

Sonatas, Kyries, and Arias: Reassessing the Reception of European Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro

The dissemination of art music of the European tradition in 19th-century Brazil has become a quandary in Brazilian music scholarship. Our understanding of the period reflects attempts to construct a local canon by highlighting a few composers and works as musical “monuments” independent of their political, social, and cultural context, and by placing them midway between European “master works” and nationalistic pieces. The resultant scanty picture of the musical 19th century can be exemplified by the 5th edition of *Historia da Musica no Brasil* (2001) written by eminent musicologist Vasco Mariz; focusing on the production of “art” music of the European tradition in Brazil, the author devotes four and a half chapters to music in the 19th century and nineteen chapters to musical developments in the 20th and 21st centuries.

The disparity is not to be blamed on Mariz’s individual judgment, of course. Nationalistic ideologies have discouraged investigations of primary sources that document the presence of European music in the 19th century,¹ and have left those who write survey books with little to work with. Nonetheless, the disparity in coverage here is particularly telling for it offers a picture of a meager musical life during a period in which European art music had all the necessary ingredients to flourish: a monarchical government willing to provide patronage to the cultivation of European music and an elite eager to enjoy it. If we assume that European art music did indeed flourish in 19th-century Brazil more than in any other period, then the contradictory image offered by several music history books invites further investigation. My goal is to reassess the reception and transmission of two European musical traditions in Rio de Janeiro during the monarchy, using the music of Padre José Mauricio Nunes Garcia as the focus of my discussion.

The arrival of the Royal family in 1808 and the transformation of Rio de Janeiro into a New World monarchical city was undoubtedly an important turning point in the musical developments in the 19th-century Brazilian capital. The patronage of the Braganças and the Portuguese aristocracy increased and improved the performance of European “art” music in the city. Moreover, more than any other improvements intended to convey Rio de Janeiro’s new political status, the investments in music paid off immediately and convincingly. With its uncanny ability to transport people across time and space, music served to carry the royals, the aristocracy, and enthusiastic locals from the reality of a small colonial city in the tropics to an imagined magnificent European royal court. More importantly, as newcomers to a new environment, the Prince Regent and the Portuguese aristocracy invested in grandiose performances of European music to highlight their own elite culture and consequently reinforce locally their role of authority. Thus investments in the performance and production of European music not only served to supply the newcomers with music for their ceremonial and social functions and to make them feel at home; it helped cement the establishment of a direct European monarchical authority on the other side of the Atlantic.

Nonetheless, the use of European art music as a tool to convincingly re-create, culturally and politically, a European court in a new setting depended on the meanings attributed to “European music” in a new context. By investing in improvements to the royal chapel, promoting concerts of European music at the court, and supporting the opera house, João VI emphasized his role of perpetrator of European elite culture on the other side of the Atlantic. By doing so, he boosted the circulation in Rio de Janeiro of two European repertoires that were familiar to him at home: namely the German classical tradition and the Italian operatic *bel canto*. These repertoires, which had different European origins and purposes, and followed different paths in their original European milieu, were initially scrambled in the new setting as part of one music tradition that

conveyed “European” status. However, as the imperial city started to grow into a cosmopolitan center after independence, hosting an emerging middle class that strived for a European urbane life, these two musical traditions also came to fulfill different functions in Rio de Janeiro.

The German Tradition

The presence of German music in Rio de Janeiro at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese Royal family in 1808 reflected the music being performed in Portugal. Portuguese scholars have documented the circulation of the German classical repertory and, in particular, music by Viennese composers, in late 18th-century and early 19th-century Lisbon.² The composer João Domingos Bomtempo (1775-1842), for instance, is known to have indulged the Portuguese aristocracy with concerts that included plenty of chamber music of the German classical tradition. Mozart’s *Réquiem*, possibly his most well-known work in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, was performed at least four times in Lisbon at the beginning of the 20th century.³

Accordingly, late 18th-century editions of works by Haydn and Mozart, housed in archives in Ouro Preto and Rio de Janeiro, attest to the circulation of that repertory in colonial Brazil.⁴ The catalog of the private library of D. Teresa Cristina Maria shows that great quantities of music published in Europe, including several pieces by Mozart and Haydn, were acquired by the Portuguese royal family while in Rio de Janeiro.⁵ The local interest in the music of the Viennese masters is confirmed by the publication in Rio de Janeiro in 1820 of the first biography of Haydn published in the New World -- a translation of the biography written in 1810 in Paris by Joaquim Le Breton. (*Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Joseph Haydn*, Paris, 1810).⁶

The focus on the music of the German classical tradition as a putative symbol of European culture was intensified in 1816, when the Austrian composer Sigismund

Neukomm (1778-1858), a disciple of Haydn's, arrived in Rio de Janeiro accompanying the French artistic mission. Neukomm taught music and regularly performed with members of the court. He shared with D. Leopoldina the musical taste of the Habsburgs in Vienna and included several works by Viennese composers in his programs. While in Rio de Janeiro, Neukomm reported these performances to the German music periodical *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. In October 1817 he informed German readers that:

Mozart's music is not only known in North America, but it is also being performed in South America, especially in Brazil. Thus, in all countries in which erudite music is cultivated, in the old and new worlds, the taste and admiration for Mozart's music are being disseminated.⁷

In 1819, Neukomm reported on the performance of Mozart's *Requiem* during the celebration of Santa Cecilia day; "the performance," he noted, "did not leave anything to be desired...the work...was received with the appropriate respect that the genius Mozart deserves."⁸

By stressing the taste for the Viennese masters among the Brazilian elite to a German periodical and by putting their names into an untouchable category of "geniuses," Neukomm helped cast an aura of aristocratic respectability on a few composers and their music. He also evoked a local pride to have hosted performances of the Viennese "geniuses," allowing the local aristocracy to equate itself with the European aristocracy. While the identification with the German classical repertory guaranteed the selectiveness of the local aristocracy, the disinterest in the music by those outside elite circles was viewed as a testimony to the local "lack of culture." The visitors Spix and Martius, for instance, noted that although Neukomm greatly influenced Rio de Janeiro's court in 1816 by boosting musical performances of the European tradition, his own compositions did not have a following in Rio. The reason, he noted, was that "the music

was composed exclusively in the style of the celebrated German masters, a style as yet above the musical level of the [Brazilian] people.”⁹

Mozart’s name was highlighted again in the chronicles of the city in September of 1821 and again in January of 1822 with the presentation of his opera *Don Giovanni* (1787) at the Real Theatro São João¹⁰—apparently the first time the work was presented in Italian in the New World.¹¹ However, the performance did not reverberate internationally or locally. Without Neukomm’s presence and especially after independence, the initial interest for the music of the German tradition had waned drastically, even in select circles.

When Mozart’s *Don Giovanni* was staged again in July of 1880, almost sixty years after its premiere, the initial deference to the work of the “master” seemed to have disappeared altogether, much to the disgust of local critics. In an article published in the *Revista musical e de bellas artes* the critic André Rebouças lamented that *Don Giovanni* was not treated with deference by the local press, who undermined “one of the colossal productions of the human genius—Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*.”¹² He also noted with indignation that the small audience did not applaud with the enthusiasm that the work deserved. The well-known politician, intellectual, and music devotee Visconde Alfredo d’Escragnolle Taunay also condemned the public’s cold reception and lamented that the opera was not easily “understood.” He explains that the local audience was not used to the opera’s instrumentation, and to its melodic and harmonic combinations, because “of the old-fashioned formulas, and above all the extension of the recitative, supported by repetitive chords.” Taunay ends by apologizing for Mozart not yet having at his disposal “the modern instruments that give the modern orchestra a new color,” and strongly criticizes the local press, who “spoke inconsequently of a work that has received universal admiration.”¹³

While critics and intellectuals continued to revere the names of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven as symbols of selective, aristocratic music and musical taste, performances of

their music were rare after independence. The continuous praising of a repertory that was largely absent and therefore mostly unknown resulted in the creation of a myth that was used at different points to evoke ideological views. Accordingly, the music of the German classical tradition was only to re-emerge in concert programs at the end of the monarchy in the 1880s, in concerts organized by private societies supported by a new intellectual elite that shunned allegiance to the old regime. These two periods in which German music was evoked—at the arrival of João VI and the establishment of a European court in the New World; and at the end of the monarchy, when republicans and abolitionists challenged Emperor Pedro II's authority—were not only political turning points, but also periods in which ideological discussions involving the role of culture in political disputes inflamed local intellectuals. In both instances, the myth of the German music tradition was used to highlight the local need for not only European culture, but for a European tradition that was “pure,” noble, and supposedly “universal.”

The Italian bel canto Tradition

Meanwhile, when D. João VI inaugurated the Real Theatro São João in 1813, he boosted the old time Portuguese predilection for Italian opera on the other side of the Atlantic. Even more than the music of the German tradition, the Italian operatic language was familiar in Portugal. In fact, Italian opera invaded Brazil in the 18th century in response to the "Italianization" of the Portuguese court promoted by João V, where Italians dominated all music activities.¹⁴ Therefore, it is not surprising that Portuguese translations of Metastasian dramas circulated in 18th-century Brazil alongside works by Cimarosa, Piccinni, Jommelli, and other Italian composers.¹⁵ But the repertory started to take a strong hold in 1811, when Portuguese composer Marcos Portugal (1872-1830) arrived in Rio de Janeiro accompanied by a large corps of Italian singers and was appointed director of music at the Theatro São João. Like Neukomm, Portugal favored a

particular repertory based on his own musical background. Admired in his own country chiefly as an Italian *opera seria* composer, when choosing the repertory for Rio de Janeiro's opera house Portugal emphasized the Italian repertory.

Following Portuguese tastes and having as a model the luxurious Parisian Théâtre-Italien--presenting Italian opera--for the elite in imperial Rio de Janeiro opera meant primarily Italian opera. An overwhelming number of works by Italian composers made it to the city and Rio de Janeiro residents welcomed the bel canto with an amazing ease. Beginning with *Aureliano in Palmira* (1813), performed in May of 1820, Rossini's music reigned supreme in the capital for two decades. Apparently no single complete opera was staged from 1832 to 1843, due to the political instability of the regency, but the operatic frenzy returned in the mid-1840s, when dozens of new Italian operas by Donizetti and Bellini, and later by Verdi, competed with Rossini's for the attention of local audiences. By the 1870s, imperial Rio de Janeiro was flooded with Italian operatic hits and was thus captive in the international deluge of opera, a striking phenomenon that foreshadowed twentieth-century globalization.

As with the music of the Viennese masters, opera was perceived, experienced, and transmitted as emblematic of European culture, civilization, and financial and cultural power. Presented in large, sumptuous opera houses, it served as a symbol of European aristocratic life and thus fitted well the ideological and political expansion of European monarchial power on Brazil's side of the Atlantic. To keep a firm hand on the makings of opera, the monarch provided generous governmental subsidies for the construction of buildings and to assist in opera productions. The investments reflect the perception of Rio de Janeiro's elite of the music as a compelling tool for indoctrinating European elite values and for exerting social and political control by directly managing the local culture. Furthermore, unlike private court concerts devoted to the music of the Viennese composers, opera presentations were public events accessible to audiences outside the

select aristocratic circles. They thus provided the monarchical government the opportunity to publicly display the power of the status quo.¹⁶

But there was more to the reception of operatic music in Rio de Janeiro than the elite nature of the music as it was presented in the opera house. Arriving as the “latest successes” from Paris, Milan, and London, operatic hits also embodied the idea of cosmopolitan life and modernity, associations that attracted more than just the aristocratic elite interested in cultural authority. As “the music of the day,” opera appealed to a larger number of Rio de Janeiro’s newly formed bourgeoisie and emergent middle class, both oriented towards new European fashions and trends. Also, while the appeal of Viennese chamber and symphonic works rested on contemplative aesthetic values achieved by decoding a musical language that was largely alien to those outside its original tradition, opera had the advantage of standing between art and entertainment -- text and plot aided immensely in the decoding of a musical language that was already filled with catchy melodic lines.

In addition, the exclusive, elite nature of opera was largely dependent on the restricted context of the opera house, and on the manner in which the music was presented in private social gatherings and small concert venues. Operatic music spread well beyond these selective circles, and was performed in less sophisticated contexts and formats that permitted a much wider spectrum of social perceptions. Performed in informal contexts such as in ballrooms, in street parades during Carnival, and in the streets by troubadours, European operatic music reached a large number of residents and became a significant cultural phenomenon in the wider context of the monarchical Rio de Janeiro society.¹⁷

The most compelling reason why opera and related music theater genres appealed to such a large number of people outside elite circles lay in the nature of the music itself, which allowed for endless possibilities of performance practices. Unlike the classical music of the Viennese composers, operas and other products of musical theater were not

perceived as finished, unalterable works of art,¹⁸ they were easily adapted to new performance circumstances, mixed with different genres and embellished according to new preferences, and were transformed according to the tastes of different territories, stimulating burlesques and parodies.¹⁹ Arias could be easily replaced by local songs or more popular arias from other operas, while operatic reminiscences appeared disguised in other musical genres such as dances, hymns, and religious compositions.²⁰ It was precisely this flexibility that made the operatic repertory so accessible and appealing to a wider audience in emerging urban centers like 19th-century Rio de Janeiro. Local residents wholeheartedly adopted operas and operettas because they could participate, even if indirectly, in the performative aspects of the music by mixing, interpolating, and recreating, at their will, the music arriving from overseas. Inexpensive sheet music publications of operatic hits, mostly for the piano, were also attractive alternatives for those who could not afford a ticket to the opera house.

Operatic derivatives disguised as dances, serenades, and instrumental pieces had lives of their own. They created an operatic subculture outside the European realm with unbounded ramifications. If the provenance of operatic arias, their Europeaness, continued to be an appealing factor for the music's wide reception in imperial Rio de Janeiro, it was not so much for the subliminal idea of "purity," selectiveness, and cultural power, as for the association with fashionable, urbane life. And as an additional benefit, the music could be recreated and manipulated to fit perfectly in the local context and as an integral part of the local culture.

Local Preferences

The massive presence of the Italian bel canto both within and beyond elite circles contrasted sharply with the venerated but absent music of the German classic tradition. On the one hand, critics evoked the myth of the German tradition not only to justify a political

and cultural policy of “civilization” à la Europe, but also as a symbol of purity and nobility. On the other hand, they condemned the local preference for opera and operatic derivatives, which although European, were also largely available and appealing to those outside the small circle in charge of managing cultural power. As the “music of the day” and of ephemeral appeal, operatic derivatives were seen as frivolous music by those equating Europeaness with elite culture. And although most of those who deplored the local penchant for opera exploited its elite nature by being habitués of the opera house, in their writings they helped to transmit the idea that operatic music was part of a European tradition not welcome in their envisioned “civilized” Rio de Janeiro. It is the perception of these two European musical repertoires, one as noble, pure, and universal, and the other as frivolous, mundane, and ephemeral that was transmitted in writings about music by local 19th-century intellectuals. And although their ideals sharply contrasted with the musical taste of the majority, they served as the basis for 20th-century interpretations of European musical traditions in 19th-century Brazil.

The myth surrounding the music of the German classical tradition was first articulated in Brazilian music scholarship in association with Padre Jose Mauricio Nunes Garcia in an article written by Araújo Porto Alegre (1806-1879) and published in 1836 in the magazine *Nitheroy*, one of the earliest manifestos of local literary romantic nationalism.²¹ Porto Alegre describes the characteristics of Brazilian music by evoking four forces that influenced its formation: Spanish, French, Italian, and German music; He describes the German spirit in the following way:

The German is a disciplined philosopher, and has a sensibility that develops, not by eruptions, like those who live in hot climates, but slowly he produces a mathematical music, a harmony dictated by calculus and sanctioned by nature; [the German] produces a philosophical music that pleases the senses, and that engraves

in our soul the grandiose, instills the enthusiasm, and inspires an ultra-natural majestic [feeling].²²

By referring enthusiastically to Padre José Maurício as the “Mozart Fluminense” (Mozart from Rio de Janeiro),²³ Porto Alegre invites us to extend the myth of the German canon to the work by the Brazilian composer and to start a local canon that exalts the country’s European-like nationality, using the German classical tradition as a model. Conveniently for those creating imagined canons, José Maurício’s music, like Mozart’s, faded into oblivion after independence. After José Maurício’s death and the disbandment of the royal chapel, performing forces were drastically reduced due to lack of funding and performances of large-scale pieces became rare. As his music faded away with time, it was passed down as a national “monument” mostly because it helped to exalt the grandeur of a European royal government in the New World.

The first large scale campaign aimed at cataloging, publishing, and performing José Maurício’s music as a national monument was initiated in the 1870s, forty years after his death, by Visconde de Taunay, then a deputy from the state of Santa Catarina. On hearing José Maurício’s music performed in an official ceremony, Taunay was immediately taken by the craft and beauty of the music. He started to gather information about the composer and his music and to write extensively about José Maurício in local newspapers and magazines.²⁴ Together with Porto Alegre’s, Taunay’s writings emphasized the connection between José Maurício and “master works” of the German classical tradition. After he passed away in 1889, Taunay’s efforts were continued by the directors of the then Instituto Nacional de Música, the composers Leopoldo Miguez and Alberto Nepomuceno, who recovered and studied the collection of Bento das Mercês, and started to present the works to the public.

Attentive to the developments in French musical establishments, Nepomuceno and other composers of his generation attempted to duplicate in Rio de Janeiro the French

Societe Nationale de Musique, an organization directed by Saint-Saëns and devoted to performances of French composers. Those involved in the Societe were also committed to the revival of national "ancient" music, particularly that of the French Baroque.

Accordingly, Nepomuceno organized in Rio de Janeiro several special symphonic concerts devoted solely to the music of Brazilian composers and, following the French, he became imbued with the idea of preserving the Brazilian musical patrimony of the past. As with the French, these early Brazilian nationalist composers continued to see the German classical tradition as emblematic of musical purity and nobility—the true musical art. The continuation of the German myth through the evocation of Wagner's "music of the future" was made to order to fit the Republican government political agenda of "Civilization" and "Progress." Thus they also saw in José Mauricio's music, or the myth that surrounded it, the ideal for imagining a Brazilian musical tradition in line with the European Germanic tradition.

The overlap between the 19th-century perception of the German classical tradition, the name of José Mauricio, and nationalism becomes clearer in 1908 with the publication of Guilherme de Mello's *A música no Brasil*.²⁵ The work is not only the first full-length history of music in Brazil, but also a predecessor of seminal writings by nationalist scholars such as Renato de Almeida and Mario de Andrade. In addition to devising ways to characterize the "national" in Brazilian music by praising originality and authenticity in folk and popular music, Mello also delineates one aspect of the nationalistic ideology that is often overlooked: the nature of the European tradition in Brazilian art music. Thus, while Mello entitled his chapter on the dominance of operatic derivatives in Brazil as "The Period of Degradation," he is careful to separate José Mauricio's music from the Italian operatic tradition. Mello emphasizes that José Mauricio "inherited the teachings of the *pure* Germanic school,"²⁶ and continues by stressing that "José Mauricio's enthusiasm for Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven was very appropriate [because] this triad represents all

the glory of the Germanic art, a solemn school, which planted in the hard climate of the north a scientific art, holder of infinite beauty.”²⁷ While Mello puts José Mauricio’s *Requiem* on par with Haydn and Mozart, composers who are “universally applauded,” he is also careful to note that José Mauricio’s *Requiem* is “superior” to Verdi’s.

The second history of music in Brazil, *Historia de Musica Brasileira*, written by Renato de Almeida in 1926, continues Mello’s search for how music could embody Brazilian identity and nationality, focusing on folk and popular sources as inspirations for Brazilian composers. As with Mello, Almeida also articulated the European nature of the Brazilian identity with a fair degree of bias against the local penchant for Italian opera and with praise for the German classical tradition. Following Porto-Alegre, Taunay, and Mello, Almeida defines José Mauricio as “an exiled son of the German classical music... José Mauricio’s lineage rests on the marvelous music of Bach, Mozart, and Haydn.”²⁸ Despite their praise for the Brazilian composer, it is quite possible that Mello and Almeida never actually heard José Mauricio’s music, since most of their observations are direct quotations of Porto Alegre’s and Taunay’s writings. While the actual music of José Mauricio continued largely unknown to the bulk of Brazilian audiences, nationalistic critics embraced the mythic Europeaness of his name and work as a way to safeguard the pure and universal qualities of the local music tradition that they expected Brazilian composers to follow. Thus, the interpretation of José Mauricio’s music as part of a German lineage was carefully weighed against any Italianate musical elements in his music. This is clear in Luis Heitor Correa de Azevedo’s *100 anos de music no Brasil* (1956). Unlike Mello and Almeida, Azevedo apparently examined José Mauricio’s manuscripts available at the library of the Escola Nacional de Música in Rio de Janeiro; he also looked at the few editions revised and published by Alberto Nepomuceno. Noticing a clear distinction between José Mauricio’s earlier and later compositions, Azevedo notes that, after the arrival of Marcos Portugal, José Mauricio’s work “strongly ornamented in

the vocal parts [was] *contaminated* by the vogue for music in the theatrical style.”

According to Azevedo, because José Mauricio was accused of being “out of fashion” by Marcos Portugal and his followers, he “sacrificed his true inspiration to the dictums of the Portuguese composer.”²⁹

Not only was any vestige of the Italianate style in José Mauricio’s music censored, but also the 19th-century context in which it was first transmitted had to be condemned. A brief look at mid-19th century newspapers reveals that José Mauricio’s music was performed in a few special religious occasions. Nonetheless, his Kyries were received and transmitted in the midst of a local craze for Italian operatic arias, and fulfilled their religious functions as part of that tradition. The most active composer and conductor at mid century, Francisco Manuel da Silva, for instance, tried to bring José Maurício’s music to life according to the tastes and practice of his day, by adding parts, new arias, and “modernizing” the instrumentation. Not perceiving the music as a national “monument,” he brought the work of José Mauricio to life on his own terms. However, these informal, flexible 19th-century performances received nothing but condemnation from the great scholar of Jose Mauricio’s music, D. Cleofe Person de Mattos. Criticizing Francisco Manuel da Silva, who “moved by the spirit of innovation and renovation,” substituted the original arias with new ones, changed the instrumentations, and performed his works in reductions,” she characterizes his performances of José Mauricio’s music as “spurious performances [that] lack integrity.”³⁰

It might seem ironic or even contradictory that the music of José Mauricio was to be “discovered” in the 1830s and “rediscovered” in the 1870s and at the beginning of the 20th century as part of a mythical Germanic tradition in Brazilian music by generations of intellectuals and composers concerned with the idea of music nationalism. However, the one-sided interpretations and consequent transmission of José Maurício’s music show that in addition to articulating the Brazilianess in Brazilian music, these intellectuals and

scholars were also concerned with articulating the Europeaness of the Brazilian tradition. By perpetuating the myth of the German classical tradition as a universal, pure, noble, and everlasting music, they delineated the only acceptable aspiration of a Brazilian composer; in addition to being a producer of “authentic” Brazilian music they should aim at producing “master works” that could elevate the national to the realm of the universal (or “international”). Accordingly, the Europeaness associated with the superficial, frivolous, and ephemeral Italian bel canto was obliterated in favor of “pure,” “noble” and “authentic” European (German) music.

The interpretation and transmission of José Mauricio Nunes Garcia’s music as part of a mythical European musical lineage of Brazilian music served well the nationalistic ideal of Europeaness in Brazilian culture. Thus, if perceived as part of a German lineage, José Mauricio’s music does not require an excuse for its Europeaness and can be included as a Brazilian national monument. Accordingly, in his seminal 1926 *Historia da music Brasileira*, Renato de Almeida praises José Maurício’s German musical lineage while at the same time evoking his name as a “powerful affirmation of the Brazilian spirit.”³¹

This constructed “national cultural imaginary,” while helping to keep José Mauricio’s name alive, has also impeded multiple interpretations of his role within the institutional framework in which he lived and worked. On the one hand, the polarized musical past pictured in Brazilian music history books, which attempts “to fashion the past according to the needs of the present,”³² has offered a misleading picture of the roles of Europeaness in the musical life and music production of 19th-century Brazil. On the other hand, it has revealed that, much like Brazilianess, Europeaness in music was a much contested issue—both during the 19th century and in later interpretations of the local musical past. Unlike the polarized picture offered by the writers mentioned above, a variety of European musical styles were disseminated in cosmopolitan areas like Rio de

Janeiro during the 19th century,³³ many of which may have inspired composers like José Maurício. Finally, the vogue for particular styles at specific points during the century show that European music was not received as one single entity, and that it was not unfiltered. On the contrary, the perception of Europeaness—as with European music—was multi-layered. It is exactly the flexibility in the process of selection and transmission of European music, and of local works modeled on European styles – as was the case with the music of José Maurício – that informs us about the social, political, and cultural processes that permitted specific local choices and that might have inspired alternative readings and/or individual practices.

NOTES

¹ Although it might be argued that it was also the case with the music from earlier centuries, the 19th century is particularly avoided in nationalistic writings because of questions of aesthetic values and perceptions of certain European musical styles as unworthy.

² The German periodical *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1799-1848), which chronicled musical life in Lisbon at the beginning of the 19th century, documents several performances of the classical canon in private concerts of the local bourgeoisie. The chronicles about Portugal were translated by Manuel Carlos de Brito and David Cranmer and published in *Crônicas da vida musical portuguesa na primeira metade do século XIX* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1990). See also Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 32; and *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Universitária e Editorial Estampa, 1989), 184.

³ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 18 (1816): cols. 790-792; 23 (1821): cols. 601-607; 27 (1825): cols. 26-32.

⁴ See Francisco Curt Lange, "La música en Minas Gerais. Un informe preliminar," *Boletín latino-americano de música* 6 (1946): 415-416; and Robert Stevenson, "Haydn's Iberian World Connections," *Inter-American Music Review* 4 (1982): 39.

⁵ *Edições raras de obras musicais, coleção Teresa Cristina Maria*, Biblioteca Nacional (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura [1955]), 13-17.

⁶ Stevenson, "Haydn's Iberian World Connections," 23.

⁷ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 19 (1817): col. 690.

⁸ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 22 (1820): cols. 501-503.

⁹ Quoted in Renato Almeida, *História de música brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: F. Briguiet, 1942), 309.

¹⁰ Ayres de Andrade, *Francisco Manuel da Silva e seu tempo* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Tempo Brasileiro, 1967), vol.1, 105-126.

¹¹ On November 7, 1817, *Don Giovanni* was performed in English at the Park Theater in New York with the title *The Libertine*; the opera was performed for the first time in Italian in the U.S. on May 23, 1826. See George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928) vol. 2, 500; vol. 3, 196.

¹² A. R. [André Rebouças], "O D. João de Mozart no Rio de Janeiro," *Revista musical e de bellas artes* (July, 1880): 121.

¹³ Alfredo d'Escragno Taunay, "D. Juan de Mozart no Rio de Janeiro," *Revista musical e de bellas artes* (July, 1880): 122.

¹⁴ Aware of their appeal in the Portuguese court, Italian composers such as Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800) and Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1794) dedicated operas to the Portuguese rulers in an attempt to gain their patronage. Jommelli was especially popular in Lisbon. In 1760 D. José offered him a pension to produce an opera every year for the Portuguese court. See Brito, *Estudos de história da música em Portugal*, 109-122.

¹⁵ For a complete list of Metastasio's works performed in Brazil in the 18th century, see J. Galante de Sousa, *O teatro no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: MEC, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1960), 123-137; see also Andrade, *Francisco Manuel da Silva e seu tempo*, vol. 1, 67.

¹⁶ For an examination of Rio de Janeiro's elite institutions in the 19th century, in particular the opera house, see Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79.

¹⁷ For a broader discussion of the dissemination of opera in 19th-century Rio de Janeiro see Cristina Magaldi's *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro: European Culture in a Tropical Milieu* (Scarecrow Press, 2004).

¹⁸ Lawrence Levine has studied the reception of opera in the 19th-century U.S. society and the ways in which opera was transformed outside its place of origin; see *Hibrow/Lowbrow: the Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988), 90-92.

¹⁹ In the United States, Rossini's *La gazza ladra* was transformed into *The Cat's in the Larder*; see Levine, *Hibrow/Lowbrow*, 92. In Brazil, Offenbach's operettas constantly inspired parodies: *La duchesse de Gérolstein* was transformed into *A baroneza de Cayapó*; *Orphée aux enfers* into *Orpheo na roça* and *Orpheo na cidade*; *La vie parisienne* into *A vida no Rio de Janeiro*.

²⁰ Popular tunes from Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, for example, after being performed several times in the local opera house, became hits in the opera's parody *O Capadócio* (1872) performed in the Theatro Gymnasio; later, tunes from the opera dominated the "pop charts" of local publishers well into the early 20th century, disguised as dances and facilitated versions for piano, flute, and guitar. The 1871 catalogue of Arthur Napoleão's publishing house (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional) lists no fewer than 17 pieces inspired by tunes from *Il trovatore*.

²¹ Manuel de Araújo Porto Alegre, "Sobre a música no Brasil", *Nitheroy, Revista brasiliense* ([Paris, 1836] São Paulo: Academia Paulista de Letras, 1978), 173-183.

²² Porto Alegre, "Sobre a música no Brasil," 177.

²³ Porto Alegre, "Sobre a música no Brasil," 182.

²⁴ Taunay's writings reflect the information about José Maurício he acquired from his father, who was a contemporary of the composer. Taunay's writings were later compiled by his son and published as *José Maurício Nunes Garcia* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1929).

²⁵ Guilherme de Mello, *A música no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional [1908], 1947).

²⁶ Mello, *A música no Brasil*, 162-3.

²⁷ Mello is quoting directly from Porto Alegre's "Apontamentos sobre a vida e obra do Padre José Maurício Nunes Garcia," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 19/3 (1856): 354-69; see Mello, *A música no Brasil*, 166-7.

²⁸ Renato de Almeida, *Historia da musica brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Briguiet, 1926), 69.

²⁹ Luis Heitor Correa de Azevedo, *100 anos de musica no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 1956), 40.

³⁰ Cleofe Person de Mattos, *José Maurício Nunes Garcia: biografia* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Cultura, 1997), 188-9.

³¹ Almeida, *Historia da musica Brasileira*, 68.

³² Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 136.

³³ For the dissemination of various styles of European music in imperial Rio de Janeiro see Magaldi, *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro*.