

*D. João VI and Marcos Portugal:
the Brazilian period.*

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Summary.

Stemming from an investigation into the religious music of Marcos Portugal (1762-1830), this paper is based primarily on hitherto unexplored sources. The life-long relationship between D. João VI and the Portuguese composer is analysed, as well as its importance for the staging of Royal Power, in particular during feasts taking place at the Royal Chapel during the period 1811-1821. In this context, the evolution and constitution of the royal choir and orchestra, and the importance of the *castrati*, a little investigated topic, have also been considered.

Introduction.

The way Marcos Portugal and his work have so far been treated by Portuguese and Brazilian musicologies, constitutes a very striking and remarkable case study of how political trends and other extraneous factors can be responsible for overriding established scientific practices, and contribute to the obliteration and persistent maltreatment of one of the most prolific and, probably, influential figures in Luso-Brazilian musical history of the late eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. His enormous output is still virtually unknown and unstudied, as is his influence on contemporaries and later generations of composers on both sides of the Atlantic. If one considers that he was, in his own lifetime, the most successful of Portuguese composers, extending his fame from St. Petersburg to São João d'El-Rei, and that this success has no parallel in the country's music history, and furthermore, that many hundreds of manuscript copies of his works exist in practically all Portuguese and in many European and Brazilian archives, then this case study becomes quite startling.

There seem to be at least three different types of reason for this state of affairs: the first is tied to the trend that both Portuguese and

Italian musicologies have followed, resulting in the non-existence of meaningful studies on Italian styled sacred music of late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the second reason is the composer's talent and ease of writing, as well as his extraordinary capacity for work, which resulted in a vast *corpus* of dramatic and sacred works, still not properly inventoried, let alone catalogued or analysed; the final reason is the historical resentment on both sides of the Atlantic that has lasted to this day, even though, at the dawn of the new millennium, there appear some signs of change.

It is difficult to pinpoint the reasons for Brazilian resentment towards Marcos Portugal,¹ but there appears to have been a confluence of factors that finally came together and crystallized during the Modernistic Art Week that took place in 1922, when what was alien was shunned or ignored, and branded as non-nationalistic. The Portuguese composer, writing Italianate music, and supposedly responsible for stifling and hindering the career of José Maurício Nunes Garcia, was a perfect target to embody all the anti-foreign and, particularly, all the anti-Portuguese feelings, while the Brazilian mulatto was hailed as the *ex-libris* of early native music. Portugal's music was "empty" and "insignificant", while José Maurício was a "genius". This and other similar crude and unscientific simplifications have, up to the present day, been propagated *ad nauseum* in the literature. There were three notable exceptions: Manuel de Araújo Porto-Alegre, diplomat and outstanding figure in Brazilian culture who, not only discovered and preserved the composer's mortal remains in a wooden urn but, more importantly, published his autograph list of works in 1859,² thus preserving the single most important source for the study of his work; the outstanding German-born musicologist Francisco Curt Lange, who praised Portugal's talent and

merit;³ finally, the Brazilian musicologist Renato de Almeida who, in 1942 wrote:

*A desinteligência entre Portugal e o Padre José Maurício, que sempre me pareceu mais intrigalhada de corte, onde os brasileiros – mais a mais os de cor – eram mal vistos e hostilizados, deveria ser funesta ao reconhecimento dos serviços que aquele maestro prestou à nossa cultura musical. Continuou-se a tomar partido na briga, apesar de se terem reconciliado os dois músicos no fim da vida, e é quase falta de patriotismo não falar mal de Marcos Portugal.*⁴

[The discord between Portugal and José Maurício, that has always seemed to me more like a court intrigue, where the Brazilians - and even more so the coloured Brazilians - were looked down upon and hostilized, would be fatal to the recognition due to that maestro for the services he rendered our musical culture. The squabble remained, even though the two musicians were reconciled towards the end of their lives, and it is considered almost a lack of patriotism not to maltreat Marcos Portugal.]

The phrase about the absence of “recognition due to (...) the services he rendered [the Brazilian] musical culture” was premonitory. Three years later, Marcos Portugal was not included in the patrons’ list of the newly formed Brazilian Academy of Music.⁵

On the other side of the Atlantic, even though the level of criticism is usually more subdued, he is persistently accused of being vain and adulterous, of abandoning his employer D. João when he left for Brazil in 1807, and of collaborating with the French invaders, leaving to join his Master only when the situation became unsustainable for French sympathisers. Lastly his staying on in Brazil, in 1821, and supposedly adhering to Brazilian Independence, has been regarded with lack of complacency.

The point is not so much that there is little hard evidence for most of these assertions, or that some of them have been disproved by newly discovered documents, but rather that Marcos Portugal, one of the favourite court composers of D. João, has been used to embody all sorts of convenient or inconvenient political trends and preconceived ideas, while his work has remained in the limbo of the archives, unknown to the

musicological community and, in some cases, subject to the atrocities old and ill kept papers are prone to.

Biographical antecedents.

Born on 24th March 1762 in Lisboa, Marcos António, was admitted at the age of nine to the Seminário da Patriarcal, the most outstanding and influential music school in Portugal throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At a time when Davide Perez was living in Lisbon and was regularly premiering works, Portugal had lessons with João de Sousa Carvalho, and possibly Father Nicolau Ribeiro Passo Vedro, José Joaquim dos Santos and António Leal Moreira, all of them teachers at the abovementioned institution during that period. When he registered at the Irmandade de S. Cecília, the musicians guild, on 23rd July 1783, he was already employed as organist and composer at the Sé Patriarcal [Patriarchal See], his first works in this context dating from 1780.

The recognition of his talent by the Royal Family probably started with a commission for St. Bárbara's day, on 4th December 1782, a feast of great ceremony and importance at the Palácio de Queluz, the official Royal residence. For that day Marcos wrote a Mass with orchestra, thus initiating a relationship with the Royal Family, and particularly with Prince João, aged 15 at the time. The far-reaching consequences of this event decisively influenced a lifelong artistic route, determining and conditioning many of his choices, musical and otherwise.

Just a few months after the incapacitating illness of Queen Maria I, and the beginning of the Regency of Prince João, Marcos Portugal left for a prolonged sojourn in Italy *ao Serviço de Sua Magestade Fidelíssima* [at the Service of His Most Faithful Majesty] where he premiered about twenty-two dramatic works in less than seven years. The international

fame was established at this time, since his operas rivalled those of Paisiello and Cimarosa, with hundreds of performances in the most important operatic centres of Italy, and in a number of other European capitals and cities.

Upon his return to Lisbon, and while retaining the post of composer at the Sé Patriarcal, he became a teacher at the Seminário da Patriarcal, and director and composer of the Real Teatro de São Carlos [Royal São Carlos Theatre]. He was now the celebrated Marco Portugal, court composer,⁶ and the Prince Regent requested, or rather, required his music at most of the important feasts and events taking place at the various Royal Chapels and Palaces, particularly Queluz and Mafra, where the Court resided from late 1805 until departing for Brazil two years later. The years 1806 and, notably 1807, are marked by an extraordinarily high number of works dedicated to the male voices of the Franciscan monks, and the unique set of six organs at the Mafra Basilica. Thirty of these works have survived⁷ and at least 11 were later reworked for the mixed voices and orchestra active in Rio de Janeiro's Royal Chapel.

Marcos Portugal in Brazil before 1811.

Significantly, Portugal's music had been known in Brazil for at least twelve years before his arrival in 1811.

The 1799 *post-mortem* inventory of José Maurício's teacher, Salvador José de Almeida Faria, includes many works by Portuguese and Italian composers. Partially transcribed by Nireu Oliveira Cavalcanti in 1997,⁸ it has, since then, been lost or stolen from the Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. A very unfortunate loss because of the wealth of information it contained. Marcos is represented by five works: two *Missas Pequenas* [Small Masses], a *Missa Grande* [Great Mass], a *Missa*

de trito and a Credo.⁹ All of them pre-date his Italian period, and the *Missa Grande* mentioned is very likely the homonymous Mass still extant in two Brazilian archives.¹⁰

The autograph list published in 1859, referred to above, mentions *O Genio Americano* [The American Genius], a cantata composed in 1806 in Lisbon *para se executar na Bahia* [to be performed in Baía]. No other trace of this work has been found, either in primary or secondary sources.

About a year before his arrival in Rio de Janeiro, Portugal composed a *Missa Festiva que deve ser executada com bastante número de vozes, e com toda a orquestra* [Festive Mass to be performed with a great number of voices and all of the orchestra]. A faithful copy extant in the Museu Histórico Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, refers to a performance of this mass on 16th July 1810 in the Real Capela do Rio de Janeiro [Rio de Janeiro's Royal Chapel],¹¹ the *castrato* Capranica, and three of the most faithful performers of Marcos' music being soloists: the tenors António Pedro Gonçalves and João Mazziotti, and the Brazilian bass João dos Reis.¹² The autograph reads: *Composta por ordem de S. A. R. o Príncipe Regente Nosso Senhor* [Composed by order of His Royal Highness Prince Regent Our Lord]. Thus it was *by order* of His Majesty that this music paved the composer's way in Rio de Janeiro and, as we shall see, it was also *by order* that he joined the Court there.

Arrival in Rio de Janeiro.

According to a list in the Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro only two musicians accompanied the Royal Family on 29th November 1807.¹³ They were the organist José do Rosário Nunes, and the Priest Francisco de Paula Pereira. On the other hand, in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, there are notices and lists of persons that were summoned to go to Rio de Janeiro *by order of His Royal Highness* in

documentation referring to the *Real Bolsinho*, literally “Royal little pocket”, meaning the privy purse of the Prince Regent, later King João VI.¹⁴ The oldest of these lists dates from 10th September 1809, and the last from 14th March 1812, the flow of personnel continuing at a steady pace until 1813. Of the musicians the Prince Regent specifically summoned, the singers figure prominently and in particular the *castrati* José Gori, António Cicconi and José Capranica, besides the two tenors mentioned above, António Pedro Gonçalves and João Mazziotti, both close collaborators at Mafra. José Totti, the music teacher of Prince João’s son, Pedro, and daughters, was also summoned, but remained in Lisbon.

The name of Marcos Portugal firstly appears in a list dated 3rd August 1810, accompanied by his wife, Maria Joana, his sister in law and a servant. On 7th January the following year, the Prince Regent issued a very specific order that urgently and personally summons the composer:

*S. A. R. O Principe Regente Nosso Senhor Foi Servido Ordenar que o mestre do Seminario Marcos Portugal fosse para o Rio de Janeiro servir o Mesmo Senhor n' aquella Côrte ; e porque deve partir na primeira Embarcação da Coroa q sahir para a refferida Corte, faz-se necessario q Vm.e dê as providencias necessarias para elle ser pago dos Ordenados que se lhe devem, e de trez Mezes adiantados (...)*¹⁵

[It pleases His Royal Highness the Prince Regent Our Lord to Order the master of the Seminário Marcos Portugal to go to Rio de Janeiro to serve the Same Lord in that Court; and because he should sail in the first Royal ship that leaves for the said Court, it is necessary for you to arrange for him to be paid the salaries he is owed, and an advance of three months (...)]

In the final list dated 14th January 1811, the *Mestre de Música* [Music Master] Marcos is accompanied by 4 other individuals, the fifth, not appearing in the initial list, probably being one of his nephews.¹⁶ The Frigate Princesa Carlota finally set sail after 6th March, arriving in Rio de Janeiro on 11th June.¹⁷

It appears that no other musicians accompanied the composer, with the exception of the singer Mariana Scaramelli and her husband, the dancer and choreographer Luís Lacombe. It is also highly probable that large numbers of music manuscripts travelled in the composer's luggage,¹⁸ some of them even specifically copied for that purpose, as can be inferred by a message sent to the Royal copyist Joaquim Casimiro da Silva by Prince João's Lisbon agent, the Keeper of the Privy Purse João Diogo de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa, later Viscount of Santarém:

*Faz-se necessario que v. m.e se desocupe de qualquer obra do Theatro por ser m.to precizo que empregue todo o tempo na Copia da Muzica que devo mandar para o Serviço da Capella Real do Rio de Janeiro, devendo principiar pela Partitura, que Marcos lhe hade entregar, e logo que esteja finda esta copia v.m.e me avizará para lhe remeter outras : Recomendo-lhe a sua exacção costumada e toda a possivel brevidade / 18 de Setembro de 1810.*¹⁹

[It is necessary for you to free yourself of any work for the Theatre because it is imperative you occupy all your time copying Music that I have to send to the Service of the Royal Chapel in Rio de Janeiro, starting with the score Marcos will give you, and as soon as this one is finished you are to warn me so that I can give you others: I beseech you of your accustomed accuracy and all possible haste / 18th September 1810]

The date, about five months before the projected departure of the composer, and the fact that Marcos provided the music, very likely his own, indicate that the manuscripts were meant to accompany him. The evidence thus shows that, following the orders of the Prince Regent, preparation for the composer's voyage to Rio de Janeiro began several months in advance. This is further corroborated by the mentioned Festive Mass commissioned by His Majesty, which was performed on 16th July 1810.

Working attributions.

An important autograph document to be found at the National Library, Rio de Janeiro, attests to what Marcos received in Lisbon as

Master at the Seminário and composer at the Sé Patriarcal: 600\$000 reis annually.²⁰ In this document the composer also asks for an allowance appropriate for a Master, and a post as Master of *Suas Altezas Reais* [Their Royal Highnesses], the sons and daughters of D. João. All of this he in fact got: the same amount corresponding to the two posts he held in Lisbon paid by the Royal Chapel, 600\$000 reis, and the rest paid by the *Real Bolsinho*: 480\$000 reis as Music Master of *SS. AA. RR.* [Their Royal Highnesses], 200\$000 reis as a life-long pension for his wife, the same amount she already received in Lisbon, and 240\$000 reis a year for renting a house²¹ – a very considerable sum, which was to be augmented two years later, when D. João awarded him the *Ofício de Escrivão da Casa da Suplicação do Brasil* [Office of Scribe of the House of Supplication of Brazil].²²

Thus, not only was Marcos Portugal summoned by Prince João to come to his side, he was also, at least by musicians' standards, handsomely rewarded. It is worthy of note that he was never, at least formally, *Mestre da Capela Real* [Royal Chapel Master]. All sources refer to him as *Mestre de Suas Altezas Reais* [Master of Their Royal Highnesses], and the documental evidence confirms this, since, as we have seen, the 600\$000 reis he received from the Royal Chapel corresponded to the posts of teacher at the Seminário, and Composer at the Sé Patriarcal. So, formally, the sole Master of the Royal Chapel was José Maurício Nunes Garcia,²³ but from the time of his colleague's arrival, he virtually ceased to write for that institution. It is not difficult to understand that the composer chosen for the principal composing tasks ahead was Marcos Portugal, and that is obviously one of the reasons why he was ordered to come. The other reason was to teach music to Prince Pedro and the Infantas, a task which he fulfilled with care and devotion, judging from the large quantities of extant material, most of it autograph,

copied and composed to be utilized during lessons. This material includes an unknown set of *Solfejos*²⁴ [*solfeggi*, learning music exercises] composed during 1811, possibly during the arduous voyage, which lasted more than three months.

Some historians have painted a very unregal and crude, almost idiotic picture of D. João VI, but in the case of the Royal and Glamorous Power image he wanted to project, and the way he used music to help accomplish this, it is clear that he knew exactly what he was doing and, as we have seen, planned well in advance. The music of Marcos Portugal was clearly central to this plan, and a fascinating line for future research would be to determine in detail how the Portuguese Monarch and his strategy for the Representation of Royal Power might have affected the composer's style. It is clearly impossible to know exactly to what extent Marcos and D. João influenced and moulded each other's taste, but it is unlikely that this influence worked only one way.

D. João's fondness for music is well-known, in particular church music. This fondness was transformed into unmitigated jealousy in the case of the music composed for Him, and in particular that of Marcos. This is admirably illustrated in a letter by the above-mentioned António Pedro Gonçalves, written in Rio de Janeiro on 30th December 1819:

*(...) ElRey tem huma soffreguidade na musica que se canta na Capella, que athé a não quer emprestar nem p.^a se cantar aqui em algumas Festas que se fazem por fora, não indo Elle assistir. (...) No anno em q. morreo a Raynha e p. as Exequias da mesma Snr.^a compôz Marcos huma Missa de Defuntos, constou aqui não sei se com motivo ou sem elle, que se tinha cantado em Lx.^a. El-Rey soube-o foi pellos ares, e dizem-me que mandara Ordem ao Visconde de Santarem que indagasse se isto era verd.^e e quem a tinha remetido d'aqui, protestando de mandar para Angola o q. a tivesse remetido: o mesmo sucede agora com outra do mesmo Marcos chamada da Conceição que aqui se disse ter-se cantado no Porto. (...) [sobre o empréstimo de uma Ladainha] Marcos (...) falou a S. Mag.^e que lhe respondéo (...) q. a musica que elle mandava fazer p.^a a sua Capella era unicamente p.^a as suas Funçoens, e que sendo de outro modo, nenhuma differença haveria das suas ás dos outros. (...)*²⁵

[...] The King is so avid for the music sung in the Chapel, that He doesn't allow it to be lent for the other Feasts outside, He not being present.

(...) In the year the Queen died and for the Funeral Rites Marcos composed a Requiem Mass. It was learnt here I don't know if there was a motive or not, that it had been sung in Lisbon. The King discovered and was furious, and I am told that He ordered the Viscount of Santarém to find out if it was true and who had sent it from here, promising to send to Angola whoever had done it: the same is the case with another one by the same Marcos called [Mass] of Our Lady, which was supposed to have been sung in Oporto. (...) [About the lending of a Litany,] Marcos (...) spoke to His Majesty, who answered (...) that the music that He commissioned for His Chapel was solely for its own Functions, for otherwise, no difference would exist between them and those of the others. (...)]

Another reference to music, comes from a letter Prince João addressed to his wife D. Carlota Joaquina:

*(...) A festa esteve boa, cantou-se a missa de Marcos e agora mesmo que são 3 ½ da tarde que faço esta, se acabou o refatório. (...) Mafra, 18 de Agosto de 1805.*²⁶

[(...) The feast was good, the mass by Marcos was sung and now at 3.30 p.m. as I write this, the meal has just ended. (...) Mafra, 18 August 1805]

It is clear that D. João was fond of the music of *his* composer. Also note the familiarity with which he refers to *the Mass* and the understated implication: one of the reasons the feast was good, was because that particular mass by Marcos was sung. The other reason was presumably the good food.

The stated strategy and motives of the Prince Regent with regard to Marcos Portugal and his music, were actually spelled out in a long letter the composer received less than 4 months after arriving in Rio de Janeiro:

*(...) Pedindo o decoro, e a decencia, que as Peças de Muzica, que se pozerem em Scena nos Theatros Publicos desta Corte nos dias, em que o Principe Regente Nosso Senhor faz a honra de ir assistir, sejaõ executadas com a regularidade, e boa ordem, que são indispensaveis em taes occasioens, e concorrendo na Pessoa de V. M^{ce}. todas as circunstancias de intelligencia, e prestimo, que se requerem para bem regular, e reger semelhantes Espetaculos : Hé o mêsmo Senhor Servido encarregar a V. M^{ce}. esta Inspeção, e Direcção. (...)*²⁷

[(...) It being required by decorum and decency, that the Pieces of Music, that are to be staged at the Public Theatres of this Court on the days that the Prince Regent Our Lord honours us with His presence, should be executed with the regularity, and good order, that are indispensable on these occasions, and there being united in Your Person all the circumstances of

intelligence and worth needed to regulate and conduct such Spectacles properly: It pleases Him to charge you with overseeing and directing them. (...)]

Thus Marcos was responsible for the overseeing and staging of the music on the occasions honoured with His Majesty's presence, not only at the Royal Chapel, but also at the Public Theatres. This letter and the one by António Pedro Gonçalves stress the point very clearly: the feasts celebrated in the presence of D. João were distinguished from the others. It is not surprising that the services of the composer sent for from Lisbon were required particularly on these occasions. Thus the musical staging of the appearances of the Prince Regent, from 1816 onwards, King João VI, was entrusted to Marcos. That is to say, the staging of everything concerning the music: not only composing a style of music suitable for the public appearances of His Royal Highness, later Majesty, but also ensuring that everything ran smoothly and with the best quality possible. He was the *Director of Court Music* in the widest sense.

Musical environment at Court. The orchestra. The *castrati*.

To fulfil what was expected of him, it is usually assumed that Portugal had at his disposal a formidable group of artists, unparalleled in quantity and quality in the Americas. Nevertheless, a careful analysis of the primary musical and bibliographical sources, reveals that this was not the case during *all* of the 13 years the Portuguese Court stayed in Rio de Janeiro, but only during the last five, and even then with some limitations. For a better understanding of the way the choir and the orchestra active at the Royal Chapel were formed, four distinct phases can be considered:

.Between 1808 and 1812: singers and instrumentalists, most of them already in the service of the Prince Regent, consistently and regularly arrived from Portugal to join the Brazilian musicians already

active at the See of Rio de Janeiro when the Court arrived in March 1808;²⁸

.Between 1813 and 31 March 1816: the hiring of new singers and instrumentalists dwindled to only a handful;²⁹

.Between 1 April 1816 and late 1817: Fortunato Mazziotti became the second Chapel Master, and a significant number of *castrati* and instrumentalists joined the Royal Chapel and Royal Chamber;³⁰

.Between 1818 and 1821: very few singers and instrumentalists were hired.³¹

With a core of musicians trained by José Maurício, the first period saw a consolidation and steady increase in the size of the orchestra and choir, and Marcos, who arrived on 11th June 1811, came at a time when he had at his disposal a fair number of musicians, even if not in the quantities, and perhaps the quality, he was used to. The typical orchestra at that time often lacked violins, or violas, or even both, had no oboes, only one flute and two clarinets, besides two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, timpani and organ, which sometimes replaced the high strings. It is probable that, from the time of his arrival, the composer continuously pressed the Prince Regent to hire more instrumentalists and singers.

From 1814 onwards, the make-up of the orchestra came to differ slightly from that of the classical orchestra: it became the norm to use four clarinets, two first and two second. It is unlikely that this peculiarity represented a change in the aesthetic of sound paradigm, its reasons probably being of a more practical nature, like the surplus of good clarinet players available.³²

It appears that extras were commonly hired for the most important occasions, and this must certainly have been the case with the funeral rites for D. Pedro Carlos³³ that took place on 25th and 26th June 1812,³⁴

and particularly on 22nd and 23rd April 1816, when a Requiem Mass by Marcos was premiered in honour of the recently deceased Queen.

The death of Queen Maria I on 20th March 1816 seems to have precipitated matters, and the preparations for the Acclamation of the new King, and later for the marriage of the heir apparent, Prince Pedro, led to an upsurge and a necessary urgency in the hiring of singers and instrumentalists. And so the third phase began on 1st April 1816 when Fortunato Mazziotti³⁵ joined José Maurício as Chapel Master, and a group of eight wind players was added to the payroll of the Royal Chamber.³⁶ The instruments included clarinets, flutes, horns, trumpets, bassoons and trombone.³⁷ From this time onwards a trombone was always featured in the Royal Chapel orchestra. Strangely enough, no new violins or violas seem to have been hired during this period. Indeed, from 1808 until 1820 the records indicate that only two violins were hired, both of them in 1810.³⁸ The explanation for this lies in the fact that few high strings were needed for the ordinary everyday functioning of the Royal Chapel. Whenever there was an event entailing a larger orchestra, extra musicians were hired, and this seems to have applied especially to violins and violas.³⁹ A number of autographs from this period indicate *com todo o instrumental, e para se executar com bastante numero de vozes* [with full instrumental forces, and to be performed by a large number of voices]. The typical instrumentation utilized for the more important feasts or events includes: strings, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 4 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, 1 trombone and timpani, the organ being no longer necessary. With the exception of the four clarinets, it was an orchestra very similar to the best European contemporary counterparts. Furthermore, the band of music that accompanied the Austrian Archduchess Leopoldina, Crown-Prince Pedro's bride, during her trip across the Atlantic, stayed on in Brazil and was integrated in the Reais Cavalariças [Royal Stables], thus

increasing by 16 the number of musicians active in Rio de Janeiro. It is not impossible that a few of them might have taken part in some of the feasts taking place at the Royal Chapel.⁴⁰

The other difference was in the number of voices, so that the equilibrium between orchestra and choir could be maintained. Since women were not allowed to perform in church, the soprano and alto parts were sung by *castrati* and countertenors, following the current practice at the Royal Chapel in Lisbon. The latter could not match the power and brilliance of the voice of the *evirati*, and it is no surprise that these were the favourites of King João VI.

Perhaps at the instigation of his Court Composer, who only had at his disposal Cicconi, and the ageing Capranica and Gori,⁴¹ the new conjuncture gave impetus and speed to the process of hiring new *castrati*. Following D. João's direct instructions, this was achieved through concerted action between Giovanni Piaggio, the Portuguese Consul in Genoa, who was aided on the technical musical matters by the retired Royal Chapel soprano Giovanni Rippa, and the Keeper of the Privy Purse João Diogo de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa in Lisbon. The documents speak eloquently of the urgent need to hire the best *castrati* available in Italy.⁴² In the case of the very best, the Monarch was prepared to pay up to 100\$000 reis a month, a very considerable sum, exactly double the Chapel Master's salary. At a time when the *castrati* had all but disappeared from European opera stages, and the only great exponent still active was Giambattista Velluti,⁴³ this is extremely revealing.

It is evident that the technical and musical skills of the *castrati*, and the aesthetic they represented, were an essential or, at least, a highly significant part of the spectacle of Royal Public Exhibition. The virtuosic and dramatic music expressly provided by Marcos, was designed to explore the capacities of their highly trained and privileged instrument to

the full. It is worth noting that he often composed for a particular individual voice, including the best non-*castrato* singers, as in the cases where the autograph indicates the singer's name. Marcos not only composed with each individual voice in mind, but, furthermore, some works apparently served to introduce a given singer to the Court. It appears to have been so with the already mentioned Festive Mass sung on 16th July 1810, marking the debut of João Mazziotti, António Pedro and the *castrato* José Capranica, but also with a Credo dated late 1817, which includes two solos featuring the recently arrived Francesco Realli and Angelo Tinelli, two of the five new *castrati*. The other three, hired in November 1816, were the brothers Tani, Pasquale and Marcello, and Giovanni Francesco Fasciotti, the most celebrated and also the one receiving the highest monthly salary: 60\$000 reis from the Royal Chapel, plus 10\$000 from the *bolsinho*, besides 25\$600 for rent.⁴⁴

The two most important political events involving extensive use of music during the stay of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro were the marriage of Prince Pedro and the Archduchess Leopoldina, and the Acclamation of King João VI. No expense was spared in making them as brilliant, pompous and magnificent as possible, with far reaching repercussions all over the *Reino Unido de Portugal, Brasil e Algarves* [United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves]. The sources attest extensively to this.

Obviously the *castrati* were given prominent parts in the principal musical events written expressly for these occasions, together with the reinforced choir and orchestra, and the best soloists available. Three of the most notable works, for which there are extant autographs, were: a rare *serenata L' Augurio di Felicità*, performed on the wedding day of Prince Pedro and D. Leopoldina,⁴⁵ with the main roles given to Fasciotti, Pasquale and Marcello Tani, Cicconi, Capranica, João dos Reis, João

Mazziotti and António Pedro; the Acclamation *Te Deum* performed on 6th February 1818 with the solos entrusted to Fasciotti, Pasquale Tani, Cicconi, João dos Reis, João Mazziotti and António Pedro; and the thanksgiving Festive Mass for the safe arrival of D. Leopoldina, performed on 12th February 1818, with solos attributed to Fasciotti, Pasquale Tani, Cicconi, João dos Reis, João Mazziotti and António Pedro. For some reason, the last two *castrati* to arrive, Realli and Tinelli, seem to have played a lesser role.⁴⁶

The available evidence relating to the peak period of musical activity in Rio de Janeiro, coinciding with the marriage of Prince Pedro and the Acclamation of King João VI, and regarding the number of singers and instrumentalists active in the Royal Chapel, points to at most 40 singers (including 8 *castrati*) and 60 instrumentalists, as well as 3 organists.⁴⁷ These numbers already include the extras hired for the most important events, and the 16 musicians belonging to the band that accompanied the Archduchess Leopoldina during her trip to Brazil, and later joined the *Reais Cavalariças*.⁴⁸ According to Oliveira Lima, in 1815 the Royal Chapel hired 50 singers and 100 instrumentalists.⁴⁹ Even if he was referring to 1818 instead of 1815, these would still be grossly exaggerated figures, particularly that pertaining to the instrumentalists.

The Brazilian works.

The Royal Chapel was the focus of most of the important festivities that took place in Court and involved music, even though some events took place at the Royal Theatres, in particular the Real Teatro de São João inaugurated in 1813, and at the other official royal residences, the Quinta da Boa Vista and Fazenda de Santa Cruz.

The liturgical calendar at the Royal Chapel was categorized into 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th order days, totaling 98, the first order days being of

compulsory attendance by the Royal Family. According to the statutes, the first order days included Epiphany, St. Sebastian (20th January), Maundy Thursday, Whit Sunday, Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel (16th July), The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15th August), The Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8th December), and Christmas. The other important events were royal birthdays and name days, the celebration of royal births or deaths, and events of political relevance such as the marriage of Prince Pedro and the Acclamation of King João VI. On these occasions, at least a Solemn Mass and a *Te Deum* were performed. For all the mentioned events, Marcos produced an impressive number of works, either with entirely new music, or new versions of works written for the organs of the Basilica at Mafra.⁵⁰ The resulting hard musical labour, compounded by the music lessons given to Their Royal Highnesses, were most likely responsible for the two strokes that he suffered in late 1811, and in late 1816 or early 1817, both periods of intense composing activity.

Given the numerous new versions of the music originally composed for Mafra, it would perhaps not be entirely unfounded to consider these works for male voices and 4, 5 or 6 organs, as crucial experiments in developing a style that not only convincingly contributed to the staging of the pomp and glamour of Royal Power, but was also adored by Prince João.⁵¹ This process of permeation and interchange between His Majesty and the composer, leading to what might be termed the *Brazilian style*, probably started much earlier,⁵² but seems to have reached its peak with the works composed in 1817.⁵³

It is noteworthy that the Royal Chapel and the music performed there, provided models followed as far as possible by the principal churches in other Brazilian cities. There are notices of Marcos' music

being performed in Porto Alegre⁵⁴ and at the Vila de S. António de Sá (city in the State of Rio de Janeiro, no longer in existence).⁵⁵

For an overall impression of Marcos Portugal's music performed in Brazil during the period 1808-1821, albeit incomplete, we can usefully break it down into three categories: new works, new versions of works composed for male voices and the 6 organs at Mafra, and old works. The following list includes extant works of certain attribution, and works not extant but included in the aforementioned autograph list published by Manuel de Araújo Porto-Alegre, or referred to in other secondary sources:

1. NEW WORKS

- . 2 Masses, 1 Requiem Mass, 1 Credo⁵⁶
- . 3 Matins
- . 1 Te Deum (Acclamation of King João VI)
- . 6 other sacred works⁵⁷
- . *A saloia namorada* (1812)
- . *L' Augurio di Felicità* (1817)
- . 1 anthem (Acclamation of King João VI)

2. NEW VERSIONS OF MAFRA WORKS

- . 1 Mass
- . 3 Matins
- . 1 *Te Deum*
- . 1 set of vespers
- . 5 other sacred works

3. OLD WORKS

- . 3 Masses, 1 Credo
- . 1 set of vespers
- . 1 *Te Deum*
- . 3 other sacred works
- . 4 operas⁵⁸

. 1 anthem (National Anthem)

The Emperor Pedro I.

We will never know why, after the departure of King João VI, Marcos Portugal decided to stay on and live the remainder of his life in Rio de Janeiro. His earnings were reduced to only 625\$000 reis annually⁵⁹ though, from the 1st January 1825, the treasurer of the Imperial House was ordered to pay him another 480\$000 reis as *Mestre de Música* [Music Master] of the Imperial Family.⁶⁰ The hardship period of 1821-24 must have been one of the most difficult in his life. Not only was he earning far less, but his music had also lost its strategic symbolic importance, being replaced by the works of his pupil D. Pedro on the occasions of greatest political significance. The only known works from this period are: the Anthem for Brazilian Independence (1822) and the *Missa Breve* (December 1824), composed by Order of His Imperial Majesty.⁶¹

Marcos Portugal died on the 17th of February 1830.

Closing remarks.

The working relationship between D. João and Marcos Portugal was decisive for the latter's career, providing him with the possibility of composing for some of the principal musical institutions in Europe, and with the opportunity for international fame. Evidence indicates that it also conditioned the development of the composer's church music style, so that, increasingly, it represented and enhanced the staging of Royal Power. This process continued in Rio de Janeiro and culminated in the works written for the pompous and grandiloquent events that took place during the marriage of Prince Pedro, and the Acclamation of King João VI.

Portugal's vast output, both operatic and religious, is still virtually unknown and unstudied, in contrast to its influence on contemporaries and subsequent generations of composers on both sides of the Atlantic. As far as the Brazilian sojourn of the Court of João VI is concerned, it is time that resentment and historical prejudice were set aside, so that this Luso-Brazilian heritage can be salvaged from oblivion, and an enriched and more authentic social and cultural perspective of this remarkable period can be gained.

NOTES.

* I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. David Cranmer from the Universidade Nova de Lisboa for decisively helping me reshape the English of this paper.

¹ It is probable that court intrigue and political dissent between Brazilians and Portuguese have played a role. The two most notable and frequently used sources are the letters of the Royal assistant librarian Luís dos Santos MARROCOS, «Cartas de Luiz Joaquim dos Santos Marrocos, escritas do Rio de Janeiro à sua família em Lisboa, de 1811 a 1821», in *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*. 1934, Rio de Janeiro, Ministério da Educação, 1939; and the writings of Visconde TAUNAY later collected in the book *Uma Grande Gloria Brasileira. José Mauricio Nunes Garcia (1767-1830)*, S. Paulo, Comp. Melhoramentos de S. Paulo, [1930].

² «Marcos e José Maurício. Catalogo de suas composições musicas.», *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico Geographico e Ethnographico do Brasil*, Tomo XXII, 1859, pp.487-503.

³ «A música erudita na Regência e no Império», in *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*, Tomo II, Vol.3, São Paulo, DIFEL, 1985, pp.380-3.

⁴ «A Música Brasileira no período colonial», offprint from *Anais do Terceiro Congresso de História Nacional*, Vol.V, Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Histórico, 1942, p.390.

⁵ His contemporaries awarded this distinction were José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita, José Maurício Nunes Garcia, the Austrian Sigismund Neukomm, Francisco Manuel da Silva and Marcos Portugal's pupil D. Pedro I.

⁶ This situation was later officially ratified with the attribution, on 19th October 1804, of an annual pension of 200\$000 reis to his wife Maria Joanna, Marcos having the "obligation of writing and composing the music commissioned for the Service of the Prince Regent Our Lord". Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, ACR, L.933, f.112. On 18th January 1807 he was awarded the titles of "Master, and Composer of His Royal Chamber", *ibid.*, f.156v.

⁷ Three of them are incomplete, and another is lost.

⁸ *A cidade de São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro: as muralhas, sua gente, os construtores (1710-1810)*, PhD Diss., Rio de Janeiro, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, pp.617-626.

⁹ The title *Missa de trito* listed under the name of Marcos Portugal, could either be an archaism pertaining to the mode *tritus*, or else refer to the authorship of the Neapolitan composer Giacomo Tritto (1733-1824). The first possibility is rather far fetched because that terminology is not used by Portuguese theoreticians. I would like to thank Ana Paixão, who is currently studying the Portuguese music treatises, for kindly providing this information. Included in the list of works owned by Salvador José are 11 Portuguese composers (André da

Silva Gomes, António Leal Moreira, Frei António do Rosário, António Teixeira, João Alvares Frovo, João Cordeiro da Silva, João de Sousa Carvalho, José Joaquim dos Santos, Luciano Xavier dos Santos, Frei Manuel de Santo Elias and Marcos Portugal), 12 Italian composers (Baldassare Galuppi, Davide Perez, Giuseppe Bencini, Giovanni Battista Borghi, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Leonardo Leo, Luigi Sabatini, Lustrini (?), Niccolò Jommelli, Niccolò Piccini, Paolo Orgitano, Tommaso Traetta), and José Maurício Nunes Garcia.

¹⁰ Biblioteca Alberto Nepomuceno da Escola de Música da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, and Arquivo da Orquestra Lira Sanjoanense de S. João d'El-Rei. This work remained in repertory for more than a century and a large number of Portuguese archives possess at least one manuscript copy.

¹¹ The day of Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, patron Saint of the church housing the Royal Chapel.

¹² The *castrato* Gori is indicated as the soloist for the *Laudamus te*, but he only left Lisbon around 1st October 1810. It is possible that this work was composed specifically for the particular technical characteristics of each soloist, and intended to introduce the newly arrived in grand style to the Rio de Janeiro Court.

¹³ Casa Real e Imperial, Cx.625, Pc.3, Doc.2 - 1.

From here on the following siglas will be used:

BR-Ran - Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, *P-Ln* - Portugal, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, *P-Lant* - Portugal, Lisboa, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, *P-La* - Portugal, Lisboa, Biblioteca do Palácio da Ajuda.

¹⁴ Arquivo da Casa Real, L^o. 2979.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* f.64.

¹⁶ Son or daughter of his brother, the organist and composer Simão Portugal.

¹⁷ António Marques ESPARTEIRO, *Três Séculos no Mar (1640-1910)*, III Parte. Fragatas. Vol.3, Lisboa, Ministério da Marinha, 1979, p.70. Luís dos Santos Marrocos, assistant librarian, was also aboard, as well as an unspecified number of boxes containing part of the Royal Library.

¹⁸ Among these, very likely the Mafra autographs.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* f.59v.

²⁰ C.966-49.1.

²¹ *BR-Ran*, Série Interior, Gabinete do Ministro, IJJ¹ 43, f.111v, and *P-Lant*, Arquivo da Casa Real, L^o.936, f.92.

²² *BR-Ran*, Registo Geral das Mercês, Cod.137, Vol. 26, f.138v-140. Luís dos Santos Marrocos, on the 56th letter to his father estimates this office to be worth between 4 and 5 thousand cruzados, *ibid.*, p.162.

²³ Until 1 April 1816, when Fortunato Mazziotti was also appointed Chapel Master.

²⁴ *P-Ln* FCN, CN 270.

²⁵ Ângelo PEREIRA, *Os Filhos d'El-Rei D. João VI*, Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1946, pp.276-7.

²⁶ Museu Imperial de Petrópolis, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, I-17-08-1805-JVI. P. c 1-3.

²⁷ *BR-Ran*, Série Interior, Gabinete do Ministro, IJJ¹ 186, ff.82v-83.

²⁸ We have already seen that only two musicians accompanied the Prince Regent. José do Rosário Nunes was active as organist (not a very good one, it appears), and Francisco de Paula Pereira was instructor of plainchant and was also active in the choir. Besides the Chapel Master José Maurício Nunes Garcia, during the period considered a total of 26 singers (including 3 *castrati* and quite a few Brazilians), 10 instrumentalists and 3 organists were appointed to the Royal Chapel and Royal Chamber.

²⁹ Two singers (both countertenors), and 4 instrumentalists.

³⁰ Five *castrati*, 1 countertenor, 13 instrumentalists hired for the Royal Chamber, and a further 16 instrumentalists hired for the Reais Cavalariças.

³¹ Only two instrumentalists, two Italian singers, and perhaps also an Italian *castrato*.

³² The use of 4 clarinets could also be linked to the apparent lack of oboe players, at least during the second phase considered.

³³ The nephew of the Prince Regent, who had married Princess D. Maria Teresa on 13th May 1810.

³⁴ Matins by Marcos were sung on the night of 25th June 1812.

³⁵ Previously hired as a singer.

³⁶ *BR-Ran*, Casa Real e Imperial, Cx.625, Pc.03, Doc.03, and Casa Real e Imperial - Mordomia-Mór, Cod.570, f.109v-110v. The norm at this time, and until 26th August 1822, was that the singers and organists were paid by the Royal Chapel, and the instrumentalists were paid by the Royal Chamber. This replicated the practice of both institutions in Lisbon.

³⁷ The eight instrumentalists were: António Joaquim de Barros (clarinet/flute), Bernardino António de Barros (flute), Aleixo Bosch (clarinet), João José Kaimer and Valentim Ziegler (horn/trumpet), Leonardo da Mota and Alexandre José Baret (bassoon), José Mosmann (trombone).

³⁸ They were Francisco Inácio Ansaldi (Royal Chamber, 20 November), and Manoel Joaquim Correia dos Santos (Royal Chamber, 20 November).

³⁹ This practice is confirmed by a list of 14 extra musicians, most of them violin and viola players, hired for the *serenata L'Augurio di Felicità*, held at the Quinta da Boa Vista on 7th November 1817. *P-La*, 54-VII-9^{68, 69 & 69a}.

⁴⁰ In his manuscript diary, Eduardo Neuparth, one of these musicians, describes his activities thus: "I had a lot to do in the theatre, church functions, regiments and other functions". *Vida d'Eduardo Neuparth escrito por sua mão, ate a idade [sic] de 85 annos*, Lisboa, 1869, p.12, private collection.

⁴¹ José Capranica died in August 1818, and José Gori in March 1819.

⁴² *P-Lant*, Arquivo da Casa Real, L^o.2979, f.110 *et seq.*.

⁴³ Velluti and Girolamo Crescentini were the last two great *castrati*. Crescentini stopped singing in 1812, and Velluti in 1830. Patrick BARBIER, *História dos Castrados*, Lisboa, Livros do Brasil, 1991, p.255 *et seq.*.

⁴⁴ *P-Lant*, ACR Cx.3751. It is possible that the *castrato* Domingos Lauretti, hired in Lisbon for the Royal Chapel in late 1818, might have been in Rio de Janeiro for a brief period during 1819-21. André CARDOSO, *A Capela Real e Imperial do Rio de Janeiro (1808-1889)*, PhD Diss., Rio de Janeiro, 2001, p.241, and Ernesto VIEIRA, *Diccionario Biographico de Musicos Portuguezes*, Lisboa, Lambertini, 1900, Vol.II, p.14.

⁴⁵ 7th November 1817.

⁴⁶ The reason could be that they did not match the high level of the other soloists, being mostly confined to singing in the choir.

⁴⁷ José do Rosário Nunes, Simão Portugal and Padre João Jacques.

⁴⁸ If only the musicians belonging to the Royal Chapel and Chamber were to be considered, these numbers would be closer to 40 singers and 30 instrumentalists, besides the 3 organists.

⁴⁹ *D. João VI no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Topbooks, 1996, p.620.

⁵⁰ In most cases the later versions are substantially different from the original.

⁵¹ The inexistence of any Mafra autograph indicates that this material was almost certainly taken to Rio de Janeiro by Marcos, used while composing the new versions, and subsequently lost.

⁵² Perhaps even before the composer went to Italy, in 1792.

⁵³ Namely the Festive Mass, the Credo in F, and the Acclamation *Te Deum*.

⁵⁴ *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 6 June 1818.

⁵⁵ *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 12 September 1818.

⁵⁶ Three other Masses and one Credo of doubtful attribution are extant in archives in Minas Gerais.

⁵⁷ A *Magnificat* of doubtful attribution is extant in S. João d'El-Rei (Orquestra Lira Sanjoanense).

⁵⁸ *L'oro non compra amore* (1811 and 1817), *Artaserse* (1812), *Il muto per astuzia* (1814), *Merope* (1817).

⁵⁹ Paid for by the Imperial Chapel.

⁶⁰ *BR-Ran*, Casa Real e Imperial – Mordomia Mór, Cod.570, f.73.

⁶¹ It is possible that this work was written to mark the beginning of his new function as music teacher of the daughters of D. Pedro. The autograph reveals that his compositional skills were intact, and that his literary and musical calligraphies had not deteriorated.

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