

A prática vocal carioca durante o período joanino

Alberto José Vieira Pacheco
(Universidade Nova de Lisboa – FCT)
apacheco@post.com

RESUMO:

Em 8 de março de 1808, a corte portuguesa se estabelecia em seus domínios americanos, refugiando-se do exército napoleônico que naquele momento avançava sobre Portugal. Sendo assim, a então capital do Vice-Reino do Brasil, se viu repentinamente elevada à sede do império português. Isto foi o início de uma série de mudanças políticas e sociais que levaram à independência do Brasil em 1822, cerca de um ano após o retorno da corte portuguesa à Europa. No meio de tantos acontecimentos, o meio musical carioca foi profundamente transformado. O que pretendemos neste texto é descrever como a presença da corte portuguesa influenciou a prática vocal no Rio de Janeiro. Para tanto, identificaremos as mudanças no meio musical carioca seja nas igrejas, nos teatros ou nos salões.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: Prática Vocal - D. João VI – Guerras Napoleônicas

ABSTRACT:

On 8 March 1808, the the Portuguese court established itself in its American dominions, seeking refuge from Napoleon's army which had taken possession of Portugal. Thus, what had hitherto been the capital of the Viceroyalty of Brazil, found itself elevated overnight to the headquarters of the Portuguese Empire. This was the beginning of a series of political and social changes that would lead to the independence of Brazil in 1822, almost a year after the return of the Portuguese court to Europe. In the midst of all these events, musical life in Rio underwent a process of profound transformation. In the present text I aim to describe how the presence of the Portuguese court came to influence vocal practice in Rio de Janeiro. To this end, I will identify the changes that took place in musical circles there, in the churches, in the theatres and in private salons.

KEYWORDS: Vocal practice – D. João VI – Napoleonic Wars

Last year, Brazil commemorated the bicentenary of the arrival of the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro. On 8 March 1808 the royal family established itself in its American dominions, seeking refuge from Napoleon's army which had taken possession of Portugal. Thus, what had hitherto been the capital of the Viceroyalty of Brazil, found itself elevated overnight to the headquarters of the Portuguese Empire. This was the beginning of a series of political and social changes that would lead to the independence of Brazil in 1822, almost a year after the return of the Portuguese court to Europe. In the midst of all these events, musical life in Rio underwent a process of profound transformation. Although this is one of the periods of Brazilian history that has received greatest attention, there remains a good deal still to be researched before we will be able to understand exactly

how these cultural transformations came about. Nevertheless, recent studies have revealed new data with regard specifically to vocal practice¹. Hence, in the present text I aim to describe how the presence of the Portuguese court came to influence vocal practice in Rio de Janeiro. To this end, I will identify the changes that took place in musical circles there, in the churches, in the theatres and in private salons.

CHURCHES

At the helm of the Portuguese monarchy when the court disembarked was João, the Prince Regent² (1767-1826). The prince's passion for music, above all sacred music, was an important dynamic force in the process of transformation that the musical output in Rio was to undergo. His love of music, allied to his deep religious sense led him to create the Rio de Janeiro Royal Chapel immediately after his arrival in the city (fig. 1). To this end the church of the Carmelite Convent was adapted to fulfil the functions of Royal Chapel and Cathedral, making it one of the most important centres of religious music in the Americas. According to André Cardoso:

“The Royal Chapel of Rio de Janeiro, with its choir and orchestra, was the first professional musical institution in Brazil to be maintained at public expense on a permanent basis. Its instrumentalists and singers were civil servants” (CARDOSO, 2005, p. 10).³

However, the musicians already active in Rio de Janeiro were insufficient in number to supply the needs of the new Royal Chapel. Thus, “from January 1809 onwards the singers at the Lisbon Royal Chapel began to receive letters of admission to the Royal Chapel at Rio de Janeiro” (MATTOS, 1997, p. 72). Also, by order of the Prince Regent, a number of singers were contracted directly from Italy and in 1811 arrived one of the greatest Portuguese composers of all times, Marcos Portugal, who in due course was to be nominated Chapelmaster, a post he shared with the Brazilian Father José Maurício Nunes Garcia, the most important Brazilian composer of the period.

The traveller James Henderson described the Royal Chapel as follows:

“[...] the King has a large Box, not unlike an opera-box, above the place where grand mass is performed; here his Majesty and the rest of the family take their seats on festival-day; the bishop, in white or yellow satin, richly embroidered with gold, his mitre of the same, sits in great state below, opposite to the King, when he is not engaged in any part of the ceremony, in which he is assisted by a prodigious number of padres, and the service is performed with vast magnificence. The organ, accompanied by a crowd of vocal performers,

¹ This text results from research done for my doctoral dissertation in Music at UNICAMP (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Brazil), completed in 2007 made possible through the financial support of FAPESP (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo).

² The future King João VI assumed the *de jure* regency of the Portuguese monarchy in 1799, following the certification of the irremediable madness of his mother, Queen Maria I (1734-1816). Following the Queen's death in 1816, he was acclaimed King and instated in Rio de Janeiro in 1818.

³ “A Capela Real do Rio de Janeiro, com seu coro e sua orquestra, foi a primeira instituição profissional de música no Brasil mantida com recursos públicos, de forma permanente. Seus músicos e cantores eram funcionários públicos.”

amongst whom are five or six eunuchs, gratify, with some of the finest music of the Brazil, the audience, consisting, on some occasions, of many fidalgos, judges, ministers, and various individuals, who, in their gaudy robes, sit upon benches along the body of the chapel. There are others also who are led there by curiosity.

Here the King will some times spend the whole day, and, upon the celebration of some favourite saint's day, will remain till midnight" (HENDERSON, 1821, p. 65).

From this visitor's description we can see that there were a number of *castrati* in the service of the Royal Chapel at Rio de Janeiro. However curious the presence of *castrati* in Brazil might seem, well into the beginning of the nineteenth century, at a time when this type of voice was already becoming rare even in Europe, this is nothing more than a Portuguese preference transferred to Brazil. The truth is that with the introduction of Italian models in Portugal during the eighteenth century, the court also developed a taste for the *castrati*, who had been brought at great expense from Italy. This taste was not restricted to the eighteenth century, but continued up to the regency of the future king João VI. The use of *castrati* was justified in part on moral and religious grounds. Following Roman tradition, women were forbidden to sing at the court theatres, being substituted by *castrati* both in these theatres and in the churches attached to the court. During the reign of Queen Maria I, prior to the regency (from 1777), this prohibition also applied to the public theatres. In 1799 the Prince Regent revoked this prohibition definitively. Before this date "there were sporadic exceptions to this curious prohibition" (NERY; CASTRO, 1999, p. 121). Thus, from 1799 the prohibition of women no longer explains the presence of *castrati* in the theatres. In actual fact, they remained on the stage for a while longer, thanks to their own artistic merits, quite apart from the fact that their presence was already established practice. Hence, up to the time of Prince João's departure for Brazil, the *castrati* continued to enjoy a position of prestige in Portugal and it was this reality that was to be transplanted to Brazil.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese court, women were also forbidden to sing in the churches of Brazil and it was the boys from the Seminário de São Joaquim who took the soprano and contralto lines in the churches of Rio de Janeiro. However, it was the Prince Regent himself who personally undertook the contracting of a number of *castrati* for the Royal Chapel at Rio⁴, singers who were to become the great stars of the musical scene there as soon as they arrived. It should be stated that the musical life in the Rio churches was maintained at the Prince's initiative, he himself being responsible for the contracting of the musicians and for commissioning compositions, ending up by dictating musical taste.

It is difficult to be sure just how many *castrati* were in Rio de Janeiro, but below is the most complete list of them hitherto compiled, in the order in which they were appointed to the Royal Chapel there:

- Early 1810: **Giuseppe Capranica** (Naples, ? – Rio de Janeiro, 15/08/1818).
Soprano of the Patriarchal See of Lisbon, from about 1791, and later at the Royal

⁴ João invested his own Money in the contracting, travel costs and maintenance of the musicians. This can be seen from various documents belonging to the Arquivo da Casa Real in the sections: *Bolsinho do Rio de Janeiro*, *Balanço do Particular* and *Despesas Particulares*.

Chapel, Rio de Janeiro. As can be seen from the corresponding libretti⁵, between 1785 and early 1791 he took part in opera and chamber performances in various Italian theatres, such as Rome, Florence, Naples, Palermo and Livorno. Both in Lisbon and in Rio de Janeiro, he also sang outside church, being a musician of the Royal Chamber at Rio de Janeiro.

- 1 December 1810: **Giuseppe Gori** (Arezzo, ? - Rio de Janeiro, 04/03/1819) Contralto of the Patriarchal See of Lisbon, from about 1802, and subsequently at the Royal Chapel, Rio de Janeiro.

- 26 January 1811: **Antonio Cicconi** (Roma, 1781 – Rio de Janeiro, 30/10/1870). Soprano of the Patriarchal See of Lisbon from about 1804 and later at the Royal Chapel, Rio de Janeiro. Also took part in performances of the Royal Chamber, Rio de Janeiro.

- 1 August 1816:

- **Marcello Tani** (Italy, ? – Brazil, ?) Soprano of the Royal Chapel and Royal Chamber, Rio de Janeiro.

- **Pasquale Tani** (Italy, ? – Brazil, ?) Contralto of the Royal Chapel and Royal Chamber, Rio de Janeiro. Brother of Marcello Tani. Both gave some performances at the Rio de Janeiro theatres.

- 1 November 1816: **Giovanni Francesco Fasciotti** (Bergamo, ? – Rio de Janeiro, 14/10/1840) Mezzo-soprano⁶ of the Royal Chapel and Royal Chamber, Rio de Janeiro. As can be seen from contemporary libretti, he was very active in Italian theatres such as Milan, Turin, Verona, Naples, Bologna and elsewhere. What needs to be stressed is that this *castrato* had a highly successful career in Italy before leaving for Brazil, having performed in major theatres like La Scala, Milan. His frequent appearance in title roles also reveals the prestige he had acquired in his country of origin. This singer alone shows us how Brazil came to know *castrati* of a high level. As will be seen when we examine theatre music, Fasciotti was of fundamental importance in the operatic life of Rio.

- 2 January 1818:

- **Angelo Tinelli** (Italy, ? – ?, ?) Contralto of the Royal Chapel and Royal Chamber, Rio de Janeiro.

- **Francesco Realli** (Italy, ? – Rio de Janeiro?, 1870s) Soprano of the Royal Chapel and Royal Chamber, Rio de Janeiro.

- 6 August 1820: **Domenico Luigi Lauretti** (Italy, ? – Portugal, 1857) Soprano of the Patriarchal See of Lisbon from about 1818, and of the Royal Chapel, Rio de Janeiro. The year following Lauretti's arrival at Rio, King João VI returned to Portugal and probably the *castrato* felt it to be in his interest to follow the same destiny as the King, returning to Lisbon, where he established himself definitively and was extremely active.

These, then, were the *castrati* who served the Royal Chapel. There are indications, however, that in late 1809, Giuseppe di Foiano Toti (17-?, Itália – Portugal, 1832/1833), soprano of the Patriarchal See of Lisbon, organist, composer and singing teacher in the King's service since 1780, went to Brazil at the King's behest. If Toti really did go to Brazil,

⁵ The catalogues and libretti consulted are included in the bibliography.

⁶ This singer is always referred to in the documents as a soprano, but an analysis I have done of the árias expressly composed for his voice show that his tessitura was what nowadays we would call a mezzo-soprano. It is scarcely surprising that he was described as a soprano, since the term mezzo-soprano was not in use at this period in Rio de Janeiro.

however, this seems not to have been as a singer, owing to his advanced age, and he may only have taught. Be that as it may, he returned to Lisbon and died there. As well as this *castrato*, the traveller Carl Schlichthorst (?-?) mentions the presence in the Rio theatres of two others about whom we find no further reference, either in Brazilian or European sources: Tomassini and Bartolozzi. If they did indeed go to Rio de Janeiro, they evidently performed only in the public theatres, since they were not among the musicians of the Royal Chapel or Royal Chamber.

What is certain is that no fewer than nine *castrati* were in the service of the Royal Chapel. The presence just of these *virtuosi* would have been sufficient to alter the soprano and contralto lines completely in the sacred music composed in Rio, which, up to that time, relied solely on choirboys and male altos who did not exploit technical virtuosity. However, besides the *castrati*, other European singers were also contracted for the Royal Chapel. To cite the most influential among them:

Tenors:

- **Giovanni Paolo Mazziotti** (Portugal?, ? – Rio de Janeiro, 19/05/1850). He was contracted for the Royal Chapel of Rio de Janeiro in 1810. In fact, he was really a *contraltino* or *haute-contre*⁷, as can be seen in all of the lines composed for him, in which frequent use is made of extremely high notes in the head voice range. He also sang in the Royal Chamber.
- **José Maria Dias** (Santarém, Portugal, 17-? – Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, 18-?). He arrived in Rio on 31 December 1808, after serving at the Patriarchal See of Lisbon for nine years. He likewise performed in the Royal Chamber.
- **António Pedro Gonçalves** (Portugal, 1771 - Rio de Janeiro, 11/04/1852). This singer came to Brazil around the beginning of 1810, having sung for eleven years at the Royal Chapel in Lisbon.

The presence of these three tenors made it possible to write solos requiring a high degree of vocal virtuosity never before found in Rio de Janeiro for this type of voice.

Basses:

- **António Felizardo Porto** (Souzela, Portugal, ? - Lisboa, Portugal, 01/10/1863). *Basso cantante* of the Royal Chapel in Lisbon and in Rio de Janeiro, choir master and an important theatre impresario in both Brazil and Portugal.
- **Fr. Francisco de Paula Pereira** (Portugal, ? – Rio de Janeiro, 20/11/1833) Bass. Functioned as a chaplain singer and soloist in the Royal Chapel. He also sang in the Royal Chamber. He was the only singer to accompany the King on his journey to Brazil.
- **“Nicolao Majoranini”** (Rome, ? – Rio de Janeiro, 1855) He arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1820. He also sang in the Royal Chamber. He was also an important figure in the Rio theatres. Apparently he was a fine actor.
- **Salvatore Salvatori** (Itália, ? - ?,?) He arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1820, together with Majoranini. He also sang in the Royal Chamber. Similarly he was also highly active in the Rio theatres.

⁷ It is a vocal type between tenor and contralto. In other words, a very high tenor able to make good use of the very top of his falsetto range and, furthermore, able to balance this register skilfully with that of his chest voice. I am using the nomenclature and definition given by Manuel P. R. Garcia (1985).

The presence of so many *virtuosi* led to a radical change in the vocal practice in Rio. The best mirror of these transformations is the actual repertoire composed in Rio de Janeiro in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, for it documents just how far the presence of the court there altered the musical output. With regard to the vocal lines, it is clear that both technical elements and certain aspects of ornamentation and expression came to be employed in a new context. For example, if we examine the repertoire composed, we can see that the amount of ornamentation varied considerably. The best example of the compositional changes undergone in Rio is the work of Fr. José Maurício, not only because he was the most important Brazilian composer of the period in question, but also because he composed before, during and immediately after the period the Portuguese court spent there. Furthermore, he worked closely with the singers and the European composers who were active at court, in his capacity as Chapel Master and was thus constantly exposed to new trends. Let us examine a number of revealing examples.

The solo in the Marian antiphon *Tota pulchra es Maria* of 1783 is an example of simplicity (Ex. 1). This antiphon is among the oldest works composed in Rio for which the manuscript has come down to us⁸.

Andante amoroso

To - ta pul - - - chra es Ma - ri - a Ma - ri - a

8
to - ta pul - chra to - ta pul - chra es Ma - ri - a es Ma - ri - a

(Ex. 1) Extract from *Tota pulchra es Maria*, 1783

Composed for a treble, the range of the entire solo lies within an octave (g'-g"). The few passages with simple embellishments can be seen above. Apart from a trill present in the final cadence, there is no written ornamentation. In fact, the pieces composed by Fr. José Maurício in general prior to the arrival of the court reveal a style similar to the example above, homogeneous in their simplicity and with rather limited use of vocal resources.

By contrast, the "Laudamus te" from the *Missa de Santa Cecília*⁹, composed roughly eighteen years after the arrival of the Portuguese royal family constitutes an extreme example of the vocal virtuosity which was little by little incorporated in the Brazilian composer's writing¹⁰ (Ex. 2).

⁸ There is a modern edition, 1983, see bibliography.

⁹ There is a modern edition, 1984, see bibliography.

¹⁰ Most of the composer's vocal lines were transcribed and analysed in the process of my doctoral research. See "Apêndice IV" in PACHECO (2009).

Andante sostenuto

Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te Glo - ri - fi - ca -
 ca - mus glo - ri - fi - ca - mus glo - ri - fi - ca -
 mus te
 Lau - da - mus be - ne - di - ci - mus a - do - ra - mus
 a - do - ra - mus te glo - ri - fi - ca -
 mus te glo - ri - fi - ca -
 mus te Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te

(Ex. 2) Extract from "Laudamus te", *Missa de Santa Cecilia*, 1826

Though there is no indication in the manuscript as to who the singer of this aria was, the vocal line is very similar to the solos written explicitly for Cicconi, with the same technical demands and the usual staccatos in the upper register of the voice, and it is highly probable that this *castrato* singer was the performer. However, what is at issue here in these two musical examples is the radical transformation undergone in the vocal practice in Rio de Janeiro.

As well as this, it is important to stress that the musical taste at court and the consequent transformations extended beyond the institutional limits of the Royal Chapel. Proof of this may be found in the *Missa de Santa Cecilia*, from which the solo above is taken, and which was commissioned by the Irmandade de Santa Cecília (musicians' guild), and

therefore outside the musical output of the Royal Chapel. Another example is the *Missa a 4 Vozes* of 1818, which was composed for the 3rd Order of Our Lady of Carmel. In this work, which did not even count on the *castrati* from the Royal Chapel, the composer maintained the virtuosity then in fashion. The soprano aria was written explicitly for Augusto César de Assis¹¹ (?-?), this being the most demanding of José Maurício's vocal parts written specially for a falsetto singer (Ex. 3).

Allegro maestoso

Je - su Je - - - - -

su Je - su Je - su___ Je - - - - - su Chris - te Je - su

Chris - - - te Je - su___ Je - su Chris - - - te

(Ex.3) Extract from "Quoniam", *Missa a 4 vozes*

Clearly this is a very different aria from those written for the male altos and boy sopranos prior to the arrival of the *castrati*. From this we can see that even the male altos of the Royal Chapel had to develop their voices to the full in order to continue as soloists, even in other churches, where the competition from the *castrati* was not so exacting.

Although the solos given above are all for soprano, all of the voice types underwent the same kind of transformation. I say transformation and not evolution, for we cannot simply conclude that these changes led to a more advanced vocal practice or to works aesthetically 'better' than those prior to the court's arrival. What actually occurred is that various of the singers that came from Europe brought with them a different manner of singing, which had an effect on both the repertoire and other, Brazilian singers. That is not to say, however, that the changes in vocal line in the compositions of Fr. José Maurício constitute a simple response to the new abilities of the singers for whom he was writing. We can reasonably suppose that some of the changes in the composer's vocal writing were the consequence also of a change in taste, for as well as new singers that afforded

¹¹ Falsettist appointed to the Royal Chapel in June 1811.

new vocal practices, the arrival of the court also transported to Brazil a new musical taste and a new vocal aesthetic. The musical output of the Royal Chapel was sponsored by the monarch and obviously had to conform to his personal taste. Hence, we may even talk of a ‘Joanine’ style within the sacred music composed in Rio, which became implanted not because it was aesthetically better than what went before, but because it was simply what the Regent and King preferred. As regards specifically the singing, João’s personal commitment to contracting so many *castrati* leaves no doubt as to what was his preference with regard to singing or to what he felt should be sung in the Royal Chapel.

We should not, however, underestimate the importance that the singers had in the transformation of vocal lines here, for even before the arrival of the Portuguese court, José Maurício must already have been aware of the musical style prevalent in Lisbon. Nireu Cavalcanti (2004) has brought to our attention the inventory of the possessions of José Maurício’s teacher, Salvador José de Almeida e Faria (1732? - 1799). In this document from 1799, we find a substantial collection of scores composed by names such as António Leal Moreira, João de Sousa Carvalho, Luciano Xavier dos Santos and Marcos Portugal, as well as various Italian composers, all highly regarded in Portugal at the turn of the century. A comparison, for example, with some of the pieces by João de Sousa Carvalho demonstrates that he wrote long vocal solos in a highly embellished and demanding style, which very probably would not have been singable by any of the choirboys in Rio de Janeiro. In other words, the simplicity of Fr. José Maurício’s early compositional style was not simply for want of a knowledge of what was being done in Europe. It is highly probable that it was also related to the vocal limitations of the performers. That being so, the presence of European singers was not simply fundamental for the introduction and consolidation of the new style. It was this that made it possible at all.

THE THEATRES

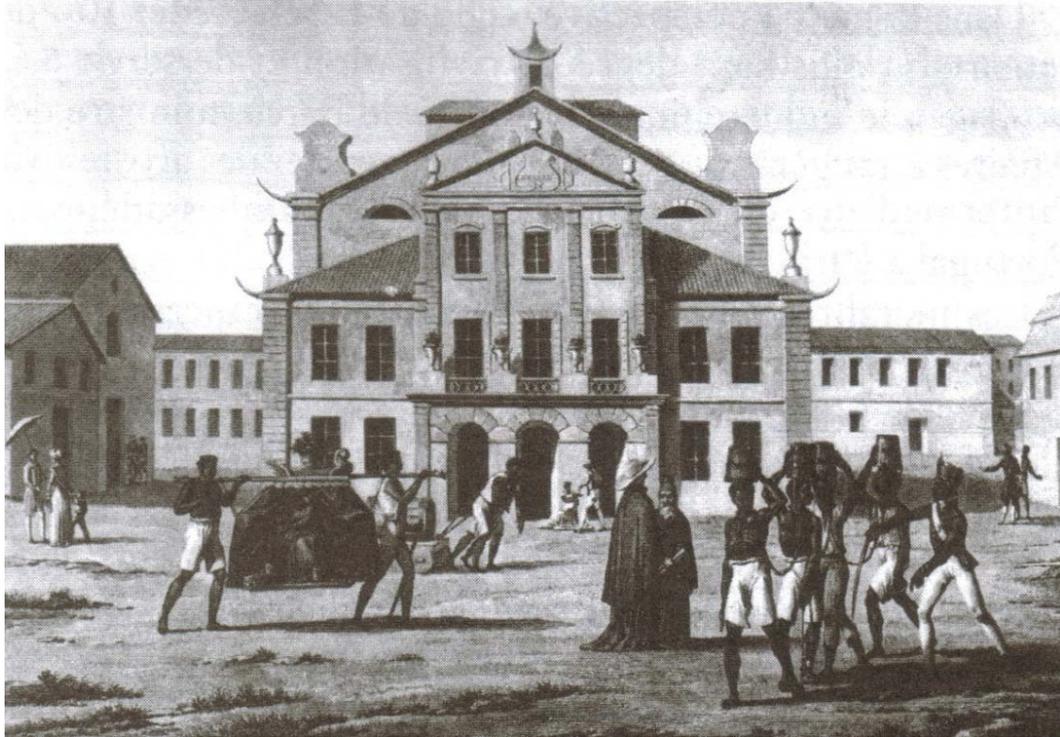
At the time of the court’s arrival, the principal theatre in Rio de Janeiro was that of the impresario Manuel Luís Ferreira, known as the ‘Ópera Nova’. At this theatre the repertoire was primarily one of spoken drama. In this context “music served to open the entertainment and to fill intervals, when it did not form part of the show itself in the form of instrumental or vocal excerpts, interspersed within the text of the plays. Opera as such was rarer.” (ANDRADE, 1967, v. 1, p. 66). With the arrival of the court, the Ópera Nova theatre underwent improvements and came to be known as the Teatro Régio. From then on Rio was then in a position to sustain operatic activity with a certain regularity. However, the more sophisticated taste of the Europeans who continued to arrive demanded a much more sophisticated kind of theatre, as a result of which the Teatro São João was built.

Built by a society formed by the city’s principal business men, with the proceeds of seven lotteries authorised by King João VI, [the Teatro São João, Rio de Janeiro] was inaugurated in 1813 [...]

Situated where today stands the Teatro João Caetano, in general terms it followed the design of the famous Teatro de São Carlos of Lisbon (VALENÇA, 1985, p. 93).¹²

¹² “Construído [o teatro São João, no Rio de Janeiro] por uma sociedade formada pelos principais negociantes da praça, com o produto de sete loterias, autorizado por D. João VI, foi inaugurado em 1813 [...] Localizado onde é hoje o Teatro João Caetano, seguia, em linhas gerais, o famoso Teatro de São

Although the theatre (Fig. 1) was not built by the Regent himself (he was not in fact King yet, as the quotation indicates), it was he who made it possible, through the authorisation of a series of lotteries to raise funds, as well as through exemption from customs duties.



(Fig. 1) Teatro São João, engraving/lithograph by, 1830, in: ENDERS, 2000

The building of this new theatre shows that it was not only sacred music that the Regent enjoyed. The theatre altered the musical scene in Rio significantly, for with its building the city could, for the first time, count on regular opera seasons, attracting professional European singers. Here are some of the most influential:

- **Fabrizio Piacentini** (Roma, 1766 – Rio de Janeiro, 10/1829), *Basso buffo*. Head of a family of singers from Rome. Piacentini established himself in Rio de Janeiro from 1820 and with him came his three singing daughters: Giustina (Rome, ? – ?,?), Carolina (Rome, ? – ?,?) and Elisa Maria Piacentini (Naples/Rome?, ? – Rio de Janeiro, 13/08/1866). In 1823, at his initiative, the first known series of public concerts took place, with tickets sold by a musical group known as the Acadêmicos Filarmônicos.
- **Gaetano Ricciolini** (Itália, ? - ?,?) Appeared at the Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon, in 1810. Around 1819, he was singing in Brazil.
- **Maria Teresa Fasciotti** (Bergamo?, ? - ?,?): Soprano, sister and pupil of the *castrato* Fasciotti. It is highly likely that she moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1816, together with her brother, and that, like him, she was a native of Bergamo. In addition to his outstanding performances at the Royal Chapel, he was the most successful *castrato* in the theatres, demonstrating not only remarkably musical qualities but also

considerable dramatic talent. It would be true to say that he and his sister were among the most influential singers in the city's theatrical circles. Teresa could always rely on the support of Giovanni Fasciotti, to whom she owed the greater part of her career. She was the *prima donna* of the Teatro de São João for many years. Her hegemony was only challenged in 1827 with the arrival of the French soprano Elisa Barbieri, who remained in Rio for only a short time. It seems that Teresa remained in the Brazilian capital until her brother's death, in 1840. Without his protection, however, she is to be found in Lisbon in 1842¹³, when she was contracted to perform at the Teatro de São Carlos, in secondary roles, in 1842 and the first quarter of 1843¹⁴.

- **Mariano Pablo Rosquellas** (Madrid,?- Bolivia, 02/07/ 1859). Singer, composer, violinist and music entrepreneur. According to Ayres de Andrade, he must have arrived in Rio de Janeiro towards the end of 1818. For his benefit in 1820, Mozart's *Don Giovanni* was performed for the first time.

- **Marianna Scaramelli (Lacombe)** (Veneza, 1785/86 - ?,?). Soprano. Scaramelli performed in Lisbon and Oporto between 1806 and 1810. The following year she moved to Rio de Janeiro. She was married to the dancer Louis Lacombe (1787/88 - ?-?). In Lisbon, she was the original soloist in the cantata *La speranza* by Marcos Portugal, for soprano, chorus and orchestra. Her Rio de Janeiro premiere was in 1811, in the opera *L'oro non compra amore* by the same composer. She spent a number of seasons in Rio.

- **Michele Vaccani** (Milão, ? - ?,?) Following a long career in Europe, where from 1791 he sang in the principal theatres in Italy, Spain and Portugal, he reached Rio de Janeiro around 1814. He remained a firm presence in the Rio theatres up to 1824.

In actual fact, the increase in operatic activity in the Rio theatres had an effect beyond Brazilian musical circles. As Otto Mayer-Serra tells us in his *Musica y músicos de latinoamerica*, in 1823 Pablo Rosquellas, mentioned above, was in Buenos Aires performing excerpts from various operas. After this first, highly successful appearance in Argentina, Rosquellas returned to Rio in search of more singers in order to be able to stage entire operas. This time he returned to Buenos Aires, accompanied by Vaccani in late June 1823. In October the same year he came back once more to Rio from where he returned yet again to Buenos Aires in May 1824, this time with the Tani brothers. In 1825 Rosquellas succeeded in forming the company he so desperately wanted, with Vaccani, "Riccioloni" (as Mayer-Serra gives his name) and the Tani brothers, putting on various operas. Rosquellas was active in Buenos Aires until around 1832, in opera, oratório and concerts. He was also present in performances in Montevideo in 1830. He left Argentina in 1833 and moved to Bolivia. In the 1830s, he settled in Potosí, Bolivia, where he remained active musically and founded a philharmonic society. His son was also a singer and composer there¹⁵. In other words, Rio de Janeiro became a port of entry for musicians who might, in due course, move on to other parts of the Americas. This phenomenon was to continue throughout the 19th century.

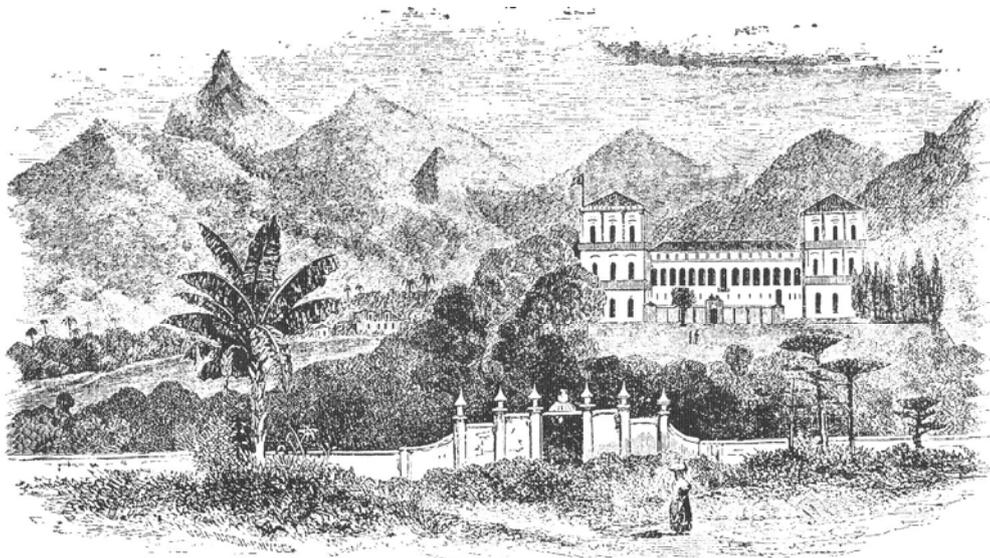
¹³ "Lisboa. A Perelli, a Fasciotti, Ferreti e Galli actuaram com distinção na *Prigione de Edimburgo* de Ricci (Federico)" (*Allgemeine Musicalische Zeitung*, 28/12/1842, in BRITO; CRANMER, 1990, p. 70).

¹⁴ CYMBRON, 1998, pp. 359-364.

¹⁵ Information taken from <http://www.boliviawebsite.com/Musica.htm> (latest visit 11/08/2008).

ROYAL RESIDENCES

It goes without saying that in the Rio de Janeiro of those days the two great centres of musical production were the Royal Chapel and the Teatro de São João. However, there was a further musical institution that employed singers and contributed to the establishment of the new musical taste, since, as Regent and King, João VI also maintained the Royal Chamber. Many of the singers who were contracted in Europe to perform at the Royal Chapel also belonged to this group. The Royal Chamber, the principal musical grouping in the royal apartments, has been little studied, despite the importance of its performances and of the precious repertoire composed for its concerts, which took place at the Paço de São Cristóvão (Palace of St. Christopher, fig. 2) and at the Real Fazenda de Santa Cruz (Royal Estate of Holy Cross). The Paço de São Cristóvão, also known as the Real Quinta da Boa Vista (Royal Homestead of Boa Vista), was João's principal residence in Rio. Here a number of musical works were executed, such as cantatas, serenatas and other chamber compositions.



(Fig. 2) Palácio da Boa Vista em São Cristóvão (in KIDDER, 1980, p. 152)

In the musical archive of the Ducal Palace at Vila Viçosa, Portugal, there is an example of a cantata by the composer Fortunato Mazziotti written in Rio de Janeiro for the Royal Chamber: *Cantata para celebrar os felices despozorios da Serenissima Snr^a Princeza D. Maria Thereza*¹⁶. It is an extensive composition, with soloists, chorus and orchestra, and continues to be virtually unknown to Brazilian musicology. It is worth stressing that the text of this cantata is in Portuguese rather than Italian, which makes it all the more remarkable in its historical context.

¹⁶ See bibliography.

IMPACT ON BRAZILIAN PERFORMERS

As well as becoming a centre of attraction for foreign singers, the Portuguese court also favoured the activity of the Brazilian singers who were in Rio. They too benefited from the increase in musical production and from contact with the European musicians who arrived on the scene. Here are three of the main names, by way of example:

- **Joaquina Maria da Conceição da Lapa (known as Lapinha)** (Brazil, 17-? - ?, 18-?) Soprano and actress. She seems to have been the first Brazilian singer to find success in Europe, for she was in Portugal prior to the Napoleonic invasions and was very well received in both Lisbon and Oporto. Although we do not know exactly when she returned to Brazil,¹⁷ scores composed there with parts written specially for her show that she was already back in Rio in 1808. Indeed, in the years immediately following the Portuguese court's arrival, Lapinha was able to take advantage of a moment when, as well as being propitious for musical production in Rio de Janeiro, there were virtually no performers who might have constituted any kind of competition. Thus she was particularly active between 1808 and 1811.
- **João dos Reis Pereira** (São João del-Rei, 06/01/1782 – Rio de Janeiro, 02/04/1853). Andrade (1967) has shown that João dos Reis was already a successful singer in Rio de Janeiro before the arrival of the Portuguese court, and formed part of the opera company that performed at the theatre of Manuel Luís. Furthermore, he participated in musical works composed for solemn occasions at Rio Cathedral. In 1810 he was appointed singer of the Royal Chapel, where he became one of the leading soloists. He was also an important figure in the performances of the Royal Chamber and in the Rio theatres.
- **Gabriel Fernandes Trindade** (Brasil, 17-? - Rio de Janeiro, 09/1854) Tenor, violinist and composer. He composed many *modinhas*, in which we see how far the florid vocal style of the *castrati* penetrated even the most typical of Brazilian songs. In truth, in the arias written for this tenor, we can see how well he was able to adapt to the singing style used by the European singers.

The presence of the court was fundamental too for the training of Francisco Manuel da Silva (1795-1865), a falsetto soprano at the Royal Chapel throughout its stay, chapel master of the Imperial Chapel from 1841, one of the founders of the Rio de Janeiro Music Conservatoire and composer, among other things, of the Brazilian National Anthem. He was the most influential composer in Rio, following the death of Fr. José Maurício and Marcos Portugal in 1830.

CONCLUSION

What particularly needs to be emphasised is that through the residence of the Portuguese court, the singing style of the *castrati* became the vocal paradigm in Rio de Janeiro. There can be no doubt that these singers were the most prized and influential performers in Brazilian musical circles at this time. Although they were originally contracted as musicians of the Royal Chapel, the *castrati* also found themselves singing in other churches, in the

¹⁷ She applied for clearance to leave Portugal for Rio de Janeiro in 1805, according to documents in Arquivo Ultramarino, Lisboa (see: AHU_ACL_CU_017, Cx.229, D.15673, rolo 235).

theatre, in the Royal Chamber and in the salons of the Rio elite. In addition, they must certainly have been singing teachers.

These *castrati* and other foreign virtuoso singers, whether as teachers, or as models to be imitated, had a profound impact on the singing style of the children of well-to-do families, which had direct consequences in the execution of *modinhas* and other song genres performed in the Rio salons. They also raised standards of technical accomplishment for the professional Brazilian singers, who found themselves obliged to respond to new technical and stylistic demands. This is evident in the arias written for the Brazilian singers, which began to present levels of virtuosity never before demanded. Hence we see that the presence of these singing virtuosos in Rio led, directly or indirectly, to a greater degree of sophistication in the practice and teaching of singing. That is not to say that there were no good native singers in Rio, as in the case of the soprano Lapinha or the bass João dos Reis Pereira. After all, we should not forget that the latter was one of the favourite performers of both the King and the principal composers active in the Brazilian capital. Hence I refer constantly to the influence of the Portuguese court and not the complete dominance of a European school of singing. Genres with strong local features, such as *modinhas*, continued to be *modinhas*, but it is possible to detect that even these genres were not exempt from an interaction with the current musical reality.

By now it will be clear how the influence of the European singers who came during the stay of the Portuguese court was not limited to this period. It extended well beyond and constituted a handsome return on the musical investments made by King João VI. In this conclusion, then, let us consider some of these returns, not least because they confirm and reinforce what has been said concerning the vocal reality of this period.

With the return of the court to Europe, the Brazilians were not content to be treated once more as a colony. Thus, inevitably, the King's return to Europe fuelled the Brazilian independence movements. In 1822 Prince Pedro, son of King João VI, declared Brazilian independence, becoming the first Emperor of Brazil, as Pedro I, and beginning the historical period known as the 'First Reign' (1822-1831). However, in 1831, amid Great political difficulties, Pedro abdicated the Brazilian throne in favour of his 5-year-old son. Until Pedro II's majority a Regency was established (1831-1840), when the country was governed by regents chosen by the legislature. In 1840, when Pedro II was proclaimed Emperor of Brazil, began Brazil's 'Second Reign' (1840-1889).

Political and social disturbances caused by the process of independence in Brazil, as well as the consequent financial difficulties, shook the musical world profoundly, as its activities suffered a steep decline until the beginning of the Second Reign. With the fragile state of the new Empire's finances, Pedro I was in no position to give music the kind of support given by his father. Following this, during the still more troubled Regency the musical world suffered correspondingly for want of incentives. In spite of these difficulties, the Italian singers continued to be highly valued professionals, both in the theatre and in the Royal Chapel and Chamber. The prestige of the 18th-century Italian school of singing, whose most influential representatives were the Fasciottis, extended beyond the departure of the Portuguese court.

As can be seen from Luís Antônio Giron's study (2004), up to the arrival in 1827 of the French soprano Elisa Barbieri, a pupil of the Paris Conservatoire, with a singing style

updated to take into account changes in European aesthetics, the Fasciottis were the uncontested models in the Rio theatres. However, Barbieri remained less than two years in Brazil and thus the influence of the Fasciottis persisted. According to Giron, everything indicates that the brother and sister held considerable influence over the Italian company and the impresario Fernando José de Almeida¹⁸. Teresa monopolised the theatre's output and all the best roles were reserved for her. Almeida died in the middle of 1829, and this might have allowed others the opportunity to rise. However, with Pedro's abdication in 1831 the opera seasons were interrupted and resumed again only in 1844, with the end of the Regency period and the coming of age of Pedro II. As Ayres de Andrade tells us, between 1832 and 1843:

[...] not one single opera was staged in Rio Janeiro. Then began the exodus of professional opera singers in search of climates more conducive to them. The few that remained tried to survive by singing in concerts and the intervals of theatre performances (ANDRADE, 1967, v.1, p. 195).¹⁹

Of course, some new singers did come to Rio after 1831, but they never had the same impact as the earlier singers, since they could not take part in opera productions and the city's musical activity was no longer so intense.

Then again, in 1843 Pedro II married Teresa Cristina Maria of the Two Sicilies, who brought a number of Italian singers and musicians with her from Naples. In 1844 the opera seasons resumed with Bellini's *Norma* and the first performance in Rio given by Augusta Candiani (1820-1890), who thereafter became the new star. Candiani found no competitors, for by this time Giovanni Fasciotti was dead and his sister Teresa had returned to Europe. From this point on, Bellini and Donizetti replaced Rossini in the public's favour. This indicates that the aesthetic ideals of the Romantic vocal school only established themselves in Rio de Janeiro in 1844. Hence, the period from 1844 had new characteristics, very different from those before and beyond the scope of the present study. We may conclude, then, that at least as regards singing, the supremacy of the eighteenth-century Italian school continued in Rio de Janeiro up to the early 1840s. In other words, the repertoire sung in Rio up to this date saw none of the great technical or stylistic changes that singing gradually underwent elsewhere in the early 19th century and that would come to define the heavier, fuller-toned, darker voice of women sopranos and tenors – the classic operatic heroines and heroes that would replace the *castrati* with their clearer, lighter, more agile manner of singing.

Furthermore, it should be stressed, as we have seen, that the King's personal taste had direct consequences for the kind of music composed for and performed at the Royal

¹⁸ The *Gazeta do Brasil* states:

"[...] O Empresário recebe da Nação enormes consignações que aplica como bem lhe parece. – A vontade de um *Castrado*, é lei [sic]; ali ninguém mais governa: temos *chiqueiros com porcas e leitões* – temos guinchos de ave castrada – e o aspecto duma vasta catacumba, alumada por lâmpadas sepulcrais!

[...] O Empresário faz e desfaz como bem lhe parece; recebe e dispende como bem lhe parece, certo de que ninguém lhe há de tomar contas de sua administração; a penúria porém é sempre a mesma: a exceção da Fasciotti, sua Irmã, e alguma outra favorita, todos os mais empregados andam mortos de fome, porque não se lhes paga." (*Gazeta do Brasil*, 30 June 1827, italics in the original)

¹⁹ "[...] nem uma só ópera é encenada no Rio Janeiro. Começa, então, o êxodo dos profissionais do canto lírico em busca de climas mais amenos para eles. Os poucos que restam procuram sobreviver cantando em concertos e nos intervalos das representações dramáticas." (ANDRADE, 1967, v.1, p. 195)

Chapel and indirectly also affected that of the theatre. Thus, the stylistic changes in vocal music, as well as its practice, had important political and social components, and cannot be considered simply in terms of an aesthetic and technical, or musical 'evolution'.

Lastly, we should bear in mind the features of vocal practice in Rio during the years of the Portuguese court's sojourn as a means to comprehending what occurred in the musical practice there at that time: for example, in order to understand that the use of falsetto in the aria "Quoniam" from the *Missa de S. Cecília* by Fr. José Maurício, written for the Brazilian bass João dos Reis Pereira, did not necessarily imply any kind of decline in the singer's voice, but rather may have been the result of his contact with the practice of singers who had come from Europe²⁰; or that the use of certain types of vocal passage, such as the staccatos in the upper region of certain soprano arias, does not imply a shift in the composer's taste, but rather a response to the specific qualities of the singer for whom he wrote that piece – in this specific instance, the soprano Antonio Cicconi, as has already been stated. Indeed, the use of staccato on the top notes written for Cicconi may be seen equally in the works of both Marcos Portugal and those of Fr. José Maurício, which confirms that it was because of the singer's own qualities that these technical resources were used.

And in their turn, the historical facts related to vocal practice ought also to be taken into consideration by modern practitioners so that they can better understand the repertoire in question and hence arrive at interpretative solutions with a greater awareness of the practical problems that they pose. For example, would it be reasonable to expect a moder tenor, trained as a rule to sing in 'chest voice' throughout his range, to follow this form of vocal production to sing the arias written for Giovanni Mazziotti, who, as we have seen, was a tenor who used his head voice, or falsetto, in the upper regions of the voice? In my view, for the result to be satisfactory, the best thing would be to use a tenor who can pass easily between his chest and head voice/falsetto, or a counter-tenor with a well-developed chest voice. In other words, musicological research allied to research on performance, such as in the doctoral thesis that gave rise to the present text, can serve the dual purpose of revealing information important to the history of music and being applied to the current-day interpretation of the respective repertoire, which is surely to be encouraged.

REFERENCES:

ANDRADE, Ayres de. **Francisco Manuel da Silva e seu tempo**. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 1967, 2 v.

BIBLIOTECA del Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella di Napoli. **Catálogo dei Libretti per musica dell'ottocento (1800-1860)**. Napoli: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990.

BRITO, Manuel Carlos de; CRANMER, David. **Crônicas da vida musical portuguesa na primeira metade do século XIX**. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional / Casa da Moeda, 1990.

CARDOSO, André. **A música na Capela Real e Imperial do Rio de Janeiro**. Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Música, 2005.

CAVALCANTI, Nireu Oliveira. **O Rio de Janeiro Setecentista**. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2004.

COLUMBRO, Marta (org.). **La Raccolta di libretti d'opera del teatro San Carlo di Napoli**. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992.

²⁰ For more details see: PACHECO; KAYAMA, 2007.

- CRANMER, David John. **Opera in Portugal 1793-1828: a study in repertoire and its spread**. Tese (Doutorado) Londres: University of London, 1997.
- CYMBRON, Luísa Mariana de Oliveira Rodrigues. **A ópera em Portugal (1834-1854): o sistema produtivo e o repertório nos Teatros de S. Carlos e de S. João**. Tese (Doutorado) Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998.
- DEBRET, Jean Baptiste. **Viagem pitoresca e histórica ao Brasil**. São Paulo: Martins, 1983.
- ENDERS, Armelle. *Histoire de Rio de Janeiro*. Paris: Fayard, 2000.
- GARCIA, José Maurício Nunes. **Antífona tota pulchra es Maria**. Rio de Janeiro, 1783. *B-Rem*. Cota, 1 (a) [Reg. o. 4192 – v. 3149]
- _____. **Missa a grande orquestra [Missa de Santa Cecília]**. Rio de Janeiro, 1826. Manuscrito, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro. Reg. A.R.Q. 2.2.10 – C.P.M. 113
- _____. **Missa a 4 Vozes Com Rabecas, Clarinetas, Trompas, e Basso Composta no anno de 1818 p.^a a Ordem 3^a de N.S. do Carmo na Festa do Mesma S.^{ta}. Virgem aos 16 de julho [...]**. Rio de Janeiro, 1818. *B-Rem*. Cota: 110 [Reg. 30 099]
- _____. **Missa de Santa Cecília, 1826; para solistas coro e grande orquestra**. Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE, 1984.
- _____. **Tota Pulchra es Maria**. Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE, 1983.
- GARCIA, Manuel Patrício Rodrigues. **Traité complet sur l'art du chant**. Parte I, 1841; Parte II, 1847. Paris: Minkoff: 1985.
- GIRON, Luís Antônio. **Minoridade Crítica: a ópera e o teatro nos folhetins da corte**. HENDERSON, James. **A History of Brazil, comprising its geography, commerce, colonization, aboriginal inhabitants**. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821.
- KIDDER, Daniel Parish. **Reminiscências de viagens e permanência nas províncias do sul do Brasil: Rio de Janeiro e província de São Paulo: compreendendo notícias históricas e geográficas do Império e das diversas províncias**. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia; São Paulo: EDUSP, 1980.
- MASSA, Maria Rosa (org). **Libretti di melodrammi e balli nella Biblioteca Palatina di Caserta**. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992.
- MATTOS, Cleofe Person de. **Catálogo temático das obras do Padre José Maurício Nunes Garcia**. Rio de Janeiro: MEC, 1970.
- _____. **José Maurício Nunes Garcia: Biografia**. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Dep. Nacional do Livro, 1996.
- MAYER-SERRA, Otto. **Musica y musicos de latinoamerica**. México: D. F: Editorial Atlante, 1947.
- MAZZIOTTI, Fortunato. **Cantata. Para celebrar os felices Despozorios da Serenissima Snr^a Princesa D. Maria Thereza em o mez de Maio de 1810. P-VV (cota G prática 19)**.
- MELISI, Francesco (org). **Catálogo dei libretti per musica dell'ottocento (1800-1860)**. Lucca: Libreria Musical Italiana, 1990.
- NERY, Rui Vieira; CASTRO, Paulo Ferreira de. **História da Música**, 2a ed. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1999.
- PACHECO, Alberto José Vieira. **Castrati e outros virtuosos: a prática vocal carioca sob influência da corte de D. João VI**. São Paulo: Annablume, Fapesp, Cesem, 2009.
- PACHECO, Alberto José Vieira; KAYAMA, Adriana Giarola. "João dos Reis Pereira, um virtuose no Rio de Janeiro Joanino" in **OPUS**, v. 13, nº 2, Dezembro de 2007.
- SARTORI, Claudio. **I Libretti Italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800**. Milano: Bertola & Locatelli Musica, 1992.
- SCHLICHTHORST, C. **O Rio de Janeiro como é: 1824-1826 – Huma vez e nunca mais**. Trad. Emmy Dodt e Gustavo Barroso. Brasília: Senado Federal, 2000.
- VALENÇA, J. R. **Modinha: raízes da música do povo**. São Paulo: Empresas Dow, 1985.

Sobre o autor

Alberto José Vieira Pacheco é doutor em Música pela UNICAMP, onde desenvolveu pesquisa sobre a prática vocal carioca do início do século XIX, sempre com o apoio financeiro da FAPESP. A tese resultante desta pesquisa é intitulada *Cantoria Joanina*, a partir da qual foi preparado o livro *Castrati e outros virtuosos* publicado em 2009 pela editora Annablume. Pela mesma editora, publicou em 2006 o livro *O Canto Antigo Italiano*, contando com o apoio da FAPESP (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo). Actualmente realiza seu pós-doutoramento na Universidade Nova de Lisboa, CESEM, como bolsista da FCT (Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia de Portugal), pesquisando “O Repertório de obras dramático-musicais ocasionais em Portugal e no Brasil entre 1707 e 1834”. Nesta mesma instituição é um dos membros fundadores do *Caravelas*, Núcleo de Estudos da História da Música Luso-Brasileira, de cujo *Newsletter* é editor.