Second is the fact that a member of Ribeiro de Freitas's family, João Batista, was an active musician in São José during the time when most of the copies of Balthasar de Freitas's collection were produced. Finally, there was a piece given to Balthasar by José Ribeiro, which was called by the former "Te Deum de São José." As was said before, this Te Deum is not the only work in the collection which presents some association with São José do Tocantins.

In fact, there are at least four pieces in the collection in which we can find some connection with São José do Tocantins.¹⁹³ In three of them, this connection is expressed

¹⁹¹ Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 85 and 155. For the reasons of it, see Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 154.

¹⁹² Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 204.

¹⁹³ There is another piece that was originally from Balthasar de Freitas's collection and which is now part of the private collection of Mr. Christovam Pompeu de Pina, from Pirenópolis, Goiás, whose title is Credo

in the title, although their manuscripts were not copied in São José. The Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição (BF-045) and the Te Deum in A minor (BF-160) appear in Balthasar de Freitas's copies as "Padre Nosso de São José do Tocantins" and "Te Deum de São José," respectively. In addition, the Tantum Ergo in A Major (BF-138) appears in Balthasar's copy as "Tantum Ergo do Padre Vidal." As we shall see, this "Padre Vidal" is probably Daniel da Silva Rocha Vidal, vicar of São José do Tocantins from 1859 to 1872.¹⁹⁴ Finally, the Surrexit Dominus in G Major (BF-158) was copied in São José on 30 March 1887. This copy is also related to the Rocha Vidal family.¹⁹⁵

de São José do Tocantins. For a discussion on this piece, see Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*, and later on this chapter.

¹⁹⁴ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 131 and 149.

¹⁹⁵ See later on this chapter.

Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas and Other Priests

There is a central figure of the Ribeiro de Freitas family who seems to have played an important role in the cultural life of Jaraguá during the nineteenth century, although whether this role included musical activities or not is so far a complicated matter. This member is Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, and below are the main points related to his position in the history of music in Goiás.¹⁹⁶

Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas has been considered by the historiography of Goiás as an important composer from Jaraguá. Mendonça pointed out that Manoel was known in Jaraguá as the “Priest of the Motets,”¹⁹⁷ Bertran referred to him as a “famous composer,”¹⁹⁸ and Fonseca added that Manoel had founded the first wind band in Jaraguá and that he is still (in 1999) considered the “father of the musicians” there.¹⁹⁹ All this recognition is largely thanks to a work known in Goiás as “Missa do Freitas” or “Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo,” which was believed to have been composed by Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas.

The Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo is in fact two distinct works, a Mass in C Major (containing Kyrie and Gloria) and a Credo in G Major (containing Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei). These two pieces, copied separately several times during the nineteenth century, appear together for the first time in an anonymous manuscript, written in Jaraguá

¹⁹⁶ For a detailed discussion of Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas as a musician, see Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*, especially chapters 2 and 3, and Pinto, “The Holy Spirit Mass.”

¹⁹⁷ Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 232.

¹⁹⁸ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 68.

¹⁹⁹ Fonseca, *Jaraguá*, 68.

in 1861. This 1861 manuscript was then copied by Joaquim Propício de Pina in Pirenópolis, in 1900; Propício's manuscript then became the exemplar for Braz de Pina's score copied in Goiânia in 1970. Braz's copy was the first one in which appears the attribution of the piece to Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas. It is the first copy to use the title "Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo," as well.

On the other hand, copies of the Mass in C Major, containing only the Kyrie and Gloria, are found in the state of Minas Gerais. In fact, there are more than 20 extant sets of parts of this Mass in Minas Gerais. Some copies attribute it to José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita, others to Joaquim de Paula Souza Bonsucesso, and still others to Manoel Dias de Oliveira. None of these copies, however, has been classified as an autograph manuscript.²⁰⁰

The Credo in G Major has been found so far only in copies located in the state of Goiás. In some of these copies the piece appears under the title "Credo de São José do Tocantins."²⁰¹ With the exception of Braz de Pina's copy, none of the manuscripts of the Credo in G Major bear any attribution of composition. Therefore, there is no extant documentary support for the attribution of either of these two pieces to Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas and thus, they have to be treated as anonymous works.²⁰²

Furthermore, there was not just one Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but rather at least four people with this same name living in Jaraguá, São José do Tocantins, or Traíras. First is Captain Manoel Ribeiro de

²⁰⁰ Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*, 25-33; and Pinto, "The Holy Spirit Mass."

²⁰¹ For other pieces with the title "de São José do Tocantins," see above in this chapter.

²⁰² It is possible that Professor Braz de Pina has had access to some document, now lost, which presents the attribution of these two works (or any of them) to Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas.

Freitas, married to Silvina Maria de Jesus.²⁰³ Second is Captain Manoel's son and homonym, who married Izabel Francisca de Carvalho in 1791,²⁰⁴ he could also be the Alferez Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas who received 12 ¼ oitavas of gold from the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins in 1808.²⁰⁵ The third is Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, who appears as *provedor* in 1798 and *procurador* in 1807 of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins.²⁰⁶ This Father Manoel probably died in 1819, when the brotherhood paid 10 oitavas of gold for 20 Masses celebrated in honor of his soul.²⁰⁷ Finally, the fourth one is the second Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, who was Balthasar's uncle and who died in Jaraguá in 1892.²⁰⁸ Most interesting of all, I have found no document from the eighteenth or nineteenth century which indicates that any of these four citizens named Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas participated in any activity as a musician.²⁰⁹

But, if Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, Balthasar's uncle, was not the only person who had this name in Goiás, and was not the composer of the *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*, who was he, and what was his connection with Balthasar de Freitas's collection?

²⁰³ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 189.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 189.

²⁰⁵ Livro de Despesas da Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins, fl 126v.

²⁰⁶ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 196.

²⁰⁷ The Masses were celebrated by Father Lourenço Leite. Livro de Despesas of the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of São José do Tocantins, fl 137v.

²⁰⁸ See Balthasar's letter earlier on this chapter; and Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 71-72.

²⁰⁹ Fonseca presents a list of payments for the feast of Pentecost, from the first half of the nineteenth century, in which the name of Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas appears among other musicians. As no transcription of the document was presented, I am not able to tell if the indication of Manoel as a musician was actually present in the manuscript or if it was Fonseca's assumption. See Fonseca, *Jaraguá*, footnote in page 107.

Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas was born in Traíras, Goiás, on 25 August 1815, son of Captain Joaquim Ribeiro de Freitas and Laura Inocência Furtado.²¹⁰ Part of the Ribeiro de Freitas family, including Manoel, moved to Jaraguá around 1830 and 1840.²¹¹ He received tonsure and minor orders on 8 July 1838, subdiaconate and diaconate on 8 December 1838, and was ordained priest on 16 December 1838.²¹² Thanks to a request made by Father Silvestre Álvares da Silva, Manoel became coadjutor of the parish of Nossa Senhora da Penha of Jaraguá in 1845; in 1846 the provision appointing Father Manoel as coadjutor was renewed for two more years.²¹³ On 28 January 1865, Manoel was appointed Vicar of Jaraguá,²¹⁴ after this position had become vacant with the death of Father Silvestre, on 20 May 1864.²¹⁵ Father Manoel had eight children with Joaquina da Silva Machado.²¹⁶ We do not have their names, but as we saw above, Joaquim Antonio de Freitas Machado and José Bernardo de Freitas Machado might be two of them.²¹⁷ Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas died on 28 October 1892. He was buried inside the church in which he served for almost 50 years. Balthasar de Freitas and Miquelino Raymundo de Lima performed during his burial service; on the copy of the Memento (BF-147), Miquelino wrote: “29 8^{bro} 92 Dia do enterro do Vig^{ro} fallecido na madru- /

²¹⁰ Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 71-72.

²¹¹ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 68. There is no member of the Ribeiro de Freitas family in the list of habitants of Jaraguá elaborated in 1823-24. Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá* 123-55.

²¹² J. T. F. Silva, *Lugares e Pessoas*, 185.

²¹³ Archive Frei Simão, Documentos Eclesiásticos Vários. Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 72.

²¹⁴ Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 139.

²¹⁵ Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 72. In 1886, one Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas appears as representative of the post office in the city of Pilar, Goiás; he had been ahead of this position since 1867. It is difficult to know, however, whether this person was the same Father Manoel who was living in Jaraguá during that time, and thus would be taking care of this job from distance, or if he was a different person. In that case, he would be the fifth Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas to be located in our research. See Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 85.

²¹⁶ Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 72.

²¹⁷ See earlier on this chapter.

gada de hontem” (29 October [18]92 Day of the burial of the Vicar [who] died yesterday at dawn).

The absence of documentary witnesses in Balthasar de Freitas’s collection, as well as in any other nineteenth century document, is the strongest evidence against the hypothetical attribution of the *Missa do Freitas* to Father Manoel or even to the idea that he was a professional musician. If those were the cases, we would have indications of his activities in the collection; if not the autograph of the Mass or a copy mentioning his name, at least some sign of his production as a musician. Instead, we have only five documents in the collection which make reference to Father Manoel, and none of them as a musician. First is the dedication of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* in G Major (BF-108), written by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas, which says: “*Veni Sancte Spiritus com 4 Vozes / Dedicado ao Illm^o e Rm^o Sem^r / Vigário Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas em / Jaraguá / Crralinho 15 de Maio de 1874*” (*Veni Sancte Spiritus with 4 Voices / Dedicated to the Most Illustrious Venerable Senhor / Vicar Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas in / Jaraguá / Crralinho 15 May 1874*). Second is the sales contract of a house, written on the verso of the *Sub Tuum Praesidium* in F Major (BF-096), previously cited. In this document, Father Manoel is mentioned as the former owner of the house that Manoel Malaquias da Rocha and Lorença Nunes Viana were selling to Manoel Batista da Rocha. Third are the two letters written by Balthasar, addressed to José Bernardo and to Joaquim Antonio, in which Balthasar asks them to confirm his good relationship with Father Manoel. On these letters, Father Manoel is referred to as “patron” (principal protetor) of a wind band, but not as “conductor” (Mestre). Fourth is the commentary written by Miquelino on the manuscript of the *Memento* (BF-147), mentioned in the previous paragraph. Finally,

there is one Sub Tuum Praesidium in G Major (BF-097) whose title appears in the manuscript as “Sub tuum do P^o Manoel.” However, it is quite difficult to know whether this Father Manoel was actually Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas. As we shall see, “Manoel” was a common name not only for the Ribeiro de Freitas family, but also for other families from Jaraguá, including the Álvares da Silva. Even if this Father Manoel was indeed Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, he could be just the owner of the manuscript and not necessarily the composer or copyist of the piece. Therefore, the connection of Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas with Balthasar de Freitas’s collection seems to have been that of a person who was close to the musicians who formed it—including Silvestre, Miquelino, and Balthasar—as well as the principal clergyman, at least from 1865 to 1892, of the parish where the repertory of the collection was likely to be most frequently performed.

As we might expect from a group of documents largely formed by sacred works, Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas is not the only priest whose name appears on the manuscripts of Balthasar de Freitas’s collection. In fact, the scribes of the collection mention in their copies several other clergymen. In some cases, though, the mention is so vague that it becomes impossible to identify the person in question.

The reason for a clergyman to be cited on the manuscripts is not the same for all cases. In one case the priest is clearly the composer of the piece; in several others he seems to have been the owner of the manuscript; in yet other cases, the music present in the copy was supposed to be performed “in honor” of him, usually the bishop or archbishop; finally, there are a few cases in which a priest is mentioned in commentaries written on the copies.

Unfortunately, as was said above, we have just one example of a priest whose name appears on the manuscript as the composer of the piece.²¹⁸ However, I am not completely sure if the composer indicated on the copy was actually a priest. The piece is the *Missa dos Anjos* (BF-006) and its composer Father João Luis Coelho. On page 1r of the bifolio used as title page, is written: “1851 / Credo da Missa dos Anjos. he o seu louvor / dado pelo seu compositor o P^e João Luis Coelho. / Pertence a Manoel Álvares da Silva” (1851 Credo from the Mass of the Angels.²¹⁹ It is his prayer given by its composer Father João Luis Coelho. Belongs to Manoel Álvares da Silva). The difficulty in confirming the priesthood of João Luis Coelho is a paleographic one. It is not completely clear whether the abbreviation which precedes the name of the composer is actually “P^e,” abbreviation of “Padre” (Father, Priest). It could also be “S^r,” abbreviation of “Senhor” (Mister).

Father Pedro Ribeiro da Silva was another musician who was member of the Church in Goiás and whose name is found on the manuscripts of the collection. Silva’s name appears on copies of two pieces in the collection, the *Tantum Ergo* in C Major (BF-128) and the *Tantum Ergo* in Bb Major (BF-139). In both cases, however, Father Pedro seems to have been the owner of the manuscripts and not the composer of the pieces. Yet, before we proceed in the description of these cases, it is important to remember that establishing ownership, copy, and composition in Brazilian eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscripts is a very complicated matter and often an inconclusive task. In the first piece, the *Tantum Ergo* in C Major (BF-128), the name of Father Pedro Ribeiro appears on Balthasar de Freitas’s copies made in 1894 and 1907, as well as on other

²¹⁸ For the number of anonymous pieces in the collection, see chapter 3.

²¹⁹ The word “Anjos” here could also be the last name of the person for whom the work was composed.

anonymous copies. Balthasar's title page indicates: "Tantum ergo / Do / Padre Pedro Ribeiro / (A sollo) / Do / B. Freitas / 29 Maio de 1907." Even though I am considering Pedro Ribeiro da Silva's name here as an indication of ownership—in this case, the owner of the manuscript used as exemplar by Freitas—the possibility of Father Pedro Ribeiro being the actual composer of the piece is not completely out of the question. As we will see below, he was an active composer in Goiás at that time. With the second piece, on the other hand, the situation is quite different. On the copies of the Tantum Ergo in Bb Major (BF-139) both the composer of the piece, Gluck,²²⁰ and the owner of the manuscripts, Pedro Ribeiro da Silva, are clearly indicated. On the verso of the part for second soprano we find the inscription: "Tantum ergo do Rm^o. S^f. P^e. Pedro / Ribeiro da S^a. oferecido pelo m^{mo}. / a Miquelino Raym^{do}. de Lima" (Tantum Ergo of the Venerable Senhor Father Pedro Ribeiro da Silva [which was] offered by him to Miquelino Raymundo de Lima).

Father Pedro Ribeiro da Silva was a journalist and an articulate speaker whose qualities granted to him an important place in politics in Goiás at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.²²¹ He played a significant role in the establishment of the Seminário de Santa Cruz, and years later he was appointed to address the President of Brazil in order to express the gratitude of the people of Goiás for the decree which gave back to the diocese the building in Ouro Fino, where the seminary was located.²²² Father Pedro Ribeiro was also appointed the master of ceremonies for the reception of D. Eduardo Duarte da Silva, bishop of Goiás, in 1891. At that occasion, a Te

²²⁰ For the authenticity of this attribution, see chapter 3.

²²¹ J. T. F. Silva, *Lugares e Pessoas*, 344-47, 390, and 434.

²²² *Ibid.*, 386 and 390; Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 24.

Deum was sung,²²³ and it is possible that Father Pedro Ribeiro had been chosen for this position because of his qualities as a musician. Indeed, he was an important musician in Goiás;²²⁴ two pieces attributed to him have been performed during the celebrations of Holy Week in the City of Goiás.²²⁵ A Pange Lingua in F Major is sung at the end of the Mass on Palm Sunday,²²⁶ and the Via Sacra is sung at 10:00 am on Holy Saturday.²²⁷ Father Pedro Ribeiro da Silva moved to Uberaba with D. Eduardo when the diocese was transferred to that city; he lived also in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, where he continued his activities as a clergyman.²²⁸

The indications of the name of a priest in the title of the two Tantum Ergos cited above are not the only examples of this practice in the collection. Indeed, we have three other Tantum Ergos in which a name of a priest is part of the title used in the copies: Tantum Ergo do Padre Vidal (BF-138), Tantum Ergo Padre Cunha (BF-130), and Tantum Ergo do Padre Marcelino (BF-127).²²⁹ The use of the name of a priest in the title is not restricted to Tantum Ergos, as we shall see below, but the incidence seems to me too high

²²³ J. T. F. Silva, *Lugares e Pessoas*, 330-31;

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 435.

²²⁵ For a detailed account of the Holy Week in the City of Goiás, see Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás* and Souza, *Paixões em Cena*.

²²⁶ The attribution of this piece to Pedro Ribeiro is quite problematic, though. According to Mendonça, the piece was copied in a book together with several other works, whose composers were indicated. For the Pange Lingua itself, however, no composer is indicated. Mendonça thus concludes that it was composed by Pedro Ribeiro himself, who, for modesty or negligence, avoided signing his name on the manuscript. Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 191 and 196.

²²⁷ For the reception of the Via Sacra in Rio de Janeiro, see Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 24-25; for the transcription of the piece, *Ibid.*, 206-220; and for the recording of the Via Sacra, Rodrigues, "Semana Santa em Goiás."

²²⁸ J. T. F. Silva, *Lugares e Pessoas*, 348 and 434; Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 24.

²²⁹ This number could increase to four if we assume that "M. Mendes," which appears in the Tantum Ergo (BF-134), is actually abbreviation of "Monsenhor Mendes" (Monsignor Mendes). However, it could also mean "Mestre Mendes (Master Mendes), "Maestro Mendes" (Conductor Mendes) or be just the first name of the person.

to be just coincidence. Yet, if there is actually a reason for this practice, it is still unknown to me.²³⁰

The *Tantum Ergo* in A Major (BF-138), indicated on the manuscripts as “*Tantum Ergo do Padre Vidal*,” seems to have been one of Balthasar’s favorite pieces. He copied it in 1924, 1925, 1929, and 1930. Balthasar’s copies do not present further information on who this Father Vidal was. They might refer, however, to Father Daniel da Silva Rocha Vidal, a priest already cited in this chapter. Father Daniel was vicar of São José do Tocantins from 1859 to 1872;²³¹ he was also appointed vicar of Cidade da Palma on 7 May 1877, a post he was still occupying in 1886.²³² The connection between Father Daniel and Balthasar de Freitas’s collection might have happened through the intermediacy of João Batista Ribeiro de Freitas. During the time Father Daniel was vicar of São José do Tocantins, João Batista was working for the Irmandade de Nosso Senhor dos Passos of that city. Curiously, the musician who substituted for João Batista in the Feast of the brotherhood of the year 1877 was Father Daniel’s relative, the Cadet Romão da Silva Rocha Vidal.²³³ There is another member of the Rocha Vidal family who appears on the manuscripts of the collection. It is Joanna da Silva Rocha Vidal, indicated as owner of the copy of the *Surrexit Dominus* in G Major (BF-158), made by J. E. Souza on 30 March 1887, in São José do Tocantins.²³⁴ Finally, there is one more piece which seems to be connected with the Rocha Vidals. On one of the four title pages of the *Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição* (BF-045), which Balthasar de Freitas called in

²³⁰ For a discussion on the paraliturgical use of the *Tantum Ergo* in Goiás at that time, see chapter 3.

²³¹ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 131.

²³² Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 150.

²³³ See earlier on this chapter and chapter 1.

²³⁴ I owe the reading of this manuscript (and several others) to Antonio Cesar Pinheiro, director of the IPEHBC.

another copy “Padre Nosso de São José do Tocantins,” there is the inscription “Padre nosso a quatro / vozes, dous VV, e Baxo. / Pertence a / Rocha” (Padre Nosso for four voices, two violins, and bass. Belongs to Rocha). The fact that this piece came from São José do Tocantins reinforces the hypothesis that the “Rocha” indicated on this title page might be in fact one of the three members discussed here, Father Daniel, Cadet Romão, or Dona Joanna.

The Tantum Ergo in C Major (BF-130), whose title is “Tantum Ergo ‘P^e. Cunha’,” was copied by Balthasar on 23 August 1904. The “P^e. Cunha” of Balthasar’s title is probably Father Francisco Peixoto da Cunha Leal. Father Francisco was ordained in 1896, in Uberaba, by D. Eduardo Duarte da Silva.²³⁵ In 1903, Father Francisco became vicar of Jaraguá,²³⁶ a position he would hold for just a few years. According to one copy of the Libera Me in Bb Major (BF-146), Father Francisco died in October (probably 14 or 15) of 1905. On an anonymous copy it is written at the end of the music: “a 15 8br^o 905 / p^a. Funeral do P^e. Cunha” (on 15 October [1]905 for the funeral of Father Cunha). Indeed, in 1907 another priest, Father Miguel Soler, was already appointed vicar of Jaraguá.²³⁷

Finally, we have the Tantum Ergo in C Major (BF-127). This Tantum Ergo appears in some copies together with the Lauda Sion in C Major (BF-140). On the manuscripts copied by Joaquim Martins dos Santos in 1882, in the seminary of Mariana, state of Minas Gerais, appears the indication “do P^e. Marcelino.” There are other copies of this piece by Balthasar de Freitas (1930) and Miquelino Raymundo de Lima (undated)

²³⁵ E. D. Silva, *Passagens*, 145. Romacheli gives the name “Francisco da Cunha Peixoto Leal,” *História de Jaraguá*, 72. There is also a Father Estêvão Fernandes da Cunha, from Traíras, who was ordained on 9 May 1841. See J. T. F. Silva, *Lugares e Pessoas*, 185.

²³⁶ Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 72.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

in which no mention of Father Marcelino is found. Based on this fact, we could assume that Father Marcelino was one of the priests from the seminary of Mariana, and therefore, had no direct connection to Goiás. Nevertheless, there is another manuscript in which Father Marcelino's name is mentioned. It is a copy of the Missa de São Paulo (BF-003), made by Miquelino on 15 February 1871. On this manuscript, Miquelino wrote: "Sanctus, e não Sanctitus como diz o P^e Marcellino" (Sanctus, and not Sanctitus as Father Marcellino says). As we shall see, this is not the only manuscript used by Miquelino to make commentaries on aspects of life in Jaraguá. Whether these two priests are the same person or not, however, remains an open question.

Besides the *Tantum Ergos*, other pieces in the collection bear titles which include a name of a priest. We have, for instance, a Mass in F Major (BF-015) whose title is "Missa de Frei João." This piece was preserved through copies by Pedro Xavier, Currealinho, 1922, and Balthasar de Freitas, 1924. There are also copies of it in a private collection of music manuscripts from Currealinho, now owned by Antonio Cesar Pinheiro. In these copies, the Missa de Frei João appears together with a Credo called "Credo do Souza." We do not know whether the names which appear on these two pieces, "João" and "Souza," refer in fact to a single person, i.e. "Frei João de Souza," or if they are actually independent. Moreover, the bifolio used as title page of the Missa dos Anjos cited above was also used at some point as the cover for the Missa de Frei João. Actually, the titles of two pieces were written on page 2v, probably at different occasions, the "Missa de Frei João" and the "Credo de Bella Vista."²³⁸ It is difficult to know whether there is any connection between the Missa de Frei João and the Missa dos Anjos, in

²³⁸ The Credo in C Major (BF-020) is entitled "Credo dos Ourives de Bella Vista." See Catalogue. See also the Missa dos Ourives in Dorvi/Moreyra collection.

which case the “Frei João” would actually be “Father João Luis Coelho,” or if the use of the same bifolio for both pieces was just circumstantial. Another friar appears cited in the collection. On Balthasar’s copies for first and second voices of the Surrexit Dominus in G Major (BF-159), made in 1906, right below his signature is written the name “Frei Constancio.” No other clue, though, is found on the manuscripts.

The bifolio used as title page of the Missa dos Anjos (actually for the Credo of the Missa dos Anjos), and later also for the Missa de Frei João and for the Credo de Bella Vista, gives still one more piece of information that seems worth discussing here. As we have seen, on the title page of the Missa dos Anjos, Manoel Álvares da Silva appears indicated as the owner of the manuscript. The Álvares da Silva was an important family which, like the Ribeiro de Freitas, migrated from the region of Traíras to Jaraguá, in the first decades of the nineteenth century.²³⁹ The patriarch of the family in Goiás was the Portuguese Manoel Álvares da Silva, who moved to Cocal, a small village close to Traíras, around 1765.²⁴⁰ In Cocal he had several children with his slave, Francisca Machado, a black woman from the “nação Mina.”²⁴¹ Two of his children, born in the 1770s,²⁴² became priests; Father Silvestre Álvares da Silva was vicar of Jaraguá, whose coadjutor was Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, and Father Manoel da Silva Álvares was vicar of Traíras and Barra.²⁴³ Bertran points out that Father Manoel da Silva Álvares was also vicar of São José do Tocantins from 1805 to 1807 and that he was as well “padre

²³⁹ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 68; Pedroso, “Memória de Emigração,” 59.

²⁴⁰ Hamú, “Lugar do Padre Silvestre,” 86.

²⁴¹ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 88; Pedroso, “Memória de Emigração,” 59; Hamú, “Lugar do Padre Silvestre,” 85-86.

²⁴² Silvestre was born in 1773. Hamú, “Lugar do Padre Silvestre,” 85.

²⁴³ Pedroso, “Memória de Emigração,” 59.

visitador,” an important position in the prelacy.²⁴⁴ Father Manoel must have been a remarkable citizen. The Austrian naturalist Johann Emmanuel Pohl refers to him as “um mulato, homem muito instruído, respeitado em toda a capitania, erudito e rico e ao mesmo tempo, homem muito cortês” (a mulatto, very educated man, respected in the entire captaincy, erudite and rich, and at the same time a very courteous man).²⁴⁵

There seems to have been some confusion in regards to Father Manoel’s name. Pedroso refers to him as Father “Manoel Álvares da Silva,”²⁴⁶ whereas Pohl,²⁴⁷ Romacheli,²⁴⁸ and Hamú²⁴⁹ say “Manoel da Silva Álvares.” Bertran uses both forms, “Manoel Álvares da Silva”²⁵⁰ and “Manoel da Silva Álvares.”²⁵¹ Moreover, there is one of Father Silvestre’s nephews whose name is Manoel, probably Manoel Álvares da Silva as well. As Daura Hamú points out, the name “Manoel” was present in virtually all generations of the Álvares da Silva family²⁵² (the same happened with the Ribeiro de Freitas family). Because the date in which the manuscript of the *Missa dos Anjos* was copied, 1851, the Manoel Álvares da Silva most likely to be the one cited on the title page is Father Silvestre’s nephew. Father Silvestre’s brother, the vicar of Traíras, as well as his father, were already dead in 1851. Indeed, when Father Silvestre wrote his will in 1853, at age 80, he left everything to his brother Antônio Álvares da Silva. As Hamú

²⁴⁴ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 88, 137, and 189.

²⁴⁵ Pohl, *Viagem ao Interior do Brasil*, 192.

²⁴⁶ Pedroso, “Memória de Emigração,” 59.

²⁴⁷ Pohl, *Viagem ao Interior do Brasil*, 192.

²⁴⁸ Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 71.

²⁴⁹ Hamú, “Lugar do Padre Silvestre,” 88-89.

²⁵⁰ Bertran, *História de Niquelândia*, 68 and 88.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 173 and 189.

²⁵² Hamú, “Lugar do Padre Silvestre,” 90-91.

explains, he did so probably because Antônio was the only one among Silvestre's siblings who was still alive at that time.²⁵³

A visit paid by the bishop in small towns of Goiás was always an important event. Some of them were recorded on the pages of the manuscripts preserved in Balthasar de Freitas's collection. The earliest one was registered on the copy of the Te Deum in D Major (BF-161), made by José Bernardo de Freitas Machado in Jaraguá, on 18 August 1900. Machado wrote on the verso of a copy for tenor: "Para a chegada do Senhor Bispo / D Eduardo Duarte Silva a / 23 de Agosto de 1900 / Jaraguá" (For the arrival of the Senhor Bishop / D Eduardo Duarte Silva on 23 August 1900 Jaraguá). The earliest extant copy of this Te Deum was made in 1875 by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas. Silvestre's manuscript was already a copy; he identifies himself as the copyist and owner of it. The Te Deum was also copied in 1889 and 1890 by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, before José Bernardo produced his copy. After that, Balthasar de Freitas would copy it in 1906. D. Eduardo Duarte da Silva was appointed Bishop of Goiás by Pope Leo XIII, on 22 January 1891.²⁵⁴ A special ceremony was prepared for the reception of D. Eduardo in the City of Goiás on 29 September 1891. This ceremony, organized by Father Pedro Ribeiro da Silva, among others, included the performance of a Te Deum, as was the custom.²⁵⁵ In 1896, motivated by political problems, D. Eduardo was forced to move to Uberaba, state of Minas Gerais, thus transferring the head office of the diocese from the City of Goiás to that city.²⁵⁶ Four years later, still living in Uberaba, D. Eduardo decided to make a visit to the parishes of his diocese. It is on that occasion that he visited Jaraguá, witnessing the

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁵⁴ J. T. F. Silva, *Lugares e Pessoas*, 314.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 330-331.

²⁵⁶ E. D. Silva, *Passagens*, 145-146.

performance of the Te Deum in D Major copied by José Bernardo. In 1907 the bishopric of Uberaba was created, and D. Eduardo became its first bishop, thus ending his complex relationship with the diocese of Goiás.²⁵⁷

D. Eduardo Duarte da Silva was replaced by D. Prudêncio Gomes da Silva, who, in turn, died on 19 September 1921.²⁵⁸ D. Emanuel Gomes de Oliveira became the next bishop of Goiás, having been consecrated on 15 April 1923.²⁵⁹ As was expected, one of the first deeds of D. Emanuel was to visit the entire diocese. Indeed, as José Trindade Silva pointed out, in 1924 D. Emanuel had already done so.²⁶⁰ D. Emanuel came to Jaraguá in January of 1924. On 12 January 1924, Balthasar de Freitas made a copy of the *Ecce Sacerdos* (BF-026), writing on the part for first voice: “12 = 1º = 1924 / Para a vinda do / Bispo D. Manoel” (12 January 1924 For the arrival of Bishop D. Manoel). In 1932 the bishopric of Goiás was promoted to archbishopric, and D. Emanuel became the first Archbishop of Goiás, a position he occupied until 1955.²⁶¹ The new rank of D. Emanuel was recorded in another manuscript, copied for his visit to Jaraguá in 1933. Balthasar’s copy for violin of the Hymn to Saint Ann (BF-041), made on 27 September (or July?) 1933 says: “27 – 7º – 1933 Pª a missa do / Acerbispo” (27 September [or July?] 1933 For the Mass of the Archbishop). Different from the other pieces cited here, this Hymn to Saint Ann was actually composed by Balthasar de Freitas, probably 30 years before the visit of the Archbishop. There are copies of it made by Balthasar himself

²⁵⁷ J. T. F. Silva, *Lugares e Pessoas*, 355-356.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 437.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 444.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 452.

²⁶¹ <http://www.diocesedegoias.org.br>, accessed on 2 April 2009.

in 1903, 1908, 1909, 1932, and 1933, when it was sung in the Mass for the Archbishop. Unfortunately, no vocal part of the Hymn has survived.

There is one more situation in which names of clergymen are found on the copies of Balthasar de Freitas's collection. It is the commentaries, some of them almost small chronicles, written on the margins of the manuscripts. One of these commentaries was already presented here, the comment by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima on Father Marcelino's bad pronunciation of Latin. Miquelino is the author of other commentaries found in some manuscripts of the collection. As he is also one of the most important collaborators of Balthasar de Freitas's collection, I will examine his commentaries within a broader discussion in regards to his biography, especially his activities as a musician.

Gabriel and Miquelino Raymundo de Lima

The Raymundo de Lima family, represented by Miquelino and his father, Gabriel, was responsible for one of the most important contributions to the formation of Balthasar de Freitas's collection. After Balthasar, Miquelino was one of the most active copyists in the whole collection. Gabriel, on the other hand, had only a couple of extant documents in the collection, but one of them is the earliest dated manuscript and the only one from the first half of the nineteenth century which had survived. Together, Miquelino's and Gabriel's lives witnessed the entire nineteenth century.

Gabriel Raymundo de Lima was baptized in Jaraguá on 22 March 1798.²⁶² He was the son of Joaquim Pedro de Lima and Francisca de Paula Xavier.²⁶³ In the census of Jaraguá for the years 1823-24, Gabriel is described as a mulatto, single, with no slaves, living in a house by himself.²⁶⁴ Later, he married Mathildes Caetana do Nascimento and

²⁶² I owe the information in regards to the genealogy of Gabriel and Miquelino Raymundo de Lima to Antonio César Caldas, who is writing a work about genealogy of families from Goiás, and who kindly made available to me the results of his research. About Gabriel's genealogy, see also Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 99.

²⁶³ Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 129. Joaquim Pedro de Lima, born in 1759 or 1760, and Francisca de Paula Xavier, born in 1775 or 1776, had at least seven other children younger than Gabriel. Both Joaquim and Francisca were mulatto and they appear on the census of Jaraguá for the years 1823-1824 living in a house with all their children, with the exception of Gabriel. At that time, two slaves, a man and a woman, were also living with Joaquim and Francisca.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

together they had several children; one of them was Miquelino Raymundo de Lima.²⁶⁵
Gabriel died in Jaraguá on 01 May 1876.²⁶⁶

Gabriel Raymundo de Lima was Alferes of the Second Company of the 2^o *Batalhão de Guarda Nacionais* of Goiás, which had as its commandant the illustrious *Comendador* Joaquim Alves de Oliveira. Gabriel was actually a member of the *Estado Maior* of the Second Battalion, having served in 1833 as “Alferes Secretário.”²⁶⁷ He was also active in politics, having been appointed city councilman of Jaraguá in 1835.²⁶⁸

There is little extant information in regards to Gabriel Raymundo de Lima’s activities as a musician. He appears in the list of musicians who performed during the Feast of Pentecost in Jaraguá, in the first half of nineteenth century, presented by Fonseca and already cited in this chapter.²⁶⁹ In Balthasar de Freitas’s collection, there are two documents in which Gabriel’s name appears. First, it appears in one of the title pages of the Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição (BF-045), which says: “Padre nosso e Ave Maria, a 4 Voses / com 2 VV^{os}. e Basso. / Pertence á / Gabriel Raymundo de Lima” (Padre Nosso and Ave Maria for 4 voices with 2 violins and bass. Belongs to Gabriel Raymundo de Lima). As we saw before, this piece seems to have been connected with São José do Tocantins. Yet, as most of the copies of this work are undated, including Gabriel’s title page, it is difficult to know whether the copies owned by Gabriel were

²⁶⁵ Another of Gabriel’s son was Hermenegildo Raymundo do Nascimento Lima, who was married to Honorata Inocência Furtado. Honorata was relative of Laura Inocência Furtado, Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas’s mother. Hermenegildo and Honorata named one of their sons Gabriel Raymundo do Nascimento Lima.

²⁶⁶ There is a copy of the Memento (BF-147) made by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas on 01 April 1876. It is possible that this manuscript was made for the performance at the burial service of Gabriel.

²⁶⁷ *Matutina Meiapontense*, N^o 413, 5 June 1833, 4.

²⁶⁸ Fonseca, *Jaraguá*, note 23, 121; Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 91.

²⁶⁹ Fonseca, *Jaraguá*, note 148.

based on the copies from São José or if, instead, they were used as the exemplar for some copyist from São José. A third possibility is that they were carried to São José, being themselves the exemplar for Balthasar's copies.²⁷⁰

The second document related to Gabriel Raymundo de Lima found in the collection is another title page, however, this one has no extant parts. It is the title page of a work called "Sollo de N. Senhora" (Solo of Our Lady). The complete text says: "Sollo de N. Senhora / Pertencente ao Ill^{mo}. S^t. Alferis Gabri- / el Raymundo d Lima. / Bomfim 3 de Maio de 1836" (Solo of Our Lady. Belonging to the Most Illustrious Senhor Alferes Gabriel Raymundo de Lima. Bomfim 3 May 1836). The importance of this document is the date on which it was written. As was said before, it is the earliest dated document in the entire collection and the only one from the first half of the nineteenth century. The second earliest dated document was produced in the 1850s. The importance of this is that it reinforces the possibility of some of the undated documents of the collection being produced in the first half of the nineteenth century or even before.

With such scarceness of information in regards to Gabriel's musical life, it is very difficult to know the nature of his musical activities. Was he a composer, copyist, or just a performer who owned some musical manuscripts? We do not know the answers for these questions but whatever was the nature of his relationship with music, he certainly had an influence on Miquelino's decision to become a musician. It is likely that Miquelino inherited Gabriel's manuscripts, and it is also quite possible that some of these manuscripts were preserved in Balthasar de Freitas's collection. They would include the

²⁷⁰ It is not clear if Gabriel's copies are among the extant group of copies. There are at least two groups of copies, both anonymous and undated, that could have been produced during Gabriel's lifetime.

two works cited above and maybe several others preserved in anonymous and undated copies. Moreover, some of the most recent manuscripts may in fact be later copies of manuscripts from Gabriel's time. Once the new copies were made the old manuscripts would be discarded.

Miquelino Raymundo do Nascimento Lima, known as "Mestre Quilú," was baptized in Jaraguá on 04 July 1840. He was the son of Gabriel Raymundo de Lima and Mathildes Caetana do Nascimento. Miquelino was married, but he seems to have had no children with his wife. Antônio César Caldas Pinheiro points out, though, that Miquelino had a child outside his marriage. From his father, Miquelino inherited the propensity for music and militarism. In the *Almanach* of 1886, he appears as chief of police of Jaraguá.²⁷¹ Miquelino died in Jaraguá on 05 November 1902, leaving behind one of the most important contributions for Balthasar de Freitas's collection.

In contrast with Gabriel, most of what we know about Miquelino comes from his musical manuscripts. Indeed, we have records of Miquelino's activities as composer, conductor, copyist/editor, and singer, and it is very likely that he was an instrumentalist as well. Composition, though, seems to have not been his most significant field of interest. As we can see in Table 2.3, we have only four extant compositions by him in the collection, and yet, one of the attributions is not certain. *Sub Tuum Praesidium* in C Major (BF-089) and *Litany* in G Major (BF-081) survived in autograph copies, the former written on 02 December 1890, and the latter on 16 January 1896. The title given by Miquelino to the *Litany* in G Major, "Ladainha Improvisada" (Improvised Litany), sounds almost like an excuse to the players, and may well be a sign that he was not at

²⁷¹ Brandão, *Almanach da Província de Goyaz*, 139; Romacheli, *História de Jaraguá*, 99.

ease in the role of composer. His third extant composition, the Litany in F Major (BF-077), is referred to by its copyists as “Ladainha do Mestre Quilú,” survived not in autograph manuscript but in copies made by Euclides Gomes Barbo de Siqueira (1897) and Balthasar de Freitas (1897 and 1907).

Table 2.3: Works composed by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima.

Item	Genre	Title	BF	Year	Observation
01	Antiphon	Sub Tuum Praesidium	089	1890	
02	Litany	Litany in G Major (Ladainha Improvisada)	081	1896	
03	Litany	Litany in F Major (Ladainha do Mestre Quilú)	077	(b. 1897)	
04	Gradual	Oh Virgem Mãe	031		Uncertain authorship.

Oh Virgem Mãe (BF-031) might be also another composition by Miquelino, although the evidence for this is less conclusive than in the previous cases. We have extant copies of this piece by Balthasar de Freitas (1890 and 1908), Joaquim Antunes da Silva (undated), and an anonymous copyist, who I am identifying as Miquelino himself. Two points make me consider the possibility that Oh Virgem Mãe could be composed by Miquelino. First, is the existence of a title page written by him. The text of the title page is: “O Virgem Mai / Gradual / Miquelino / O Virgem Mai amparo / e advogada dos pecadores” (Oh Virgin Mother / Gradual / Miquelino / Oh Virgin Mother, support / and advocate of sinners).²⁷² This, of course, is not enough evidence for establishing the authorship of the piece, as Miquelino has also written title pages for works which he was not the composer.

²⁷² This title page has also an interesting picture of Our Lady, apparently made by Miquelino himself.

The second point is that on Balthasar's copy from 1890, the name "R.Lima" appears on the top right corner of the parts for instruments.²⁷³ "R.Lima" can be an abbreviation for "Miquelino Raymundo de Lima." Moreover, even though no unequivocal expression in relation to the name "R.Lima" was used in these copies, the place where it was placed, top right corner of the first page, tends to imply composition, especially when the name of the copyist is indicated at the bottom of the page. Together, the existence of the title page and the placement of Miquelino's name on top right corner of Balthasar's copies (if we accept my assumption that it is actually his name) can be seen as indications of the authorship of the piece by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima. Thus, in the catalogue I am indicating Miquelino as the possible composer of *Oh Virgem Mãe*.

Another important activity carried on by Miquelino was conducting. We saw before that he was the conductor of the *Euterpe Jaraguense* during the 1880s and 1890s, having Balthasar de Freitas as his assistant. It was probably in this role that Miquelino participated in the burial of Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, on 29 October 1892. Six years later, he also directed the ensemble which performed in the Feast of São Francisco, in June of 1898. In fact, for the performances of the Feast of São Francisco, and probably for all the other ones in which he participated, Miquelino was the musical director as well as one of the singers. He received 7\$200 for the Novena and 7\$000 for the Mass; his payments being in general double of those of other musicians.²⁷⁴ As it was pointed out,

²⁷³ Balthasar's copies bear also the following inscription at the end of the page: "Copiado a 2 de Dezembro de 90. aniversario natalício de / Dão Pedro 2^o. ex Imperador do Brasil" (Copied on 02 December [18]90. Anniversary of D. Pedro II, Ex-emperor of Brazil).

²⁷⁴ For more details, see Appendix 1.

Miquelino seems to have preferred an all-male voice quartet for his performance, instead of the more modern mixed ensemble used by Balthasar.

One of the most important responsibilities of the music director was to maintain the musical archive of his ensemble: taking care of its manuscripts, ordering new copies of old pieces of the archive, and copying or composing new pieces when it was necessary or when a good opportunity was available. Thus, it was a sign of respect and deference to offer a copy of an interesting work to a music director, and we have signs of this practice in several manuscripts of Balthasar de Freitas's collection. Two of these cases have been already presented in this chapter. In April 1883, Father Pedro Ribeiro da Silva gave to Miquelino a copy of the *Tantum Ergo* in Bb Major (BF-139); seven years later, on 02 April 1890, Balthasar offered to Miquelino a copy of the *Litany* in C Major (BF-069) that he had brought from the Seminário Santa Cruz.

As a copyist, Miquelino was one of the most active in the collection. Table 2.4 shows the list of works which have copies by him. There are copies by Miquelino in 31 works in the collection; 19 of them are signed copies and the other 12 are copies without signature that I have attributed to him. Of these 31 copies, 20 are dated, the majority of them being written in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The earliest one, dated 1871, is the *Mass* in C Major "Missa de São Paulo" (BF-003). The latest ones are from 1900, the *Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross* (BF-152)²⁷⁵ and the *Credo* in G Major "Credo dos Ourives de Bella Vista" (BF-020).²⁷⁶ Most copies by

²⁷⁵ Miquelino had copied this work before, in 1889 and 1897.

²⁷⁶ He had previously copied this *Credo* in 1891 and 1894. On the copy from 1891 he wrote: "Credo dos Ourives de Bella Vista, que offereceu-me / o Sr. João Agostinho Siqueira, copiada hoje 11 agosto de 1891" (*Credo* of the Goldsmiths from Bella Vista, which was offered to me by Mr. João Agostinho Siqueira, copied today 11 August 1891).

Miquelino were probably made in Jaraguá. From the manuscripts that we know the place of copying, by indication on the manuscript or other evidence, seven were copied in Jaraguá²⁷⁷ and one in Curralinho. Significantly, there are neither copies nor compositions by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima in the Instrumental Music sub-collection of Balthasar de Freitas's collection.

Table 2.4: Works copied by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima.

Item	Title	BF	Year	Place	Observation
01	Mass in C Major (Missa de São Paulo)	003	1871	Jaraguá	
02	Mass in G Major (Missa de in terra pax)	016	1879, 1889, and 1891		
03	Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Padre Nosso de São José do Tocantins)	045	1884		
04	Sub Tuum Praesidium in C Major	091	1888		
05	Mass in C Major (Missa Carne de Vaca; Missa São Thomé)	011	1889		
06	Credo in C Major (Credo 13 de Maio 1888)	019	1889 and 1891	Jaraguá	
07	Bendita Sejas in G Major	040	1889	Jaraguá	
08	Litany in D minor (Ladainha Paracatuense)	075	1889 and 1893		
09	Stabat Mater in F Major	150a	1889		
10	Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (Motetos dos Passos)	152	1889, 1897, and 1900	Jaraguá	The copy from 1897 is the one made in Jaraguá.
11	Te Deum in D Major (Te Deum Festivo)	161	1889 and 1890	Jaraguá	The copy from 1889 is the one made in Jaraguá.
12	Mass in C Major	009	1890		
13	Surrexit Dominus in G Major	156	1890		Copy without signature.
14	Credo in C Major (Credo dos Ourives de Bella Vista)	020	1891, 1894, and 1900		
15	Benedictus in G minor	025	1891 and 1892		

²⁷⁷ There is no indication of place of copying on Miquelino's copy of the Memento (BF-147). However, as it was copied to be performed during the burial of Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas, the place is certainly Jaraguá.

Table 2.4 (continued).

Item	Title	BF	Year	Place	Observation
16	Credo in Eb Major (Credo de J. F. Correia; Credo de Marcos)	021	1892	Jaraguá	On Miquelino's copies, the title is "Credo de J. F. Correia."
17	Sanctus in C Major	022	1892		
18	Memento	147	1892	[Jaraguá]	Copy without signature.
19	Letabitur Justus in D Major	103	1893 and 1899	Curralinho	The copy from Curralinho is the one made in 1893.
20	Tota Pulchra in Eb Major	106	1897		
21	Mass in C Major	012			Copy made by Anonymous copyist, added by [Miquelino?] Raimundo do Nascimento Lima.
22	Spiritus Domini in D Major	035			Copy without signature.
23	Litany in G Major (Ladainha Alternada; Ladainha do Balthasar José Martins)	083			
24	O Salutaris Hostia in C Major	121			Copy without signature.
25	Tantum Ergo in Eb Major (Tantum Ergo do M. Mendes)	134			Copy without signature.
26	Vos Adoro in G Major	143			Copy without signature.
27	Tantum Ergo in G Major	137			Copy without signature.
28	Lauda Sion in C Major	140			Copy without signature.
29	Tantum Ergo in C Major (Tantum Ergo do P ^e . Marcelino)	127			Copy without signature.
30	Requiem Mass in G minor (Missa Resada P ^a . Defuncto)	145			Copy without signature.
31	Libera Me in Bb Major	146			Copy without signature.

For historians, there is one characteristic found in some of Miquelino's copies that make them unique. It is his custom of writing comments on daily life on the margins of the manuscripts which he was producing. These comments could be as short as a single phrase or as extensive as several paragraphs. Their nature also varied from joyful, maybe sarcastic, observations to philosophical issues.

Already presented in this chapter is Miquelino's comment on Father Marcelino's pronunciation of Latin. It is difficult to know whether Miquelino wrote this comment in a moment of irritation or if it was just a joke, like several others which were found written on the manuscripts of the collection. He was certainly in a good mood later, though, on 05 June 1891, when he copied the Benedictus in G minor (BF-025). At the end of the part for first voice, he wrote:

“Copiado por Miquelino, no dia 5 de Junho de 1891.
dia q. chegou o buletim do Goyaz, anunciando a abertura
do Congresso, tendo, porem, confirmado p^{or}. noticia verídica
a derrota da política J^e. Leopoldense.
viva o Generalissimo Deodoro
viva o vice Gov^{ndor}. Constancio
viva o D^r. Sebastião Fleury
viva o T^e. C^e. Horacio
viva o Delegado Berquó
viva o Conego Ignacio
viva o Chefe de Pol^a. D^r. Salustino
viva o D^r. Pitaluga”

(Copied by Miquelino, on 5 June 1891.
day in which the report (?) from Goyaz arrived, announcing the opening
of the Congress, having, however, confirmed by true news
the defeat of the J^e. Leopoldense politics.
viva *Generalissimo* Deodoro
viva vice Governor Constancio
viva Dr. Sebastião Fleury
viva Lieutenant Colonel Horacio
viva Delegate Berquó
viva *Conego* Ignacio
viva Chief of Police Dr. Salustino
viva Dr. Pitaluga)

Yet, Miquelino's good mood probably did not last long. The reversal in politics recorded by him on the pages of the Benedictus in G minor was only one of the several that occurred that year. The political instability of the first years of the Republic was such

that Goiás changed its governor five times during 1891. The vice-governor Constancio Ribeiro da Maya, cited by Miquelino, commanded the state in two different occasions during that same year of 1891.²⁷⁸

In the next year, Miquelino would record on the pages of another manuscript what was certainly a sad moment for him and for several other persons from Jaraguá: Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas's death. As was previously pointed out, Miquelino wrote at bottom of his copy for bass of the Memento (BF-147): “29 8^{bro.} 92 Dia do enterro / do Vig^{ro.} fallecido na madru- / gada de hontem” (29 October [18]92. Day of the burial of the Vicar [who] died yesterday at dawn). Less than six months after Father Manoel's death, on March 1893, two other persons, one at least close to Miquelino, would die in Jaraguá. On 27 March 1893, a young man called Joaquim Pereira Vasconcellos died “ainda um moço” (still a young man). On the very next day, 28 March 1893, Benedicta Ferreira de Britto, Miquelino's *comadre* and Jeronymo Pereira da Silva's wife, also died. These two deaths seemed to affect Miquelino's mood, probably still depressed since Father Manoel's demise. On the verso of a copy for Bass of the Libera Me in Bb Major (BF-146), he wrote:

“Joaquim Pereira Vasconcellos falleceu no dia
27 de Março de 1893, ainda hum moço, sepultado
A 28 do m^{mo.} mes. Espirou pelas 2 horas da tarde mais ou menos.

A com^{e.} Benedicta Ferreira de Britto, m^{er.} do comp^{e.}
Jeronymo Pereira da S^{a.} falleceu no ~~mesmo~~ dia de
28 de Março de 1893, pela uma hora da noite m. ou menos.

A parca com sua foice impiedosa não cessa
de faser victimas, roubando-nos da sociedade
entes que nos são bem caros! Para q pois o mundo?

²⁷⁸ <http://www.agepel.go.gov.br>, accessed on 28 May 2009.

p^a. que serve? P^a. que viemos nelle? Bôrra [?] p^a. o mundo
e viva Deos p^a. sempre na sua Gloria triumphante.
Hoje, 29 de Março de 1893.”

(Joaquim Pereira Valsconcellos passed away on
27 March 1893, still a lad; [he] was buried
On 28 of the same moth. He expired around 2:00 in the afternoon.

Comadre Benedicta Ferreira de Britto, wife of *compadre*
Jeronymo Pereira da Silva passed away on
28 March 1893, around 1:00 am

The Parca with her merciless scythe doesn't cease
Making victims, stealing from society
Individuals who are so dear to us! What for, thus, the world?
What is it for? For what purpose we came to it? *Bôrra* for the world
and God live for ever in His triumphant glory.
Today, 29 March 1893.)

Writing comments about the death of close friends on the manuscripts of works that would be performed at their burial services seems to have not been unusual. In 1894, Balthasar wrote on the bottom of his copy for requinta of the funeral march A Dor das Mães (MI-98): “Composta as pressas p^a. o funeral do menor Vir- / gilio Villar^o. morto por um tyro de / garrucha. 28:5^o:94” (Composed in a hurry for the burial of the minor Virgilio Villarinho, [who] died yesterday by a shot of *garrucha*. 28 May [18]94).

CHAPTER 3: BALTHASAR DE FREITAS'S COLLECTION

Balthasar de Freitas's collection consists of a group of documents—most of them musical manuscripts—collected for more than one century, which today belongs to the Ribeiro de Freitas family. Its current owner is Mrs. Ivana de Castro Carneiro, Balthasar de Freitas's great-granddaughter. The collection is now divided into four sub-collections: “sacred music,” “instrumental music,” “printed music,” and “other documents.” The sacred music and instrumental music sub-collections will be dealt with in detail in this and in the next chapter. The printed music sub-collection includes printed music for several different formations, ranging from pieces for solo instrument to symphonic band. The majority of its works are ball dances but there are also some marches, sacred music, and pedagogical methods for instruments. The other documents sub-collection encompasses all non-musical manuscripts, although some of them are related to musical activities as well. It includes Balthasar de Freitas's personal letters, documents related to his activities as a lawyer, as well as several documents related to his musical activities, such as a list of payments of musicians and covers and title pages of works from which no music has survived.

In the collection there are 507 musical works in manuscripts, distributed between the sacred music and instrumental music sub-collections. The earliest dated document of the collection is a title page of a work called Solo for Nossa Senhora, which belonged to Gabriel Raymundo de Lima, copied on 3 May 1836, in the city of Bomfim.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ See chapter 2.

Unfortunately, no music from this piece survived. The earliest item with extant music in the collection is the *Missa dos Anjos* (BF-006). It was composed by João Luis Coelho and its earliest extant copy is from 1851.²⁸⁰ The latest manuscript made during Balthasar's lifetime is his own copy of the *Novena for Nossa Senhora da Penha* (BF-050), made in 1935. As we saw in chapter 2, it was copied less than one year before his death. There are few other copies produced after Balthasar's death; Sebastião José Siqueira's copy of Balthasar's *Missa Santo Ambrósio* (BF-001), from 1948, is the latest one.²⁸¹ The great majority of the copies, though, is from the last decades of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century. This is the period when most of the copies by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima and Balthasar de Freitas were produced.

The bulk of manuscripts from Balthasar de Freitas's collection were written in Jaraguá, City of Goiás, Curalinho, and Bomfim. There are also some items related to São José do Tocantins, Pirenópolis, São Francisco, Inhumas, Trindade, Campinas, Bela Vista, and Corumbá. There are, in addition, works with connections to Uberaba, Aragarí, and Mariana, in the state of Minas Gerais, and Carolina, in the state of Maranhão. Some of these copies were not actually produced in these cities, but their manuscripts bear references to the cities here indicated. One of these cases are the copies from São José do Tocantins, for instance Balthasar's copies of the *Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição* (BF-045). In these copies Balthasar used the title "Padre Nosso de São José do Tocantins," but the manuscript was probably copied in Jaraguá.

²⁸⁰ For more details, see thematic catalogue.

²⁸¹ Actually, there are other copies of this Mass made as late as 1970s, but they seem to have been produced outside the collection, and were not included in the catalogue.

All manuscripts from the collection were written in sets of parts. Not a single full score was found in the sacred music or instrumental music sub-collections. Moreover, these manuscripts were produced in order to fulfill a very pragmatic function: to be used by the musicians during performances. The manuscripts were used probably during several years, and then recopied entirely or in part when they got too damaged or when some sort of adaptation was needed.²⁸² Once they were replaced, some copies were discarded whereas others were kept in the collection.

Therefore, it is common to have a group of copies of a certain piece with parts that were copied on different occasions. The *Bendita sejas* in G Major (BF-040) is an interesting example. It has one part for Bass (voice) copied by an anonymous copyist in 1856; parts for Soprano, Tenor, and bass (instrument) copied by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas in 1879; parts for Tenor, first clarinet, second trombone, bombardon, and bass (instrument) copied by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima in 1889; and one part for first violin copied by Balthasar de Freitas in 1892. It is difficult to know now whether all these four copyists produced a complete set of parts, which were then partially lost, or if they recopied only some of the parts which for some reason were considered unsatisfactory.

The practice of recopying the manuscripts several times certainly contributed to an increase in the number of anonymous works.²⁸³ From the total of 507 works, the great majority, or 449 pieces, was preserved through manuscripts that bear no indications of authorship. Only fifty eight pieces have indications of authorship in their copies, and

²⁸² For adaptations in the collection, see chapter 4.

²⁸³ For a discussion about anonymous works in Brazilian Colonial music, see Duprat, "O Barroco no Brasil."

even then, some of them are incomplete or contradictory.²⁸⁴ These indications, as well as researches in other collections, made it possible to identify around fifty different composers in the sacred music and instrumental music sub-collections.

²⁸⁴ For a description of the criteria used for establishing authorship, see the introduction to the thematic catalogue.

Instrumental Music

The instrumental music sub-collection has the largest number of pieces in Balthasar de Freitas's collection, with 343 works catalogued.²⁸⁵ It is also significantly newer than the sacred music sub-collection. Its earliest manuscript, a copy of the quadrille *Uma véspera de reis* (MI-187) made by Joaquim Marques, is from 1887. The latest manuscript made during Balthasar's lifetime is his own copy of the march *Revelação* (MI-88), written in 1931. There are also copies made after Balthasar's death, as F. Bruno's copy of *Marcha dos jaburús* (MI-84), made in 1938. It is interesting to notice that neither Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas nor Miquelino Raymundo de Lima produced copies for this sub-collection.

Most of the copies of the sub-collection in which the place of copying was indicated are from the City of Goiás, Jaraguá, and Bomfim. Table 3.1 shows the list of cities which appear in the manuscripts of the Instrumental Music sub-collection; the second column corresponds to the number of works which have at least one set of parts copied in the respective city. When the same work had copies in different cities, it was registered in each city. On the other hand, when the same piece had two or more sets of parts made in the same city, it was registered just once. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that around 75% of the pieces have at least one set of parts without any indication of place of copying. Therefore, the results presented here have to be considered very carefully.

²⁸⁵ Pinto, *Danças Para Banda*.

Table 3.1: Cities which have manuscripts in the instrumental music sub-collection.

Place of Copying	Number of Works
City of Goiás	62
Jaraguá	37
Bomfim	26
Pirenópolis	6
Corumbá	3
Campinas	2
São Francisco	2
Araguari	2
Curralinho (Itaberaí)	1
Uberaba	1
Aracatí (?)	1

The first point which comes to attention in Table 3.1 is the number of works with copies from the City of Goiás and Jaraguá. As a collection owned by a family from Jaraguá, we expect that it would have most of its manuscripts copied there. Instead, according to Table 3.1, we have sixty two works with copies from the City of Goiás, against only thirty seven with copies from Jaraguá. The explanation for this discrepancy could be in the number of manuscripts without indication of place of copying. If we consider that the majority of the copies made by Balthasar de Freitas that have no indication of place of copying were probably produced in Jaraguá, the number of works with copies from this city would increase around 300%, from thirty seven to c.147.²⁸⁶ However, it is possible that some of the manuscripts without indication of place of copying copied by other copyists were produced also in the City of Goiás or Bomfim,

²⁸⁶ Of course, some of these manuscripts could have been copied by Balthasar in other cities, as Bomfim or São Francisco. However, Balthasar seems to omit indication of place of copying when he was producing a manuscript at home.

but, taking into consideration the name of the copyists, the number of copies from these cities would probably not increase as significantly as in the case of Jaraguá.

If copyists were careless in noting the place of copying of the manuscripts, things are even worse in regards to the authorship of the compositions. From 343 works catalogued in the instrumental music sub-collection, 305, or around 90%, present no indication of authorship.²⁸⁷ With researches in other collections, I was able to identify the composer of a small percentage of these cases, but the great majority remains anonymous.

There are thirty eight different composers with pieces in the instrumental music sub-collection. Surprisingly, only six of them appear with more than one composition: Balthasar de Freitas has nine pieces; Antônio da Costa Nascimento (Tonico do Padre),²⁸⁸ and F. Cabral have three; and Benedicto Rodrigues Braga, Francisco Martins Araújo, and J. Ribeiro have two pieces each. The other thirty two composers have just one piece each in the sub-collection. Some of these composers are important figures in the history of music in Brazil. Among them we can point out the authors of three of the Brazilian civic anthems: Francisco Manuel da Silva (Hino nacional brasileiro, MI-074), D. Pedro I (Hino à independência, MI-007, referred to as “Hino 7 de Setembro”), and Leopoldo Miguez (Hino à proclamação da república, MI-073). By Antônio Carlos Gomes, composer of the celebrated opera *Il Guarany*, we have a manuscript of the *marcha popular* Ao Ceará livre (MI-095), preserved through a copy made by B.C. Campos,²⁸⁹ in Bomfim, in 1898.

²⁸⁷ For the criteria of establishing attribution of authorship, see the introduction of the thematic catalogue. The criteria used for the thematic catalogue of the sacred music sub-collection are basically the same ones used for the catalogue of the instrumental music sub-collection.

²⁸⁸ All pieces by Nascimento appear in the manuscript as anonymous works.

²⁸⁹ “B. C.” stands probably for “Benedicto da Costa Campos.”

Worthy of notice are, as well, Américo Jacobino “Canhôtô” (waltz Abismo de rosas, MI-289), José Barbosa da Silva “Sinhô” (samba/tango Fala, meu louro, MI-191), and Joaquim Edson de Camargo (waltz Olhos negros, MI-289).

Most of the pieces of the sub-collection were written for wind band. Indeed, in my earlier study of Balthasar de Freitas’s collection, the term that was employed for this sub-collection was “música para banda” (wind band music).²⁹⁰ It was only with the development of the research that a few pieces written for a chamber ensemble containing strings and winds would be revealed. The wind ensemble for which most of the manuscripts from the sub-collection were written could be as small as eight to ten musicians or as big as forty to fifty players.²⁹¹ The instruments found in these wind bands are requintas, Bb clarinets, pistons, sax-horns and French horns, trombones, euphoniums, helicons, ophicleides, bombardons, tubas, bass drums, cymbals, and snare drums.²⁹² The mixed chamber ensemble, on the other hand, was constituted of one of each of the following instruments: flute, clarinet, pistom, violin, cello, and bass. This was an ensemble used by Balthasar de Freitas in his last years of activities. The manuscripts for this configuration were made between the late 1920s and the early 1930s. Some of them might be original compositions, but others are arrangements or adaptations of pieces originally written for wind band.²⁹³

Whereas copyists of the sub-collection were careless in indicating authorship, and date and place of copying, their attitude in regards to genre was entirely different. From

²⁹⁰ Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*.

²⁹¹ These numbers are based on the manuscripts themselves, on list of musicians from that time, and on pictures of wind bands from the regions which are connected with the collection.

²⁹² For more details on the instrumentation of these ensembles, see chapter 4.

²⁹³ For more details on adaptations of the repertory of the collection, see chapter 4.

the 343 works which were catalogued in the sub-collection, more than 80% lack indication of authorship. On the other hand, only in nineteen works, or less than 6% of the cases, we are not able to find indication of genre. Moreover, there are more than twenty different genres found in the sub-collection, ranging from samba to funeral march. Table 3.2 shows the number of pieces by genre found in the sub-collection.

Table 3.2: Pieces by genre from the instrumental music sub-collection.

Genre	Number of Works
Waltz	108
Dobrado	66
Polka	32
Tango	29
Quadrille	26
March	21
Funeral March	12
Mazurka	12
Samba	6
Anthem	5
Unidentified	5
Argentinean Tango	4
Theater	4
Christmas	3
Havanera	2
Maxixe	2
Schottische	2
Fado	1
Fox-trot	1
Milonga	1
Ragtime	1

As we can see above, the most preponderant genres in the sub-collection are waltzes and *dobrados*, with a fair amount of marches and European dances as well. In fact, the repertory presented in Table 3.2 can be divided, with some exceptions, into two large groups: (1) marches and (2) dances. The exceptions would be three pieces for

Christmas,²⁹⁴ four for theater, and five pieces without identified genre. The group of marches is formed by ordinary marches, funeral marches, anthems, and *dobrados*. By far the most profuse genre in this group is the *dobrado*, with sixty six works. This is a Brazilian genre, similar to a military march, which is very popular in the repertory of wind bands in Brazil. The origin of its name, however, is still problematic.

The second group includes dances with origins in different parts of the world. From Europe we have waltz, polka, quadrille, mazurka, schottische, and fado. From North America, we have fox-trot and ragtime. From Latin America, havanera, Argentinean tango, and milonga are found. Finally, as dances found specifically in Brazil, we have tango, samba, and maxixe. It is possible that some of the dances found in the sub-collection were actually composed in the countries in which they originated, but the great majority, however, was probably composed in Brazil. The most abundant genre in this group is the waltz, with 108 pieces, almost one third of the whole sub-collection.

But why were copyists so careful in indicating genre while they were negligent with other information, such as authorship and date and place of copying? The logical answer is because knowing the genre was important to the musicians and/or their audience. In fact, indicating genre can be an important way of conveying information in regards to meter and tempo, especially in dances and marches. However, even though this seems to be a good justification for the attention given by the copyists to genre, their lack of concern for other elements in the copies, such as dynamics, articulation, and tempo itself, seems to indicate a different reason. Maybe what made knowing the genre of the

²⁹⁴ These three pieces were included in the instrumental music sub-collection, instead of in the sacred music, because they seem to be instrumental arrangements of the pieces, conceived thus to be performed without any voice.

piece important was the circumstance in which this piece was performed rather than any technical necessity of the musician.

Wind bands from small cities of the interior of Brazil seem to have had three main occasions in which they would perform: liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies at church; balls at clubs and houses of important figures of the local society; and concert-like performances, called *retretas*, performed in open places, usually in *coretos*²⁹⁵ located in a square, in front of the main church of the city. For the performances carried on during liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies, knowing the genre of the pieces to be performed would certainly be quite important. The genre from the instrumental music sub-collection that was performed in these ceremonies was the funeral march. These funeral marches were performed in two main occasions in Goiás at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century: burial services and processions.²⁹⁶ Thus, choosing the precise genre in this case could be a matter of capital importance.

The other two main activities of the wind bands, playing at *retretas* and balls, bring some similarities but also some differences in their social function. The repertory performed in balls and *retretas* was probably not so different, with certainly a fair amount of pieces used on both occasions. However, the way the audience would listen to this repertory was different in each case. As was said above, the *retreta* was a concert-like situation, whereas in a ball, the music had a more functional role of accompanying dance. Thus, concerns about genre would be distinct in *retretas* and balls. In the former, because

²⁹⁵ “Coreto” is a small stage in circular form, usually with “cobertura” found mostly in the main square of small towns in Brazil.

²⁹⁶ In that sense, funeral marches can be catalogued in both instrumental music and sacred music sub-collection. Funeral marches are still played in processions in some cities of Goiás.

it was a concert-like situation, it would not be crucial for the audience to identify the genre of the piece that was being played. In the latter, on the other hand, it was important for the audience whether the next piece to be performed would be a quadrille or a waltz. Not knowing it could lead some less experienced guest to the embarrassment of dancing a quadrille while everyone else was dancing a waltz. Therefore, if it was important for the audience, so it was for the musicians.

There is, yet, another possibility to explain the concerns of copyists in indicating genre in the works of the instrumental music sub-collection. Some association seems to have existed between genre and elements or situations of the local society in which the wind band was inserted. This association was expressed in the choice of titles for the pieces composed by the local musicians.

Based on the examination of the pieces which form the instrumental music sub-collection, we can identify four different categories of associations between genre and title. The first of them is the association between dances in triple meter—waltzes and mazurkas—and women (see Table 3.3). This association could be to a specific woman, as in the waltz *Dona Rosinha Rios* (MI-260), or without revealing the identity of the person for whom the piece was written, as in the waltzes *A goianinha* (MI-238) and *Minha namorada* (MI-283). These less overt titles were probably not a bad idea in a society in which love affairs were often candidates for a tragic ending.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ For examples of love stories with tragic endings in Goiás, see Ramos, “Mágoa de Vaqueiro,” and Ortêncio, “Paciência de Goiano.”

Table 3.3: Dances in triple meter whose titles express some association with a feminine figure.

Item	Genre	Title
MI-238	Waltz	A goianinha ²⁹⁸
MI-239	Waltz	A normalista ²⁹⁹
MI-244	Waltz	Amor d’Alice ³⁰⁰
MI-246	Waltz	Amorosa ³⁰¹
MI-249	Waltz	As operárias ³⁰²
MI-253	Waltz	Carmelia
MI-257	Waltz	Consuelo
MI-259	Waltz	Desejada ³⁰³
MI-260	Waltz	Dona Rosinha Rios ³⁰⁴
MI-265	Waltz	Eu e ela ³⁰⁵
MI-266	Waltz	Evangelina
MI-268	Waltz	Fasinha
MI-272	Waltz	Idalina
MI-279	Waltz	Magnólia
MI-280	Waltz	Maria
MI-281	Waltz	Maria Cabral
MI-282	Waltz	Maria de Lourdes
MI-283	Waltz	Minha namorada ³⁰⁶
MI-285	Waltz	Nicinha
MI-297	Waltz	Philomena
MI-317	Waltz	Sinhá
MI-332	[Waltz]	Muchacha ³⁰⁷
MI-113	Mazurka	Belezinha ³⁰⁸
MI-114	Mazurka	Carlottinha
MI-115	Mazurka	Dona Maria ³⁰⁹
MI-118	Mazurka	Ma Fiancie
MI-119	Mazurka	Marica Machado
MI-120	Mazurka	Mês de Maria ³¹⁰

²⁹⁸ “The girl or little woman who was born in Goiás.”

²⁹⁹ “The female student.”

³⁰⁰ “Alice’s love.”

³⁰¹ “Amorous women or girls.”

³⁰² “The female workers.”

³⁰³ “Woman or girl who is desired.”

³⁰⁴ “Madam Rosinha Rios.”

³⁰⁵ “I and she.”

³⁰⁶ “My girlfriend.”

³⁰⁷ “Girl.”

³⁰⁸ “Sweetheart (feminine).”

³⁰⁹ “Madam Maria.”

³¹⁰ “Month of Mary.”

The second category of association identified in the sub-collection is, in some sense, opposite and complementary to the first one. Whereas women were celebrated with waltzes and mazurkas, men were instead associated with dobrados (see Table 3.4); that is, triple meter for women, duple meter for men. References present in dobrados tend to be more explicit than the ones found in waltzes and mazurkas. Most of the titles listed in Table 3.4 are formed with the actual name of the person for whom the piece was written. Thus, it seems that the act of dedicating a dobrado to someone in the community had rather a public character, almost a civic or political gesture, whereas to dedicate a waltz or mazurka to some lady was seen as a private gesture, not infrequently a secret homage.

Table 3.4: Dobrados whose titles express some association with a masculine figure.

Item	Genre	Title
MI-009	Dobrado	Alexandrino Marcio
MI-010	Dobrado	Apulchro de Castro
MI-013	Dobrado	Canção do soldado ³¹¹
MI-015	Dobrado	Capitão Leite ³¹²
MI-017	Dobrado	Constâncio
MI-023	Dobrado	Dr Frota
MI-024	Dobrado	El forasteiro ³¹³
MI-026	Dobrado	Floriano Peixoto
MI-030	Dobrado	João Francisco
MI-031	Dobrado	Júlio de Castilho
MI-037	Dobrado	Lindolpho
MI-040	Dobrado	Moacyr Freitas
MI-041	Dobrado	Nicolau
MI-043	Dobrado	O Guerreiro ³¹⁴
MI-044	Dobrado	O João Veiga ³¹⁵
MI-046	Dobrado	Padre Julião
MI-049	Dobrado	Pereira Accioly
MI-050	Dobrado	Plácido de Castro
MI-056	Dobrado	Saudades do Dr Antonio Perillo
MI-057	Dobrado	Senhores oficiais ³¹⁶
MI-059	Dobrado	Silvino Rodrigues
MI-061	Dobrado	Tineco
MI-066	[Dobrado]	Celso Ribeiro

The third category of association involves not a person, masculine nor feminine, but a particular mood. This mood, not easy to define, is the feeling of absence, nostalgia, or longing, and the genre used to evoke it is again the waltz (see Table 3.5). In more than half of the cases, this association is made through the use of the Portuguese word “saudade.” This is a word with no direct translation to English, but it is related to absence

³¹¹ “Soldier’s song.”

³¹² “Captain Leite.”

³¹³ “The foreigner.”

³¹⁴ “The warrior.”

³¹⁵ “Father Julião.”

³¹⁶ “Mister Officials.”

or longing. This feeling of absence can either be related to a person, as in the waltz Saudades de Oscar Fleury (MI-313), or to a place, as in Saudades de Bomfim (MI-310). Moreover, the association can as well be done by references to parting, as in the waltzes Adeus (MI-242) and Quando dói uma despedida (MI-333).

Table 3.5: Waltzes whose titles express some association with the feeling of absence.

Item	Genre	Title
MI-242	Waltz	Adeus ³¹⁷
MI-251	Waltz	Ausência ³¹⁸
MI-294	Waltz	Partida saudosa ³¹⁹
MI-301	Waltz	Recordação do Acre ³²⁰
MI-302	Waltz	Recordação infantil ³²¹
MI-304	Waltz	Saudade
MI-305	Waltz	Saudade de Ribeirão Preto
MI-306	Waltz	Saudade do mestre ³²²
MI-307	Waltz	Saudade do teatro ³²³
MI-308	Waltz	Saudades
MI-309	Waltz	Saudades
MI-310	Waltz	Saudades de Bomfim
MI-311	Waltz	Saudades da família ³²⁴
MI-312	Waltz	Saudades de Heider
MI-313	Waltz	Saudades de Oscar Fleury
MI-314	Waltz	Saudades do Dr Adherbal
MI-315	Waltz	Saudades do meu amor ³²⁵
MI-316	Waltz	Saudades do Piauí
MI-330	Waltz	Viver Ausente ³²⁶
MI-333	[Waltz]	Quanto dói uma despedida ³²⁷

³¹⁷ "Farewell."

³¹⁸ "Absence."

³¹⁹ "Farewell full of *saudade*."

³²⁰ "Remembrance of Acre."

³²¹ "Remembrance of Childhood."

³²² "*Saudade* of the Master."

³²³ "*Saudade* of the theater."

³²⁴ "*Saudade* of the family."

³²⁵ "*Saudades* of my love."

³²⁶ "To live absent."

³²⁷ "How hurts a farewell."

Finally, there is also a category of association that seems to have existed, but that was less clear than the previous ones, and, therefore, more difficult to identify. The analysis of the titles of tangos and polkas shows a tendency by the composers to employ expressions which have a ludic character. These titles could be formed by nicknames, as in *Tango do Dico* (MI-220); references to humorous situations, as in the polka *Calças largas* (MI-137); or some sort of ciphered message that probably only people who were close to the composers would properly understand, as in the polka *Namoradeira* (MI-149) and the tango *Quem comeu do boi?* (MI-215) (see Table 3.6). If waltzes were frequently inspired by romantic love and *dobrados* by the feeling of respect, tangos and polkas were often jokes exchanged among friends or satires used to make fun of rivals and adversaries.

Table 3.6: Tangos and polkas whose titles have a ludic character.

Item	Genre	Title
MI-135	Polka	Assim, assim ³²⁸
MI-136	Polka	Bimbim de açúcar ³²⁹
MI-137	Polka	Calças largas ³³⁰
MI-149	Polka	Namoradeira ³³¹
MI-150	Polka	Não chores neném ³³²
MI-151	Polka	O gato preto ³³³
MI-152	Polka	Oh arara ³³⁴
MI-155	Polka	Que importa ³³⁵
MI-159	Polka	Tatá
MI-199	Tango	Arrelia ³³⁶
MI-203	Tango	Daia, não posso ³³⁷
MI-205	Tango	Então vá! ³³⁸
MI-206	Tango	Eu só sei que sei ³³⁹
MI-209	Tango	O bilontra ³⁴⁰
MI-210	Tango	O periquito ³⁴¹
MI-215	Tango	Quem comeu do boi? ³⁴²
MI-216	Tango	Quem paga é o Ideal ³⁴³
MI-218	Tango	Tango da sogra ³⁴⁴
MI-220	Tango	Tango do Dico ³⁴⁵

However, it is important to keep in mind that these associations are tendencies and not rigid rules; there are plenty of exceptions in each category presented here. These associations, nevertheless, reveal an active participation of the wind band in its

³²⁸ "So, so."

³²⁹ "Sugar *bimbim*."

³³⁰ "Large pants."

³³¹ "Flirtatious woman or girl."

³³² "Don't cry baby."

³³³ "The black cat."

³³⁴ "Oh macaw."

³³⁵ "What matters."

³³⁶ "Tease."

³³⁷ "Daia, I can't."

³³⁸ "So, go."

³³⁹ "I only know that I know."

³⁴⁰ "The rogue."

³⁴¹ "The parakeet."

³⁴² "Who have eaten from the bull?"

³⁴³ "Who pays is the Ideal."

³⁴⁴ "Mother in law's tango."

³⁴⁵ "Dico's tango."

community. Only such participation would allow a common code shared by composers and their public. Indeed, we have signs of the participation of wind bands in the society of small towns in the state of Goiás. Luciano da Fonseca pointed out the importance of the wind band Santa Cecília for the very town of Jaraguá. In *Jaraguá: Tradição e Modernização*,³⁴⁶ Fonseca stated that the wind band “participated actively in the cultural manifestations of Jaraguá,” and the author also presented testimonies of people from Jaraguá attesting to the crucial role played by the wind band in the local feasts.³⁴⁷

Another sign of this active participation of the wind band in its community can be seen in the large number of pieces from the sub-collection whose titles are formed by dates. These pieces were commissioned to be performed on specific dates or to celebrate dates on which important events took place. Examining Table 3.7, we can see that some of these dates are part of the national civic calendar, such as 7 September (independence day) and 15 November (proclamation of the republic), but most of them are dates which marked local events (some of them perhaps even private ones) and which now have lost their meaning. Civic, public, religious, or private celebrations, the fact is that the wind band was present in every social event which took place in a small town in the interior of Brazil.

³⁴⁶ Fonseca, *Jaraguá*.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 107-109.

Table 3.7: Works whose titles are formed by dates

Item	Genre	Title
MI-001	Dobrado	15 de fevereiro
MI-002	Dobrado	28 de março
MI-003	Dobrado	1° de abril
MI-004	Dobrado	2 de junho
MI-005	Dobrado	9 de outubro
MI-006	Dobrado	15 de novembro ³⁴⁸
MI-053	Dobrado	Salve 8 de dezembro
MI-071	Hymn	Hino 7 de setembro ³⁴⁹ (Hino à independência)
MI-076	March	1° de maio
MI-077	March	3 de junho
MI-078	March	7 de setembro
MI-079	March	30 de outubro
MI-097	Funeral March	19 de fevereiro
MI-111	Mazurka	22 de janeiro
MI-112	Mazurka	13 de maio
MI-120	Mazurka	Mês de Maria
MI-131	Polka	12 de outubro
MI-163	Quadrille	12 de abril
MI-231	Waltz	9 de janeiro
MI-232	Waltz	8 de março
MI-233	Waltz	26 de abril
MI-234	Waltz	30 de maio
MI-235	Waltz	24 de junho
MI-236	Waltz	20 de outubro
MI-237	Waltz	23 de novembro
MI-276	Waltz	Lágrimas de 5 de março

Associations between titles and genres as the examples cited above seem to have existed beyond Balthasar de Freitas's collection. Even though the lack of publications of studies of collections of wind-band music in Brazil makes this hypothesis difficult to be examined, it is possible to find signs of these associations in the small repertory which is currently available. Antônio da Costa Nascimento, known as "Tônico do Padre," and one

³⁴⁸ 15 November 1889 is the day of the proclamation of the Republic in Brazil.

³⁴⁹ 7 September 1822 is the day of the declaration of the independence of Brazil.

of the most celebrated composers of late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Goiás, seems to have cultivated the association between waltz and women or the feeling of absence. In the list of his works presented by Pina, we can find three waltzes whose titles are formed by references to or names of women—Mariquita (1891), Sertaneja (1884), and Dalila (1884)—, and two others whose title make reference to the feeling of absence, *Recordações de um amigo* (1884) and *Saudades da vidinha* (1884).³⁵⁰

Vasco da Gama de Siqueira, a contemporary of Tônico do Padre, and also born in Pirenópolis, was another composer who seems to have cultivated the association between waltzes and women. A prolific composer, Siqueira was known for his active participation in his community. According to Mendonça, for every important event which took place in Pirenópolis during Siqueira's life, he would compose a new *dobrado*. When the inspiration for his new composition was a woman, however, Siqueira seems to have preferred a waltz. "Doralice," "Liquirina," "Iracildes," and "Rosinha" are titles of some of the waltzes he composed.³⁵¹

The association between *dobrado* and men is also found beyond Balthasar de Freitas's collection. When the composer Braz de Arruda, from the City of Goiás, decided to pay homage to Dr Xavier de Almedia, a law student who died prematurely, the genre of the composition chosen by Arruda was unsurprisingly a *dobrado*.³⁵² In the same way, Nestor Garcia de Assis, a composer from the city of Jataí, born in 1903, chose a *dobrado* as the genre of a piece whose title was "José Pedroso."³⁵³

³⁵⁰ Pina Filho, "Antônio da Costa Nascimento," 19.

³⁵¹ Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 136-138.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 56; J. F. S. Lobo, *Goianos Ilustres*, 37.

³⁵³ França, *Música e Maestros*, 79-83.

The tradition of association between titles and genres in the repertory for wind band in the state of Goiás survived all the profound transformations of the role of wind bands in modern society that happened in the twentieth century, and, surprisingly, is still alive presently. *Maestro* Irani Venceslau da Silva, current conductor of the Banda Municipal de Goiânia (Municipal Wind Band of Goiânia) still participates in this tradition. In 1998, Irani Silva decided to pay homage to Mr. Nion Albernaz, mayor of Goiânia at that time, and Geralda Albernaz, his wife, composing two pieces, a dobrado called “Prefeito Nion Albernaz” and a waltz called “Geralda Albernaz.” In 2000, Silva repeated the same formula and wrote for the newly elected mayor a dobrado called “Marcha Militar Prefeito Pedro Wilson.” In the following year he completed the homage by writing a waltz dedicated to Pedro Wilson’s wife, the waltz Maria Tereza.³⁵⁴

³⁵⁴ Personal interview given in August 2009.

Sacred Music

There are 164 pieces catalogued in the sacred music sub-collection of Balthasar de Freitas collection. The time frame of the sacred music sub-collection is the same as the time frame of the entire collection. Its earliest dated document is the title page of a Solo for Nossa Senhora, copied in 1836, and which belonged to Gabriel Raymundo de Lima. No actual music of this work survives, however. The earliest dated musical manuscript in the sub-collection is an anonymous copy for basso continuo of the Missa dos Anjos (BF-006), made in 1851. The latest manuscript catalogued in the sub-collection is a copy of the Missa Santo Ambrósio (BF-001), made by Sebastião José de Siqueira, in 1948.³⁵⁵ The latest manuscript made during Balthasar de Freitas's life time is his own copy of the Novena for Nossa Senhora da Penha (BF-050), produced in 1935, as was previously said, less than one year before his death.

As it is the case with the instrumental music sub-collection, copyists are quite negligent in indicating place of copying of the manuscripts that form the sacred music sub-collection. In the cases in which it can be found, however, the city with the largest number of manuscripts is by far the city of Jaraguá. There are also a good amount of copies from such cities as Bomfim, São Francisco, and Currálinho (see Table 3.8). Once more, the City of Goiás occupies a curious place in this respect. Whereas in the instrumental music sub-collection it came to attention for having more manuscripts than

³⁵⁵ This piece is attributed to Balthasar de Freitas and there are copies of it made as late as 1970s. However, these copies from the second half of the twentieth century were not included in the catalogue.

Jaraguá,³⁵⁶ in the sacred music sub-collection it comes to attention for having none. Again, things are probably not as they appear to be at first sight. Even though no manuscript in the sub-collection bears the name of the City of Goiás as its place of copying, there are some groups of copies that are certainly related to the old capital. That might be the case of the copies made by Joaquim Marques and Father Pedro Ribeiro da Silva, as well as the copies of the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152), work that has been attributed to Basílio Martins Braga Serradourada. All of them are musicians who lived and worked in the City of Goiás. Moreover, some other pieces, such as Missa Dellac (BF-014) and Memento (BF-147), survived also in copies preserved in collections from the City of Goiás.³⁵⁷

Table 3.8: Cities which have manuscripts in the sacred music sub-collection.

Place of Copying	Number of Works
Jaraguá	36
Bomfim	8
São Francisco	6
Curralinho	5
Pirenópolis	4
São José do Tocantins	3
Mariana (MG)	2
Inhumas	1
Trindade	1
Campinas	1
Bela Vista	1
Carolina (MA)	1

³⁵⁶ See chapter 3.

³⁵⁷ For details, see later in this chapter and the thematic catalogue.

From the 164 works of the sub-collection, the great majority appears as anonymous pieces. Even though in some cases it was possible to find the composer of the piece in manuscripts from other collections, 137 works, or more than 80% of the total, appear in the catalogue as anonymous compositions. In only twenty seven works some indication of authorship was found, either in the manuscripts of the collection themselves or in copies from other collections. Yet, the attributions in these twenty seven works are quite problematic.

Several of them are doubtful attributions,³⁵⁸ and in three cases there are conflicting attributions, with the same piece being attributed to different composers in different copies. One case already alluded to in the previous chapter is the Mass in C Major, from which just the Qui sedes (BF-023) is found in the collection. This Mass has been attributed to Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas in Goiás, and to Lobo de Mesquita, Joaquim de Paula Sousa, and Manoel Dias de Oliveira in Minas Gerais. The attribution to Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas is probably unfounded, but the other ones seem quite possible, although none of them is conclusive. Thus, in the catalogue it has been left as an anonymous work, with the multiple attributions explained in a note.³⁵⁹ Another case of multiple attributions is the hymn to the Holy Spirit (BF-117). According to Mendonça, this hymn has been attributed to Father Manoel Amâncio da Luz by some people and to Antônio da Costa Nascimento by others.³⁶⁰ Neither of these attributions appears on the manuscripts preserved in the collection. Finally, we have another problematic attribution with the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152). This piece has

³⁵⁸ For details, see thematic catalogue.

³⁵⁹ See also Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*; and Pinto, "The Holy Spirit Mass."

³⁶⁰ Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 229.

been attributed, with some reserve, to Basílio Martins Braga Serradourada, an illustrious personality from the City of Goiás.³⁶¹ However, it appears in copies from Minas Gerais (late 19th century) attributed to Joaquim Antônio Gomes da Silva.³⁶² Moreover, in most manuscripts from Goiás, including all the copies from Balthasar de Freitas's collection, as well as the copies from Dovi/Moreyra collection and the collection of Antônio Pinheiro, these Motets appear as anonymous works.³⁶³

Considering all the doubtful and conflicting attributions, eighteen identified composers appear in the sub-collection. Balthasar de Freitas has eight works, Miquelino Raymundo de Lima has four, and Balthasar José Martins, two. If we include the conflicting attributions cited above, Lobo de Mesquita and Antônio da Costa Nascimento also appear with two compositions each. The other thirteen identified composers appear in the sub-collection with just one work.³⁶⁴

From these eighteen composers, 50% are from the state of Goiás. From Jaraguá we have four composers: Balthasar de Freitas, João Caetano Bueno, João Leite da Silva, and Miquelino Raymundo de Lima. Three composers are from Pirenópolis: Agesislao de Siqueira, Antônio da Costa Nascimento, and Manoel Amâncio da Luz. Finally, from Corumbá and City of Goiás, we have one composer each: Francisco Bruno do Rosário and Basílio Martins Braga Serradourada, respectively (see Table 3.9).

³⁶¹ Ibid., 178-185; Rodrigues, notes to "A Semana Santa em Goiás;" Souza, "Paixões em Cena."

³⁶² Duprat and Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vol. I, 67.

³⁶³ For details on concordances, see below.

³⁶⁴ For details, see index of composers in vol. II.

Table 3.9: Composers from Goiás with works in the sacred music sub-collection.

Composer	City
Balthasar de Freitas	Jaraguá
João Caetano Bueno	Jaraguá
João Leite da Silva	Jaraguá
Miquelino Raymundo de Lima	Jaraguá
Agesislao de Siqueira	Pirenópolis
Antônio da Costa Nascimento	Pirenópolis
Manoel Amâncio da Luz	Pirenópolis
Basílio Martins Braga	City of Goiás
Serradourada	
Francisco Bruno do Rosário	Corumbá

The other nine composers, who are from outside Goiás, are mostly from Minas Gerais. From this state we have José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita, Manoel Dias de Oliveira, Joaquim de Paula Sousa, José Felipe Corrêa Lisboa, Joaquim Antônio Gomes da Silva, and, probably, João Luís Coelho. We have yet Elias Álvares Lobo from São Paulo and Balthasar José Martins from Maranhão. Curiously, just one composer from Europe appears in the sub-collection. It is the German-Bohemian composer Christoph Willibald Gluck. However, his composition is one with doubtful attributions (see Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Composers from outside of Goiás with works in the sacred music sub-collection.

Composer	City
José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita	Minas Gerais
Manoel Dias de Oliveira	Minas Gerais
Joaquim de Paula Souza	Minas Gerais
José Felipe Corrêa Lisboa	Minas Gerais
Joaquim Antônio Gomes da Silva	Minas Gerais
João Luís Coelho	Minas Gerais?
Elias Álvares Lobo	São Paulo
Balthasar José Martins	Maranhão
Christoph Willibald Gluck	Europe

Concordances

One point comes to our attention when we examine the Sacred Music sub-collection: almost 90% of its pieces are found exclusively in Balthasar de Freitas's collection. At least, that is what we can infer based on the current literature. From a total of 164 pieces that form the sub-collection, only eighteen can be found elsewhere, the other 146 are *unica*. The concordances can be confirmed by the analysis of thematic catalogues of eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazilian music, as well as other publications about sacred music in Brazil.

There are at least three collections from Goiás which have pieces in common with Freitas's collection: the private collection of Antônio Pinheiro, which has five concordances; the Dorvi/Moreyra, which has five pieces in common as well; and the collection of the Pina family, which has, at least, one concordance. However, it is possible that more collections in Goiás hold pieces in common with Freitas's collection, but, as they have not been studied yet, it is not possible to verify which pieces are found in them.

Curiously, the collection which holds more concordances with Freitas's collections is the Curt Lange collection, from the Museu da Inconfidência, Ouro Preto, state of Minas Gerais; it has seven pieces in common. From Minas Gerais we also have the Museu da Música de Mariana, with three pieces; the Arquivo da Pia União do Pão de Santo Antonio, with two pieces; and the collection of the orchestra Lira Sanjoanense, with one concordance. Finally, from Campinas, state of São Paulo, we have the collection

of the Museu Carlos Gomes, with one concordance. Below we are going to discuss these collections and the pieces that they have in common with Balthasar de Freitas's collection.

The private collection of Antônio Pinheiro is a collection that contains manuscripts from the city of Itaberaí, former Curralinho, state of Goiás. Most of its manuscripts are from the first half of the twentieth century, but there are also some copies from the last decades of the nineteenth century. It was formed very recently, through the donations of manuscripts to the historian Antônio Pinheiro, by families of old musicians from Itaberaí. The collection has not been systematically studied yet, but I have conducted some initial research with Antônio Pinheiro in order to present a project to obtain funds for working on it. It is based on this initial research that this list of concordances was elaborated. This collection has five pieces in common with Balthasar de Freitas's collection: (1) Mass in C Major, known also as St. Ambrose Mass or "Little Mass in 3 voices" (BF-001),³⁶⁵ (2) Mass in F Major or "Missa de Frei João" (BF-015); (3) the Solo for the Preacher Tu qui legis (BF-039); (4) Tantum ergo in C Major, also known as "Tantum ergo Padre Cunha" (BF-130); (5) and the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152).

Another private collection from Goiás, which shares some pieces with Freitas's collection, is the Dorvi/Moreyra collection.³⁶⁶ This is a small collection, with about twenty works that used to be performed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the City of Goiás. It is actually formed of two kinds of copies, photographs

³⁶⁵ This is a composition by Balthasar de Freitas, and it is interesting to note that Pinheiro's collection holds some autographs of this Mass.

³⁶⁶ For more details, see chapter 1; see also Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*.

and manuscripts, made by Yara Moreyra in Goiânia, in the 1960s. The manuscripts, which were copied and photographed by Moreyra, were from the City of Goiás; the earliest one was from 1881 and the latest from 1928. Dorvi/Moreyra has five concordances with Freitas's collection: (1) Mass in F Major, also known as "Missa Dellac" (BF-014); (2) Litany in D minor (BF-076); (3) Litany in G Major (BF-087); (4) Memento in G (BF-147); (5) and the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152) cited above.

There are yet two other pieces from the Dorvi/Moreyra collection that have some links with Freitas's collection. The first is a Mass called "Grande Missa dos ourives" (Great) Mass of the goldsmiths). There are no manuscripts of this piece in Freitas's collection, but there is one piece whose title is "Credo dos ourives de Bela Vista" (Credo of the goldsmiths from Bela Vista) (BF-020). It is difficult now to know if one piece is the complement of the other. The peculiar titles, however, as well as the geographical proximity of the places involved (Jaraguá, City of Goiás, and Bela Vista), suggest that, at least at some point in history, these pieces were copied for the same occasion. Whether they were composed in that way, though, is hard to know. The other piece that shows some connections between both collections is the novena for the Holy Ghost (BF-043). This novena is constituted of six parts, and some of these parts appear in another selection of pieces for novenas copied in a manuscript from Dorvi/Moreyra collection. Dorvi/Moreyra's manuscript, however, presents other parts that are not found in the manuscript from Jaraguá.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁷ About music for Novenas, see later in this chapter.

The third private collection with common pieces with Freitas's collection is that of the Pina family, from Pirenópolis, Goiás. It is certainly the most famous music collection from the state of Goiás. Its status is thanks mainly to the manuscripts of the operas by Antônio José da Silva, o "Judeu" (the Jew), that it holds. It is also renowned in Goiás for having the autographs of Antônio da Costa Nascimento. Even though the collection of the Pina family has been cited in Brazilian musicology in the last forty years, it has not been systematically studied yet. I was fortunate, however, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Pompeu de Pina, the current owner of the collection, to gain limited access to the collection.³⁶⁸ Based on this brief contact, I am able to confirm at least one case of concordance between the collections from Pirenópolis and Jaraguá, although I am sure there are many more. The concordance is the Mass in C Major, cited several times in this work, and from which just the Qui sedes (BF-023) is currently found in Balthasar de Freitas's collection.³⁶⁹ Moreover, as it has been pointed out, some copies of this Mass that are now deposited in Pirenópolis are originally from Balthasar de Freitas's collection. Other possible concordances between the two collections are the pieces by composers from Pirenópolis that are found in Freitas's collection, especially the works by Antônio da Costa Nascimento.

The collection in which it was possible to confirm the highest number of concordances with Freitas's collection is the Curt Lange collection, from the Museu da Inconfidência, Ouro Preto, state of Minas Gerais. It is unquestionably one of the most important collections of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Brazilian music. It is formed of the manuscripts collected by Francisco Curt Lange when he started his researches in

³⁶⁸ See Pinto, *Missã ao Divino Espirito Santo*.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*; Pinto, "The Holy Spirit Mass."

Brazilian Colonial music in the mid-twentieth century. The Curt Lange collection has been systematically studied; actually, the system of cataloguing applied to its manuscripts, developed by Dr Régis Duprat and Mary Biason, has been a model for work on this type of collection.³⁷⁰ In addition, several of its most important scores have been published.³⁷¹ Thus, because of this systematic study, as well as its substantial volume, it was possible to confirm seven concordances between Lange and Freitas's collection. These concordances are: (1) Mass in Ab Major or "Missa São Pedro de Alcântara" (BF-018), by Elias Álvares Lobo; (2) Credo in Eb Major (BF-021), by José Felipe Corrêa Lisboa; (3) Qui sedes of the Mass in C Major (BF-023), cited above; (4) Pange lingua in G Major (BF-126);³⁷² (5) Tantum ergo in C minor (BF-132); (6) Laudation in C Major (BF-140); (7) and once more, the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152). It is interesting to note that in the copies from Ouro Preto, these Motets appear attributed to Joaquim Antônio Gomes da Silva.³⁷³

The other collection that rivals the Curt Lange collection is the one found in the Museu da Música de Mariana. This museum is connected with the Archbishopric of Mariana, state of Minas Gerais, and it is one of the first institutions of this kind in Brazil. Together, the Museu da Música de Mariana and the Museu da Inconfidência hold several of the most significant pieces of the colonial repertory from Minas Gerais. In the last decades, the museum has developed an important program of divulgation of its

³⁷⁰ Duprat and Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vols I-II; Duprat and Biason, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vol III.

³⁷¹ Duprat, *Música do Brasil Colonial*, vols I-III.

³⁷² The version from Ouro Preto is for eight voices, whereas the other versions of this piece, including the version found in Freitas's collection, are for four voices.

³⁷³ For details, see thematic catalogue.

collection, publishing and recording its main works.³⁷⁴ In total, ten volumes have been published, nine of them with accompanying recordings.³⁷⁵ As the complete catalogue of the Museu da Música has not been published yet, I based my list of concordances on the works that have been already published and on the ones that appear in the PUC/XEROX catalogue. Thus, it is possible that the museum actually holds more concordances with Freitas's collection than the three indicated here. The three concordances are: (1) Mass in C Major (BF-023), the same discussed in the paragraphs above; (2) Litany in D Major (BF-074); (3) Pange lingua in G Major (BF-126), also cited above. The first two of these pieces have been dated as late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The Mass, as we have seen, has been attributed to Lobo de Mesquita (1746?-1805), Dias de Oliveira (1734-1813), and Joaquim de Paula Sousa (c.1780-1842). The Litany was indicated by Paulo Castagna, editor of the work, as having been property of Francisco Barreto Falcão, horn player in Vila Rica, at the end of the eighteenth century.³⁷⁶

The Arquivo da Pia União do Pão de Santo Antonio is located in the city of Diamantina, state of Minas Gerais. Fifty pieces of its collection were microfilmed by the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro in the 1970s;³⁷⁷ two of them are found also in Freitas's collection. These pieces are: (1) the Mass in C Major (BF-023); and (2) Memento in G (BF-147). It was during the process of cataloguing carried out by the

³⁷⁴ It is also important to point out the relevant work that the musicologist Conceição Rezende developed, in the previous decades, organizing its collection.

³⁷⁵ Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vols I-IX; Cotta, *Lobo de Mesquita*.

³⁷⁶ Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vol. VIII, 31.

³⁷⁷ Barbosa, *O Ciclo do Ouro*.

Catholic University that this Memento was attributed to Lobo de Mesquita for the first time.³⁷⁸

The collection from the orchestra Lira Sanjoanense, on the other hand, is from the city of São João d'El Rei, also state of Minas Gerais. This orchestra, actually an ensemble which includes voices as well, was founded in 1776 by José Joaquim de Miranda.³⁷⁹ It is one of the few institutions responsible for keeping the colonial repertory “alive” up to the twenty-first century. More than 360 pieces of its collection were microfilmed and catalogued by the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro in the 1970s. It has one piece in common with Freitas’s collection, the Mass in Ab Major or Missa São Pedro de Alcântara (BF-018), by Elias Álvares Lobo, which is found also in the Museu da Inconfidência.

Finally, from São Paulo we have the collection of the Museu Carlos Gomes. It is located in the city of Campinas, one of the most important cultural centers in the state of São Paulo. The museum holds the musical manuscripts of the Gomes family, whose most illustrious member is the opera composer Antônio Carlos Gomes. Manuscripts produced or owned by Manoel José Gomes (Antônio’s father) and Santana Gomes (Antônio’s brother) are also in the museum. There is one piece in common between the Museu Carlos Gomes and Freitas’s collection. It is the Pange lingua in G Major (BF-126), which is found also in the Curt Lange collection and the Museu da Música de Mariana. The

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 131, 228. For details on this attribution, see thematic catalogue.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, III.

copy from Campinas, made in 1904, refers to it as “Pange lingua mineiro” (Pange lingua from Minas Gerais).³⁸⁰

There is still one other source of concordances apart from all these collections discussed above. It is a publication that has been cited quite frequently in this work, *A Música em Goiás*, by Belkiss Mendonça. In addition to several other qualities that this work has, and which made it essential for the subject discussed in the present research, *A Música em Goiás* presents numerous pieces that otherwise would be unknown by the general public and scholars interested in Brazilian music. However, because the nature of the origin of *A Música em Goiás*, its expected public and commission, it is not always possible to know the sources used by its author when some piece is mentioned in its text. Mendonça certainly consulted the collection of the Pina family in Pirenópolis and several others from the City of Goiás, but there is no evidence that she had examined Balthasar de Freitas’s collection or the manuscripts that would later form Antônio Pinheiro’s collection. Thus, when some piece found in Freitas’s collection appears in the text of *A Música em Goiás*, we can infer that Mendonça was using a source different from Freitas’s collection. Therefore, *A Música em Goiás* presents five pieces that are found in Freitas’s collection: (1) Qui sedes from the Mass in C Major (BF-023); (2) Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152); (3) Pange lingua in G Major (BF-126), that Mendonça mistakenly attributes to Father Pedro Ribeiro da Silva; (4) Domine tu mihi in D Major (BF-153); (5) and the Hymn to the Holy Spirit in F Major (BF-117). The first three pieces, as we have seen, are found in several other collections. The last two are

³⁸⁰ Nogueira, *Museu Carlos Gomes*, 268.

Antônio da Costa Nascimento's compositions (the last one with disputed attribution), and thus, are probably deposited in the collection of the Pina family.

But what can we infer from the list of concordances discussed above? One thing that comes to our attention is the frequency of the dissemination of the pieces discussed above. They are not spread evenly throughout the collections. Some of the pieces, such as the *Missa Dellac* (BF-014) or the *Tantum ergo Padre Cunha* (BF-130), are found in only one more collection. Others seem to have been quite popular in Goiás, while others achieved success even outside the state. The *Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross*, for example, appear in every music collection from Goiás that are currently, if partially, available, as well as in one important collection from Minas Gerais. The *Mass in C Major* (BF-023), though, is probably the best example of a popular piece from Balthasar de Freitas's collection. It is copied again and again during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and its manuscripts spread throughout Minas Gerais and Goiás.

Actually, this *Mass*, together with pieces like the *Memento in G* (BF-147) and the *Pange lingua in G Major* (BF-126), presents an interesting question. How was the dissemination of these pieces carried out? Were they written in Minas Gerais or São Paulo and then carried to Goiás, as might be thought—based on the fact that Minas Gerais and São Paulo are older regions than Goiás—, or was it in the opposite way? Or, what seems to be more likely, could both things have happened, some pieces were written in Minas or São Paulo (or another place) and carried to Goiás, whereas others could have been composed in Goiás and exported to other places? As has been pointed out, these are not easy questions. In any event, this is a very interesting problem, but one that goes beyond the boundaries of this research. In fact, it could be a problem to justify an entire

dissertation. Nevertheless, one point can be achieved by the discussion presented above, actually one point that I have been making in previous researches: there was an intense exchange between musicians from Goiás and from other states of Brazil.³⁸¹ The details of this exchange will be clearer when researches about Brazilian music in general and music in Goiás in particular, become more developed.

Confirming an active exchange between musicians from Goiás and from other states is not the only reason to make the study of these concordances a very important enterprise. Other aspects of the research can as well be benefited by this investigation. One of them is the possibility of completing a set of parts that appears in Balthasar de Freitas's collection in a fragmentary way. It is important to remember that all this repertory that we have been discussing here circulated in manuscripts, and most of them in sets of parts, instead of full-score form. Therefore, once one of these parts was lost, it became impossible, for most of the time, to recover its music, making thus the piece "unplayable." The Litany in D minor (BF-076) shows how concordances can help to deal with this kind of problem.

The Litany in D minor (BF-076) is one of the most interesting pieces of Balthasar de Freitas's collection. It is preserved there in a set of parts, copied by an anonymous copyist, with no indication of date or place of copying. The manuscript, however, is similar to the earliest manuscripts of the collection, suggesting thus that it is from early nineteenth century. The extant parts found in the collection are Alto, Tenor, Bass (voice), violin I, violin II, and bass (instrument). The indication "Altus a 4" in the Alto part (similar indications on the Tenor and Bass parts are found) makes it clear that a Soprano

³⁸¹ See Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*; Pinto, "The Holy Spirit Mass;" and Pinto, *Danças Para Banda*.

part is missing, and, therefore, the piece as it is preserved in Freitas's collection is "unplayable." Fortunately, the work is also preserved in the Dorvi/Moreyra collection. It is one of the manuscripts that Yara Moreyra photographed in the mid-1960s. Curiously, the Soprano part was the only one among the manuscripts photographed by Moreyra in Goiânia. The manuscript was anonymous, with no indication of date or place of copying. Most intriguing, although the copy from Dorvi/Moreyra complements perfectly the copies from Freitas's collection, they are clearly not copied by the same copyist. In any event, thanks to this concordance, the piece is again playable.

Another aspect of the collection that can benefit from the study of concordances is the authorship of the pieces. As we have seen, copyists of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Brazilian music are quite negligent about authorship of the works they are copying; in fact, the great majority of the manuscripts preserved in Freitas's collection bears no indication of authorship. Thus, information found in concordances can significantly affect issues of authorship of the works preserved in Freitas's collection, and it can affect it in three ways: providing, confirming, or questioning an attribution of authorship. The *Missa São Pedro de Alcântara* (BF-018) is one example of authorship provided by a concordance. It is preserved in Freitas's collection through a damaged anonymous manuscript, which has no indication of authorship whatsoever. Thanks to a copy deposited in the Museu da Inconfidência,³⁸² we know that this Mass was composed by Elias Álvares Lobo.

Concordances can also confirm an existent attribution. That is the case with the *Credo in Eb Major* (BF-021). In one of the sets of parts preserved in Freitas's collection,

³⁸² Duprat and Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vol. II, 37, No. 281.

this work is attributed to J. F. Corrêa. The concordance found in the Museu da Inconfidência confirmed that, indeed, the Credo was composed by José Felipe Corrêa Lisboa.³⁸³

However, in some cases concordances can bring discord instead of peace. A situation in which two different copies of the same work present distinct attributions of authorship is not rare in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Brazilian music. Indeed, it is more frequent than most people would think. In Freitas's collections we have two cases that have already been discussed in this text: the Mass in C Major (BF-023) and the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of Cross (BF-152). The Mass appears as an anonymous piece in Freitas's collection (actually these copies bring only the Qui sedes), as composed by Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas in Mendonça's *A Música em Goiás*,³⁸⁴ and attributed to Lobo de Mesquita, Joaquim de Paula Sousa, and Manoel Dias de Oliveira in different collections from Minas Gerais.³⁸⁵

The other case also already mentioned in this study is the authorship of the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152). None of the several sets of parts preserved in Freitas's collection bear any attribution of authorship.³⁸⁶ The piece, however, has been traditionally attributed in Goiás to Basílio Martins Braga Serradourada.³⁸⁷ It is true that this authorship has been, most of the time, treated with

³⁸³ Duprat and Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vol. I, 40, No. 044.

³⁸⁴ Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 232-248.

³⁸⁵ Duprat and Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vol. I, 108, No. 163; Guimarães, *L'Oeuvre de Lobo de Mesquita*, 336-337; Barbosa, *O Ciclo do Ouro*, 202-203; Rezende in Mesquita, *Tercio*, 24; Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vol. II, 76-157. For a discussion of all these attributions, see Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*, especially chapters 2 and 3; and Pinto, "The Holy Spirit Mass."

³⁸⁶ It appears also anonymous in Dorvi/Moreyra and Pinheiro's collections. For the criterias of attribution of authorships used in this research, see introduction to thematic catalogue.

³⁸⁷ Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 178-185; Rodrigues, notes to "Semana Santa em Goiás."

some reserve.³⁸⁸ The doubts become stronger if we consider the copies of this piece deposited in the Museu da Inconfidência; they attribute the Motets to Joaquim Antônio Gomes da Silva.³⁸⁹

There is one more point that can be improved by the study of the concordances listed above, which is the time frame of the collection. As was said in the beginning of this chapter, the earliest dated document of the collection is from 1836, the title page of a Solo for Nossa Senhora. The earliest manuscript containing actual music, though, is from 1851, a part for basso continuo of the Missa dos Anjos (BF-006). In addition, the bulk of the manuscripts are from the second half of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century. However, as has been mentioned in this study, several of these manuscripts are, in fact, copies of works which were composed in the first half of the nineteenth century or even in late eighteenth century. Some points seem to corroborate this hypothesis.

One important point, which will be discussed in the next chapter, is the fact that the musical style and the style of notation present in some of these late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century manuscripts seem to be characteristic of earlier periods. In addition, the large number of anonymous compositions found in Balthasar de Freitas's collection can be another sign that the repertory preserved in these copies is actually from preceding generations. But probably the most compelling argument for this hypothesis is given by the analysis of the concordances cited above.

³⁸⁸ Rodrigues, notes to "Semana Santa em Goiás;" Souza, "Paixões em Cena."

³⁸⁹ Duprat and Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vol. I, 67, No. 092.

Three pieces previously cited are especially relevant for this discussion. The first is, once more, the Mass in C Major (BF-023). In Freitas's collection the extant copies are undated and anonymous. There are copies of it in the collection of the Pina family from the second half of the nineteenth century. In Minas Gerais, however, the piece is attributed to three of the most important composers of the colonial period: José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita (1746?-1805), Manoel Dias de Oliveira (1734-1813), and Joaquim de Paula Sousa (c.1780-1842). Thus, the copies from Minas Gerais point towards an earlier period than the copies from Goiás can suggest.

The Memento in G (BF-147) is another piece attributed to Lobo de Mesquita that appears in Freitas's collection in copies from the second half of the nineteenth century. The copies found in the collection are from 1876, 1887, and 1892; there are also copies of it in other collections from Goiás dated from 1893 and 1908. The attribution of this Memento to Lobo de Mesquita was suggested by the scholars who prepared the thematic catalogue published by the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro in the 1970s.³⁹⁰ The attribution appears later in the two thematic catalogues of Lobo de Mesquita's work, although in Guimarães's catalogue it appears among works with doubtful attributions.³⁹¹

Finally, the Litany in D Major (BF-074) appears in Freitas's collection in one single extant part. It is a copy for Soprano by an anonymous copyist, with no date or place of copying. The copy from the Museu da Música de Mariana was considered by the scholars who elaborated the thematic catalogue published in *O Ciclo do Ouro* as having

³⁹⁰ Barbosa, *O Ciclo do Ouro*, 131 and 228.

³⁹¹ Guimarães, *L'Oeuvre de Lobo de Mesquita*, 412; Rezende in Mesquita, *Tercio*, 23.

an “Escrita antiquíssima.”³⁹² This expression can mean both “in a very archaic handwriting” or “in a very old style.” Indeed, as we saw above, this copy belonged to a musician who lived in Vila Rica, Minas Gerais, at the end of the eighteenth century.³⁹³

³⁹² Barbosa, *O Ciclo do Ouro*, 222.

³⁹³ See above and Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vol. VIII, 31.

Function

We have been examining several aspects of the manuscripts deposited in Balthasar de Freitas's collection, but what were the purposes of these manuscripts? With which objective in mind did copyists and composers produce them? We can generally say that these manuscripts were made in order to answer to a very pragmatic demand: to be used during musical performances. They were not copied in luxurious manuscripts to be given as gifts, nor they were selected in order to form some kind of historical anthology, and finally, they were not used in some sort of theoretical or pedagogical way.³⁹⁴ These manuscripts were used during performances. In the case of the manuscripts from the sacred music sub-collection, they were used in performances that were part of religious ceremonies.

These religious ceremonies could be either liturgical or paraliturgical. These terms are here been used to meant, respectively, (a) ceremonies that are formally prescribed by the Church and (b) religious ceremonies which are not part of Church's prescribed liturgy. John Harper in his *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* defines liturgy as being "the whole of the formalized, written-down worship of the Church intended primarily for celebration and recitation in church."³⁹⁵ On the other hand, he

³⁹⁴ Some of the manuscripts could be used as pedagogical tools, but they were not produced with this intention in mind.

³⁹⁵ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 304.

describes paraliturgical as being “a modern term to describe Christian observances which are not part of the prescribed liturgy, but which relate to it in structure or intent.”³⁹⁶

Three kinds of ceremonies seem to have been the core of religious life in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: (1) Masses, (2) novenas, and (3) processions. Also important were blessings of the Holy Sacrament, services for the dead, and the liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies that are related with the death and resurrection of Christ. Several documents from this time corroborate this assumption. In 1783, Antônio Cardoso de Campos pointed out that the main sources of income for a priest working in the city of Crixás were Masses, processions, novenas, Offices, and burials.³⁹⁷ Six years later, in 1789, Antônio Menezes, *Capitão Mor* of Vila Boa, described the main activities carried out by a clergyman in Goiás. Among these activities are all kinds of Masses as well as processions and novenas.³⁹⁸ Moreover, the several brotherhoods that were active in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries celebrated their Patrons usually with sung Mass, novena, and procession.³⁹⁹

The manuscripts found in Balthasar de Freitas’s collection seem to reflect this context. Of 164 works, forty two are related to Mass (parts of ordinary, proper, and paraliturgical pieces performed at Masses), seventy eight are related to novenas or other similar ceremonies (triduum, septenary), and twenty three are pieces used in processions

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 309.

³⁹⁷ In Bertran, *Notícia Geral*, vol. I, 147.

³⁹⁸ In Castro, *Organização da Igreja Católica*, 99.

³⁹⁹ For details see chapter 1; see also documents of brotherhoods in the collection of the IEPHBC. This seems to be the practice of brotherhoods in other parts of Brazil as well. Chahon pointed out that among the main objectives of brotherhoods was the responsibility to celebrate their Patrons with a Sung or Solemn Mass. The day of the Patron would have, apart from this Mass, also a Communion, Sermon, and Procession. *Convidados Para a Ceia*, 204, 247, and 370.

and blessings of the Holy Sacrament. Together, these three categories represent more than 80% of the total of works of the sub-collection (see Table 3.11).

Table 3.11: Number of works from sacred music sub-collection separated by categories.

Category	No. of Works
Mass	42
Novena and other paraliturgical works	78
Blessing of the Holy Sacrament and procession of Corpus Christi	23
Services for the dead	5
Holy Week	11
Te Deum	2
Other	3

Before going to the analysis of the categories presented above, it is interesting to comment on one aspect of Table 3.11, the absence of matins and vespers. Indeed, with the exception of some works for the services for the dead and detached antiphons, hymns, etc, whose texts were originally part of the Office but that I believe were used in other paraliturgical ceremonies (see below), no music for the Office is found in the collection. Actually, it is worth mentioning the absence of matins and vespers in all musical collections from Goiás. As far as I know, the only exception is a Christmas Matins found in the Dorvi/Moreyra collection.

Mass

We saw above that the Mass was at the center of religious life in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but with what frequency were Masses celebrated in Goiás at that time? How were these Masses celebrated? In which circumstances they were celebrated? Unfortunately, we do not have studies to answer these questions specifically related to Goiás. Nevertheless, we do have an important study related to Mass in Rio de Janeiro from 1750 to 1820: *Os Convidados Para a Ceia do Senhor*, by Sérgio Chahon.⁴⁰⁰ Certainly there were differences between Rio de Janeiro, the main urban center of Brazil at that time, and Goiás, one of the areas of difficult access in the country. The differences, however, are in degree, not in substance. Thus, examining the role of Mass in Rio de Janeiro can give us an insight about how it functioned also in the “land of Goyazes.”

According to Chahon, Masses were celebrated in Rio de Janeiro virtually every day of the year.⁴⁰¹ These daily Masses would usually take place from sunrise to the “end of the first twelve hours of the day.”⁴⁰² Most of these were regular Masses, but there were some occasions in which a special Mass was celebrated. These occasions, or festive days, include all Sundays of the year and the thirty four feasts prescribed in Pope Urban VIII’s decree of 13 September 1642.⁴⁰³ Add to that a festive day to celebrate the Patron of each brotherhood of the city, as well as the Patron of the city, province, and kingdom. Finally, there were yet Masses celebrated for special occasions, such as birth, baptism, wedding, and death of important people of the society. Indeed, the *Real Capela* in Rio de

⁴⁰⁰ Chahon, *Convidados Para a Ceia*.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 156.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 165.

Janeiro listed eighty one festive days for the year of 1809, forty one of them were of first, second, or third order, and thus more elaborate in their celebrations.⁴⁰⁴ In 1849, the number of festive days in the *Capela Imperial*⁴⁰⁵ would decrease to thirty eight, with sixty three ceremonies per year.⁴⁰⁶

Different degrees of importance of these festive days would result in different types of Masses. Since the revisions of the Christian calendar that took place as consequence of the Council of Trent, the feasts were classified into six classes:⁴⁰⁷ (1) *Duplex i classis* (Double of the first class); (2) *Duplex ii classis* (Double of the second class); (3) *Duplex maius* (Greater double); (4) *Duplex* (Double); (5) *Semiduplex* (Semi-double); (6) *Simplex* (Simple).⁴⁰⁸ In the *Real Capela* the ceremonies were actually divided into four classes or orders, each one with a different form of celebration.⁴⁰⁹ It is in order to mark these different classes of feasts that different kinds of Masses were established. Chahon defines three classes of Masses celebrated in Rio de Janeiro in eighteenth and early nineteenth century: *solene* (solemn), *cantada* (sung), and *rezada* (prayed). Among other things, these classes of Masses were differentiated by the role of music in them: absent in the *missa rezada*, simple in the *missa cantada*, and more elaborate in the *missa solene*.⁴¹⁰ In the *Capela Real* the difference between the music of a *Missa Cantada* and a *Missa Solene* seem to have been marked, among other things, by the number and type of musicians employed: voices, organ, and bass in the former and

⁴⁰⁴ Cardoso, *Música na Capela Real*, 27-29.

⁴⁰⁵ With the independence of Brazil, the *Capela Real* (Royal Chapel) became *Capela Imperial* (Imperial Chapel).

⁴⁰⁶ Cardoso, *Música na Capela Real*, 30.

⁴⁰⁷ Actually, the Tridentine Breviary of 1568 presented five classes; the sixth class, "greater double," was established in 1602. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 156-157.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁴⁰⁹ Cardoso, *Música na Capela Real*, 26-27.

⁴¹⁰ Chahon, *Convidados Para a Ceia*, 194, 305-306.

orchestra and choir in the latter.⁴¹¹ In general, though, these terms seem to have meant Mass with the music sung by the celebrants in Chant (with or without accompaniment of organ), without the participation of other professional musicians (*missa cantada*), and Mass with the music sung partly in Chant by the celebrant and partly in “polyphony” by professional musicians.

The terms usually employed in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century documents from Goiás are “missa cantada” (sung Mass) and “missa rezada” (prayed Mass). The meaning of “missa rezada” is the same as the definition given above. The meaning of “missa cantada,” though, seems to have been a little bit different. Actually, this term seems to refer to both solemn Mass and sung Mass. When the term “missa solene” appears, it seems to have been used interchangeably with “missa cantada.” Thus, in the *Livro de Compromissos* of the *Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Meia Ponte*, from 1758, in its chapter 36, it is established that the brotherhood should celebrate their Patroness with a “Missa Cantada com Irmãos e Muzica” (Sung Mass with Brothers and Music).⁴¹² Several books of expenditures from brotherhoods from Goiás registered (during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) payments to some priests for a “missa cantada” and to a musician for the music of the same occasion.⁴¹³

As musical genre, the Mass was also in the center of Brazilian sacred music during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Virtually all of the major composers of that time were dedicated to composing Masses. The Mass in F Major is one of the most

⁴¹¹ Cardoso, *Música na Capela Real*, 27-31.

⁴¹² *Livro da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Meia Ponte (Pirenópolis) 1758*, IEPHBC.

⁴¹³ See among others, *Livro de Termos da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos* of the City of Goiás and *Livro de Receitas e Despesas da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Natividade*. Both manuscripts from Arquivo Frei Simão Dorvi.

famous compositions by Lobo de Mesquita; seventeen Masses by André da Silva Gomes were catalogued;⁴¹⁴ and José Maurício Nunes Garcia wrote more than 30 Masses.⁴¹⁵ Moreover, in the Curt Lange collection from the Museu da Inconfidência, more than one hundred compositions are found.⁴¹⁶ In the Museu da Música de Mariana, on the other hand, the number of Masses passes two hundred.⁴¹⁷

The five parts of the ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei) appear in manuscripts of eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazilian music divided into two blocks. The first, called Mass, contains Kyrie and Gloria; the second, labeled Credo, presents the Credo itself, followed by Sanctus (with Benedictus) and Agnus Dei. In the cases in which a single manuscript presents the whole Mass, the title of the piece is usually “Missa e Credo.” In these cases, the Credo would receive a new title page as well as a new page numbering. Moreover, the Mass (musical genre) and Credo performed at a Mass (religious ceremony) was not necessarily from the same composition or even written by the same composer. It seems that the performers had, at least in some cases, freedom in choosing which Credo would complete a given Mass. Indeed, there are witnesses of two originally distinct compositions (a Mass and a Credo) copied together in a manuscript completing each other. There are also cases of the same Mass being copied together with different Credos in different manuscripts.⁴¹⁸

There are forty two pieces related to the celebration of Mass in Balthasar de Freitas’s collection. This number includes pieces from the ordinary and the proper, as

⁴¹⁴ Duprat, *Música na Sé de São Paulo*, 228.

⁴¹⁵ C. P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*, 361.

⁴¹⁶ Duprat and Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vols. I-II; Duprat and Biazon, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vol. III.

⁴¹⁷ Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vol. II, 21.

⁴¹⁸ For examples of these practices, see Pinto, *Missa ao Divino Espírito Santo*, and below.

well as paraliturgical works.⁴¹⁹ It does not include, however, Requiem Masses, which are discussed elsewhere.⁴²⁰ In number of pieces, this is not the largest section of the sacred music sub-collection; the section containing novenas and other similar works are larger. However, in number of pages, it probably is the largest section. Moreover, of these forty two pieces, twenty five are compositions with music for the ordinary of the Mass. There are eight complete Masses, containing the five parts of the ordinary; ten Masses, with just Kyrie and Gloria; three Credos, with Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei; and four fragments of the ordinary, one Sanctus (containing Sanctus and Agnus Dei),⁴²¹ one Qui sedes (part of the C Major Mass previously discussed), and two Benedictus.

Some of the most interesting pieces in the collection are found in this section. One of them, doubtless, is the *Missa e Credo dos Anjos* (BF-006). The oldest dated manuscript containing actual music in the whole collection is an anonymous copy for basso continuo of the *Credo dos Anjos*. It was written in 1851.⁴²² This manuscript is also noteworthy for a very rare characteristic among other copies from Freitas's collection: it clearly indicates the authorship of the piece. In the verso of the basso continuo part is written, "1851 / Credo da Missa dos Anjos hé o seu louvor / dado pelo seu compozitor. o P^c. João Luis Coelho / Pertence a Manoel Álvares da Silva." (1851 / Credo from the Mass of the Angels it is his praise / given by its composer. Father João Luis Coelho). João Luis Coelho is virtually unknown to Brazilian musical historiography. Actually, the only other

⁴¹⁹ These last pieces were performed during the Mass, a liturgical ceremony, but were not part of the official liturgy, thus I am considering them as paraliturgical works.

⁴²⁰ A complete composition containing "Missa e Credo" is considered as just one piece.

⁴²¹ It is possible that this piece was originally composed as it appear in the manuscript, a Sanctus with an Agnus Dei, and not as a complete Mass, or at least Credo, which now has some missing parts. The title found in one of the manuscripts says: "Sanctus written by Mr. João Caetano Bueno." For details, see Sanctus and Agnus Dei in C Major, BF-022 in the thematic catalogue.

⁴²² The same copyist produced also a part for Tenor that is found in the collection.

mention of his name that I was able to find appears in a manuscript from the Curt Lange collection deposited in the Museu da Inconfidência. It is an anonymous copy from the first half of the nineteenth century of a Trezena de Santo Antônio by Joaquim de Paula Sousa.⁴²³ On the title page of this manuscript is written “P^a. uzo do P^e. João Luis Coelho” (For the use of Father João Luis Coelho). This inscription was later scratched out and a new inscription saying “Hoje de Luis / Tiburcio da Costa / Março 23 de 1861” (Today owned by Luis Tiburcio da Costa 23 March 1861) was written in the manuscript. Few things can be inferred from these two title pages cited above. João Luis Coelho was a priest, with some connection with someone from Goiás, probably Manoel Álvares da Silva himself. There is one intriguing point in this story. It is curious that Coelho’s name appears linked to a manuscript of a piece by Joaquim de Paula Sousa. Coelho might be the key to explaining the connections between Paula Sousa and the state of Goiás, which resulted in the multiple attributions of the Mass in C Major previously discussed.

The Missa Santo Ambrósio (BF-001) is another interesting piece. It is considered by Balthasar de Freitas’s family to be his most important composition. Also a remarkable piece is the Mass in C Major (BF-011), which attracts attention for being a musically appealing piece but also for the title under which it appears in some manuscripts: “Missa Carne de Vaca” (Cow Meat Mass, or in a simpler translation, Beef Mass). It is difficult to imagine what the origin of this title is, but several copyists (there are more than ten different sets of parts of this Mass) seem to have had problems with it; they changed the title from “Missa Carne de Vaca” to “Missa São Thomé” (Saint Thomas Mass). Finally, a Benedictus in G minor (BF-025) is another piece worth mentioning. It is a small but very

⁴²³ Duprat and Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, vol. I, 110.

well written piece for two Soprano solos and strings. The fact that it is written for a duet of Sopranos already puts it in a distinctive place among the other pieces from Balthasar de Freitas's collection, but what makes it remarkable, as well, is its high musical quality. Also interesting is the fact that one of the manuscripts of this work, from Jaraguá, 1892, indicates that it was copied to be performed by two male Sopranos, José Bernardo de Freitas Machado and Benedicto das Chagas Leite.

In Balthasar de Freitas's collection, there are Masses written for one, two, three, and four voices, all with accompaniment of instruments. As we are going to see in chapter 4, though, the components of this instrumental accompaniment are sometimes not so easy to figure out. It could be just a single bass, a small string ensemble with two violins and basso continuo, or yet a larger group, including clarinets, cornets, and trombones. The process of adaptation of these instrumental configurations will be examined in the next chapter.

One characteristic of the music written for the five parts of the ordinary in Brazil during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries referred to above is that these five parts were divided into two blocks (Missa and Credo), and that these two blocks were treated with a certain level of independence from each other. Thus, as was previously stated, the same Missa could have been copied (and performed) with different Credos completing it. That is the case with one Mass in D Major, called Missa de São Bento (BF-005). There are three types of sets of parts of this Mass. In the first, the Missa appears alone in the manuscript, with just the Kyrie and Gloria. In the second, the Mass in D Major is followed by a Credo in G Major. In the third group of copies, however, the Mass in D

Major is completed by a Credo in C Major (BF-019).⁴²⁴ This Credo in C Major (BF-019), in turn, appears in yet another manuscript, under the title “Credo 13 de Maio,” with no Mass preceding it. It is therefore clear that Missas and Credos were used in Brazil at that time as independent units which could be combined in different ways.

Not only texts from the ordinary appear in the manuscripts of Freitas’s collection; there are eleven pieces with texts from the proper of the Mass. Of these eleven pieces, there are six graduals, three offertories, and two introits. These eleven pieces appear copied as detached works. Ten of them are in Latin, but the gradual *Oh Virgem Mãe* (BF-031) is in Portuguese. It is possible that some of these pieces were used not only in Masses, but also in other paraliturgical ceremonies. On the title page of the gradual *Dirigatur Domine* in C Major (BF-028), we can read: “Dirigatur / p^a. hora do incenso / e sever p^a. qualquer / Função. 8-11-[1]932.” (Dirigatur for the time of the incense and to serve for every Function. 8 November 1932). Another evidence of liturgical flexibility appears in a manuscript of the introit, *Spiritus Domini* in D Major (BF-035). In the copy of a part for trombone by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, we can read: “Spiritus Dominus p^a. Dom^o. / da ressurreição, e festa do Divino” (Spiritus Dominus for Sunday of resurrection, and feast of Pentecost).

Finally, there is a group of paraliturgical works that were performed during the Mass. This group is constituted by three solos for the Preacher and three other small pieces, one *Bendita* and two Hymns. Solos for the Preacher (“Solo ao Pregador”) were used to prepare the arriving of the Preacher to the pulpit in order to give his sermon.

⁴²⁴ The Mass in D Major and the Credo in G Major received the same number in the catalogue.

There are solos for the Preacher in several collections of Brazilian music; they appear also with other titles, such as arias, trios, or motets for the Preacher.⁴²⁵

Novenas and Other Similar Works

Novenas are paraliturgical ceremonies which prepare and emphasize the solemnity of the feasts of the *Sanctorale*.⁴²⁶ According to the Catholic Encyclopedia, although the practice of novena is allowed and even recommended by the Church, it is not part of the official liturgy. The name “novena” comes from the number nine, which is the number of days during which the novena is celebrated. Similar ceremonies are *triduums*, septenaries, and *trezenas*, which last, respectively, three, seven, and thirteen days. Still according to the Catholic Encyclopedia:

The number ten is the highest, the *numerus maximus*, simply the *most perfect*, which is fitting for God; the number nine, which is lacking of ten, is the number of imperfection, which is fitting for mortal kind. For this reason it was adapted for use where man’s imperfection turned in prayer to God.⁴²⁷

Novenas and similar ceremonies were spread throughout the entire Catholic world; they were a significant characteristic of the Portuguese-Brazilian traditional religious practices. In Brazil, they were promoted mainly by brotherhoods and *ordens*

⁴²⁵ Castagna, *Patrimônio Arquivístico*, vol. I, 35.

⁴²⁶ Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*, 94; Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vol. VII, 21.

⁴²⁷ Catholic Encyclopedia, <http://www.catholicity.com/encyclopedia/n/novena.html>, accessed in 20 January 2010. For other symbolic implications of the numbers nine and ten in Christianity and other religions, see M. F. dos Santos, *Tratado de Simbólica*, 255-259.

terceiras.⁴²⁸ Indeed, the proper way to celebrate their Patrons indicated by the *livro de termos* of the brotherhoods usually includes a sung Mass, a procession, and a novena.⁴²⁹

José Maria Neves described the basic structure of the novenas. According to him, it consists of (1) Veni Sancte Spiritus, (2) Domine ad adjuvandum, (3) Ave Maria and Gloria Patri, (4) antiphon, (5) litany, (6) jaculatory, and (7) hymn.⁴³⁰ A document, probably from the second half of the nineteenth century and now deposited in Balthasar de Freitas's collection, gives the proper way to celebrate the Novena for Nossa Senhora d'Abbadia, which is somewhat different (see Figure 3.1). The parts of it and the order in which they should take place are as follows: (1) Aperi Domini, os meum etc; (2) Deus in adjutorium; (3) antiphon, Veni Sancte Spiritus, etc.; (4) Emitti Spiritti tuam, et Creabintur; (5) prayer in the altar, meditation, example [sic.]; (6) jaculatory, Pater noster, and Ave Maria; (7) prayer in the altar; (8) litany and blessing. The document also states that the sixth item (Jaculatory, etc.) could be performed in the reverse order, and that the Jaculatories should be in number of three, or a single Jaculatory sung three times.⁴³¹

⁴²⁸ Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vol. VII, 21.

⁴²⁹ See the several documents from brotherhoods from the Archive of Frei Simão, City of Goiás, temporarily deposited in IEPHBC.

⁴³⁰ Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*, 94.

⁴³¹ Balthasar de Freitas's collection, other documents sub-collection.

parts of them, and other times as independent works.⁴³² The order of the movements of novenas varies from manuscript to manuscript.

A significant feature of novenas, and for that matter of all paraliturgical works, is their popular character. Cleofe de Mattos affirmed that novenas, as well as litanies, septenaries and *trezenas*, have a character “more or less popular.” In addition, she pointed out that these ceremonies implied the musical participation of the devotees, as well as alternation of the music with Chant.⁴³³ José Maria Neves, on the other hand, stated that the first parts of Ave Maria and Gloria Patri in novenas were sung by the musicians (choir and orchestra), and the answer by the people.⁴³⁴ This more active participation of the people is certainly motivated by the fact that these ceremonies were not part of the prescribed liturgy of the Church, giving them a certain freedom. This freedom, in turn, resulted, as we saw above, in structural flexibility. Furthermore, performers felt free, even more than with Masses, to combine movements from different compositions, even by different composers, to form a novena. Neves, once more, stated that still in the 1990s there were in São João del-Rei, state of Minas Gerais, novenas “which mix segments composed by different authors.”⁴³⁵ Indeed, this is an important feature of the manuscripts of novenas found in Balthasar de Freitas’s collection.

One of the notable things about Balthasar de Freitas’s collection is the number of small detached pieces, especially litanies, *Tantum ergo*, and *Sub tuum praesidium*. This fragmentary nature of the manuscripts is especially accentuated in the music for novenas

⁴³² Actually, the limits of what is considered a movement or section of a work and what is an independent composition in eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazilian sacred music is very problematic.

⁴³³ C. P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*, 367.

⁴³⁴ Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*, 94.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 94.

and similar works. Of 164 pieces from the sacred music sub-collection, seventy eight, almost 50% of the total, are novenas or similar works. For the present study, all multi-movement paraliturgical works, which have among their movements/sections, jaculatories, Domine ad adjuvandum, Veni Sancte Spiritus, Gloria Patri, Ave Maria, or Pater noster, and whose titles do not make references to other multi-movement works, such as triduums or septenaries, have been listed as novenas.

The reason for that more inclusive definition of the genre is that, in general, the copyists of Freitas's collection treated novenas and similar works with a much more "open" approach than we normally see in other genres. Therefore, most manuscripts in the collection preserved not the music as it was actually performed, but rather fragments which were supposed to be combined with each other in accordance with the circumstances of the ceremony. In this way, the same movements could be performed in a novena or a triduum. A novena dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Penha, on the other hand, could be reorganized with the substitution of a few movements (sometimes just one), to become a Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição, for example. In this line of thinking, movements such as Domine ad adjuvandum, Veni Sancte Spiritus, and the block formed by Gloria Patri, Ave Maria, and Pater noster, were common to most dedications and were, thus, a kind of "ordinary" of Novenas. Movements such as jaculatories and antiphons, conversely, were important to establish the dedication of the novena, and were, accordingly, the "proper" of the novenas.

Of the seventy eight compositions classified as novenas or other similar works, twenty four are multi-movement works and fifty four are single-movement works. There are three types of multi-movement works: (1) novenas with known dedications, or

identified novenas; (2) novenas for which the identification to a specific Saint or other divine entity is not indicated, or unidentified novenas; and (3) similar works, such as tridiums, septenaries, and other paraliturgical multi-movement works. Of the fourteen identified novenas, five are dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Conceição, three to Nossa Senhora da Penha,⁴³⁶ two to São Sebastião, and one each to the Holy Ghost, Nossa Senhora da Abadia, Nossa Senhora do Rosário, and to the Month of the Virgin Mary.⁴³⁷

The dedication of a novena can be established based on one of two aspects of a given piece: title or structure of movements. In seven pieces, the genre (novena) and the dedication (e.g. São Sebastião) were established based on the title present in the manuscript. The Portuguese terms found in these indications are “novena” itself or sometimes “novenário” (e.g. Novena do Espírito Santo, BF-043, and Novenário da Penha, BF-050). In three cases the dedication appears in the title, but not the indication of the genre (e.g. Domine ad adjuvandum – Conceição, BF-048), which was established based on the structure of the movements. Usually, in these cases the title that appears in the manuscript is the same as the title of the first movement of the piece (Invitatório de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, BF-046, Jaculatória da Penha, BF-052). In some cases, the genre and the dedication were established based on the structure of movements. These pieces have titles such as “Padre Nosso de São José do Tocantins” (BF-045)⁴³⁸ or “Padre Nosso” (BF-049). Once more, the title on the manuscript is the title of the first movement of the piece. Finally, in one case the structure of movements seems to be in conflict with

⁴³⁶ One of them is a case of conflicting dedications. See below.

⁴³⁷ May is the month traditionally dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Balthasar de Freitas also composed a Mazurka called “Mês de Maria” (Month of Mary). Pinto, *Danças Para Banda*, 26.

⁴³⁸ “São José do Tocantins” here is not the Saint of the dedication, but rather the place of origin of the piece. As we saw in chapter 2, São José do Tocantins is the former name of the city of Niquelândia.

the title used in the manuscript. The piece catalogued as BF-051 presents a structure of movements similar to BF-050, which is classified as Novena for Nossa Senhora da Penha. Both pieces present jaculatories with identical titles (Virgem Soberana). However, the title used by Balthasar de Freitas in his manuscript is “Novenário da Trindade.” This could be a simple mistake made by the copyist; for example, it could be an adaptation of a novena originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity that Freitas reorganized but whose title he forgot to change (in that case it would be a Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição); or it could be the contrary, a novena originally dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Conceição that Freitas decided to use in a feast for the Holy Trinity, changing thus the title but forgetting to reorganize the structure of movements. Lastly, it is yet possible that the word “Trindade,” which appear in the title is not the dedication of the novena, but, as in the case of the Padre Nosso de São José do Tocantins, the place of origin of the manuscript.⁴³⁹

There is a group of multi-movement paraliturgical works in which it was possible to identify the genre but not the dedication of the pieces. They were classified as “unidentified novenas,” or pieces containing the “ordinary” of the novena. Five of these pieces are found in the collection. Three of them present the same structure of movements: Padre nosso, Ave Maria, and Gloria Patri. In one of them, the piece catalogued as BF-058, the Padre nosso is replaced with a litany. The last one, BF-057, presents a different structure of movements, with Domine ad adjuvandum, Gloria Patri (Sicut erat), and Veni Sancte Spiritus.

⁴³⁹ Trindade is a city close to Goiânia. It was founded in 1840, with the name of Barro Preto. Ortencio, *Dicionário do Brasil Central*, 748. The word “da” in “Novenário da Trindade,” though, seems to point out more towards dedication than place of origin.

In four of these pieces, the title present in the manuscript is that of their first movement: Domine ad adjuvandum “Para as Novenas” (BF-057), Ladainha a solo (BF-058), Padre nosso de Pirenópolis (BF-041), and Padre nosso, Ave Maria e Gloria Patri (BF-060). The fifth piece, BF-061, presents no title at all. These pieces were certainly not performed as they appear in the manuscript. Instead, they were complemented by other movements such as jaculatories, antiphons, and litanies, establishing thus the dedication of the novena.

A third group of pieces appears in the collection. It is formed by multi-movement paraliturgical works, similar to novenas. This group has five pieces: one septenary (BF-062), one triduum (BF-063), and three unidentified pieces (BF-064, BF-065, and BF-066). The identification of the genre of the two first pieces was possible by the titles present in their manuscripts, Septenary of the dolours (BF-062) and Triduum for the feast of Conception or Triduum of the Immaculate Conception (BF-063).⁴⁴⁰ BF-065 is probably part of a Novena for the Sagrado Coração de Jesus (Sacred Heart of Jesus), but the fragmentary state of its manuscript, specially the lack of extant vocal parts, makes the indication of the genre difficult to establish. The dedication, however, was preserved in the title written in the manuscript, “Para o Coração de Jesus” (For the Heart of Jesus).

In regards to number of pieces, the great majority of works associated with novenas and similar compositions are single-movement works. Of the seventy eight pieces in the group of novenas, fifty four appear in manuscripts as detached works. In terms of the language employed in these pieces, forty three are written in Latin and

⁴⁴⁰ There are two versions of BF-063, catalogued as BF-063a and BF-063b. In the same way, there are two versions of BF-066, catalogued as BF-066a and BF-066b. For details, see thematic catalogue.

eleven in Portuguese. Litanies form by far the largest group, with twenty two items, followed by nine *Sub tuum praesidium*, and seven jaculatories. A smaller quantity of hymns, antiphons, and other pieces are also found. Most of the items of this section are short pieces, but there are some more elaborate compositions, such as the Litany in D minor (BF-076), which presents its text divided into several contrasting sections, and the Litany in D Major (BF-074), with a relatively virtuosic approach. Both pieces appear preserved in the collection through quite old manuscripts, probably from the first half of the nineteenth century. The Litany in D Major (BF-074), indeed, is a composition from the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴¹ These single-movement pieces were used in combination with the manuscripts containing the “ordinary” of novenas and similar works, forming thus complete paraliturgical units.

The Blessing of the Holy Sacrament and Procession of Corpus Christi

There is a group of pieces in Freitas’s collection dedicated to the Blessing of the Holy Sacrament. It is formed in its majority by *Tantum ergo/Pange lingua*. The *Pange lingua* is one of several medieval hymns dedicated to the Holy Sacrament written by Saint Thomas Aquinas.⁴⁴² It is used by the Catholic Church both in its entirety or just its last two strophes, when it receives the title *Tantum ergo*. In Brazil, it seems to have been used as often in its shortest version (*Tantum ergo*) as in its complete form (*Pange lingua*).

⁴⁴¹ See concordances above.

⁴⁴² Cullen, *Música Sacra*, 80-81.

The *Pange lingua* is used both in liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies. It is sung in the procession of the feast of Corpus Christi and the stripping of the altar on Maundy Thursday. Thomas Lynch Cullen describes this last ceremony:

Na quinta-feira da Semana Santa, o Santíssimo é retirado do altar, no fim da missa, e levado em procissão: o coro canta as primeiras quatro estrofes do *Pange Lingua*, repetindo as estrofes, se for necessário, até que a procissão chegue ao altar. Ao chegar ao altar, os celebrantes incensam o Santíssimo, enquanto o coro canta as últimas duas estrofes, *Tantum Ergo*. Desta maneira, as duas últimas estrofes são separadas liturgicamente.⁴⁴³

(On Maundy Thursday, the Holy Sacrament is removed from the altar at the end of the Mass, and taken in procession: the choir sings the first four strophes of the *Pange Lingua*, repeating the strophes, if necessary, until the arrival of the procession at the altar. After the arriving in the altar, the celebrants incense the Holy Sacrament, while the choir sings the last two strophes, *Tantum Ergo*. Therefore, the last two strophes are liturgically separated.)

Apart from the Procession of Corpus Christi and the stripping of the altar on Maundy Thursday, *Tantum ergo* was used in some paraliturgical ceremonies in the Portuguese-Brazilian traditional religious practices. It was used either as an independent piece or as a movement/section of a larger composition. In the former way it was used in processions and especially in blessings of the Holy Sacrament. In the latter, it was frequently part of novenas or similar works. Clotário de Freitas, one of Balthasar de Freitas's sons, pointed out that *Tantum ergo*s and litanies were performed in novenas in Jaraguá.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁴⁴⁴ In Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 378-379.

There are twenty three works in the collection dedicated to the Blessing of the Holy Sacrament. More than half of them, or fifteen pieces, are *Tantum ergo/Pange lingua*. There are yet four *O salutaris* and four other pieces. Of the fifteen *Tantum ergo/Pange lingua*, two appear in the complete form (*Pange lingua*) and the great majority, thirteen pieces, appears in the shorter version (*Tantum ergo*). Moreover, as we saw in chapter 2, there seems to have been some kind of special relationship between individual Priests and the *Tantum ergos* found in Freitas's collection. Of the thirteen extant *Tantum ergos*, six make mention of some Priest in their manuscript, usually in their titles.⁴⁴⁵

The hymn *O salutaris* is a medieval poem dedicated to the Holy Sacrament, also written by Saint Thomas Aquinas. Similarly to the *Tantum ergo*, the *O salutaris* consists of the last two strophes of a larger hymn, *Verbum supernum prodiens*. It is sung at the lauds of the feast of Corpus Christi.⁴⁴⁶ Of the four *O salutaris* deposited in the collection, all but one are preserved in a very fragmented set of parts. BF-122 has one part for trombone copied by Balthasar de Freitas in 1933. BF-123 and BF-124 have each one part for bombardon in Eb, copied in Pirenópolis, in 1903, also by Balthasar de Freitas.

Finally, the other four pieces dedicated to the Holy Sacrament in the collection are one of each *Lauda sion*, *Ecce panis*, *Bendito seja*, and *Vos adoro*. The first two pieces are in Latin and the others are in Portuguese. The *Ecce panis* is actually, as in the case of *Tantum ergo/Pange lingua* and *O salutaris/Verbum supernum prodiens*, part of a larger

⁴⁴⁵ See in the thematic catalogue: *Tantum Ergo* do Padre Marcelino (BF-127), *Tantum Ergo* do Padre Pedro Ribeiro a Solo (BF-128), *Tantum Ergo* Padre Cunha (BF-130), *Tantum Ergo* do M. Mendes (BF-134), *Tantum Ergo* do Padre Vidal (BF-138), and *Tantum Ergo* do Reverendíssimo Senhor Padre Pedro Ribeiro da Silva (BF-139).

⁴⁴⁶ Cullen, *Música Sacra*, 84.

poem, in this case, the Laudation itself. The Bendito sejas (BF-142) is indicated by its copyist to be performed “after the Blessings of the Holy Sacrament.” The Vos adoro (BF-143) was performed after a Tantum ergo. In one set of parts it appears copied after the Tantum ergo BF-136, and in another, after the Tantum ergo BF-137.

Services for the Dead

Religious services for the dead were a major concern in eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazil. They could be simple, as in the case of the death of a slave or poor citizen, or, on the other hand, they could achieve a significant level of elaboration, with very long and solemn ceremonies, as in the case of the death of an important personality of the society.⁴⁴⁷ Music was part of virtually any of these ceremonies. Depending on how elaborate they were, this music could range from plainchant, to *a cappella* music, to music for soloists, choir, and large instrumental ensemble.⁴⁴⁸

Some of these ceremonies were liturgical whereas others were paraliturgical. Among the main liturgical ceremonies were the *Officium Defunctorum*—consisting of matins, lauds, and vespers—and Requiem Masses, usually followed by Libera me and *absolvições*. The paraliturgical ceremonies for the dead, which were characteristic of the Portuguese-Brazilian world, includes *Encomendações Paraliturgicas de Adultos*, or

⁴⁴⁷ C. P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*, 373.

⁴⁴⁸ Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vol. IX, 21.

*Mementos, Ecomendações Paraliturgicas de Crianças, and Estações na Comemorações dos Fiéis Defuntos.*⁴⁴⁹

In Balthasar de Freitas's collection, three types of works performed at religious services for the dead are found: Requiem Mass, Libera me, and Memento. Requiem Masses were usually sung in the morning following the day of the death, but there were also Masses on the seventh day, anniversaries of one month, one year, and others, depending on the instructions (and funds) left by the dead.⁴⁵⁰ Two Requiem Masses are found in Freitas's collection, one in D minor (BF-144) and the other in G minor (BF-145). BF-144 appears in the collection in two different versions, both with copies by Balthasar de Freitas; the first dated from 1907 and the second from 1930s (1930 and 1932). The Requiem Mass in G minor (BF-145) seems to be incomplete;⁴⁵¹ it starts with the Dies irae, is followed by the Domine Jesu, Quam olim, Sanctus (with Hosanna and Benedictus), and ends with the Agnus Dei.

One single Libera me is found in Freitas's collection. As we saw above, Libera me was performed after the Requiem Mass on the morning following the day of the death. The Libera me in Bb Major (BF-146) was performed during the burial of Padre Cunha, in 1905. Actually, it was performed at several other burials at the end of the nineteenth century. Its manuscript contains the interesting comments, almost small chronicles, written by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, which were transcribed in chapter 2.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁵⁰ C. P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*, 373; Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vol. IX, 21.

⁴⁵¹ BF-144 also presents just some parts of the Mass. It is difficult to know now if the other parts were supposed to be performed in Chant or if music from other Mass was used to complement it.

The Memento was a paraliturgical ceremony, usually performed in a private environment. It would take place at a residence, before the body was transported to the Church, and from there to the place where it would be buried. As a piece to be performed at a private house, it was frequently written for four voices and a bass instrument. It is traditionally written in G minor.⁴⁵² Several Brazilian composers wrote music for a particular type of Memento, consisting of six sections: (1) Memento, (2) Nec aspiciat, (3) De profundis, (4) Nec aspiciat (repetition of the second section), (5) Kyrie eleison, and (6) Requiescat in pace.⁴⁵³ There are two Mementos in Freitas's collection, BF-147 in G (minor/dorian?), and BF-148 in A minor. BF-147 is one of the most interesting pieces in Freitas's collection. As we saw before, it is found in several other collections and it was even attributed to Lobo de Mesquita.⁴⁵⁴ Its manuscript, especially its style of notation, will be discussed in chapter 4.

Holy Week

Holy Week is one of the most important periods of the Christian Calendar in the entire Catholic world. This is especially true in the Portuguese-Brazilian world during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The term "Holy Week" is being considered here in a more flexible and inclusive way, encompassing all religious feasts which take place from the beginning of Lent to Easter Sunday. This definition is in accordance with the tradition established by Brazilian historiography. José Maria Neves delimits Holy week as being

⁴⁵² Castagna, *Acervo da Música Brasileira*, vol. IX, 30-31.

⁴⁵³ Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*, 91.

⁴⁵⁴ See Concordances above.

from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday.⁴⁵⁵ Belkiss Mendonça in her discussion about Holy Week in the City of Goiás includes the two weeks prior to Palm Sunday.⁴⁵⁶ On the other hand, several pieces which were certainly performed during Holy Week were discussed in other sections, for example, the hymn *Pange lingua* (*Tantum ergo*), examined with the pieces for the Blessings of the Holy Sacrament and Procession of Corpus Christi.

Holy Week in Brazil during the eighteenth and nineteenth century consists not only of ceremonies prescribed by the Tridentine Rite, but also of a number of paraliturgical ceremonies created with the purpose of enhancing the drama of the Passion of Christ. As the center of the Christian Calendar in Portuguese-Brazilian lands, it was the major concern of some of the main composers of the time. Father José Maurício has thirty four works catalogued for Holy Week.⁴⁵⁷ André da Silva Gomes has twenty one⁴⁵⁸ and Lobo de Mesquita has several as well, including one of his *obra prima*, *Dominica in Palmis*, for four voices, two horns, two violins, violoncello, and continuo.⁴⁵⁹ It is interesting to notice the use of instruments in the *Dominica in Palmis*, even though it was written to be performed during Holy Week. In fact, Brazilian composers were not so careful in avoiding the use of instruments in pieces written for Holy Week. While there are several examples of a cappella music written for Holy Week, the number of pieces composed for this same celebration which employed organ, strings, and even winds is not small.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁵ Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*, 96.

⁴⁵⁶ Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 171-221.

⁴⁵⁷ C. P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*, 291-327.

⁴⁵⁸ Duprat, *Música na Sé de São Paulo*, 194-212.

⁴⁵⁹ Mesquita, *Dominica in Palmis*.

⁴⁶⁰ See commentaries by C. P. de Mattos about this issue in Father José Maurício's output. *Catálogo Temático*, 372.

In the state of Goiás, the celebrations of the Passion of Christ dominated the religious calendar as well. Holy Week in the City of Goiás is still one of the main religious feasts in Brazil. It still maintains several of the ceremonies established in the eighteenth century, when the Spanish priest, Father João Perestrello de Vasconcelos Spinola decided to celebrate Holy Week as it was performed in his homeland.⁴⁶¹ Since then, it has been object of attention of all who have written about the culture and habits of the people who lived in the “land of Goyazes.” In recent years, three of these authors have focused on the musical aspects of the celebrations of the Passion of Christ in the City of Goiás, Belkiss Mendonça,⁴⁶² Maria Augusta Calado,⁴⁶³ and Ana Guiomar Souza.⁴⁶⁴

Eleven pieces are catalogued under the rubric “Holy Week” in Balthasar de Freitas’s collection. For reasons that were explained above, however, this number does not represent the total amount of extant works found in the collection, that were performed during the ceremonies of Holy Week. Of these eleven pieces, there are four *Surrexit Dominus*, two *Stabat maters*, and five other works. The *Surrexit Dominus* is a motet sung in the Procession of the Resurrection in Easter Sunday. These four pieces are small, syllabic, a cappella pieces, all of them written in G Major. BF-157, actually, is one of the most intriguing items of the whole collection; its manuscript presents several archaic features, including, it seems, a modal structure. These archaic features will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

⁴⁶¹ Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 171-173.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 171-221.

⁴⁶³ Rodrigues, notes on *A Semana Santa em Goiás*.

⁴⁶⁴ Souza, “Paixões em Cena.”

Two Stabat maters are found in this group, one in D minor (BF-149) and another in F Major (BF-150). BF-150 is actually found in two versions, the earlier preserved in copies by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, from 1889, and the latter in copies by Balthasar de Freitas, from 1897, 1916, 1924, and 1928. Miquelino de Lima's copies present, also, an interesting characteristic. The music was originally written in 3/4. Later, another scribe, or Lima himself at a later time, modified the duration of some of the notes in order to make it in 4/4.⁴⁶⁵

Finally, there are five other pieces connected with Holy Week in the collection: Christus factus est (BF-155), Domine tu mihi (BF-154), Domine for Maundy Thursday (BF-153), Perdão (Canticle for Lent) (BF-151), and the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152). As we have seen, the Motets (BF-152) were one of the most popular pieces in Goiás in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they remain an important part of the celebrations of the Passion of Christ in the City of Goiás. Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas's copies that are deposited in Freitas's collection, from 1879, are among the earlier (if not the earliest) extant witnesses of this composition. Also noteworthy is the Domine for Maundy Thursday (BF-153), an interesting piece written by the celebrated composer from Pirenópolis, Antônio da Costa Nascimento. However, the only extant copies of it in the collection are parts for Alto and bass (instrument), written by João Leite da Silva in Jaraguá, 1910, and for trombone, written by Benedicto Gomes Barbo de Siqueira also in Jaraguá, 1910.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁵ For adaptation in this and other pieces, see chapter 4.

⁴⁶⁶ These copies bear no indication of authorship. The attribution of this piece to Antônio da Costa Nascimento comes from Mendonça, *A Música em Goiás*, 119-126.

Te Deum and Other Works

The Te Deum is one of the most popular hymns of the Catholic liturgy. It became officially part of the liturgy in the sixth century and, since then, composers from virtually all periods have created new music using its text. Originally, the Te Deum was sung at the ninth responsory of Matins in festive days, but it soon began to be performed also as an independent piece at all kinds of celebratory occasions. It was frequently used as the conclusion of important events, being sung at the end of religious and civic years, novenas, etc.⁴⁶⁷ It is also sung in ceremonies in gratitude for any special event.

In eighteenth and nineteenth-century Brazil, the Te Deum was used both as an independent piece and as the conclusion of other religious ceremonies, such as novenas and Masses.⁴⁶⁸ It could be “through-composed” or, sometimes, *alternado*, with its verses alternating between Chant, sung by the clergy, and “polyphony,” performed by professional singers and instrumentalists.⁴⁶⁹ As an independent piece, it was part of virtually all important political/civic ceremonies during the Colony and First and Second Empire. When D. João VI, King of Portugal, arrived in Brazil in 1808, avoiding confrontation with Napoleon’s Army, his first deed was to attend to a Te Deum in the Cathedral of Rio de Janeiro, celebrated in gratitude for the success of his trip.⁴⁷⁰

Based on what we can infer from the literature of the time, the Te Deum seems to have been used in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mostly as an

⁴⁶⁷ Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*, 97.

⁴⁶⁸ C. P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*, 366.

⁴⁶⁹ Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*, 97.

⁴⁷⁰ C. P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*, 366. Through the examination of several documents, including chronicles describing the ceremony, and musical manuscripts found in the Cathedral of Rio de Janeiro, André Cardoso suggests that the Te Deum listened by D. João VI was probably the Te Deum in D Major (CT96) composed by Father José Maurício Nunes Garcia. Cardoso, *Música na Corte de D. João VI*, 65-70.

independent piece, usually associated with civic and political celebrations. As we saw in chapter 1, several newspapers that circulated in Goiás during that time, as well as the chronicles from foreign travelers who visited the Captaincy and Province of Goiás, are full of references to civic and political events in which a Te Deum was performed. On these occasions, the presence of musicians is frequently mentioned and sometimes it is possible to infer an alternation between the clergy and professional musicians, as in the practice described above.⁴⁷¹

Surprisingly, the number of Te Deums found in Balthasar de Freitas's collection does not fulfill the expectations created by the review of the literature of the time. There are only two extant pieces in the sacred music sub-collection. The Te Deum in A minor (BF-160) survives in five sets of parts now preserved in the collection, the earliest from 1874, an anonymous copy, and the most recent from 1911, by Luís de Sá. There are also copies by another anonymous copyist (no date), Joaquim Antunes da Silva (1908), and Balthasar de Freitas (1908). The manuscript from 1874 indicates that this Te Deum was supposed to be performed during the "entrada de Reinados." This is probably related to the feast of Pentecost, which is sometimes referred to as "Festa do Reinado do Divino Espírito Santo" (Feast of the Kingship of the Divine Holy Ghost), or to Epiphany, the feast of Reis (Three Wise Men). In Balthasar de Freitas's copies, the title used is "Te Deum de São José," referring to the provenance of the piece in São José do Tocantins, now the city of Niquelândia. As we saw in chapter 2, both sets of parts can be related in some way to José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho.

⁴⁷¹ For a description of several occasions in which a Te Deum was performed in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, see chapter 1.

The other piece is the Te Deum in D Major (BF-161). There are several extant sets of parts of this piece in the collection, among them copies by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas (1875), Miquelino Raymundo de Lima (1889, 1890), José de Freitas Machado (1900), and Balthasar de Freitas (1906). The piece is prior to 1875, since Silvestre's manuscript indicated that it was copied on 7 December 1875. This Te Deum was popular in the São José do Tocantins/Jaraguá region given that, as we are going to see in chapter 4, it was recopied and adapted several times during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As we saw in chapter 2, one of the important occasions on which it was performed was the arrival of D. Eduardo Duarte da Silva, bishop of Goiás.⁴⁷²

The last group of pieces contains three works that survive only in fragments: Em Belém nasceu (In Bethlehem was born) (BF-162), Queremos Deus (We want God) (BF-163), and Fé, esperança e caridade (Faith, hope, and charity) (BF-164), all of them with copies by Balthasar de Freitas. The extant parts are pistom, bombardon, and bass (instrument) for Em Belém nasceu; bass in C for Queremos Deus; and Voice for Fé, esperança e caridade. Em Belém nasceu is a Christmas song. Queremos Deus is probably a traditional religious song that was quite popular in Goiás; but as no vocal or instrumental melodic parts have survived, it is difficult to confirm this. Finally, Fé, esperança e caridade seems to be one kind of "Auto" that was common in paraliturgical celebrations in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

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⁴⁷² See also J. T. F. Silva, *Lugares e Pessoas*, 330-331.

CHAPTER 4: RECYCLING THE REPERTORY: PRESERVATION AND ADAPTATION IN BALTHASAR DE FREITAS'S COLLECTION

A significant portion of the extant Brazilian colonial repertory, formed almost entirely of sacred works, is preserved through copies that were made during the nineteenth century. This is the case with works written by some of the most important composers of the time, such as José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767-1830), André da Silva Gomes (1752-1844), and José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita (1746?-1805). Cleofe Person de Mattos called our attention to the fact that the archive of the Cabido Metropolitano do Rio de Janeiro holds late nineteenth-century manuscript copies of several works by José Maurício for which no autographs are known to have survived.⁴⁷³ Régis Duprat also pointed out that of nearly 130 works composed by André da Silva Gomes, several were preserved only through nineteenth-century copies. Duprat gives the example of the archive of the Museu Carlos Gomes, from Campinas, São Paulo, which holds twenty two works composed by Silva Gomes, almost all of them copied by Manuel José Gomes during the nineteenth century, and which also have no extant autographs.⁴⁷⁴

Two other characteristics of the colonial repertory are also important for the discussion presented in this chapter: (1) the fact that sacred music circulated in Brazil during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries exclusively through manuscripts, and (2) that these manuscripts consisted almost entirely of sets of parts. According to José Maria Neves, because of the prohibition of the establishment of the press in Brazil, as well as the restriction on the importation of books, the only texts which usually circulated in

⁴⁷³ C. P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*, 383.

⁴⁷⁴ Duprat, *Música na Sé de São Paulo*, 103-104.

printed form during the Colonial period were primers, multiplication tables, and catechisms.⁴⁷⁵ Thus, composers and performers dealt only with manuscripts. In addition, these manuscripts consisted mostly of sets of separated parts. Only a very low percentage of these manuscripts were copied in full scores. From Lobo de Mesquita's output, for example, only one autograph score is found, the work, *Tercio*, from 1783.⁴⁷⁶ Duprat indicates that of more than one hundred compositions by André da Silva Gomes, only five works were preserved in scores.⁴⁷⁷

The places in which copies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works are most likely to be found are collections of old orchestras, and, especially, wind bands from the regions where this repertory was once systematically used. Scholars are emphatic in pointing out the importance of wind bands for the musical life in Brazil during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the 1990s, Curt Lange pointed out that “en aquellos lejanos tiempos [siglo XIX] y también hasta hace muy poco, [las bandas de música] ha sido el orgullo de cada poblado, el elemento de cohesión social, el vehículo que modificaba como las modas el gusto, presentando nuevos repertorios” (in those distant times [nineteenth century] and until recently, [the wind bands] were the pride of each village, the element of social cohesion, the vehicle which, as the fashion changed, presented new repertory).⁴⁷⁸ He also added that “en cada población del interior del Brasil (...) por pequeña que fuese cada villa, existían—y aún siguen existiendo dos bandas

⁴⁷⁵ Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*, 11.

⁴⁷⁶ Guimarães, “A Obra Dominica in Palmis,” 218. For a facsimile of this piece, see Cotta, *Lobo de Mesquita*, 193-209; and Mesquita, *Tercio*, 36-66.

⁴⁷⁷ Duprat, *Música na Sé de São Paulo*, 82.

⁴⁷⁸ Lange, “Las Bandas de Música,” 29.

rivales entre sí” (in each village of the interior of Brazil, no matter how small they were, there were, and still are, two wind bands rivaling each other).⁴⁷⁹

These wind bands were important not only as vehicles for the propagation of the production of contemporary composers but also as the main institution in the preservation of the musical legacy from previous periods. Duprat points out that the tradition kept alive by the wind bands was decisive in the preservation of Brazilian sacred music from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁸⁰ Lange, on the other hand, drew attention to the high quality of the conductors of wind bands and their role as “guardians of ancient religious music.”⁴⁸¹ Among the reasons for this attention to the old repertory is the fact that several of these wind bands came from the *Companhia de Muzicos*, old orchestras that were responsible for the music of liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies during the Colonial period.⁴⁸²

However, as paradoxical as it may seem, the impulse for preserving this repertory was much more pragmatic than historical. As a result, copyists during the nineteenth century undertook all sorts of adaptations and modernizations in order to make the old repertory playable for their own ensembles. Neves, among others, had noted evidence that the nineteenth-century copyists indeed interfered with the works they were copying, especially with substitution of instruments.⁴⁸³

Therefore, a modern musicologist faces several problems when dealing with sacred music from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Brazil: works preserved in

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 29.

⁴⁸⁰ Duprat, *Música na Sé de São Paulo*, 11.

⁴⁸¹ Lange, “Las Bandas de Música,” 34.

⁴⁸² Neves, *Música Sacra Mineira*, 15.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 16.

manuscripts, in the form of set of parts, copied several decades after their composition by copyists with no intention of being faithful to the original. In this chapter, we are going to examine how the nineteenth- and even early-twentieth-century copyists in Balthasar de Freitas's collection adapted the old repertory for the circumstances which they faced.

One interesting characteristic of Balthasar de Freitas's collection, which allowed the present discussion, is that quite a lot of its pieces were copied several times during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. For instance, we have the Mass in F Major (BF-006) with copies dating from 1851, 1888, 1896, 1899, 1900, 1903, 1906, 1908, 1911, 1912, and 1918; these copies were made by eight identified and eight anonymous copyists. The Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152), which—as we saw on chapter 3—was a popular piece in Goiás, has copies dating from 1879, 1883, 1889, 1893, 1897, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1908, 1909, and 1924; these copies were made by seven identified and seven anonymous copyists. Unsurprisingly, each time these or the other works of the collection were copied, adaptations and modernizations were made by the copyists responsible for producing the manuscripts. It is the nature of these adaptations that is going to be examined in the following sections.

Changes in the Instrumentation

Certainly, the most common type of adaptation of the old repertory made by nineteenth-century copyists of Brazilian music was change of instrumentation. As an example from the published literature, we could mention the clarinets which were used as substitutes for flutes in the late-nineteenth-century copies of João de Deus de Castro Lobo's *Mass in D Major*, made by Vicente Ferreira do Espírito Santo.⁴⁸⁴ In this copy, the ophicleide and trombone are also used as substitutes for first cello. Moreover, Cleofe Person de Mattos pointed out the problems related to the instrumentation in nineteenth-century copies of works by Father José Maurício. In these copies, it is common to find both substitutions of instruments, especially flutes for oboes, and addition of new instruments, including violas, and most frequently oboes, trumpets, and trombones.⁴⁸⁵

In Balthasar de Freitas's collection as well, changes in the instrumentation are the most frequent type of adaptation performed by its copyists. These adaptations most often concern substitutions of violin parts by wind instruments, but changes involving bass instruments can also be found. Moreover, exchanges between violin parts and winds can be detected in the copies of the collection in several ways. Parts with a double designation of instruments are the most explicit signs of this practice, but inconsistencies between title pages and sets of parts, or among different sets of parts, as well as idiomatic elements of strings found in copies for winds, can also reveal a process of substitutions of

⁴⁸⁴ J. D. C. Lobo, *Mass in D Major*, ix.

⁴⁸⁵ C. P. de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático*, 359-360.

instruments by the musicians who used manuscripts from Balthasar de Freitas's collection.

There are thirty copies in which a single part is designated for two different instruments (see Table 4.1). In twenty nine of these cases the instruments involved are a violin (first or second) and a wind instrument (requinta, clarinet, or pistom). In one single case, the part is written for flute or first clarinet, indicating thus a similar substitution as in the case of the copy of Castro Lobo's Mass previously mentioned. This appears in a set of parts of the Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross (BF-152), copied by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas in 1879. The designation written by Silvestre is "Flauta, ou Clarineta 1^{ab}" (Flute, or 1st Clarinet).

In eleven parts containing a double designation, more than one third of the total, the copyists employ the following formula in their indication:

1st instrument + "ou" (or) + 2nd instrument

Apart from item 29 of Table 4.1 discussed in the previous paragraph, the "1st instrument" of the formula above is always a violin (first or second). The "2nd instrument," on the other hand, is a requinta in item 13 of Table 4.1; a clarinet in items 26 and 27; and a pistom (first or second) in items 1, 7, 9, 11, 14, 21, and 22.

Table 4.1: Parts containing double designation of instruments.

Item	Work	MS	Copy	Part	Original designation
01	Mass in C Major	162	Balthasar de Freitas, 1907	vn II/pt	2 ^o Violino ou Piston
02	Mass in G Major	053	[Balthasar de Freitas], Jaraguá, 1890	cl I/vn I	1 ^a Clarineta [1 st page] 1 ^o V ^o [last page]
03	Mass in C Major	095	Balthasar José Martins, Jaraguá, 1889	vn I/cl	2 ^o Violino Clarinete em Sib
04	Mass in C Major	095	Balthasar José Martins, Jaraguá, 1889	vn II/cl	2 ^o Violino, Clarinete em Sib
05	Mass in C Major	095	Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, 1890	vn I/cl	1 ^o V ^o Clarineta Sib
06	Mass in C Major	095	Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, 1890	vn II/cl	2 ^o Violino, clarineta Sib
07	Mass in C Major	171	Balthasar de Freitas, 1902	vn II/pt	2 ^o Violino ou Pistom
08	Mass in F Major	121	Joaquim Marques	vn II/cl	2 ^o Violino = e Clarinetta ⁴⁸⁶
09	Sanctus and Agnus Dei in C Major	090	Balthasar de Freitas, 1892	vn II/pt	2 ^o Violino ou Pistom
10	Effundam Spiritum Meum	155	Balthasar de Freitas, 1900	vn I/rq	Requinta [1 ^o Violino] ⁴⁸⁷
11	Effundam Spiritum Meum	155	Balthasar de Freitas, 1900	vn II/pt	2 ^o Violino ou Pistom sib
12	Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição	019	Balthasar de Freitas, no date	vn II/pt	2 ^o Violino de Pistom
13	Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição	047	Balthasar de Freitas, Jaraguá, 1899	vn I/rq	1 ^o Violino ou Requinta
14	Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição	047	Balthasar de Freitas, Jaraguá, 1899	vn II/pt	2 ^o Violino ou Pistom
15	Virgem Soberana in G Major	030	Balthasar de Freitas, 1907	vn II/pt	2 ^o Violino Piston 2 ^o
16	Virgem Soberana in G Major	030	Balthasar de Freitas, 1907	cl/vn II	Clarinetta 2 ^o Viol ^o
17	Novena for the Month of Virgin Mary	044b	Benedicto Rodrigues Braga, Bomfim, 1913	vn II/pt	2 ^o Violino Pistão Si

⁴⁸⁶ The word “Clarinetta” is written in a different handwriting over a previous word (probably “1^a Clarineta em si”). At the end of the copy, after the Cum Sancto Spiritus, it is written: “2^o Violino por J. Marques.”

⁴⁸⁷ The words “1^o Violino” are written over the word “Requinta” in this part.

Table 4.1 (continued).

Item	Work	MS	Copy	Part	Original designation
18	Litany in G Major	157	Balthasar de Freitas, 1894	rq/vn I	<i>Requinta (1° V°)</i>
19	Litany in G Major	006	Anonymous, no date	vn I/pt I	<i>V° 1° a 4 1° Pistom</i> ⁴⁸⁸
20	Litany in G Major	006	Anonymous, no date	vn II/cl	<i>V° 2° a 4 Clarineta</i> ⁴⁸⁹
21	Sub Tuum Praesidium	105	Balthasar de Freitas, 1911	vn I/pt I	<i>1° Violino ou Pistom</i>
22	Sub Tuum Praesidium in F Major	105	Balthasar de Freitas, 1912	vn II/pt II	<i>2° Violino ou 2° Pistom</i>
23	Vinde Espírito de Luz	129	Anonymous, no date	vn II/pt	<i>2° Violino Pistom</i>
24	Salve Virgem in C Major	012	Balthasar de Freitas, 1908	vn II/pt	<i>2° Violino Pistom</i>
25	Tantum Ergo in G Major	173	Balthasar de Freitas, 1895	vn II/pt	<i>2° Violino (Pistom)</i>
26	Ecce Panis in C Major	039	Anonymous, no date	vn I/cl	<i>V° 1° ou Clarineta em sib</i>
27	Ecce Panis in C Major	039	Anonymous, no date	vn II/cl	<i>2° V° ou Clarineta</i>
28	Bendito Seja in Eb Major	154	Balthasar de Freitas, 1900	vn II/pt	<i>2° Violino – Pistom em sib</i>
29	Motets for the Procession of the Stations of the Cross	172	Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas, 1879	fl/cl I	<i>Flauta, ou Clarineta 1°</i>
30	Christus Factus Est in C minor	114	Balthasar de Freitas, 1908	pt/vn II	<i>Pistom – sib 2° Violino</i>

⁴⁸⁸ The indication for first violin is in the same handwriting as the music in the manuscript, whereas the indication for pistom is in a different handwriting.

⁴⁸⁹ The indication for second violin is in the same handwriting as the music in the manuscript, whereas the indication for clarinet is in a different handwriting.

In two cases the designation consists of the name of the first instrument followed by the name of the second instrument within parenthesis. Item 18 of the table indicates “Requinta (1^o V^o)”⁴⁹⁰ and item 25 shows “2^o Violino (Pistom).” It is interesting to notice that in item 18 the first instrument is a wind instrument and not the violin, as in most of the cases. In fact, the comparison between the tonality of this part and the tonality of the vocal parts shows that the copy is indeed primarily written for the requinta.⁴⁹¹ Both items 18 and 25 were copied by Balthasar de Freitas.

There is just one case in which the first and the second instruments are connected by the conjunction “e” (and). This is one of the parts of the Mass in F Major (BF-014), copied by Joaquim Marques (item 8 of Table 4.1). However, the inscription “e Clarineta” (and Clarinet) was not originally written in the manuscript; it was added later in a different handwriting. This leaves no case in which the two instruments are originally connected by the conjunction “and.” Therefore, it seems to leave little doubt that the second instrument indicated in these copies was considered optional, and most certainly, a substitute rather than a reinforcement of the first instrument.

Finally, item 12 of Table 4.1 presents a curious case. This is a copy of the Novena for Nossa Senhora da Conceição, made by Balthasar de Freitas. Balthasar’s indication is “2^o Violino de Pistom.” This indication could be translated as “2nd violin of pistom,” or “2nd violin which has pistom.” However, as with the expression in Portuguese, none of them seems to make sense. What probably is the explanation for this expression is that it

⁴⁹⁰ “V^o” is a common abbreviation used in the manuscripts of the collection for “violino” (violin); “VV^o” is used as abbreviation for “dois violinos” (two violins).

⁴⁹¹ For a discussion of tonalities and transposing instruments in the copies of the collection, see later in this chapter.

was just a simple mistake made by Balthasar, similar to many other mistakes made by Balthasar himself and by other copyists found in the manuscripts of the collection.

But were these substitutions indicated by the composers of these works, by the copyists who produced the manuscripts, or were they just a decision made later by the performers? Let us examine some aspects of the manuscripts in which these double indications are found. In only four copies does the indication of the second instrument seem to have been added at a later time. In these cases it is not easy to tell if they were made by the same copyist or by someone else. However, in each of the other twenty six cases the double designation is original. Moreover, these copies were produced during a period of time ranging from 1879 to 1913 by five identified and four anonymous copyists. Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas produced a copy with a double designation in 1879, Balthasar José Martins in 1889, Miquelino Raymundo de Lima in 1890, and Benedicto Rodrigues Braga in 1913. Nevertheless, the most consistent in this practice was Balthasar de Freitas, producing copies with double designations in 1890, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1907, 1908, 1911, and 1912. Finally, two manuscripts by Balthasar de Freitas, from 1894 and 1899, and one by Balthasar José Martins, from 1889, are—in fact—autograph copies.

Substitutions of violins by winds in Balthasar de Freitas's collection are certainly not restricted to the cases in which the copyist explicitly indicated this possibility in the designation of the instrument. Evidences of this practice can also be seen in several manuscripts in which idiomatic elements of strings are found in copies designated for wind instruments. One part for second clarinet of the *Sub tuum praesidium* in F Major (BF-096), copied by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas (undated), illustrates some of these

elements (Figure 4.1). The analysis of this part reveals three points which betray its origin as a part for a string instrument. The first point is the long section making use of repeated sixteenth notes. It starts on measure 13 and continues throughout the piece until its end, with just brief interruptions used to punctuate the phrases. Although playable on a single-reed instrument, this kind of writing is definitely more suited for strings. The second point is the use of double and triple stops. Double stops occur in measures 20, 27, 28, 31, 32, 46, 47, 50, 51, and 56, the last measure of the piece. The intervals used are always fifths and sixths. A triple stop is found in measure 34, using intervals of sixth and third, forming a C Major chord (without the fifth). It could be objected that these double and triple stops were actually *divisi*, to be performed by two and three clarinet players. However, this seems not to have been the practice in Freitas's collection, for which, I believe, one musician (voice or instrument) per part was the custom. Finally, the third point is the range in which this part is written. It is significant that the clarinet never goes below G₂,⁴⁹² which marks the lower limit of a violin. This point is probably less relevant than the other two when considered only in regards to this single copy. Nevertheless, the analysis of the other parts for clarinet in the collection reveals that this characteristic (that the range used in parts for clarinets is perfectly adequate for a violin, never making use of F#₂, F₂, or E₂) is a common feature found in them.

⁴⁹² The system used here is the one in which the middle C is C₃, thus G₂ is the G below middle C.

Figure 4.1: Clarinet part of the Sub tuum praesidium in F Major (BF-096) presenting idiomatic string elements; reproduced with permission of Freitas's family.



Other witnesses of the process of adapting violin parts for wind instruments are the copies for quinta and second clarinet of the Solo for the Preacher Tu qui legis (BF-039), made by Joaquim Antunes da Silva (undated). In both copies, Silva wrote “piscato” on measure 43, where the Allegro begins. It is interesting that the same thing happens in a copy of this same piece for pistom (Anonymous, 1892), now deposited in the collection of Antônio Pinheiro. We might try to find different explanations for this indication in parts for instruments that, at least in a non-metaphorical way, could not play in pizzicato. However, the other evidence presented above points toward a simpler

explanation: these parts for requinta, clarinet, and pistom, were, in fact, copies which had as their exemplars⁴⁹³ copies for a string instrument, probably a violin. In the process of copying them, Joaquim Antunes da Silva and the anonymous copyist from Antônio Pinheiro's collection (perhaps Silva himself) decided to keep the indication which was present in the exemplar. They did that probably because they had not figured out that this indication was not suitable for a wind instrument, or, perhaps, because they thought that keeping the indication in the new part for a wind instrument could suggest a special articulation to the player, trying thus to stay closer to the original effect. In both cases the derivative character of these copies is undeniable.

It is interesting now to examine an example in which the adaptation is clear—confirmed by the existence of an older part for violin and a new part for violin or pistom—and done with a little bit more care than the previous examples analyzed above. The piece is the Mass in C Major known as *Missa São Paulo* (BF-003). Figure 4.2a is the first page of the part for second violin, copied by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima in Jaraguá, 1871. Figure 4.2b, on the other hand, is the first page of the part for “second violin or pistom” (item 1 of Table 4.1), copied by Balthasar de Freitas in 1907. The comparison of these two parts shows that, differently from the two cases discussed above, Balthasar de Freitas tries to “translate” the idiom of the part from string to winds, although, not completely successfully. He did so mainly by eliminating the double and triple stops, as we can see in several places, for example, measures 1, 3, and 18-21 of the Kyrie. Moreover, Freitas changed the octave of some passages, apparently to make them better suited for the

⁴⁹³ The term “exemplar” is used here as it is understood in manuscript studies, meaning “A book [in this case, actually, a single sheet of manuscript] from which a copy is made.” Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 265.

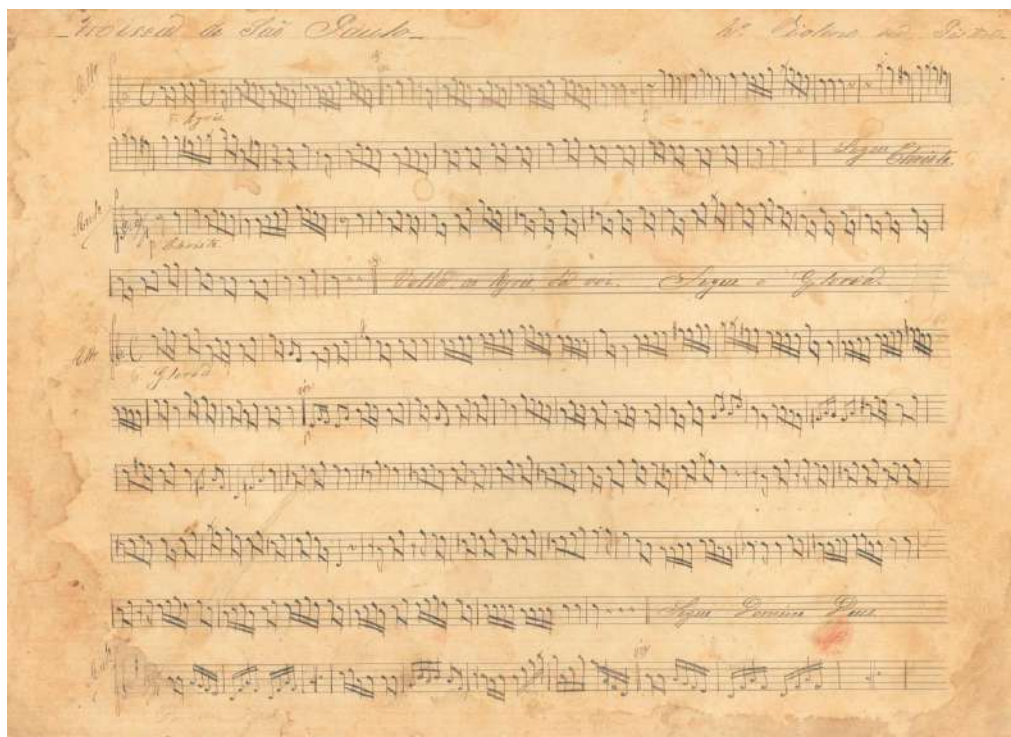
pistom (e.g. measure 14 of the Gloria).⁴⁹⁴ The adaptations, however, do not go much further than that. Freitas maintains the sections with continuous repeated notes.

Figure 4.2a: First page of the part for second violin of the Mass in C Major (BF-003), copied by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima in Jaraguá, 1871; reproduced with permission of Freita's family.



⁴⁹⁴ Changes in octave occur in other places as well, but not necessarily with the intention to make them adequate for the pistom.

Figure 4.2b: First page of the part for “second violin or piston” of the Mass in C Major (BF-003), copied by Balthasar de Freitas, 1907. Freitas’s copy is supposedly an adaptation of Lima’s copy; reproduced with permission of Freitas’s family.



Another rich source for evidence not only of substitutions of violins by winds, but also other adaptations in the instrumentation—such as substitutions of bass instruments and addition of new parts for winds—is the inconsistencies between title pages and sets of parts, or between different title pages. A Te Deum in D Major (BF-161) presents an interesting case of inconsistency between two different title pages, one from 1875, and another from 1889. The 1875 title page, already a copy by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas, indicates: “Festive Te Deum for 4 voices with violins and bass. Copied on 7 December

1875, its owner Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas.” The second title page, written by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima in 1889, on the other hand, indicates: “Te Dominum Confitemur, with violins, basses, and more instruments.” Copyists usually were not as careful as Lima was in this case, writing the expression “and more instruments” to indicate the addition of instruments which were not listed on the title page. For instance, there is another title page, written in 1873, almost certainly by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas, which indicates: “Invitatory of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, and Veni Sancte Spiritus for 4 voices, with violins and bass. Jaraguá, 5 December 1873.” However, we can find parts for this piece written by Silvestre himself for requinta and a contrabass wind instrument in Eb.

One interesting case of inconsistency between a title page and a set of parts can be seen in Miquelino Raymundo de Lima’s copies, made in 1890, of a *Sub tuum praesidium* in C Major (BF-089). Again, the title page indicates violins and bass, but it is possible to find copies of the piece for requinta, saxhorn, pistom, trombone, ophicleide, and bombardon. The interesting point here is that both the title page and the set of parts are autographs. Miquelino Raymundo de Lima is the composer of the piece.⁴⁹⁵

But what is the logic, if there is any, in these substitutions made by the copyists of Balthasar de Freitas’s collection? It is clear from the analysis of the works originally written for wind band by composers who were connected with the collection that the instruments were classified into three categories according to their function in the

⁴⁹⁵ This case is interesting but not without precedent. Cleofe Person de Mattos pointed out this same procedure by Father José Maurício. According to her, Maurício’s full scores are not sufficient to indicate the precise instrumentation used in a composition because in several cases, the composer wrote separated parts for instruments that do not appear in the full score. *Catálogo Temático*, 359.

repertory. We could call these categories “melodic instruments,” “bass instruments,” and “harmonic instruments.”⁴⁹⁶

Requintas, clarinets, and pistons were considered melodic instruments. When the melody was divided into two voices, the first voice was played by requinta, first clarinet, or first pistom, whereas the second voice was played by second clarinet or second pistom. In the case of having just one clarinet and one pistom, the pistom would play the first voice, and the clarinet the second. Bombardons, helicons, ophicleides, and tubas were considered, naturally, bass instruments. Saxhorns, French horns, and trombones were considered harmonic instruments. Finally, the euphonium occupied a special place in this classification. It appears sometimes as a melodic instrument, other times as a bass instrument, and—more rarely—as a harmonic instrument.

This classification is consistently observed not only by the actual composers of wind-band music, but also by the copyists who were responsible for adapting the sacred repertory for the wind-band-like ensembles. No doubt, in many cases they were the same musician. Thus, parts for the violin, which was considered a melodic instrument, were transcribed for a wind instrument from the group of melodic instruments: requinta, clarinet, or pistom. Therefore, by analyzing the copies of sacred music, we can see that first violins were replaced by requintas, clarinets, first clarinets, or first pistons. Second violins, on the other hand, were replaced by clarinets, pistons, and second pistons. It is

⁴⁹⁶ The terms “melodic instruments” and “harmonic instruments” are been employed here not in their traditional definitions, in other words, instruments which are capable of playing just one note per time (melodic instrument), and instruments which are capable of playing more than one note simultaneously (harmonic instrument). The classification presented here is based on the role played by these instruments in the orchestration of the piece. If they are responsible for playing the melody, they are considered “melodic instruments;” if they are responsible for playing the accompaniment they were considered “bass” or “harmonic instruments.”

interesting to notice that the only deviation occurs with the single pistom. In the cases in which just a single pistom was available, in the original wind-band music it would play the first voice, whereas in the transcriptions of the sacred repertory it would be responsible for the second violin part. Certainly, questions of pitch range were considered in those cases.

The adaptations of bass parts are a little bit more complicated. The oldest parts for bass are in fact parts for basso continuo, meaning: a bass part written in a single staff, in F clef, with some figures written above the bass line, indicating chords. These parts were certainly intended to be performed by a harmonic instrument (harp, harpsichord, organ), which was probably reinforced by a bass instrument.⁴⁹⁷ There are seven parts for basso continuo in the collection, all of them indicated as “Baixo,” or “Baxo.” One copy is from 1851, three from 1874, and three with no indication of date by the copyists. Two manuscripts, both undated, were written by José Ribeiro de Freitas Carvalho. All the others are anonymous copies. The three manuscripts from 1874 were copied probably by the same copyist, and there are yet two other undated manuscripts by this same copyist in which the designation is for “Fundamento.” These are bass parts, written in a single staff, in F clef, without figures. It is interesting to notice that all of these parts for basso continuo and “Fundamento” are parts of groups of copies which have their vocal parts written in low clefs.

In regards to the substitutions of these parts, the process was twofold. The melodic part was usually transcribed for two wind bass instruments: one in Bb, usually a

⁴⁹⁷ Here the terms “harmonic instrument” and “bass instrument” are used in their traditional definitions.

tuba or an ophicleide,⁴⁹⁸ and one in Eb, that could be a helicon, a bombardon, or a contrabass. On the other hand, the chords indicated by the figures in the basso continuo parts were distributed among two or three brass instruments. When two instruments were used, one would be a saxhorn or a French horn, and the other a trombone. In the cases where the chords were distributed for three instruments, they usually would be one saxhorn or French horn and two trombones. These horn and trombone parts have a strict harmonic function.

⁴⁹⁸ In the collection, there are parts for ophicleides in Bb and also in C.

Referential Key

Before we continue to examine the adaptations in the sacred repertory made by the copyists of Balthasar de Freitas's collection, I would like to make a short digression, which, I believe, is important for the issues discussed in this chapter. There is a very intriguing point in the *modus operandi* of the copyists who were adapting the sacred repertory of Balthasar de Freitas's collection: they had B flat as their referential key, not C, as is the custom in Western culture. Thus, piano, violoncello, and flute, for example, would be considered transposing instruments by those musicians, whereas clarinets and pistons in Bb would not. We can see this by the fact that the parts for clarinets, pistons, and basses in Bb are always in the same key as the vocal parts. Now, problems begin when you look at earlier parts for violins, because they also are in the same key as the vocal parts. The solution is given when we compare these earlier violin parts with parts for clarinets and pistons in Bb that were results of adaptations, as in the cases which we are discussing here. They are all in the same key. That means that when a late nineteenth-century copyist transcribed a violin part for clarinet or piston in Bb, he would not transpose it a whole tone higher as it was supposed to be. One could argue that the performers themselves would make the transposition, as is the practice in most orchestras and some wind bands nowadays.

There are three reasons that make me believe that this was not the case. First is the fact that because the number of parts for clarinet, piston, and bass in Bb is so high, it does not seem to be productive to leave the responsibility of so many transpositions to the

performers, many of whom were amateur or semi-professional musicians. About this last statement, it is interesting to make a digression within a digression and examine some aspects of the level of professionalism of the musicians who were active in Goiás during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Virtually all of the most important musicians who lived in Goiás during the last decades of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries had to have an outside source of income in order to complement the funds received by their musical activities. The balance between these musical and non-musical incomes varied from case to case. As we saw in chapter 2, Balthasar de Freitas during his whole life worked as a lawyer and Miquelino Raymundo de Lima was chief of police of Jaraguá. According to Professor Braz de Pina Filho, Antônio da Costa Nascimento, the famous Tônico do Padre, apart from being one of the main musicians of his community, was also a painter, carpenter, scrivener (“escrivão”), and notary in the city of Pirenópolis.⁴⁹⁹ Joaquim Antunes da Silva, one of the copyists of the collection, was hired in 1888 by Torquato de Oliveira Sepúlveda to teach his son the art of music, as well as carpentry and other woodworks.⁵⁰⁰ The contract covered a period of four years, but the pupil would certainly have started performing in religious functions before that. In fact, as part of the agreement, the student was supposed to work for his master in his “free hours,” and this work certainly involved musical activities as well. Joaquim Antunes da Silva’s pupil could begin performing as early as two or three months after the beginning of his apprenticeship. Balthasar de Freitas, on the verso of one of his copies for the Litany in C Major (BF-069), wrote that Manoel Simplício started studying music on 19 May 1890

⁴⁹⁹ Pina Filho, “Antônio da Costa Nascimento,” 4.

⁵⁰⁰ Contract of educational services, Balthasar de Freitas’s collection, other documents sub-collection.

and two months later, on 5 July 1890, was already singing in the religious functions. How well Simplício sang that Litany is hard to know. Moreover, musicians seem to have rehearsed very little for those religious functions. On at least two occasions, a manuscript from the Freitas collection was copied on one day to be performed on the next.⁵⁰¹ Although it could be seen as sign of the high quality of the performers, the evidence discussed here points more toward the low quality of the performances.⁵⁰²

The second reason that makes me believe that the clarinet and pistom performers themselves would not transpose “by sight” the parts written in the same key as the violin parts is that when the copyists of the collection copied parts for requintas, helicons, and bombardons in Eb, these parts agree with the parts for instruments in Bb, but they would sound a whole tone lower than the parts for instruments in C. Let us examine the copies of the *Sub tuum praesidium* in C Major (BF-091) to clarify this point. This piece survives in several fragmented sets of parts, dating from 1875 to 1910, by three identified copyists (Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas, Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, and Balthasar de Freitas) and four other anonymous copyists (Copyists a, b, c, and d). We have three parts containing the same music: first violin, requinta, and first clarinet. Copyist a, from Jaraguá, wrote his part for first violin in 1875. This is probably the earliest extant part.

⁵⁰¹ In Miquelino Raymundo de Lima’s copy for ophicleide of the *Benedictus* in G minor we read: “Cópia de 16 de abril de 1892 (Sabbado de Alleluya) / p^a. ser cantado amanhã Dom^o. P^{lo}. Zeca Max^{do}. e Bened^o. / das chagas Leite. Miquelino de Lima.” (Copy on 16 April 1892 (Saturday of Alleluia) / to be sung tomorrow, Sunday, by Zeca Maxado and Benedicto das Chagas Leite). On an anonymous copy for bombardon of a *Letabitur Justus* in D Major (BF-103) we read: “Copiado a 10 de J^o. 1889 dia da festa do Rosario / p^a. servir amanhã na de S. Bened^o.” (Copied on 10 June 1889, day of the feast of [Nossa Senhora do] Rosário, to be used tomorrow in the [feast] of Saint Benedict).

⁵⁰² This decrease of the level of professionalism of the musical activities in Goiás can be an important factor behind the migration of musicians from strings to winds that happened in Goiás during the nineteenth century and that resulted in the growth of the wind bands. Forced to have another profession, these musicians would have less time to the study and practice of music. Thus, they chose ever more to dedicate to some wind instrument, which in comparison with string instruments, offer a good result in a shorter period of time.

Later, probably in the 1880s, Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas copied this same part for requinta and for first clarinet. Example 4.1a presents the first measures of Silvestre's copy for requinta.⁵⁰³ If we compare this part with 4.1b, Silvestre's copy for first clarinet, we can see that, apart from some differences in octaves, they match quite well. Nevertheless, when we compare 4.1a with 4.1c, Copyist a's copy for first violin, we can see that the requinta part would sound a whole tone lower than the first violin part. Table 4.2 shows these three parts in two forms: how they are written and how they actually sound.

Musical Example 4.1a: Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas's copy for requinta in Eb of the Sub tuum praesidium in C Major (BF-091).



Musical Example 4.1b: Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas's copy for first clarinet in Bb of the Sub tuum praesidium in C Major (BF-091).









⁵⁰³ Minor corrections were made in Musical Example 4.1 and Table 4.2.

Musical Example 4.1c: Copyist a's copy for first violin (Jaraguá, 1875) of the Sub tuum praesidium in C Major (BF-091).



Table 4.2: Written and sounding notes of the beginning of the Sub tuum praesidium in C Major (BF-091), in copies by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas (requinta and clarinet) and Copyist a.

Instrument	Written and sounding notes
requinta	<p>written:</p>  <p>sounding:</p> 
clarinet	<p>written:</p>  <p>sounding:</p> 
first violin	<p>written:</p>  <p>sounding:</p> 

It is quite understandable that a copyist would copy a piece in C Major for clarinet in Bb from a part for violin and keep the same written notes, expecting that the clarinet player would perform it in D Major “by sight” (thus sounding in C Major), because it would be easier for the copyist. On the other hand, what would be the reason for this same copyist to copy this same piece in C Major for requinta in Eb from the same part for violin and transpose it to G Major, expecting, still, that the requinta player would transpose it again, “by sight,” a whole tone higher (playing in A Major to sound in C Major)? Why did not the copyist simply transpose it to A Major in the first place? My point is that he did not do this because, in fact, they were performing the piece actually in Bb Major and not in C Major.

Finally, there are some pieces which have two parts for the same instrument, one in Bb and another in C. This happens with clarinets, basses, and, surprisingly, with violins. Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas’s copies of the *Missa dos Anjos* (BF-006) presents one of these cases. Silvestre wrote parts for clarinets in Bb and in C, as well as parts for basses, also in Bb and in C. As we can see in Example 4.2, the instruments in Bb are in the same key as the vocal parts, whereas the parts for instruments in C were written a whole tone lower.

Musical Example 4.2: Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas's copies of the Missa dos Anjos

(BF-006).

Missa dos Anjos (MS-100), Kyrie from the Allegro
Example 4.4 [Copy by
Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas,
1888]

Allegro

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

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

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

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

Requite

Clarineta em Dó

2a Clarineta em Sib

2o Pistom em Sib

Baxo em Dó

Baxo em Sib

The existence of parts for clarinets in Bb and in C is not problematic. There are some wind bands in Brazil that make use of clarinets in both tunings even today. The parts for basses in Bb and in C, on the other hand, are a little bit more complicated. The term “bass,” (“baxo” or “baixo” in Portuguese) is ambiguous and does not indicate a precise instrument; it indicates rather a function. These bass parts were probably performed by whatever bass instrument the conductor had at hand, ranging from violoncello or double bass to ophicleide or helicon. However, because parts for these last

two instruments are found in the collection, as well as parts for bombardon, it is possible that the term in the context of Balthasar de Freitas's collection would refer more frequently to a string instrument, violoncello or double bass, or sometimes to a tuba. Whereas in relation to tubas the existence of parts in Bb and in C is not problematic, it seems quite odd to think about violoncellos and double basses tuned in Bb. One could argue that the very existence of parts for basses in Bb is enough to rule out the possibility that under this ambiguous term, "bass," the use of violoncellos or double basses could be implicit. However, once more, things do not seem to be that simple.

Whereas in the parts for bass in Bb the use of a string instrument was not explicit, there are seven parts in the collection with unequivocal designation for "violin in Bb," and four others written for "violin in C," which in any case implies the potentiality (realized or not) of a part for violin in Bb. As we can see in Table 4.3, Balthasar de Freitas was one of the copyists who produced parts for violins in Bb. Actually, in his copies for the Hymn to the Holy Spirit in F Major (BF-117), he wrote copies for violins in Bb and in C. In relation to the referential key, the procedure followed by Balthasar is the same as with clarinets and basses described above. The parts which are in the same key as the vocal parts are the ones for violin in Bb; the part for violin in C is written a whole tone lower. If at this point there is no doubt that the musicians from Balthasar de Freitas's collection used Bb as their referential key, how did it work with the violins? Did an actual violin tuned to Bb exist? Did violin players, at least at some point in the first decades of the twentieth century, transpose "by sight" one tone lower parts which were written in a tonality adequate for clarinets and pistons? Unfortunately, we do not have enough evidences to answer these questions yet.

Table 4.3: Parts containing indications for violins in Bb and violins in C.

Work	MS	Copy	Original designation
Mass in C Major	190	José Pedro de Amorim, Jaraguá, 1936	<i>1º Violino sib</i>
Mass in D Major	015	Francisco Bruno do Rosário, São Francisco das Chagas, 1929	<i>1º Violino sib</i>
Mass in D Major	015	Francisco Bruno do Rosário, São Francisco das Chagas, 1929	<i>2º Violino sib</i>
Credo from the Mass in C Major	100	Balthasar de Freitas, 1918	<i>1º Violino sib</i>
Credo from the Mass in C Major	100	Balthasar de Freitas, 1918	<i>2º Violino sib</i>
Hymn to the Holy Spirit in F Major	110	Balthasar de Freitas, 1929	<i>1º Violino sib</i>
Hymn to the Holy Spirit in F Major	110	Balthasar de Freitas, 1929	<i>2º Violino sib</i>
Hymn to the Holy Spirit in F Major	110	Balthasar de Freitas, 1929	<i>Violino dó</i>
Novena for Nossa Senhora da Penha	118	Balthasar de Freitas, 1935	<i>Para Violino em dó</i>
Triduum for the Feast of the Conception	052b	Balthasar de Freitas, 1932	<i>Violino do</i>
Ecce Sacerdos in C Major	033	Balthasar de Freitas, [1924]	<i>1º Violino dó</i>

If, on one hand, there are issues in the practices carried out by the musicians who worked with the manuscripts from Balthasar de Freitas's collection that are still unresolved, on the other, we can conclude that when the old sacred repertory was adapted for a wind-band-like ensemble in the second half of the nineteenth century, the pieces which formed this repertory began to be performed a whole tone lower than before. Therefore, a Mass written in F Major in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century would have been performed actually in Eb Major at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.

Changes in Notation and in the Music

Substitutions and additions of instruments are not the only types of adaptations found in the manuscripts of the collection. We have several other modifications that basically can be grouped into two categories: (1) changes in notation and (2) changes in the actual music. This first type of adaptation, changing the notation, which we could call “external” changes, includes modifications in the system of clefs and modernizing archaic elements, especially elements related to rhythmic notation. The second category of modifications, the “internal” changes, represents the changes in the actual music and includes modifying the pitch structure, changing the meter, and making new versions of a preexistent composition.

Updating the system of clefs is probably the most common type of “external” change found in the manuscripts of the collection. Three systems of clefs are found in Brazilian sacred music: (1) high clefs, with Soprano in G clef on the second line, Alto in C clef on the second line, Tenor in C clef on the third line, and Bass in C clef on the fourth line; (2) low clefs, with these same voices in C on the first line (Soprano), C on the third line (Alto), C on the fourth line (Tenor), and F on the fourth line (Bass); (3) modern clefs, with Soprano in G clef on the second line, Alto also in G clef on the second line, Tenor in G clef on the second line sounding one octave lower (also called “Tenor clef”), and Bass in F clef on the fourth line.⁵⁰⁴ These three systems of clefs, with minor differences, are found in the manuscripts of Balthasar de Freitas’s collection. High clefs

⁵⁰⁴ Castagna, “As claves altas,” 27.

are employed in some of the oldest manuscripts of Brazilian music, and one extant piece written in this system is found in Balthasar de Freitas's collection, the *Surrexit Dominus* (BF-157). Unfortunately, the manuscripts of this piece were only partially preserved; it has Alto, Tenor, and Bass extant parts, but no Soprano part of it has survived. The manuscripts are undated and anonymous, but, as we can see in Figure 4.3, high clefs are not the only archaic feature of its notation (see “white-head” eighth notes and single whole notes in measures which were supposed to have three half notes). The manuscript is probably already a copy of an older manuscript and it is possible that the Alto part is a copy of the Tenor part (or vice-versa). They have different clefs but their notes are written in the exact same position on the staff.

Figure 4.3: Part for Alto of the *Surrexit Dominus* (BF-157); reproduced with permission of Freitas's family.



Most copies of the collection are written in low clefs or modern clefs, and several of them have different sets of parts written in each of the two systems. Examining the whole sacred music sub-collection, we can see in the manuscripts a gradual shift from low to modern clefs. Indeed, one manuscript preserved in the collection exhibits the phase of transition from the older system to the new one. It is a part for Tenor of another *Surrexit Dominus* (BF-156), which was copied in 1875. When it was written, the copyist of this part employed a C clef on the fourth line. Later, probably in 1890—an occasion when copies using modern clefs for the other three voices were made—someone wrote the same notes in G clef on top of the original handwriting (see Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: Part for Tenor of the *Surrexit Dominus* in G Major (BF-156); reproduced with permission of Freitas’s family.



However, Figure 4.4 shows a peculiar case, done probably out of time pressure, and not of the ordinary practice. What is common in the collection is the existence of two copies of the same part, one written in the old system and another in the modern system. The Memento (BF-147) presents such a case, with copies by two of the most active musicians of the collection, Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas and Miquelino Raymundo de Lima. Silvestre copied this piece in 1876 and 1887, using the traditional low-clef system. Miquelino copied the Memento in 1892 to be performed during the burial of Father Manoel Ribeiro de Freitas. In this copy, Miquelino used a particular system of clefs that is found in several of his other copies, as well as in some manuscripts made by other copyists. In this system, Miquelino wrote the Tenor and Bass parts in their ordinary modern clefs—G clef sounding one octave lower for Tenor and F clef for Bass—, but his Soprano and Alto parts were written also in G clef on the second line sounding one octave lower, and not in the standard G clef, as it was supposed to be. What is interesting is that this choice of clefs can have implications regarding performance practices. Soprano and Alto parts written in modern Tenor clef implies a performance of vocal music with an all-male voice ensemble, showing, thus, that this practice survived in Goiás at least until the 1890s.

The comparison between these two sets of parts for the Memento (BF-147), by Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas and by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, reveals other types of adaptations occurring in its transmission. First, it is important to point out that Silvestre's manuscript is already a copy and not an autograph. This piece is certainly from an earlier period and has even been attributed to Lobo de Mesquita. Therefore, Silvestre's copy is not a point of departure from the process of transmission of the Memento, but rather a

witness of a late stage in this process. In fact, its notation exhibits some archaic features that are characteristic of a period earlier than 1870s, the period in which Silvestre's copy was produced. These archaic features include both pitch and durational aspects of the notation. In regards to the former, we have sharps that have been used to cancel flats and music in G with just one flat in the key signature. In this respect, it is difficult to know whether the Memento was originally written in G Dorian, undergoing later a process of *tonalização* or if it was written already in G minor but with just one flat in the key signature, with the second flat (on E) appearing in the score as an accidental, being sometimes forgotten by Silvestre.⁵⁰⁵ In relation to the archaic durational aspects of the notation employed by Silvestre, we have irregularities in the time signature and a non-standard (for late nineteenth century) use of the dot of lengthening. The time signature used by him is ϕ , for a measure with two beats, having the half note as its beat unit. However, some measures have four beats instead of two, and these measures are usually occupied by a double whole note. This occurs not only at the end of the sections but in the middle of phrases as well. The non-standard use of the dot of lengthening occurs once in the manuscript. It is used in the place of a tie, in order to extend a whole note up to the first beat of the next measure, which, in turn, is completed by just one half note.

Lima's copies carry the process of adaptation of the notation of the Memento one step further. They modernize Silvestre's copies in both pitch and durational aspects. In regards to the durational aspect, Miquelino eliminated the exceptional cases from Silvestre's copies (measures with different numbers of beats and dots of lengthening) and

⁵⁰⁵ In European music, until late eighteenth century, it is common to have pieces in minor mode written with one less flat, as well as pieces in major with one less sharp. "Key signature," <http://www.grovemusic.com>, accessed on 15 February 2010.

also changed the beat unit from the half note to a quarter note, writing the music in 2/4. In relation to the pitch aspect of the piece, Lima changed the key signature from one flat to two flats. This last change is significant, since it has consequences for the actual music and not only for its notation. It is thus an “internal” change and not a mere “external” adaptation. With the change of the key signature, Miquelino definitively resolves the ambiguity of Dorian/minor, writing the music in G minor. However, we can see that he is still insecure in this respect, because there are several mistakes involving accidental notes in his copies.

Up to now, all of the recycling processes that have been described have in common the fact that they try to make an old composition playable for the new circumstances. There is no intention to transform an old composition into a new, different one. However, there is a group of manuscripts in the collection that presents exactly such a case. They present a piece in two (or three) different versions. This is a process carried out mainly (but not exclusively) by Balthasar de Freitas himself, and there were different ways to achieve this result. First, there is a group of multi-movement pieces—Novena for the month of Mary (BF-054), Triduum for the Feast of Conception (BF-063), and *Tantum ergo* (BF-066)—which had their movements reorganized in a second copy. The process of reorganization was quite simple: some movements were maintained in the new copy whereas other were substituted or simply deleted. As we saw in chapter 3, the multi-movement works were treated in a much more “open” way than we usually expect of sacred art music. Thus, the three cases listed here are only the ones in which the process of reorganization was “materialized” in a physical document, but it was certainly an ordinary process, especially in relation to paraliturgical pieces.

The Requiem Mass in D minor (BF-144) presents a different level of the recycling process. In this case, Balthasar de Freitas used an old piece as a model for a “new” composition. The earliest extant copy of this Requiem Mass is probably an anonymous manuscript, which is undated, but was certainly written in late nineteenth century. Balthasar then copied it, without modifications, in 1907. Later, in 1930, he composed a “new” Requiem Mass, using the old one as its model. In 1932 he made copies of the new version. This process is by no means unique in Brazilian sacred music. Indeed, there is a classic example by Father José Maurício, actually also a Requiem Mass and also in D minor. In 1816, José Maurício was commissioned to write a Requiem Mass for the death of the Queen D. Maria I. On this occasion, José Maurício used Mozart’s Requiem as his model. The piece today is one of the most performed compositions by a Brazilian colonial composer.

Although both sets of parts are incomplete, we can see that Balthasar de Freitas departed more or less from the model in different parts of the piece. The tonality and the structure of movements are the same in both versions, a Requiem Mass in D minor, divided into (1) Kyrie eleison, (2) Sanctus, (3) Pie Jesu, and (4) Agnus Dei. Some of these movements in the new version are virtually a copy of the model. That is the case of the Kyrie eleison, which was basically copied for the new version (see Example 4.3), and the Agnus Dei, which in the new version is a repetition of the Kyrie eleison. In the Sanctus and Pie Jesu, Freitas departed more from the model, usually keeping some of the structural elements (tonality, time signature, prosody, etc) while changing others.

Example 4.3: Extant vocal parts of the two versions of the Requiem Mass in D minor (BF-144).

BF-144a: Copy by Anonymous, no date: parts for Tenor and Bass.

Musical score for BF-144a, parts for Tenor and Bass. The score is in D minor, 3/4 time, and consists of two staves. The Tenor part is on the upper staff and the Bass part is on the lower staff. The lyrics are: Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

BF-144b: Copy by Balthasar de Freitas, 1930: parts for First Voice, Second Voice, and Bass.

Musical score for BF-144b, parts for First Voice, Second Voice, and Bass. The score is in D minor, 3/4 time, and consists of two staves. The First Voice part is on the upper staff and the Second Voice and Bass parts are on the lower staff. The lyrics are: Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son.

The Stabat Mater in F Major (BF-150) presents an even more complex, thus more interesting, case of the recycling process. The earliest extant copy of it is a set of parts written by Miquelino Raymundo de Lima in 1889, of which parts for Soprano, Alto, and Bass are extant. This set is written in 3/4 and was certainly intended for four standard voices (SATB), although the Tenor part is lost. Balthasar de Freitas made copies of it for

requinta and bass in Bb in 1897. Each of these copies present the same first version. At some point after 1889 (possibly after 1897), Miquelino himself changed the time signature and thus the meter of the piece from 3/4 to 4/4. He did so by using two different processes. On one hand, the parts for Soprano, Alto, and Bass were modified “in loco,” with Miquelino writing the new rhythmic durations on top of the old writing. The procedure was carried out in the simplest way possible. A measure with three quarter notes (♩ ♩ ♩) had its first quarter note transformed into a half note (♩ ♩); measures which had a half note and a quarter note (♩ ♩) had their first note added by a dot of lengthening (♩. ♩), and so on. On the other hand, Miquelino produced entirely new parts for Tenor, clarinet, and pistom, already in the new meter. At this time, Miquelino also added an instrumental introduction of four measures and a coda encompassing three measures.

Later, in 1916, Balthasar de Freitas decided to write a new version of the piece. He would make copies of this version also in 1924 and 1928. Freitas’s version was written in 3/4, the same time signature of the earliest version, but his version was written for three voices, instead of the standard four voices used in the original version. This version is also shorter than Miquelino’s, seventeen measures as opposed to twenty two or twenty nine. Apart from minor variations, Freitas followed his model quite closely. His Bass part is virtually the same (see Figure 4.5a and 4.5b). His part for First Voice is based on the old part for Tenor and his part for Second Voice based on the old part for Soprano.

Figure 4.5a: Miquelino Raymundo de Lima's part for Bass of the Stabat Mater (BF-150a), presenting the first two versions of the piece; reproduced with permission of Freitas's family.

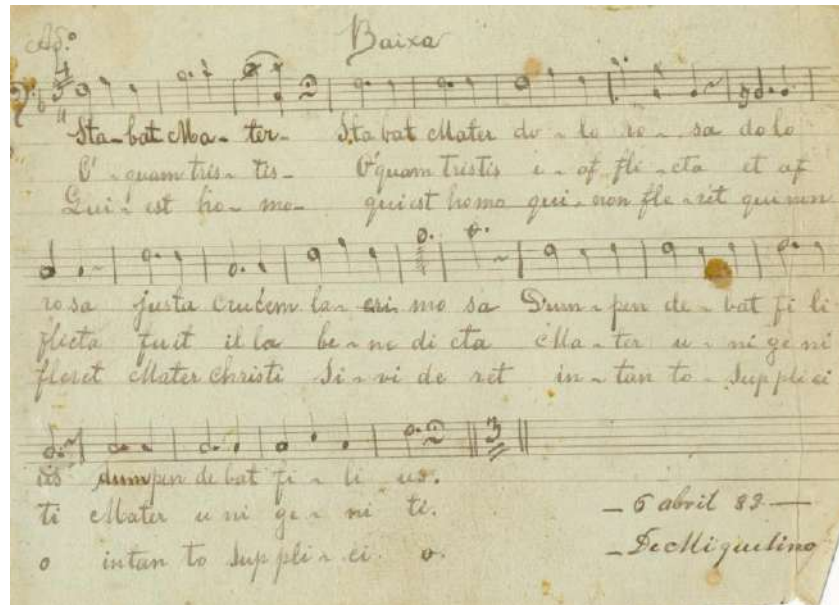


Figure 4.5b: Balthasar de Freitas's part for Bass of the Stabat Mater (BF-150b), presenting the third version of the piece; reproduced with permission of Freitas's family.



Today it is difficult to know the actual reasons that motivated Balthasar de Freitas, Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, and others to produce new versions of old pieces. One possibility, though, is that at some point in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, these musicians were not able to satisfy the demand for new compositions by composing new ones or by simply performing the pieces from their archive. Thus, they started to recycle once more the repertory, now at a new level of transformation of the old pieces. Nevertheless, it is important to notice that neither Balthasar nor Miquelino, nor any of the other copyists, tried to present these new versions as their own compositions. They did not sign them as composers. Actually, we cannot forget that, in that context, knowing who the composer was of the pieces which were performed was not something crucial for the community. The image of the composer as a genius whose work should be preserved and venerated by society had not arrived yet in the *Sertão dos Goyazes*.

Finally, the approach towards adaptation, modernization, and edition of an existent repertory by the copyists who formed Balthasar de Freitas's collection can be summarized by a message left by one of these copyists, Deoclides Pereira. In the corner of an undated copy, Pereira wrote: "O Regente / que transcre- / va no seu estylo / habitual, si este não / lhe for conforme." (The conductor must write in his own customary style if he finds that this one is inappropriate).

CONCLUSION

Music was part of the history of Goiás from its very beginning. Beginning with Anhaguera's Bandeira, the Catholic Church was present at each new discovery of gold and consequent foundation of an urban center, initiating the celebration of religious ceremonies, and, at the same time, the performance of sacred music. At first, this music was probably only chant sung by the celebrants, but it did not take long for professional musicians to start being hired, allowing for the performance of "polyphonic" music. Most extant information about musical activities in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is related to sacred music, but there are also references to other genres such as opera (from the eighteenth century) and wind-band music (from the early nineteenth century on). The main sponsors of sacred music in Goiás were the State and the brotherhoods. The State operated through the *Senado da Câmara* and the City Councils, and its main objective was to celebrate the official holy days and special events through the realization of religious ceremonies, often with the performance of a Te Deum. Brotherhoods were among the most active institutions in the religious life of Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they were present in each urban center of the region. One of the main occupations of brotherhoods was to celebrate their Patron/Patroness properly, and for these celebrations, professional musicians were hired for performing during the Mass ("Missa cantada com música") and in the processions.

Even though the signs of musical activities in Goiás during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are abundant, the main witnesses of these activities (the musical manuscripts used during these activities) are very rare. They are rare but not non-existent;

in Goiás there are at least four collections containing musical manuscripts from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries: (1) Pina family collection (Pirenópolis); (2) Dorvi/Moreyra collection (City of Goiás); (3) private collection of Antônio Pinheiro (Itaberaí); and (4) Balthasar de Freitas's collection (Jaraguá). Balthasar de Freitas's collection is a group of documents, most of them musical manuscripts, which belongs to the Ribeiro de Freitas family. It is divided into four sub-collections: (1) sacred music; (2) instrumental music; (3) printed music; and (4) other documents. There are 164 sacred works preserved in the collection. Most of them are music for the Mass or novenas, but there are also pieces for Holy Week, funeral services, expositions of the Holy Sacrament, Te Deum, and others.

The manuscripts were produced and collected by several generations of musicians. The most active of them were (chronologically): Silvestre Ribeiro de Freitas, Miquelino Raymundo de Lima, and Balthasar Ribeiro de Freitas. The majority of the pieces appears in the collection as anonymous works, but there are pieces by composers from Goiás, from other states of Brazil, and even a piece attributed to an European composer. Most of the dated manuscripts are from the second half of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries. However, a significant portion of the manuscripts has no indication of date or place of copying.

Even though the dated manuscripts are mostly from the second half of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries, some works were actually composed in the early nineteenth and even the late eighteenth century. In addition, the copyists who worked with the manuscripts of the collection repeatedly made adaptations of the preceding repertory in order to make it playable under the circumstances which

were available to them. Therefore, the musical notation was frequently updated, string instruments were replaced by winds, and male sopranos and altos were replaced by female voices. Finally, during this process of adaptation the preceding repertory began to be performed one whole tone lower than it was originally written.

The present dissertation has not explored all the possibilities of its subject. Rather, it is a starting point for further researches directly or indirectly related to the topics discussed here. Critical editions of the works of the collection have yet to be made. The role of the brotherhoods in the musical life of Goiás, as well as the interchange of musicians from Goiás with musicians from the other states of Brazil deserves further investigation. Finally, other music collections of the state have yet to be studied and brought to the attention of the academy.