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PORTUGUESE CHRONICLERS: CAMINHA'S LETTER AS AN ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL DOCUMENT

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ABSTRACT

This article is concerned with Portuguese writer's contributions about the music in Brazil in the first century of the discovery. It is an ethnomusicological tour-de-force in regard to Caminha's account of the finding of the country, trying to derive precise meaning for the instruments mentioned in the letter and understanding for the musical situations he touches upon, both from the Portuguese as from the Amerindian sides. Since the unique circumstance of that first contact between Old and New World cultures in present-day Brazil is no event to be disregarded, the author assumes that further research applied toward the reconstruction of some of the religious music performed at that time is not only possible but well worthwhile. Additional contributions by Fernão Cardim and Gabriel Soares de Sousa are also brought in.

Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter

If Brazilian music does not start with the arrival of the Portuguese,[1] its history does. Not many nations can lay claim to a first historian who was as keen an observer as Pero Vaz de Caminha. His letter dated May 1, 1500 to King Manuel I--the country's birth certificate--bears as its address Porto Seguro of Vera Cruz. The letter documents certain musical incidents that merit special attention Later writers, unlike Caminha, sometimes enjoyed extended periods, perhaps even a lifetime, during which they observed mostly coastal Indians But none exceeded Caminha in meticulous reportage.

The premier Brazilian historian for the discovery period and first century of the Portuguese entry remains Capristano de Abreu whose O Descobrimento do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Annuario do Brasil, 1929), combines four works published from 1883 to 1908. He submitted the first for the chair of Brazilian History at the Colégio Pedro II, in Rio de Janeiro. The last part, "Vaz de Caminha e sua Carta," reaped the fruit of Sousa Viterbo's Pero Vaz de Caminha e a primeira narrativa do descobrimento do Brasil: Notícia histórica e documental (Lisboa: Typographia Universal, 1902). Sousa Viterbo had transcribed various documents from Portuguese archives, chiefly the

1. Hebe Machado Brasil, A Música na Cidade de Salvador (Salvador: Prefeitura Municipal, 1969), p. 45.

Torre do Tombo, that throw light on Caminha's family connections and document his own position as "mestre da balança" [master of the mint] in Oporto.

Abreu not only studied the circumstances of the discovery, but also made a specialty of early contacts between Europeans and Indians. After him, another writer who significantly advanced Caminha scholarship was Jaime Cortesão whose edition, A Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha (Rio de Janeiro: Livros de Portugal, 1943), was corrected in only a few slight details by Sílvio Batista Pereira's Vocabulário da Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1964). A still more recent edition, Leonardo Arroyo's A Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1971), lacks the information in Cortesão's "Nota Nº 49" 1943: 310-11 clarifying the distinction between gaiteiro, gaita and tamboril.

The letter itself lay in the Torre do Tombo over three centuries before its first publication in Frei Manuel Aires do Casal's Corografia Brasílica (Rio: Impressão Régia, 1817). According to Abreu, the Spanish historian Juan Bautista Muñoz discovered it, c. 1790. However, Cortesão found that it had been catalogued as early as the seventeenth century [1943: 31]. Most recent editions contain both facsimile and diplomatic transcription, together with a rendering into modern Portuguese. Folio 14^{v} of the "Carta de Pedro vaz de caminha sobre o descobrimento da Terra nova q̃ fez Pedro Alves. Feita na Ilha de Vera Cruz em o 1º de Maio de 1500" also shows another title in older handwriting: "Carta de pº Vaaz/decaminhadodesco/brimẽto datrra/noua q̃ fez pº Alvarez."

Caminha's place and date of birth and death continue undocumented. The unsigned article, "Caminha (Pero Vaz de)," in the Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira, 2ª Parte, v. 2 (Lisboa and Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Enciclopédia, 1973), states that "Dá-se como mais certo que tenha falecido na cidade do Porto (Portugal)" (It is likelier that he died in the City of Oporto [1973: 40]). Capristano de Abreu, who argued that he died in India [1929: 306], took as his authority King Manuel I's letter dated December 3, 1501 transferring Caminha's position to his grandson Rodrigo d'Osouro [Sousa Viterbo, 1902: 17]. The royal letter mentions "P.º Vaaz de Caminha mestre da balamça que foy da nosa cidade do Porto, que hora faleceo na Hymdia domde o emuiamos" [Pero Vaz de Caminha who was master of the mint in our city of Oporto, who died in India where we sent him]. Caminha could have succumbed during an attack on the Portuguese in Calicut (Kozhikode), where Frei Henrique de Coimbra, the Franciscan administrator who was the first to celebrate Mass in Brazil, was wounded.

Caminha held no official position in Cabral's fleet. Instead he was en route to Calicut where he was appointed a notary for the Portuguese enterprise. From the positions that he previously held, he must have been a man accustomed to observe and to use figures [1929: 291]. Here fortunately was a man of keen vision, fair judgment, and a welcome sense of humor. The returning ship under Gaspar de Lemos, ordered back to Portugal by Cabral to report the discovery, carried only two other extant documents. One is a letter from Mestre João, royal physicist and surgeon, who measured the location at which the fleet arrived on the Brazilian coast. The other is a "Relação" from

an anonymous pilot. Neither compares with Caminha's letter dated May 1, 1500, containing descriptions of the land and its people.

Between 1497 and 1499, Portugal was approaching its zenith under the Aviz kings. Vasco da Gama was returning from his exploration of a sea route to India bypassing Italian and Spanish merchants, and above all the Ottoman Empire. Pedro Alvares Cabral's fleet of thirteen ships carried among its 1,200 men some of the most experienced navigators of the time, and was intended to seal the trade with India. João de Barros's Décadas (publication started in 1552) described the pageantry on March 8, 1500, when, delayed one day by the winds, the fleet left the Tagus. Some idea of the instruments played at the time of the embarkation can be gleaned from the Décadas (selection, preface and notes by Antonio Baião [Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1945: 103]).

> Acabado este acto [Missa] assim como estava arvorada com uma solene procissão de relíquias e cruzes, foi levada aquela bandeira, sinal de nossas espirituais e temporais vitórias, a qual el-rei acompanhou, até Pedro Alvares, com seus capitães, na praia lhe beijaram a mão, e espediram dele.
>
> A qual espedida, geralmente a todos, foi de grande contemplação, porque a maior parte do povo de Lisboa, por ser dia de festa e mais tão celebrada por el-rei, cobria aquelas praias e campos de Belém, e muitos em bateis, que rodeávam as naus, levando uns, trazendo outros, assim serviam todos com suas librés e bandeiras de côres diversas, que não parecia mar, mas um campo de flôres, com a frol daquela mancebia juvenil que embarcava. E o que mais levantava or espírito destas cousas, eram as trombetas, atabáques, séstros, tambores, frautas, pandeiros, e até gaitas, cuja ventura foi andar em os campos no apascentar dos gádos, naquele dia tomáram posse de ir sôbre as águas salgadas do mar, nesta e noutras armadas, que depois a seguiram, porque, para viágem de tanto tempo, tudo os homens buscavam para tirar a tristeza do mar. Com as quáis diferenças, que a vista e ouvido sentiam, o coração de todos estava entre prazer e lágrimas, por esta ser a mais fromosa

e poderosa armada que até aquele tempo para tão longe deste reino partira.

After Mass, crosses and relics joined the flag carried aloft that is the emblem of our spiritual and temporal victories. The King accompanied the procession until it reached the beach where Pedro Alvares and the captains kissed the royal hand and took leave of him.

Since this was a favorite feast day of the king, most of the inhabitants of Lisbon were free to come behold the leaving.

They swarmed the beaches and fields of Belém. Many also took to ships that surrounded the departing vessels. With their variously colored flags and liveries, they made the sea look like a field of flowers, amidst which embarked youthful manhood. And what raised spirits still higher, were the trumpets, atabaques,[2] sistra, drums, flutes, tambourines, and even bagpipes, that sounded that day. Formerly heard in the fields, these instruments were that day brought aboard for a journey over the salty sea and were again brought aboard fleets that sailed subsequently, to alleviate the sadness of the sea during travel that lasts so long. Their varied sounds matched the pleasure and tears felt because this was the fairest and most powerful fleet that had thus far departed from this kingdom for so far away.

(Década I, Book V, Ch. I)

João de Barros (1496-1570) was himself four when Cabral's fleet sailed. Writing before 1552, the year of publication of Década I, he may however have heard oral reports in addition to having seen the

2. Antonio Baião, in his annotated selection from the work of João de Barros [Década I appears originally as Asia, dos fectos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente (Lisbon: German Galharde, 1552); the following Décadas, in 1553, 1563, and 1615 (posthumous), respectively] gives two footnote explanations for "atabáques" and "séstros" [1945: 103]. For atabáques he says "tamboris orientais" and for séstros, "uma espécie de pandeiro." João de Barros was one of the donees named by D. João III, in 1553, for a captaincy to the north of Pernambuco. Despite a substantial loss of money, Barros did not succeed in establishing a settlement, even despite having sent two of his sons in one of the attempts. The loss of capital exemplifies the ambivalent character of the captaincies, both feudal and capitalistic.

written accounts. Most of the musical instruments, if not all, continued with the fleet to India. One vessel was lost on March 23, soon after the Cape Verde Islands were sighted. Four other ships were lost between America and India, including the ship captained by Bartolomeu Dias, discoverer of the Cabo das Tormentas (Cape of Storms) in 1486 renamed Cabo da Boa Esperança (Cape of Good Hope).

From Cabo Verde, depending on the winds, Cabral expected to have sailed south to about 19° S, thence southeast to the Cape of Good Hope and northeast to India. Either by accident, or by design--"achamento" [finding] rather than "descobrimento" [discovery], is the word Caminha employs--Cabral veered instead so much toward the west that by April 21 floating plants and then birds started indicating the proximity of land. At vespers on April 22 Mount Pascoal--named after the season of Easter--was sighted in the south of the present state of Bahia. By sunset, Cabral's fleet cast anchor some six leagues from the coast. On April 23, therefore, occurred the first recorded contacts with the natives. These natives were probably Tupiniquin representing one of the three major sections into which the Tupi of the coast were divided, Tupinambá and Carijó being the others.

Capristano de Abreu [1929: 236], reflects on the questions that must have crossed Caminha's mind:

> What land was that? Evidently India, since no other could it be, for between Europe and eastern Asia there was a single sea. Nothing simpler to verify: here was Nicolau Coelho, who had already been in India; he would make it clear.
>
> Nicolau Coelho returned with an answer very different from what was expected; and the following day, the fleet sailed north, along the coast for about ten leagues,

until a convenient harbor could be found.

> Saturday, April 25, a bay was reached, whose vast waters could shelter more than two hundred ships. The captains gathered on board the flagship; Nicolau Coelho and, what is no less characteristic, Bartolomeu Dias were sent ashore. If those men who walked naked in the beach were not Indians, as no longer could be supposed after the report of Nicolau Coelho, they could well be some type of Negro: none more competent to decide it than Bartolomeu Dias. The confusion between the Indians there present and the Negro should not now be considered absurd: before finding a general appellation for them, they indeed were called negros -- one proof of this being a letter from Father Manuel da Nóbrega, written in 1549.

Caminha himself refers to the Indians he saw as pardos, i.e., "Of a color between white and black" [Pereira, 1964: 83]:

> . . . aaboca do rrio heram aly xbiij ou xx homeẽs pardos todos nuus sem nhuũa cousa que lhes cobrisse suas vergonhas. [At the mouth of the river, there were eighteen to twenty pardo men, all naked without anything to cover their pudenda.]
>
> (fol. 1v. 26-29)

Caminha adds that "suas vergonhas . . . nõ herã fanadas" [they were uncircumcised (fol. 3. 34-35)], thus distinguishing them from the Mandinga and Wolof [Cortesão, 1943: 299], or any of the Islamized populations with whom Portugal had become acquainted [Abreu, 1929: 291]. As Abreu already stressed [1929: 239] Caminha gave the natives pleasant traits, saying that they were

> de boõs rrostros e boos narizes bem feitos . . . . aly verjees galantes pimtados depreto evermelho e quartejados asy pelos corpos como pelas pernas. que çerto pareciam asy bem. tambem andauam antreles iiij ou b molheres moças asy nuas que nom ₍areçiam mal . . . . andam mujto bem curados e mujto limpos e naquilo me pareçe ajmda mais que sam coma aves ou alimareas monteses que lhes faz ho aar mjlhor pena e mjlhor cabelo que aas mansas. porque os corpos seus sam tam limpos e tam gordos e tam fremosos que nõ pode mais seer. e jsto me faz presumir qu nõ teem casas nẽ moradas em que se colham eo aar aque se criam

> os faz taaes . . . . nẽ comẽ se nõ dese jnhame que aquy ha mujto e desa semente e frutos atera e as aruores de sy lançam. e com jsto andam taaes e tam rrijos e tã nedeos. queo nõ somosnos tamto com quanto trigo e legumes comemos.[3] [Of good countenance with good noses, well made . . . . They appeared very graceful, their bodies and legs painted in black and red and checkered, which certainly made them look well. Four or five young women, naked as them, who did not look badly walked among them. . . . They all go around very well taken care of, and very clean. To me they resembled mountain animals, whose feathers and hair are an improvement on tame animals' feathers and hair because of the free air they breathe. Their bodies are so clean, so fat and beautiful, that nothing better can be imagined. I therefore presume that they have no houses or quarters in which to take shelter but that the free air in which they are brought up makes them so . . . . Nor do they eat anything but taro roots which here abound, and seeds and fruits that earth and trees provide without tending. Their diet makes them much stronger and fatter than us with all the wheat and vegetables we eat.]

Caminha did not know what Amerigo Vespucci reported some three years later [Abreu, 1929: 269]--that not seldom the diet of those tribes included human flesh, the consumption of which was sanctioned by beliefs and rituals involving music and dancing.

Caminha also noticed and described the tembetá. Bows and arrows, feather and shell ornaments, red macaws and green parrots, were exchanged for jingles, beads, hats and caps, or other trifles. Regarding a large wooden cross erected to mark the just named "jiha de vera cruz" [Island of Vera Cruz] he wrote:

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3. The quotations come from the facsimile, the folios numbered as in Sílvio Batista Pereira, Vocabulário da Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1964): fl. 2v. 6; fl. 7. 1-5; fl. 8. 13-22; fl. 11v. 10-14. Since there are obvious pitfalls for non-specialists, my English translation profits from Cortesão's conversion into modern Portuguese (1943).

> Eem quanto faziamos alenha. faziam dous carpenteiros huũa grande cruz dhuũ paao que se omtem pera ysso cortou. mujtos deles vijnham aly estar cõ os carpenteiros e creo queo faziã mais por veerem afaramenta de ferro com q̃ afazia q̃ por veerem acruz por que eles nõ teem cousa que de fero seja e cortam sua madra e paaos com pedras feitas como cunhas metidas em huũ paao antre duas talas muy bem atadas . . . " (fol. 9v. 11-21) [While we cut the fire-wood, two carpenters were making a great cross, from wood that was cut yesterday for this. Many would come there to be with the carpenters. I believe that they did this to see the iron tool with which they made it rather than to see the cross, because they do not have anything made of iron, and they cut their wood and lumber with stones made as wedges fitted into a handle between two sticks, very well tied up.]

Continuing, Caminha observed that they did not cultivate plants and lacked bull or cow, goat or sheep, chickens or any other livestock. On the spiritual side, he decided that they had no idols or beliefs, and could therefore be easily converted to the true religion: "pareçeme jemte de tal jnoçencia que se os homẽ emtendese e eles anos. que seriam logo xpaãos por que eles nõ teem nem entendem em nhuũa creemça segº pareçe. Epor tamto se os degradados que aqui am de ficar. aprenderem bem asua fala eos emtenderem. nom doujdo segº asanta tençam de vosa alteza fazeremse xpaãos e creerem na nossa samta fe. aaqual praza anosso sñor que os traga. por q̃ çerto esta jente he boa e de boa si-jnprezidade e enpremarsea ligeiramẽte neeles qualq̃r crunho que lhes quiserem dar . . . . per onde pareçeo atodos que nhuũa jdolatria nẽ adoraçom teem. Ebem creo que se vosa alteza aquy mandar quem mais antreles de vagar ande. que todos seram tornados ao desejo de vosa alteza. [They seem to me such innocent people that if we understood each other, they soon would be Christians, because they seemingly have no religious beliefs. Therefore, if the exiles who will stay here

learn their language and understand them well, I do not doubt that according to the holy intention of Your Highness they will become Christians and will believe in our saintly faith, into which may please Our Lord to bring them, because, certainly, these people are good and of a great simplicity. Any desired mark will easily be imprinted upon them . . . . for it seemed to all that they have no idolatry or worship. I believe that, if Your Highness send here someone able to adopt their pace, they will turn into what Your Highness wishes.] (fol. 11. 22 - fol. 11v. 1; fol. 13. 6-10).

Caminha and his companions also vainly hoped for information about gold and silver. The dream of gold in Brazil was to come true only at the end of the seventeenth century--exploration for gold profoundly changing Brazilian society in the eighteenth century. Caminha --a man already around fifty [Abreu, 1929: 291] fully realized that less noble designs could be cloaked by religious zeal. At one point he says of the Indians, "que sam muito mas nosos amygos que nos seus" (fol. 11v. 16-18) [that they are much more our friends than we are theirs]. He also noticed that they did not recognize rank, and lacked any form of political organization. Two of the Indians invited on board the captain's ship received presents, but failed to reappear later. Caminha therefore inferred these two to be "jente bestial e depouco saber e por ysso sam asy esqujvos" [rude people and with little knowledge, for which reason are so standoffish] (fol. 8. 12-13).

The presents that Cabral ordered given the two Indians before they went ashore accompanied by Nicolau Coelho, Bartolomeu Dias, Caminha, and Afonso Ribeiro (whose orders were to remain behind to

get acquainted with "their living and manners") included "senhas camisas nouas e senhas carapuças vermelhas e dous rrosairos de contas brancas doso que eles leuauam nos braços e senhos cascauees e senhas canpainhas." [a new shirt, a red cap, and a rosary made of white bone beads for each, which they took in their arms with each one's pellet bell and small bell] (fol. 3v. 13-16). Caminha twice again mentions cascaveis in his letter:

> leuaua njcolaao coelho cascauees e manjlhas e huũs daua huũ cascauel e aoutros huũa manjlha deman^{ra} que com aquela emcarna casy nos queriam dar amaão" [Nicolau Coelho was carrying cascaveis and bracelets; to some he would give a cascavel and to others a bracelet, and with that bait they would almost give us their own hand].
>
> (fol. 4. 7-11)

> rresgataram la por cascauees e por out^{as} cousinhas depouco ualor q̃ leuauã papagayos vermelhos mujto grandes e fremosos. . . . [They exchanged there cascaveis and other small things of little value that they carried for very big and beautiful red parrots].
>
> (fol. 9. 27-30)

The red parrots were possibly araras (macaws). The "emcarna" was a meat bait for birds or hunting dogs [Cortesão, 1943: 293]. The word cascavel [Machado, 1967: I, 560] comes from the Latin, cascabĕllus' --an etymology confirmed in W. Meyer Luebke's Romanisches Etymologisches Woerterbuch (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1935), no. 1731, "Gloeckchen." Provençal, Catalonian and Portuguese spell the word cascavel (Spanish cascabel). Machado defined it as "guizo." The Novo Aurélio [1975: 293] confirms guizo and adds as a second meaning "ninharia" (literally children's thing, trifle). Did Caminha mean by cascavel a small jingle? Since he places cascavel and campainha (little bell) side by side, but with the demonstrative "senhos," "senhos cascauees e senhas campainhas," it seems logical to conclude that the cascaveis were indeed jingles and the campainhas little bells. If so, cascaveis were not bells but a form of rattle half opened with a pellet inside.[5] Such famous mariners as Columbus during his second voyage to the New World and Vasco da Gama during his rounding of Africa had already used jingles to entice the natives. João de Barros vouches for Vasco da Gama [1945: I, 16] who also used cristalino beads as bait. (Found in burials, beads are a sure sign of a post-Columbian site.)

In Caminha's epoch the word cascavel already had derogatory implications: witness "ter cascavel" (to have cascavel = to have little judgment) and "ser cascavel" (to be cascavel = to be unstable). The instrument therefore meant something quite different to Portuguese and Indian. Cortesão's "Nota no. 28" [1943: 292] explains:

> In some provinces of Portugal and Spain jingles called cascavéis were attached to the harness of draught animals. A receipt letter from King Manuel dated 1513 mentions eight 'breast-bands for packmules sewn with cascaveis and campainhas and trimmed with white and red fabric.'

4. Marcuse 1975: 82 may have mispelled cascabĕllus into cacabellus, pan, kettle, which she lists as the Latin source for the Spanish cascabel and Portuguese cascavel, but not for Old French carquavel, for which she takes the Provencal cascavelo = small bell.

5. In Medieval Latin "Cascavellus: pellet bell. The term is recorded from the 13th century on" [Marcuse, 1975: 82]. Both Marcuse and Machado [1967: I, 560] cite Charles Ducange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis (1733-36).

Sunday, April 26, the fourth day since sighting land and reaching the coast of Bahia,[6] was marked by the celebration of the historical first mass on Brazilian soil (Easter Octave), with several musical episodes by the Portuguese alone, by the Indians, or even with the participation of both, which we will try to follow in the order they are mentioned. Signalled apparently by the two Indians who had spent the night in Cabral's flagship,[7] the two hundred or so who waited at the beach put their bows and arrows down, allowing the Portuguese to land.

During mass, as many Indians approached them on the beach as the day before--over two hundred and more, "os quaaes amdauam folgando" [who walked about amusing themselves] (fol. 5. 26). Caminha continues:

> e olhandonos e asentaramse. e despois dacabada amisa aseẽtados nos aapregaçom aleuantaranse mujtos deles e tanjeram corno ou vozina e comecaram asaltar e dançar huũ pedaço. [And looking at us, they sat down. After the end of the mass, during our attention to the preaching, many of them raised themselves and played horn or buzina and started to jump and to dance for a while].
>
> (fol. 5. 26-30)

The Coroa Vermelha, where mass took place, was at that time still completely separated from the mainland, thus separating the Portuguese from the beach where the Indians remained. Caminha mentions two or three "almaadias" (canoes), which four or five Indians would get in, without going far from the beach, i.e., without coming to the islet. From a map given by Cortesão [1943: 97], a minimum distance of some 150 m. separated the site of the mass from the beach. Consequently, Caminha heard the sounds while listening to the sermon by Fr. Henrique de Coimbra,[8] but probably could not see the "corno ou vozina" clearly. Since he uses "corno ou vozina" in the singular, but the verb "tanjeram" in the plural, either one corno or one vozina may have been played to signal a dance or gathering. Whatever the aerophone, Caminha clearly distinguishes Indian corno or vozina--mentioned only once--from Portuguese trombetas and gaitas.

According to a Peninsular citation in Machado [1967: III, 2256], "trombetas e vozinas" meant two different instruments as early as the mid-fourteenth century ('começaram a tanger as trombetas e vozinas . . .' [Crônica Geral de Espanha de 1344, II, p. 247]). Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira's Instrumentos Musicais Populares Portugueses [(Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1966), p. 12], classes "trumpets as band

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6. Cabral's Porto Seguro does not seem to be the present one, at the mouth of the Buranhém but the present Baía Cabrália, where the Mutarí river runs parallel to the shore before turning into the Bay. The first mass would have been celebrated in the Coroa Vermelha, which is a rock outcrop of some 128X100 m. [Cortesão, 1943: 92]. The cross was erected and the second mass was celebrated at the beach, c. 300 m. west-northwest of the mouth of the Mutarí [Cortesão, 1943: 100].

7. Capristano de Abreu and Rodolfo Garcia (in Varnhagen, História Geral do Brasil, v. 1, p. 85) rescued from oblivion the names of nine or ten of Cabral's ships (out of thirteen, and with doubts): Espírito Santo, Santa Cruz, Fror de la Mar, S. Pedro, Vitória, Espera, Trindade (a galleon), Anunciada, and El Rei. The Berrio, already commanded by Nicolau Coelho, under Vasco da Gama, may have been the tenth caravel present. They must have made an impressive sight to the Indians. The name of Cabral's flagship on which the two Indians were hosted has not been recovered.

8. As authority for translating "assẽtados nos aapregaçom" not as "sitting down to the preaching," but as "attentive to the preaching," see Novo Aurélio, p. 148 ("assentar" in the sense of to fix).

instruments, which often have charge of the music of ceremonial occasions." Sachs calls attention to Sebastian Virdung's 1511 woodcuts depicting two different instruments: a "military 'field trumpet' and a 'clear' trumpet" [1940: 328]. Field trumpeters did not have to read music: "they played flourishes and sustained notes in the middle and lower register." By contrast, chamber trumpeters were well trained and respected musicians.

The one mention of trumpet playing in Caminha's letter implies "field trumpeters." After mass and the sermon, the Portuguese in their respective ships approached the beach, Bartolomeu Dias's ship taking the lead. One crewman from Bartolomeu Dias's ship went ashore without incident:

> cõ jsto se volueo bertolameu dijz ao capitam e viemonos aas naos acomer tanjendo tronbetas e gaitas sem lhes dar mais apresam e eles tornaramse aasentar na praya Easy por entã ficarã [With this, Bartolomeu Dias returned to the Captain, and we returned to the ships to eat, playing trumpets and bagpipes, without giving them further attention and they sat down again at the beach, and thus they remained for the time being].
>
> (fol. 5v. 27-31)

Outdoors, at sea, several players, several boats, bagpipes, trumpets. Put this together with much talking, and we can hardly have the ingredients for any concerted music. It must have been pure pageantry, pure noisy music making, not to say just plain noise making.

If we suppress from Caminha's vocabulary the idea of trumpet, as involving a long pipe, even though possibly folded, and made of a pliable material, we are left with some other natural forms, issued from living things, but not from straight things such as bamboos or

other tree branches. The immediate idea would a priori be the association of corno (instrument) with corno (horn), next, to assimilate vozina (or buzina) to búzio (large sea shell). Things, however, are never that simple. If I understand José Pedro Machado [1967: I, 705] well, the association of corno with animal horn, in Portuguese, is relatively recent, being something of a third stage of a process; a stage which he considers a "semantic latinism of the sixteenth century." First, we would have cornu, in Latin, meaning "animal horn." The most ancient meanings of the word corno, in Portuguese, however, are those of an instrument. He uses the word buzina, which is confusing at this stage; therefore, it is better to use horn (instrument), and of a receptacle, both of which he finds in the fourteenth century. Machado gives Camões's Os Lusíadas (1572) as source for the earliest use in Portuguese of corno meaning animal horn. Caminha may not necessarily have had in mind "animal horn" when he spoke of the Indians playing "corno ou vozina." What instrument could he particularly have in mind, then--an instrument originally made of horn or tusk?

The question of the vozina also needs an answer. Machado [1967: I, 478] gives the following:

> Buzina, n. From Latin bucĭna, instead of bŭcĭna, 'cornet of cowhand'; trumpet; Triton's trumpet; through Cast., according to Leite de Vasconcelos, Lições de Filologia . . . the archaic forms were vozina (fourteenth century) . . . and vozinha (fourteenth century).

The Novo Aurélio, among eighteen different semantic shades, gives the following, in order of importance, for buzina:

> 1. Common designation for several types of trumpets made of horn or curved metal [retorcido] which produces a single strong sound; horn . . . . 2. Large shell (búzio)

from which a sound similar to those trumpets is produced. 3. Hunting horn . . . corno.

[Sérgio Buarque de Holanda Ferreira, 1975: 236]

Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira [1966: 234] illustrates cornos not only from ethnographic examples (no. 397, from Montedor, Viana do Castelo; no. 402, from Vilarinho da Furna, Terras de Bouro), but also from a Romanic capital (no. 400, at Museu Soares dos Reis, Oporto), and from the fourteenth-century codex at the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, the "Crônica Geral de Espanha" (no. 401). Ethnographic instances of búzios are given by Oliveira (1966), from Montedor Viana do Castelo (no. 398), and from Solveira, Montalegre (nos. 399 and 403).

Oliveira treats cornos and búzios as if they were used interchangeably, which may throw light on Caminha's grouping of them together as instruments.

> There are also in Portugal countless instruments that, by custom or function, appear regularly associated with determined professions: . . . : the cornos and búzios, with which, in the fishing communities, the members of the crews of the boats are called for the fishing, or with which the leaders of draft animals announce sardines and shellfish[9] when they pass through the villages, or with which, in the communal villages of the northern highland, neighbors are invited for the meetings of the local councils, or with which the departure of the common herd--the vezeira--to the mountain is announced, or with which the shepherd is called, or with which, in a general way, the fieldworkers are called, or meal time is announced, or tasks, or even the religious services, and which also give signals for various occasions.
>
> [Oliveira, 1966: 234]

9. Berbigões, also mentioned by Caminha in the Letter (fol. 6. 3-4).

Oliveira places together in the above incomplete list of uses, for instance, the calling of council meetings--illustrated by the use of a corno (no. 402)--and the call for the departure of the vezeira in Solveira--performed by a búzio (no. 403).

Caminha probably saw the Indians onshore playing a horn or a shell trumpet. In his mind he associated the horn or shell trumpet with the signalling instruments of his own country, namely, the corno and the búzio.

Helza Camêu [1977: 21] discusses the problem of instrument identification thus:

> The testimony of Caminha certifies the dancing about an instrument; but he could not specify the material it was made of beyond calling it corno or buzina. Since the chronicler described the scene, saw the Indians jumping, dancing, and making the instrument sound, why did he not identify horn from what animal? Ox? Sheep? And was there any ox there in 1500? According to him, "in that land there is neither ox, nor cow, nor sheep, or chicken."

Camêu presciently observes [1977: 20] that Caminha makes no reference whatsoever to Indians singing. This she considers strange. As she very appropriately recalls, Fernão Cardim claimed that "não fazem uma cousa sem a outra" [they do neither thing without the other].[10]

10. Cardim's description of Indian dancing and songs comes in a chapter from his second Tratado, "Do princípio e origem dos Indios do Brasil," in Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939), p. 154 : "from infancy they are taught to dance and sing, and their dances are not differentiated by changes, but are a continuous pounding of the feet without displacement, or walking around waving the body and the head. This they all do in good rhythm, with much serenity to the sound of a cascavel made after the manner used by the boys in Spain, with many pebbles inside,

According to her, Caminha may well have heard their singing but mistaken it for mere hubbub, as did many other chroniclers.

Camêu seems herself to have opted for Caminha's having heard a horn, since elsewhere [1977: 232], when dealing with "Buzinas e trombetas" she writes:

> In the Indian milieu buzinas and trumpets can be seen as originals--of bamboo, bone, shell, armadillo tail--and as products of acculturation--gourd and horn. It was Vaz de Caminha who first mentioned corno ou buzina in his famous letter. However, he did not trouble himself to find out much about either.
>
> The finding of armadillo-tail buzinas among different ethnic groups and distant epochs (Tupinambá, in Rio de Janeiro, in the sixteenth century; Botocudos, in Espírito Santo, in the nineteenth century; Gorotire, in Mato Grosso, in the twentieth century) causes us to think that that 'corno ou buzina' mentioned by Pero Vaz de Caminha, in 1500, could well be the armadillo tail transformed into a communication instrument.

Her news of the armadillo tail among the Tupinambá comes from the French Americanist, Ferdinand Denis, who copiously annotated the Deduction (Rouen: 1551) describing the 1550 festivities at Rouen in honor of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis. Denis includes a relatively long note (note 16) dealing with Brazilian dances and musical

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or certain seeds from which they make also very good beads. They dance together while singing, for they do neither without the other, and keep such measure and order, that sometimes a hundred men dancing and singing in a row, one behind the other, finish all together on a single beat, as if all were in one single place." The passage mentions the prestige of singers that caused even prisoners to be spared on that account. He talks of the participation of women in dances, and their keeping of "differences of voices in their consonance, the women ordinarily taking the tiple, alto, and tenor parts."

instruments.[11] In it he refers to "la janubia ou trompe de guerre, formée de la cuirasse du tatou, qui prend assez facilement la forme qu'on veut lui donner" [the janubia, or war horn, made of the shell of an armadillo, which easily takes the shape one wants to give to it]. Denis's undocumented note is itself an extension of his commentary on the "instruments sauvages qui durent retenir alors sur les bords de la Seine" savage instruments that must have then sounded on the shores of the Seine . His speculations may or may not apply to instruments played by the Tupinambá in 1550.

Another armadillo-tail instrument considered by Camêu [1977: 133] and that was mentioned by both the Prince of Wied-Neuwied in 1886 and by Izikowitz [1935: 219] seems rather a "calling tube" or megaphone. Izikowitz himself questioned the description of this instrument in the catalogue of the Copenhagen Museum. Doubtless armadillo tails have been used for instruments; the Catálogo illustrado do Museu Folclórico of the Discoteca Pública of São Paulo lists an armadillo-tail whistle (Photo no. 166; description on p. 109). Even so, confusing Tupinambá (Tupi-Guarani) with culturally and linguistically unrelated Botocudo and Gorotire (Gê) to suggest a widespread distribution of the armadillo-tail instrument can be challenged. A better alternative to armadillo tail would be either the shell-trumpet, or the complex trumpet. This last would have an impressive support from many other Tupi-Guarani groups, besides

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11. Une fête brésilienne célébrée à Rouen en 1550 (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: The Gregg Press, 1968; Reprint from the Paris edition, 1850).

Tupinambá itself. In the case of those last, there are testimonies by Hans Staden [1963 = 1557: Bk. I, Ch. 29, illustration], Jean de Léry [1951 = 1578: 171 = inubia], and Gabriel Soares de Sousa [1974 = 1587: Ch. 181, 189], all picturing or describing what seem to be complex trumpets.

The instrument heard by Caminha as a "corno ou vozina," could better be represented by the tapuçu, the oatapu, the oapuaçu, or similar shell trumpet, referred to as early as 1550 by Leonardo Nunes, one of the Jesuits who arrived with Nóbrega in 1549. Furthermore, André Thevet's Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIème siècle (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1953) includes an illustration of an Indian playing a shell trumpet [Camêu, 1977: 232]. There are also later reports from Bahia--close to the discovery area--given by Gabriel Soares de Sousa [1974: 162], for the oatapu, among others:

> These búzios [= marine shells] are pierced by the Indians in order to play them. There is no boat without one, nor an Indian house where there are not three and four, which they play, and which resound more than do buzinas.

In his "Do clima e terra do Brasil" Fernão Cardim [1939: 82] mentions marine shells and their use as trumpets:

> The largest [búzios = marine shells] that exist are called Guatapig-goaçú, i.e., large shell. They are much valued by the native, because from them they make their trumpets . . . and they are so much valued among them that they would exchange one of their captives for one of them.

To summarize all the points thus far made in an attempt at clarifying Caminha's earliest known reference to Brazilian Indian

instruments:

1. Minimum distance of 150 m. separated the Portuguese from the Indians. Consequently, some account should be taken of what could be clearly seen and/or heard, by the fifty-year old Caminha;

2. "Corno ou vozina" may not be synonyms, but instead alternative instruments mentioned because of Caminha's doubt as to which he heard;

3. "Tanjeram" means "someone played," in the past tense;

4. "Corno ou vozina" oppose Portuguese "trombetas," thought to be distinct;

5. Based on etymologies, history of musical instruments, and ethnography, "trombetas" were relatively long pipes, originally straight, but later coiled as well; Caminha's "trombetas" did not belong to the Portuguese folk culture, but were standardized military trumpets not necessarily played by trained musicians;

6. "Corno" and "vozina" relate to natural biomorphic forms, other than those derived from vegetal prototypes such as tree branches and bamboo;

7. Both corno and buzina have a remote or even recent association with horn, as the source of material; however, the use of corno to indicate animal horn, in Portuguese, seems to have been a semantic latinism of the sixteenth century, probably later than Caminha;

8. Caminha would not be expressing much of an alternative, if both corno and buzina were used to indicate a form of instrument basically derived from animal horn; however, buzina had a widespread acceptance as Triton's trumpet, i.e., marine-shell trumpet;

9. Unlike "trombetas," corno and búzio--which has the same root as buzina--are well represented among the Portuguese popular instruments today (and likely in the past); the antiquity of the cornos is supported by a Romanic capital and by fourteenth-century written sources; the búzios, by ethnographic examples;

10. Helza Camêu attempted to replace animal horn with armadillo; but the existence of such an armadillo tail instrument among the Tupi-Guarani has not been proved;

11. Marine-shell trumpets are repeatedly observed among Tupinambá, in general, and specifically in Bahia, where at least three types of mollusks were considered not only suitable, but valued by the Indians; they were used for signalling, but there may also have been traditional beliefs[12] behind their use, and in relation to the sea;

12. There cannot be a final proof, but a suggestion of an instrument such as the uatapu, or a similar one, would seem the choice that best fits all the facts.

Two last fragments of Caminha's Letter mention Portuguese instruments that have already been analyzed by Cortesão ("Note no. 49" [1943: 310]). His exegesis can be complemented by the study Veiga de Oliveira (1966) made of both the Portuguese bagpipe and the tamboril. Finally, Machado's etymology of gaita calls to mind cognates known in Bulgaria, Macedonia (gaida), Slovakia (gadja), Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia (gadje), and Turkey (ghaida), to mention no others [Marcuse, 1975: 206].

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12. See Cascudo [1962: 146] for extended information.

On Sunday April 26 after mass and the above mentioned instrumental episodes all the captains met in Cabral's flagship. Among their decisions the captains agreed: first, to send a ship back to the King with the news of the discovery--contained in Caminha's letter; second, to leave behind two exiles gathering information, rather than kidnapping any of the Indians to send as informants; third, Cabral decided to go explore the river running parallel to the beach. The first intensive contact between European and Brazilian Indian began during this reconaissance. However, Caminha found the Indians still coy. Enter, next, Diogo Dias:

> aalem do rrio amdauã mujtos deles damçando e folgando huũs ante outros sem se tomarem pelas maãos e faziãno bem. pasouse emtam aalem do rrio diego dijx alx^{e} que foy de sacauem que he homẽ gracioso edeprazer e levou comsigo huũ gayteiro noso cõ sua gaita e meteose cõ eles adançar tomandoos pelas maãos e eles folgauam e rriam e amdauam cõ ele muy bem ao soõ dagaita. depois de dançarem fezlhe aly amdando no chaão mujtas voltas ligeiras e salto rreal deque se eles espantauam e rriam e folgauã mujto. e com quanto os cõ aquilo muito segurou e afaagou. tomauam logo huũa esqujueza coma montese e foranse pera cjma. [Beyond the river, there were many of them amusing themselves and dancing in single file without clasping hands. They danced well. Diogo Dias, a gallant and playful man, who had been stock keeper at Sacavém, crossed to the other side of the river; taking with him one of our bagpipe players with his bagpipe. He joined them in the dance, taking them by the hands; and they amused themselves and laughed, and to the sound of the bagpipe, followed him very well. After having danced, he did many quick turns and somersaults for them, walking on the ground, to their amazement. They laughed, and amused themselves a lot. Even though he captivated and pleased them very much, they soon became as coy as mountain animals, and went away].
>
> (fol. 7v. 7-22)

Afonso Ribeiro, one of the exiles sentenced to stay in Brazil, could not find overnight refuge among the Indians. Therefore, next day, the

unhibited Diogo Dias himself visited the Indian ocas with three of the destined exiles in tow.

Four days now passed without further report of dances. On Thursday, 30 April, Indians again danced with the Portuguese, this time accompanied by the tamboril:

> em quanto aly este dia amdaram senpre ao soõ dhuũ tanbory nosso dançarã e bailharã cõ os nosos. ẽ maneira que sam muito mais nosos amjgos que nos seus. [While there, they always danced and leaped with our men to the sound of one of our tamboris. In a way, they became much more our friends, than we theirs].
>
> (fol. 11v. 14-18)

Caminha's notable failure to mention any singing during the dancing even when (as in the first of the two fragments) the Indians danced by themselves "on the other side of the river" cannot be easily explained. Also he makes few references to the landscape. His dance descriptions clarify that the Indians did not touch hands or dance by pairs. Instead they danced either in a row facing another or in a circle--the last possibility being less probable. The first quoted passage highlights among the differences between Portuguese and Amerindian dancing, not only Diogo Dias's holding their hands in a movement dance but also the purpose of Portuguese dancing, which, far from any ritualistic motive, was indulged in for amusement and human fellowship.

The Vocabulário da Carta de Pero Vaz Caminha, prepared by Sílvio Batista Pereira (1964), does not clarify the distinction between "dançarã" and "bailharã." Would "dançarã e bailharã" represent only a rhetoric emphasis? It is possible that there are shades of meaning

involved, perhaps reflecting even forms and social status. In contemporary Brazil, where dance is finally becoming a highly developed art form, dancers may find a derogatory meaning in the use of the word "bailarina" in certain uncultivated quarters. In the early sixteenth century dance music publications by Petrucci, Attaignant, and others, proliferated. Howard M. Brown [1976: 269] asks how these publications were used: in social dancing, for home entertainment, or as stylized artistic versions of more or less popular tunes? At least one of the grounds, the folia, bears a Portuguese name. After exploring the other possibilities Brown concludes that these publications were chiefly intended for the amateur at home.

Obviously Caminha was not one of those amateurs. But, on the other hand [Cortesão, 1943: 64], Caminha's writing reflects his acquaintance with "wealthy styles of living." His address to the King shows fine balance between formularies of respect and earnests of Caminha's own personal dignity that, together with the "familiar tone of the epistle," argues for Caminha's long acquaintance with the monarch [Capristano de Abreu, 1929: 291].

Bridging social spheres, Caminha appropriately used "dançarã" for popular dancing and "bailharã" for higher class social dancing. Pereira gives for "dançar" [1964: 38]: "To move the body in a cadenced manner, to the sound of the voice, or the gesture [?], or to an instrument." Though Pereira is studying the vocabulary as it is illustrated by Caminha's Letter, he does not always take his cues from what the document itself indicates, but from elsewhere, which is also desirable. As for "bailar," he gives "to dance, to jump" [1964:

17]. The evidence of Caminha's Letter, though not decisive (three appearances for any of the variants of "dançar," and one for the form of "bailar" used), seems to indicate that "dançar" could have a more general sense applicable to the Indians; while "bailar" applied to a more restricted form.[13]

To come to Diogo Dias's bagpipe: recordings of Portuguese bagpipes are still sparse. Fernando Lopes Graça and Michel Giacometti's Anthology of Portuguese Music, v. 1, Ethnic Folkways Library Long Play records FE 4538 A-B [(New York: Folkways Records, 1962), Side A, Band 1] contains an "Alvorada" [Aubade] from Trás-os-Montes identified in Graça's notes as a "medieval survival." A bagpipe played by Manuel Aires, with the stark accompaniment of a tamboril (elaborating a variety of rhythms) and a steadily pounded bombo (bass drum), plays a microtonal line over a rumbling drone.

Despite Diogo Dias, bagpipes as such never took hold in Brazil. One wonders, however, in view of the name gaita[14] given in Rio Grande

13. According to the Novo Aurélio: "Bailar [from the Greek bállo, 'to jump,' through Latin ballare] means: 1. To dance; 2. Oscillate, vacillate; to shake; 3. To perform by dancing; 4. To agitate, to move one- or itself, describing curves." "Dançar [from Old French dancier, today danser] means: 1. To step or jump in cadence to the sound of music; bailar; 2. To swing, to oscillate; to shake oneself, to agitate oneself; 3. To perform according to the rules of the dance."

14. Leonardo Arroyo, in his edition of the A Carta de Pero Vaz Caminha (São Paulo: Melhoramentos with Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1971), omits "gaita" in the 13-page "Glossário" hich describes over 110 terms. This, however, is a name that most Brazilian will mistake for either mouth organ, flute, or accordion. Pereira [1964: 58], is also laconic. All he says for Caminha's "gaita" is "wind instrument." The Novo Aurélio, on the contrary, without being a specialized dictionary, gives an excellent entry for "gaita" [1975: 672].

do Sul to the accordion (acordeona, sanfona, fole, realejo, harmônica), whether the common idea of an air reservoir--folding bellows instead of goat skin--accounts for the same name. Gaita (or gaitinho), in northern Brazil, now designates a flute made of taboca, bamboo, or tin (a kind of pífaro) [Cascudo, 1962: 338]. Cascudo does however acknowledge the former presence of the bagpipe in Brazil, since in relation to "sanfona" [1962: 678], he says: "Acordeona, gaita de foles

Machado [1967: II, 1107] gives the following etymology of gaita:

> Gaita, name. Obscure origin; see Antenor Nascentes, Dicionário Etimológico da Lingua Portuguesa (Rio de Janeiro, 1932); Georges Cirot, "Gaita" et "rhaita," in Mélanges d'études luso-marocains dédiés à la memoire de David Lopes et Pierre de Cenival, pp. 41-42. In western Arabic there exists gai Tâ (gāiTâ, in Beaussier), but it is not known whence the Romanic forms came. The Arabic vocable does not have the aspect of foreignism (Cf.: Steiger, pp. 153, 369; Marçais, p. 407); recently Corominas placed gaita among the vocables created in Hispania, which, afterwards, managed to acquire a vast extension in Europe and Africa, up to the point of being represented in the Arabic of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, in Turkish, Serbian, Bulgarian, Polish, and Ruthenian, besides the other non-peninsular Romanic idioms, such as the Bearnese and the Sardinian; the author prefers seeing in gaita a derivate of the Gothic gaits, "goat"; the semantic evolution seems explicable by the fact of the gaita being made of a skin (probably from goat) and of often having a head of that animal drawn or carved; in French, there are many names derived from the Latin capra that designate the gaita [Chevrette, for instance (French, kid) = bagpipe; cabrette, chevrie; cabreta]. In 1534: '. . . nam temos oje prazer/que na festa sem comer/não ha hi gayta temperada,' Gil Vicente, Mofina Mendes in Copilaçam, fol. 22v. It is, however, possible that the vocable is older, since, as an anthroponym, the derivate gaiteiro already appears in 1390, unless it is a derivate of gaita[2] [= the morning call of the rooster]: '. . . terça parte do baixel santa cruz que Eu ey com Diego Affonso e com Johã bertolomeu gayteiro,' in D.S., I, p. 193. In 1374, in a Galician text, 'Johan G. Gayteyto,' Salazar, Documentos Gallegos de los siglos XIII al XVI, 122 (Lorenzo).

(no Brasil velho), realejo, fole (nome idêntico no norte de Portugal), harmônica." The accordion, a rather recent instrument, whose earliest types were made by Buschmann (1822), Buffet (1827) and Damian (1829) [Harvard Dictionary of Music, 1969: 9], reached Brazil, according to Cascudo [1962: 678], around the time of the war with Paraguay (1864-1870), for the north of the country; perhaps earlier in the southern areas.

The Portuguese bagpipe, according to Veiga de Oliveira's explanations, belongs to the Occidental type of bagpipes, which usually have double reeds for the chanters (ponteiros) and single reeds for the drones (roncões). In this sense, they are a combination of shawms and of clarinets at the same time. The Portuguese bagpipe is already documented in the fourteenth century [Oliveira, 1966: 170]. In nearby Galicia, the bagpipe seems already to be represented in an eleventh-century capital from Mellid (Corunha). Nowadays the bagpipe is found in the already mentioned region of Alto Trás-os-Montes, particularly in the border areas in the north and the east, and the western lowlands of from Minho to the Tejo. Oliveira labels it as unknown south of the Tejo,[15] in the Alentejo, or in the Beiras Interiores [1966: 171].

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15. The material used for the bag is usually goat skin, covered with fabric. The single chanter has usually a conical bore (with eight stops). The single cylindrical drone is tuned at the lower octave of the chanter's fundamental tone. The drone rests over the left shoulder of the player, separate from the chanter. The air is blown into the reservoir through a blowpipe (assoprete). The pressured bag under the left arm supplies the necessary air for both the ponteiro and the roncão. There are usually traditional decorations, such as the fringes pending from the roncão.

Before its being taken to Brazil [1966: 171], Cadamosto, in 1455, amazed the Negroes who came to his ship, with "the sound of one of those bagpipes" which he had one of his crewmen performing, "and seeing it dressed up in colors and with fringes around it, they thought it a living animal who sang with several voices"; taking it "into their empty hands . . . they said that God had made it, since it played so sweetly" [Oliveira, 1966: 171]. Both Cortesão [1943: 311] and Oliveira [1966: 171], invoke plays by Gil Vicente (Tragicomédia pastoril da Serra da Estrela and Triunfo do Inverno) to prove the association of the tamboril and gaita, as well as the gradual decline in popularity of the gaita after c. 1530.

Cortesão remarks:

> Os marinheiros portugueses, e à frente de todos Diogo Dias, ensinaram os naturais de Porto Seguro a bailar típicas danças de roda portuguesas, ao som dos mais típicos instrumentos de folia, naquela época, em Portugal [The Portuguese sailors, led by Diogo Dias, taught the natives of Porto Seguro to dance typical Portuguese circle dances, by the sound of the most typical instrument for merrymaking in Portugal at that time].

The Portuguese tamboril is a double membranophone, with snares attached to both membranes. Those snares can be heard in the above mentioned Ethnic Folkways recording of the gaita from Trás-os-Montes. Portuguese membranophones left descendants in northeast Brazil among cabaçal ensembles that mate plug flutes or transverse flutes with zabumbas and tarois.

Some idea of the music sung at the first two masses celebrated on Brazilian soil can be gleaned from the following two Caminha

extracts.

Sunday, April 26, 1500:

ao domjngo de pascoela pola manhaã detremjnou ocapitam dhir ouuir misa e pregaçam naquele jlheeo. e mandou atodolos capitaães que se corejesem nos batees e fosem cõ ele e asy foy feito. mandou naquele jlheeo armar huũ esperauel e dentro neele aleuantar altar muy bem coregido e aly com todos nos outros fez dizer misa aqual dise o padre frey amrique com voz entoada e oficiada cõ aquela meesma voz pelos outros padres e sacerdotes que aly todos heram. aqual misa segº meu pareçer foy ouujda per todos cõ mujto prazer e deuaçom. aly era com ocapitam abandeira de xpos com que sayo debelem a qual esteue senpre alta aaparte do auamjelho. acabada amisa desuestiosse o padre esposese em huũa cadeira alta e nos todos lamcados per esa area e preegou huũa solene e proueitossa preegaçom da estorea do auanjelho. [The morning of the first Sunday after Easter, the Captain decided to hear mass and sermon in that islet. He ordered all the captains to make themselves ready in their boats and to go with him. And so it was done. He ordered a canopy set in that islet, and beneath it raised a well-built altar. There, with all of us present he had a mass celebrated by Father Friar Henrique in intoned voice and officiated similarly by the other fathers and priests who were all there. Which mass, according to my opinion, everyone heard with pleasure and devotion. The captain's flag of Christ, with which he left Belém, was always raised high at the Gospel side. Mass ended, the priest took off his outer vestment and climbed in a high chair; meantime we all spread over the sand. He preached a solemn and profitable sermon on a text from the Gospel].

(fol. 5. 1-18)

Friday, May 1, 1500:

Eoje que he sesta feira primeiro dia de mayo pola manhaã saymos em trra cõ nossa bandeira e fomos desenbarcar acjma do rrio contra osul onde nos pareçeo que serja mjlhor chantar a cruz pera seer milhor vista. . . . trouuemola daly cõ eses rrelegiosos e sacerdotes diante cantãdo maneira depreçisam. herã já hy alguũs deles obra de lxx ou lxxx e quando nos asy virã vĩjr alguũs deles se forã meter debaixo dela ajudarnos . . . . chentada acruz cõ as armas e deuisa de vosa alteza que lhe primº pregarom armarom altar ao pee dela. aly dise misa opadre frey amrique aqual foy camtada e ofeçiada por eses ja ditos . . . . acabada amisa tirou o padre a vestimta decjma e ficou naalua e asy se sobio jumto cõ ho altar em huũa cadeira e aly nos preegou do auanjelho e dos apostolos cujo dia oje he trautando efim dapreegaçom deste voso prosegujmẽto tã santo e vertuoso que nos causou majs deuaçam. [And today, Friday, the first day of May, we went ashore in the morning with our flag. We landed on the south side of the river, where it seemed better to plant the cross so that it could be seen better . . . . We brought it there singing in the manner of a procession headed by those religious and priests. There were already some Indians there, about seventy or eighty, and when they saw us thus, some of them bent under the cross to help us . . . . The cross with the arms and the emblem of Your Highness first attached to it being set, they raised an altar at its foot. There Friar Henrique said mass, which was sung and officiated by those already mentioned; at the close of mass the priest took off the upper vestment and kept the alb; and attired thus he climbed in a chair near the altar. There he preached to us about the Gospel and about the apostles whose day today is; treating, at the end of the preaching, of this so saintly and virtuous act of yours, which inspired in us still more devotion].

(fol. 11v. 31 - fol. 12. 2; fol. 12. 5-10; fol. 12. 13-17; fol. 12v. 8-15)

Caminha described both masses with his usual precision. The dates are known, and so are the feasts of the liturgical calendar: first Sunday after Easter; and the day of the apostles Philip and James (São Felipe and São Tiago). Although there is no mass of St. Philip and St. James, Pope John III dedicated a basilica to them c. 564. Jaime Cortesão possibly errs in "Note No? 74" of his edition of A Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha [(Rio de Janeiro: Livros de Portugal, 1943), p. 327]:

> First day of May--day of the Apostles St. Philip and St. James [S. Tiago], who being among the first apostles (and St. James so popular in peninsular veneration) lent themselves admirably to the occasion of the discovery.

Cortesão is right about the association, particularly with St. Philip, who having been crucified, according to tradition, was symbolized by a cross, in medieval art. Therefore, the association with the planting of the cross may have been exploited by the preacher and Cabral. May 1 still remains St. Philip's day in the Anglican church, but no longer in the Roman Catholic church. King connects him with May 11 [1957: 20], but other sources with May 3. As for St. James, Cortesão mentions the patron of Spain St. James the Great; whereas the apostle associated with St. Philip is St. James the Less--about whom virtually nothing is known beyond the fact he was the son of Alpheus (Mark 3: 18), and one of the twelve disciples. The apostle James the Great was son of Zebedee and Salome, and brother to St. John the Evangelist. As for those who officiated at the first two masses celebrated on Brazilian soil, the musically adept Damião de Góis (1501-1574) in his Crônica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel, new ed. according to the first from 1566 [(Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1949), p. 127], states:

> E porque elRei foi sempre muĩ inclinado às cousas que tocauuão à nossa sancta fé catholica, mandou nesta armada oito frades da ordem de sam Frãcisco, homẽs letrados. de q̃ era vigairo frei Hẽrrique, que depois foi confessor delRei, & Bispo de Çepta, hos quaes com oito capellães, & hum viga. ro ordenou que ficassem em Calecut . . . . [Because the King was always very inclined toward the things that touched our holy catholic faith, he sent in this fleet eight friars of the order of St. Francis, men of letters, whose vicar was Friar Henrique, later confessor for the King, and Bishop of Ceuta. He ordered them to stay in Calecut with eight chaplains, and one vicar].

Concerning the first mass, Góis says [1949: 129]:

> Achando Pedralurez tanta familiaridade, & simpreza nesta gẽte, ordenou que aho ontro dia dixesse frei Henrrique Missa ẽ terra onde em amanheçendo mandou armar hum altar debaixo de hũa muito grande aruore. Ha Missa foi de Diacono, & Subdiacono, offiçiada com todolos frades, capellães das naos, & saçerdotes q̃ iham narmada, & outras pessoas que entendiam de canto, em q̃ houue pregaçam sendo presentes muitos dos da terra a todo ho offiçio diuino, com grande espãto, & acatamento. [Pedro Alvares finding so much familiarity and simplicity in this people, ordered that Friar Henrique next day say Mass ashore. At sunrise, he ordered an altar to be built under a very tall tree. The Mass with Deacon and Subdeacon was celebrated with the assistance of all the friars, chaplains of the ships, and priests who were in the fleet, and other persons who knew about singing; there was also preaching--many of the natives hearing the divine office with great astonishment and respect].

Rodolfo Garcia, in a note to Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen's História Geral do Brasil, v. 1, 4. ed. (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, n.d.), p. 86 adds a few further details:

> In Cabral's fleet--says Barros, Décadas, I, Bk. V, Ch. I--'besides the material tools, which each one took for his own use, the King was sending other spiritual ones, which were the eight Friars of the Order of St. Francis of whom the Guardian was Fr. Henrique de Coimbra . . . ' The names of the companions of Frei Henrique are given by Fr. Fernando da Soledade, Historia Seraphica Chronologica de S. Francisco, Provincia de Portugal, 3, 489-490. They were: Fr. Gaspar, Fr. Francisco da Cruz, Fr. Simão de Guimarães e Fr. Luiz do Salvador, preaching priests; Fr. Maffeu, organist priest; Fr. Pedro Neto, chorister with sacred orders [corista com ordens sacras], and Fr. João da Vitória, lay friar.
>
> Friar Henrique Soares de Coimbra had been a high court judge [desembargador] in the Casa da Suplicação and had exchanged the toga for the Franciscan habit in the convent of Alenquer. In India, he received a few wounds in the back, during the attack made by the natives against the feitoria of Calecut; upon his return he was confessor to the King, Bishop of Ceuta, inquisitor, and ambassador to Princess Joanna.

Damião de Góis [Goes], enough of a composer for Glareanus to publish one of his motets as a paradigm in the Dodekachordon, vouches

for the elaborate musical ceremonial at the historic first mass on Brazilian soil. Furthermore, at least one musician--Friar Maffeu, organist[16]--who should necessarily be acquainted with the musical details of the liturgy--accompanied the celebrant Henrique de Coimbra.

Sixteenth-century population growth

Not only did the two Portuguese exiles remain ashore crying at the time Cabral's fleet sailed from the coasts of Brazil but also two crewmen who used the opportunity to run away and stay behind. However, population growth in Brazil profited in the early years not so much from the official Portuguese fleets to Asia as from the initiative of small tradesmen [Abreu, 1929: 78]:

> Powerful as the fleets to India were, magestic as the vessels that took part in them could be, they left a lesser furrow in the history of our country than the humble caravels and insignificant flotillas that very soon started coming to Brazil, some clandestinely, others sent by contractors for the precious wood [Brazil wood].
>
> It was through them that the communications became frequent and the relations almost regular with Europe; that a relatively important commerce was established since the beginning; that the land found by Cabral was not completely neglected.

The load carried by the Bretoa, one of the ships in Brazil in 1511, took from Cabo Frio in Rio de Janeiro, 5009 trunks of Brazilwood,

16. Several Brazilian authors, including Guilherme Theodoro Pereira de Mello in his A música no Brasil desde os tempos coloniais até o primeiro decênio da República (Bahia: Tipografia de São Joaquim, 1908), included among the musicians in Cabral's fleet Friar Pedro Neto, mentioned in "corista com ordens sacras." Hebe Machado transforms the name of Pedro Neto into Pedro Meo [1969: 45].

36 slaves, 23 tuins [Brazilian parakeets], 16 cats, 16 sagoins, 15 parrots and 3 monkeys [Abreu, 1929: 79]. So far as slaves go, information is scanty [Abreu, 1929: 80]:

> Herrera speaks of a caravel apprehended at Cadiz with twenty Indians in 1514. In 1526, the bachelor from Cananéa contracted with Diogo Garcia for the transportation and sale of eight hundred slaves. That is all that is known.

This commerce may have received indirect support from government through exemption from taxation, up to a certain number of slaves. The fact that both the Portuguese and the Spanish--but not the French [Abreu, 1929: 80]--engaged in that commerce, may partly explain the good relations the French were able to maintain with the Indians along the Brazilian coast. The preoccupation caused the Portuguese by French activity resulted in an ineffective patrol of the vast Brazilian coast. The Portuguese crown also tried diplomacy and, eventually, encouraged colonization.

The early Europeans in Brazil did not remain culturally a mere transplant. Abreu contended that Europeans were more influenced by the Brasis than vice versa [1929: 82]:

> To summarize all in one word: within a few years a man under those conditions became morally a mestizo. Obviously that moral crossbreeding showed different gradations.
>
> There was first the man who completely succumbed to the habits of the Brasis: an example is the Spaniard mentioned by Gabriel Soares de Sousa who met Diogo Paes, in Pernambuco, with his lips pierced like the Potiguar among whom he had lived a long time; or the Norman interpreters who, according to Léry, committed every abomination including cannibalism.
>
> There was the willful and indomitable man, who reared himself into a petty potentate, as that bachelor

from Cananéa, who once sold 800 slaves to Diogo Garcia.

> There was, finally, the mediocre man, who neither wore a lip plug, nor raised himself into power, who managed to live with the native of the land and with the European; who exerted little influence, who in his turn underwent little influence: as for instance Diogo Álvares, famous under the name of Caramurú.[17]

Caminha's letter inspired Brasil [1969: 45] to what some may call hyperbole:

> assim teve início a música, nas plagas brasileiras. Os portugueses nos trouxeram os primeiros sons que, um pouco mais tarde, se irradiam pelo novo mapa; a música portuguesa com os cânticos dos índios, penetrou, profunda, no coração dos nativos [thus music started in Brazilian lands. The Portuguese brought us the first sounds which, a little later, irradiated over the new map; Portuguese music mixed with Indian canticles to penetrate deeply the heart of the natives].

So far as the extent of Brazilian indebtedness to Portuguese music is concerned, Gallet [1934: 63], decreed that "the Lusitanian contribution to Brazilian music is as important and as lasting as that of the Negro"; Andrade saw it as "the vastest of all" [1951: 185] and contended that "over the Lusitanian bridge our musicianship became traditionalized and justified within the European culture" [1972: 28]; or else that "the 'entity' of Brazilian popular music had its direct basis on Portuguese song and dance" and "we are going to find in Portuguese music all that ours is based on" [1963: 81]. As for Azevedo [1948: 10], he wrote: "today Brazilian musicology recognizes that the deeper layers in our musical structure are made of Portuguese

17. Diogo Álvares, a paramount name in the founding of Bahia (1549), married an Indian wife, Catarina Paraguassú, who had a church built in her name at Salvador.

materials, but molded by the musicianship of other peoples who collaborated with the Portuguese in the formation of Brazilian civilization, rather than by direct contact with the original music of those peoples."

Portuguese music mediated by missionaries

To assess cultures in general, and music in particular, is no simple task. Helza Camêu [1977: 68-81] devoted a full chapter to it, "Catequese"; in it she undertook to determine how much Amerindian musics today are still a reflex of the original cultures, despite missionary intrusion. Thales de Azevedo, well-known Brazilian anthropologist and Catholic thinker, has also written a more general chapter, on "Catequese e Aculturação," in Leituras de Etnologia Brasileira, edited by Egon Schaden [(São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1976), pp. 365-84]. In it he tries to placate historians and social scientists such as Gilberto Freyre, Alfred Métraux, and Arthur Ramos with a review of the guidelines of the Western Church--from the recommendations of Gregory I to St. Augustine, in A.D. 601, from Pope Paul III, in 1537. Thales de Azevedo also ponders the influences on Jesuit thought beyond ecclesiastical legislation, apostolic experience, and the determinations of the Portuguese civil administration. Despite the enormity of correspondence with superiors and fellow workers in Portugal, Spain, and Rome, detailing the day-to-day dealings of Jesuits with colonists, Indians, and authorities, Thales de Azevedo also seeks further light from historians or chroniclers of other religious orders whose action in Brazil was not so voluminously

registered--among them the Franciscans and Capuchins. Though music is not the main object of Azevedo's excellent article, it is often mentioned.

Pope Gregory I determined that catechization should use the maximum of elements of the pagan culture that could be incorporated into Christian life. "The foundation of his directives," reports Azevedo, "was the impossibility of uprooting all at once all things from those rude spirits, in the same way that he who climbs to the highest places goes by steps and by degrees, not by jumps" [1976: 367]. Following those wise instructions, Azevedo says, "the conversion of the pagans would be done through an authentic acculturative process of reinterpretation of rites and beliefs, without a rupture of the institutional frameworks and without the needless substitution of cultural materials capable of assimilation" [1976: 367].

Paul III in 1537 condemned enslavement of Indians whom he defined as veri homines, capable of being admitted into the communion of the church. Not by force but by preaching and by good example Indians should be attracted to eternal life [1976: 368].

After the initial punishments of the Tupinambá responsible for aggression against colonists and for killing Francisco Pereira Coutinho, the donee of the former Bahian captaincy the Portuguese crown (represented by the Governor General, Tomé de Sousa) required that they shou'd be converted as true human beings, treated peacefully, and kept separated from the Christians in their villages--being allowed, however, to meet with the colonists on predetermined days, for the bartering of their merchandise and products of the land

[Azevedo, 1976: 368].

Nonetheless [Azevedo, 1976: 368], the Jesuit missionaries reached Brazil in 1549 with ingrained ideas as to the moral and intellectual distinctions between "Europeans, Christians and civilized, on one side, and barbarians, savages, gentiles and pagans, on the other, derived from Aristotle, Plato, Pliny, Lactantius." Manuel da Nóbrega repeated Caminha when he called Brazilian Indians "gente que nenhum conhecimento tem de Deus, nem de ídolos" [people without any knowledge of God, and without idols], in a letter written within ten days of Nóbrega's arrival in Bahia [1976: 369]. They knew nothing about glory or hell, believed in a pleasant resting place after death, had some notion of the flood (though they did not know the story very well, since they said that everybody died but an old woman who escaped on top of a tree), lacked words to express notions such as Faith, King, and Law, but called thunder Tupana, as if it were a divine thing. Although rude, uncultured, inclined to evil and sensuality [1976: 370], they also had compensating good qualities; though they killed, they were not usually cruel. They loved their children. They were not ambitious, but rather charitable. They held no private property, and therefore made war for vengeance, not for gain. Their shamans they called pajés. Altogether [Azevedo, 1976: 370], "those impressions of the Brazilian Indian sewed the seeds for the doctrines about the natural goodness of the savage which would be reaped by European philosophers who read the chronicles of the discoveries and who met Indians taken from America to Europe in the sixteenth century."

Music in Jesuit education

Once the Jesuits found their success among adults doubtful, they increasingly focused on children and, consequently, on their education. Music became their transcendent tool. As Azevedo rightly observed [1976: 372]:

> In a 1552 letter, Nóbrega defended the thesis that it was legitimate to preserve some of the native customs if they were not contrary to the Catholic faith, nor dedicated to idols, such as 'singing songs to Our Lord in their language, according to their tune [pelo seu tom], and playing [their] instruments of music' used when they killed their enemies and got drunk. The Jesuits also preached to them in a certain tone, walking, going around and hitting their breasts, the way Indians do when they want to persuade about something or tell it efficiently. Because similarity is a cause for love, 'we shear the boys of the land we have in our home in their own fashion.' Those reinterpretations, considered 'gentilic rites' by the bishop of Brazil, were largely employed even at the second stage of the catechization, in the reductions or villages aldeamentos in which Indians from four, five, and even fifteen different tribes and cultures were gathered and segregated under the direction of the priests.

Azevedo here alludes to Nóbrega's disagreement with Bishop Pero Fernandes Sardinha before the Caeté killed him in 1556 during his return journey to Europe.[18]

The examples of the use of music in the aldeamentos are multiple, and can be assessed from the chapter Serafim Leite wrote on "Cantos, música e dança," in Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, v. 2 [(Lisbon: Livraria Portuguesa, 1938), pp. 100-110]. The intention of a gradual substitution is obvious [Leite, 1938: II, 101]:

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18. See Burns [1970: 30] for the reason that João III invited him back to Portugal.

> Skillful psychologists, the Fathers therefore exploited the innate [musical] predisposition of the Indians [Leite explains that the Portuguese found the habits of singing, music and dance, so deeply rooted that the Lisbon orphan boys tried to explain the ceremony of santidade through music]. Accepting the rhythm and the instruments, but exchanging the words, the fathers led them little by little to the practice of true religion and to accept Portuguese customs, introduced without undue violence. In order better to capture them and to insinuate the Christian civilization, the Fathers themselves began by imitating the songs and even the dances of the Indians. In truth, to impose ex abrupto European customs would have chased them out and protracted their conversion. It was cleverer to start from the sound of maracás and taquaras [stamping tubes], to end as de facto it ended, with 'música de canto de órgão e frautas, como se lá [em Coimbra] pudera fazer' [polyphonic music and flutes, such as could be heard [in Coimbra]].

Leite here refers to one of the Jesuit letters included in the collection of Cartas Avulsas, 1550-1568 [Cartas Jesuíticas, v. 2 (Rio: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1931), 106, 493], that implies systematic instruction as early as the 1550's.

> In 1586 Cristóvão de Gouveia proposed that in every Indian boys' school should be taught 'a cantar aos que parece teem habilidade para isso, havendo quem o saiba fazer' [singing to those who seem to have the ability for this, if there is someone who knows how to do it]. In this regard, Antônio Rodrigues and Antônio Dias acquired fame as skilled teachers [Leite, 1938: II, 109].

Corrêa de Azevedo's "Antecedentes" in his 150 Anos de Música no Brasil [(Rio: José Olympio, 1956), p. 12], regales Antonio Blasques's report that vespers in 1565 were performed at the Jesuit school in Bahia with "três coros diversos: um de canto de órgão, outro de um cravo e outro de flautas de modo que, acabando um, começava o outro, e todos, certo, com muita ordem quando vinha a sua vez" [three different units: a polyphonic choir, a harpsichord, and flutes; when one

unit stopped the other started, always in perfect order by turns]. Even a few singers, a harpsichord, and a few flutes presuppose a good amount of musical discipline at a relatively early date. Bahia was already at that time (1583) surrounded by some thirty-six engenhos where, according to Fernão Cardim, was processed the best sugar of the coast [1939: 255]. The town then had over 3,000 Portuguese residents, 8,000 Christian Indians, and 3,000-4,000 Guinea Negroes (Cardim may not intend by "Guinea Negroes" any precise indication of African origens). Although not yet the seat of Brazil's first archbishop, it was the residence of a bishop, it had a chapter with its canons and vicar general, and boasted some ten or twelve parishes outside, besides many churches and chapels that some rich landlords had on their farms [Cardim, 1939: 235]. The almost finished Jesuit school, the second such establishment in Brazil, had a library, and some thirty cells, with "a good chapel" that is still the impressive Bahian cathedral. For the building [Cardim, 1939: 39] the shell mounds [sambaquis] of Bahia were available. From a single shell mound,[19] part of the school had been constructed, the governor's palace, and many other important buildings. This school, founded in 1556 by Manuel da Nobrega,

19. As we can see, the destruction of Brazilian archaeological sites began a long time ago. Cardim's description of the shell middens must be one of the earliest in Brazil. According to him, "The native Indians in the old times used to come to the sea for oysters, and took so many of them that they left real mountains of shells, while the oysters were dried over the fire [moquem] and taken to be eaten during the year; over those hills, with the passing of time, great trees, tall and thick, grew. The Portuguese had found some mounds, and each day others were still being found, from which lime was made" [1939: 81].

ordinarily enrolled 60 residents [1939: 256]. In it Jesuit fathers taught "Theology, cases, a course of arts, two classes of humanities, reading and writing; they also confess in our church, see, etc. Others employ themselves in the conversion of the Indians, and all seek perfection with great care." Thales de Azevedo [1976: 371] adds the following:

> After learning the regional language, the Jesuits started preparing Indian boys to be their interpreters and, already educated, to be sent to Europe to be ordained. In 1552, a correspondent averred that 'in this house (of Bahia) there are boys of the land shaped by our hands, by whom we confessed some people of the land who can neither understand our language, nor we theirs.' . . . A similar role was played by Portuguese boys, orphans, brought from Lisbon to be trained as missionaries already known to the catechumens and familiar with the customs of the land.

José de Anchieta (1534-1597), who reached Brazil still a novice in 1553, became the model preacher, ethnographer, chronicler, grammarian, musician, poet and author of religious autos. According to Rodolfo Garcia, in his notes for Cardim's "Narrativa Epistolar de uma Viagem e Missão Jesuítica" [1939: 335], the village (aldeia) of Espírito Santo (presently Abrantes), that counted some thousand souls in 1560, was seven leagues from Bahia. According to Cardim [1939: 257], the resident priests (from two to four per village) then still travelled about shoeless, "as the Indians ordinarily do." Only a visiting dignitary such as Father Cristóvão de Gouveia rated transportation in a hammock and an escort of 30 Indians with bows and arrows who took turns by pairs. The population of another two villages, Santo Antônio and São João, at about eight and fourteen leagues from the Colégio, when added to that of Espírito Santo totalled only some 2,500 people.

Nonetheless, some of the village musical occasions compared favorably with cult music at the Bahia Colégio. A composite scene, like the one that followed the arrival in 1583 of the Father Visitor, gives a glimpse of the musical kaleidoscope at Espírito Santo resulting from Jesuit catechization [Cardim, 1939: 258]:

> On Father Visitor's arrival, the flutists started playing joyously and continued while we dined under a grove of very tall lentisk trees [Schinus molle]. While we ate, the Indian boys, hidden in a cool bush, sang many devout songs, which aroused devotion--specially a pastoril, newly made for the reception of the Father Visitor, their new shepherd. We reached the village in the afternoon. A good quarter league ahead, the festivities prepared by the Indians started. They took place in a street of very tall and fresh trees, out of which some would come singing and playing in their own way, and others come out by ambush with great shouting and roaring--which stunned and made us shake. The cunumi [= curumim, i.e. boy, in Tupi] boys, with many bundles of arrows raised upwards, would sound their war riot and produce their cry. Painted in several colors, the nude boys[20] would come with their hands raised to receive the blessing from the priest, saying in Portuguese, 'louvado seja Jesus Cristo' [praised be Jesus Christ]. Others staged a dance of shields, in Portuguese fashion, making many trocados[21] and dancing to the sound of the viola,[22] tambourine, tamboril and flute. During their brief skit they sang some pastoral songs [cantigas pastoris]. All of this caused devotion amid such woods, in strange lands, and because of the unexpected finding of such festivities among such a barbaric people. Not even an Anhangá[23] devil, which came out of the bushes, was missing; this was the Indian Ambrósio Pires, who had been to Lisbon with Father Rodrigo de Freitas. The Indians poked fun at its prettiness, cat-like antics [gatimanhos], and the grimaces it makes. In all their festivities some devil is introduced in order to add spice.
>
> These festivities being ended, the Murubixaba [tribal head] Indians, principals, gave their Ereiupe [the characteristic greeting common to the Tupi family] to the priest, which means Did you come? and kissing the hand received the blessing. The naked women (a thing for us very new), with hands raised to Heaven, also gave their Ereiupe, saying in Portuguese, 'louvado seja Jesus Cristo.' Thus with all the villagers we formed a procession to the church with dances and good flute music preparing us for the Te Deum laudamus . . . . Next day, day of the visitation of Saint Elizabeth (July 3), prior to general confessions, the priests and brothers of the village renewed their vows--motive for their assembling --and the Father Visitor celebrated mass sung with deacon and sub-deacon, officiated in vocal polyphony by the Indians, with their flutes [disse missa cantada com diácono e sub-diácono, oficiada em canto d'órgão pelos índios, com suas frautas]. From there we went to the village of São João, two leagues distant, where there were similar receptions and feasts, with much consolation for the Indians and ourselves.

This long passage does not imply the all-out repression decried by Camêu (1977). At least part of the festivities were "prepared by the Indians who sang and played in their own way." The visitors, shaken and dizzied, may even have wondered whether the shouting and roaring preluded a real attack. As to the children--the main target of the catechization--they played at their Indian war games, and sang and danced in Portuguese style. They sang both devout songs and dramatized secular ones of a pastoral character. As for the canto d'órgão sung at mass, none can doubt that Indians performed the polyphony.

Their flutes were certainly end-blown rather than transverse. Brazil still lacks a compendium to compare with Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira's Instrumentos Musicais Populares Portugueses (Lisbon:

20. Cardim uses the diminutive nusinhos which adds an affective tone that cannot be translated.

21. Literally, "exchanges," but the Novo Aurélio (1975) says there was an old dance under that name.

22. The plucked lute, which became one of Brazil's most characteristic folk instruments, particularly in the rural areas.

23. In Tupi, spirit of evil, ghost.

Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1966). Nonetheless, present-day cabocla[24] music in northeastern Brazil still includes end-blown flutes: witness the useful Catálogo Ilustrado do Museu Folclórico, edited by Oneyda Alvarenga (São Paulo: Discoteca Publica Municipal, 1950), Plate 165 (descriptions on p. 109) that lists side by side a transverse flute with seven holes (a mouth hole and six stops) related to the cabaçal type of ensemble, in Paraiba, and an end-blown flute from nearby Pernambuco with the standardized four holes mentioned by Izikowitz in relation to Amerindian plug flutes [1935: 347]. The instrument from Pernambuco is obviously rustic, particularly the painted decoration.[25] The name pife is an obvious corruption of pifre (pífaro or pífano). Alvarenga [1947: Plates 27 and 29; Plate 16], pictures similar instruments associated with drums that resemble the present-day Portuguese tamboril.

Her taborís match Cardim's description, except for the snares attached to both membranes that seem a characteristic of the Portuguese small drum [Oliveira, 1966: 193]. The playing of tamboril and flute by a single drummer--rarely seen in Portugal--is even rarer in Brazil, if indeed there are any instances whatsoever.[26] Flutes do combine with tamboril-size membranophones called taró or tarol in Paraiba,

24. From Tupi kari'boka, "coming from the White," meaning the mestizo combining White and Indian; or the inhabitant of the sertão.

25. The same instruments are reproduced in Pl. 31, in Oneyda Alvarenga's Música Popular Brasileña (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947).

26. João Daniel [1858: 346] mentions drum and flute played by the same Indian performer, but does not indicate the ethnic group.

as they also pair with the taró or much larger zabumba in other northeast areas such as Alagoas.[27] Small drum and flute played by different people[28] pair in the caboclinhos (which in Paraiba are groups of people dressed as Indians who present a simple dance in the streets during Carnaval). Caboclinhos are also described from other areas, with African interpenetration. In villages visited by Cardim in 1584 were to be found the ancestors of the present caboclinhos [Cascudo, 1962: 156].

Here is another pertinent Cardim passage, referring to Espírito Santo, a captaincy farther south than the village of the same name:

> The Portuguese own many Christian Indian slaves who belong to a brotherhood of Kings [invocation of the Magi] in our church. Because Christmas was near, they wanted to give the Father Visitor a sight of their festivities. They came well dressed on a Sunday, parading in a Portuguese manner [alardos à portuguesa] and in their way, with many dances and much merrymaking [folias].[29] The king and queen richly adorned were escorted by other principals and fellow members [confrades] of the aforementioned brotherhood. They performed their spirals [caracois] in the yard of our church, opening and closing gracefully, because they are very agile, and clothing did not weigh them down because some of them wore none.
>
> [1939: 302]

27. The zabumbas now known in the Brazilian northeast, where they are part of the cabaçal or esquenta-mulher ensembles, correspond to the widespread bombo of Portugal. The confusion with a friction drum [Marcuse, 1975: 597] results from associating it with the Spanish zambomba or the Portuguese zabumba [cf. Cascudo, 1962: 791]. If ever a friction drum in Brazil, it must have been of very restricted incidence.

28. Cf. Alvarenga [1947: Pl. 16, between pp. 72 and 73].

29. Folias could also be a specific lively dance with singing, tambourines and adufes, in the Iberian Peninsula.

Cardim recalls another celebration of the Kings, now in the village of Espírito Santo (near Salvador), on January 6, 1584. The dancing on this occasion seems less affected by the catechization, closer to the primitive culture. Here, at last, Cardim mentions the maracá, thus far missing from all his descriptions.[30]

> When these [Indians taking part in several games at the occasion of a party promoted by the Father Visitor] make their riots, they walk together in a single band, with their bows in the hands, and with bundles of arrows raised upwards. Some paint and feather themselves in several colors. The women accompany them, most being also naked, and they run together through all the village singing to the sound of a gourd full of little pebbles (like the small tambourines of the children in Portugal). They keep time [compasso] so well that they miss not a beat with their feet, and pound the ground in such a manner that they make the earth shake. They grow so inflamed with bravery and show such ferocity that it is something dreadful and astonishing. Women and children also help them in these dances and songs; they make their exchanges [trocados] and movements [mudanças] with such antics [gatimanhos] and grimaces, that it looks ridiculous.
>
> [Cardim, 1939: 270]

In the last sentence crop up the same words earlier used by Cardim to describe the reincarnated devil, Anhangá.

In Cardim's chapter "Dos seus bailos e cantos" [Of their dances and songs], which is part of the second treatise, "Do princípio e

30. In 1549 Manuel da Nóbrega described the use visiting shamans made of the maracás, speaking through them. Their procedures induced trances, or at least shaking among the women. Naturally, Nóbrega viewed the shaman's performance as an imposture, with all possible evil intentions. Nóbrega's account is reproduced in Cascudo's Antologia do Folclore Brasileiro, 2nd ed. [(Rio: Livraria José Olympio, 1956), p. 22]. Cascudo ascribes the fragment he transcribes to Manuel da Nóbrega, Cartas do Brasil, 1549-1560 [(Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1931), pp. 99-100].

origem dos Índios do Brasil" [Of the Beginning and Origin of the Indians of Brazil], he stresses the prestige musicians enjoyed among the Tupinambá [1939: 155]:

> são muito estimados entre eles os cantores, assim homens como mulheres, em tanto que se tomão um contrário bom cantor e inventor de trovas, por isso lhe dão a vida e não no comem nem aos filhos [singers are highly esteemed among them, both men and women; so much so that if an enemy is a good singer and inventor of ballads they preserve his life, and do not eat his children either].

Concerning Tupinambá women's dancing, he observes that

> De ordinário não se bolem de um lugar, mas estando quedos em roda, fazem os meneios com o corpo, mãos e pés [Ordinarily, they do not move from one spot, but stationed in a circle do the wriggling with body, hands, and feet].

Cardim continues [1939: 271]:

> Não se lhes entende o que cantam, mas disseram-me os padres que cantavam em trova quantas façanhas e mortes tinham feito seus antepassados. Arremedam pássaros, cobras, e outros animais, tudo trovado por comparações, para se incitarem a pelejar. Estas trovas fazem de repente, e as mulheres são insignes trovadoras. . . . Enfim por milagre tenho o domar-se gente tão fera; mas tudo pode um zeloso e humilde, cheio de amor de Deus, e das almas, etc. [One does not understand what is sung, but our priests told me that they sang in verse what feats and killings their ancestors had done. They imitate birds, snakes, and other animals, all versified to incite each other to fight. Those verses are extemporized, and the women are notable verse-makers . . . . After all, I hold that the taming of such wild creatures is a miracle; but everything is possible for someone who is zealous and humble, filled with love for God and of souls, etc.].

Gabriel Soares de Sousa

Born in Portugal c. 1540, Soares de Sousa reached Brazil in 1569. After 17 years as estate owner and sugar raiser he returned to

the peninsula seeking confirmation of his property holdings and authorization to explore along São Francisco river. Delayed until 1590 in obtaining a royal patent, he used the interval to write in 1587 a "descriptive treatise on Brazil" that exceeds all other laymen's attempts in his century. His scientific precisions concerning plants, herbs, fruits, animals, and (for our purpose) concerning Indians' customs cannot be overpraised. After his death c. 1592 during explorations into the far interior, his body was carried back to Bahia for burial in São Bento monastery, his epitaph reading only, "Here lies a sinner."

The purveyor of especially valuable information on Tupinambá performance practice, Soares de Sousa was the first to specify their call-and-response patterns. Their texts struck him as having been improvised in rhyme, after the manner of mote and volta (motto and gloss)--solo voices responded to by unison choir. Their drumming did not divide the beats. As Staden had already observed, Tupinambá foot pounding implies a certain metrical regularity. Rattles and jingles reinforced the beat during their communal dances. Even if alien to western European norms, Tupinambá tuning produced results quite bearable to European ears.

> Os tupinambás se prezam de grandes músicos, e, ao seu modo, cantam com sofrível tom, os quais têm boas vozes; mas todos cantam por um tom, e os músicos fazem motes de improviso, e suas voltas, que acabam no consoante do mote; um só diz a cantiga, e os outros respondem com o fim do mote, os quais cantam e bailam juntamente em uma roda, em a qual um tange um tamboril, em que não dobra as pancadas; outros trazem um maracá na mão, que é um cabaço com umas pedrinhas dentro, com seu cabo, por onde pegam; e nos seus bailes não fazem mudanças, nem mais continências que bater no chão com um só pé ao

som do tamboril; e assim andam todos juntos à roda, e entram pelas casas uns dos outros; onde têm prestes vinho com que os convidar; e às vezes andam um par de moças cantando entre eles, entre as quais há também mui grandes músicas, e por isso mui estimadas.

Entre este gentio são os músicos mui estimados, e por onde quer que vão, são bem agasalhados, e muitos atravessaram já o sertão por entre seus contrários, sem lhe fazerem mal.

[The Tupinambá pride themselves on being great musicians; they have good voices and, in their own way, they sing with bearable intonation; they all sing in unison [tone]. The musicians improvise mottoes, and their poetic glosses, which end in the rhyme of the motto. Only one sings the tune, the others answering with the end of the motto. The Indians sing and dance together in a circle, in which one plays a small drum without dividing the beats. Others carry in their hand a maracá, which is a calabash with some pebbles inside; they grasp its handle. They do not perform exchanges [they do not displace themselves], nor make any other reverences except the pounding of one single foot on the ground to the sound of the small drum. That way they all circle and enter the houses of one another, where there is wine ready to entertain them.

Sometimes, a pair of girls go singing. Among the girls there are also great musicians, highly esteemed for that reason. The musicians are highly considered among these natives, and wherever they go they are well sheltered. Many of them have crossed the backlands among their enemies, without being harmed].

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SILENCE AS A THEMATIC PROCESS AT THE BEGINNING OF SONATA-FORM

Paulo Lima

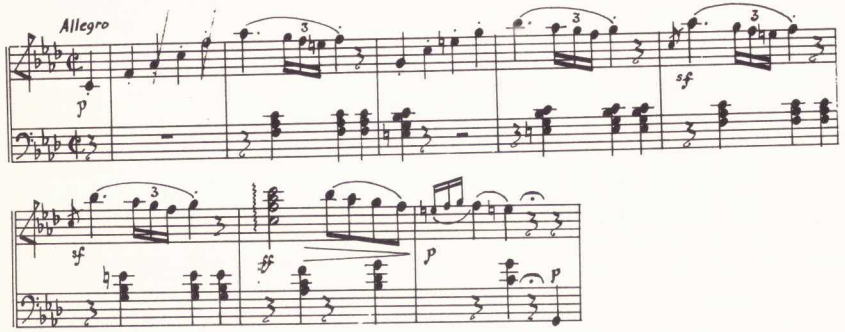
ABSTRACT

The desire to protect the discovery of ambiguity in compositions requires a critique of the concept of theme. The traditional treatment of this concept maintains the isolation of *proposal* and *development*, describing them as two analytical situations. The investigation of silence at the beginning of structures described as sonata-forms becomes useful to deal with the dialetics which links a proposal to its development. The many functions which may be associated to the use of silence at the beginnings of sonata-forms point to a description of theme as a web of events connected not only by symmetry and coherence but mainly by discontinuity and paradox. Thematic sections are usually concerned with the presentation of distinct - many times conflicting - proposals, and silence seems to be an excellent tool to handle these circumstances.

Why should one play Beethoven's op.2 nº 1/I with an expressive ritardando just before the silence of m.8? Which criteria support this choice?[1]

Ex.1

Beethoven, *Sonata op.2 nº1/I*



A Performer might say it makes better phrasing, and as a consequence, a more convincing conclusion. (Phrasing is related to the measurement of information in a composition.) Why should this ritardando make better phrasing and a more convincing conclusion? One should observe that each of the resolutions found in measures 2,4,5 and 6, to the notes f and g, happens on the second beat. The expressive ritardando delays the resolution to e in m.8, so that it confirms the pattern previously established, enhancing the harmonic progression to V♮. This ritardando makes the material so far presented coherent and unified, and this is most undesirable.

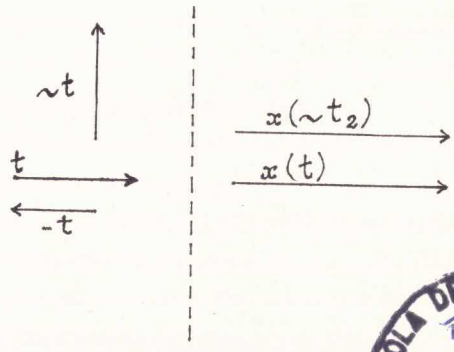
The choice of a ritardando eliminates any possibility of bringing about the ambiguity planned for the silence under the fermata. Without it, one faces the fact that a silence was placed at the point of expected resolution. This silence is not merely an absence, it is involved in a web of events and

relations which is being developed and proposed since the beginning of the movement. Two kinds of possible endings are displayed by this sentence: the first one, audible (to the note e) but not totally convincing (not expected); the second one, expected but not audible! This should be considered evidence for the fact that a theme may choose to establish coherence by fostering ambiguity and paradox. In other words, the theme presented is the decision to establish the coherence of ambiguity and paradox.

Let's investigate silence and its use at the beginning of structures described as sonata-forms. This investigation will not only explore the techniques involved with these events but also reflect upon the concept of theme as an element of the form.

If one talks of processes which display unity as an interaction of opposing poles, then we're concerned with dialetics and with the desire to retard the decay of information in compositions. Let the theme for handling compositions be the discovery and protection of ambiguities.

According to Drabkin[2]: "In much contemporary music it is difficult to draw a line between what is proposed (i.e. a theme) and what is worked out from the proposal." If we accept *proposal* (what is proposed) and *development* (what is worked out) as two distinct analytical entities, then we should inspect the following diagram, as a logical consequence.



t= that which is proposed
~t= that which is not proposed
x(t)= that which is worked out
x(~t)= that which is not proposed but is worked out
-t= that which is proposed but is not worked out

~t may be divided into: $\sim t_1$ = that which is not proposed and is not worked out
$\sim t_2$ = that which is not proposed but is worked out = x(~t)

The development of t, or x(t) as we call it here, coincides with the first appearance of x(~t). The first presentation of a group of events is no doubt a proposal itself, and this points to the simultaneity of *proposal* and *development*, something which is precluded by Drabkin's language. It is necessary to assume that every development proposes something; by the same token, a proposal involves development of inner elements. If proposal and development are treated as successive rather than simultaneous a decrease of the number of focused events will take place. It is possible to think of these two analytical directions as opposing poles in a single whole.

If theme is not a loop between *that which is proposed* and *that which is developed*, then what is it? Psychoanalysis has offered the notion that many thought processes are unconscious. In an I's lifetime the theme of hysteria, for instance, becomes not only headaches and amnesia but also that which is the underlying cause. We are confronted, in this case, with a two-layer thematic process. The concept of theme used by the sonata receipt, with the implication that "most sonatas are basically this way," maintains the amnesia of the origin; no choice was made, "it's only nature."

Czerny's account of sonata-form may be considered positivist because time is described as a linear affair.[3] The analogy which is developed between his concepts (first subject, bridge, second subject...etc) and the events of a sonata tends to eliminate any possible *look upon itself*,

creating the illusion that the concepts and the phenomena are quite the same thing.[4]

Look upon itself: that which enables a language to build distinctions between *already existent*, *possible* and *desirable* descriptions of events in a composition. These distinctions embrace the meaning of a choice made by a speaker.[5]

Which mechanisms are needed to articulate the flux of information presented by a classical sonata? How is such information quantified? These questions have led me to observe the beginnings of sonatas and the way they interrupt silence. It should be apparent that a beginning is a situation of maximum possibilities and predictions. This is particularly the case with sonatas, considering their tendency to develop in several different directions simultaneously. The relationship between a beginning and the previous silence -- which has the effect of an opposition -- has at least three consequences.

1. Once the silence is interrupted, a continuous urge to justify this interruption arises.

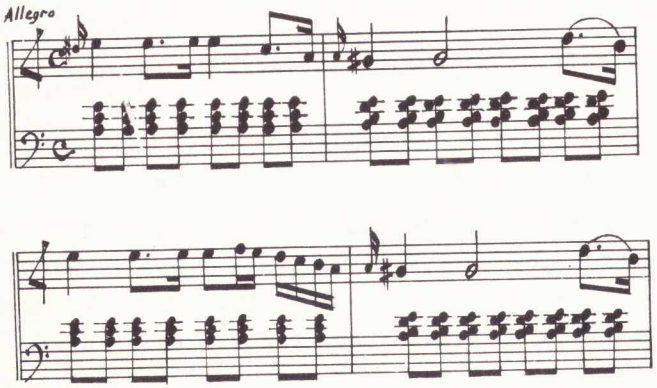
2. From this opposition a time-line is developed so that the following events and the listener's memory of them become articulated. There is a permanent conflict between the time-line of the composition and the one registered as memory; they have opposite directions.

3. One may say that this opposition is absorved by the sonata and that it is clearly related to the meaning which silence may acquire at any point.

In relation to the interruption of silence, it's possible to identify two different attitudes. 1. The beginning of the sonata puts something immediately into play (a proposal), generating movement.

Ex.2

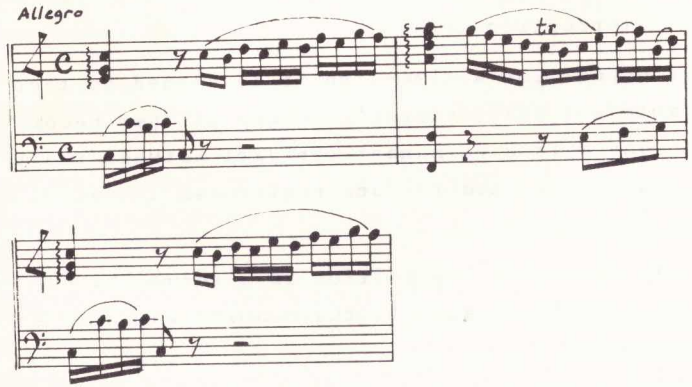
Mozart, *Sonata K.310/I*



2. The composer prepares a "real beginning" and interrupts silence with chords or arpeggios, which function as an introduction.

Ex.3

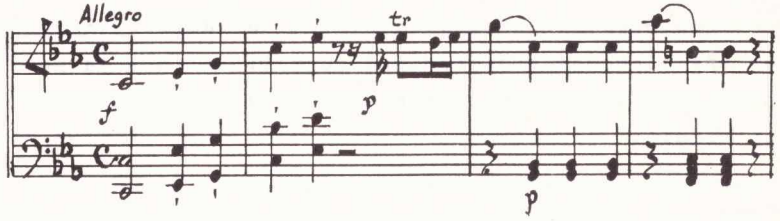
Mozart, *Sonata K.279/I*



These two attitudes are frequently mixed in gestures which retain the features of both announcement and proposal simultaneously.

Ex.4

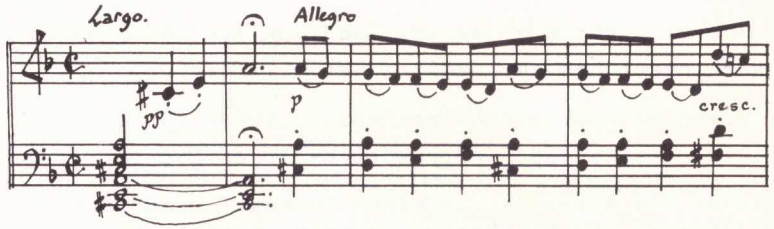
Mozart, *Sonata K.457/I*



The surface between silence and sound receives special attention from Beethoven in his op.31 nº2/I; it is used as pretext for music making. The arpeggio, which begins as movement, is reinterpreted as a signal at the change of tempo. This beginning synthesizes all the techniques discussed above.

Ex.5

Beethoven, *Sonata op.31 nº2/I*



The perception of a time-line by a listener is closely related to the process of flux articulation. The concept of theme was invented as a way of measuring the information presented by the beginning of a sonata-form. In the 18th century and particularly with H.C.Koch and J.Riepel, the study of melodic phrase structure played an important role. However, this interest was not directed towards a definition

of sonata-form in terms of melodic structure.[6] Only with 19th century treatises did the concept of theme acquired its significance as an indispensable element of sonata-form. These last trends, developed what may be described as an anatomy of musical discourse (Czerny). They try to identify members, connecting elements and terminal formations in a larger organism, and therefore, generate the idea that time is a linear affair.

The fact that silence may interrupt music was used to generate analogous relationships within the domain of sound. The interruption of movement (whatever that may be) is no doubt the clearest way by which this is achieved. Harmony has become the control system of time par excellence, which does not preclude that any other process interfere with this. The double ending of Beethoven's sentence (Ex.1) presents a situation in which two simultaneous processes of time, one harmonic the other rhythmic, are developed. The silence functions as a retroactive-correction of the ending on the note e.

Look at a chain of events and consider the possibility that each event has to predict what will happen.

Look at a chain of events and consider the ability that each event has to apply retroactive-correction to its past.

> In an I's lifetime, at first I doesn't remember anything. Then I begins to make guesses and predictions. Let us investigate prediction and the story of prediction, before verification or falsification.
>
> The concept of retroactive-correction: when I wish to speak about a change of mind where the state of mind before the change is considered correct but not equal to the state of mind after the change. Every time right, each time different.[7]

Tovey begins his book on Beethoven's sonatas stating that "the first condition for a correct analysis of any piece of

music is that the composition must be regarded as a process in time."[8] He proceeds from this statement to write descriptions which present sonata-form as a group of themes, transitions and developments. This is no doubt the same language used by Drabkin and also the same idea of time. But how does one describe a process in time? We know that temporal relations are structured as a continuous succession. The listener's mind registers events and groups of events (wholes) very much like a series of numbers: $(\overset{1}{1},2,3,4)$ $(\overset{2}{1},2,3,4,5)$:.. :.. The linear model of time does not allow listeners the possibility of fluctuating between two or more grouping articulations.

It seems reasonable to admit that the interruption of a continuity initiates a new kind of continuity. The fact is, the perception of wholes is a time function in music. What is perceived as a whole at a certain point may be retroactively transformed into a segment. On the other hand, the perception of time depends on how many and what kind of wholes are being manipulated.

The difference between internal and external change depends on the grid which is being used to produce differences or movement. Cadences are associated with the idea of completing or finishing a sentence because they represent a change of instruction concerning harmonic activity.

Language is called upon to describe perceived changes and perceived wholes, and as a consequence, affects the perception of time. It is different when we listen to a group of events thinking of it as a sentence rather than just as an upbeat. As a matter of fact, the terminology used by the sonata formula has become a specific way of conceiving time in those compositions. If we label a section as Development, we place it within a group of expected time relations. That is not the case, when one tries to listen to the proposal presented by a

development.

We still need to ask the following questions: How to define change? How to measure change? How to describe a process without time? How to describe time without a process? How to define time?

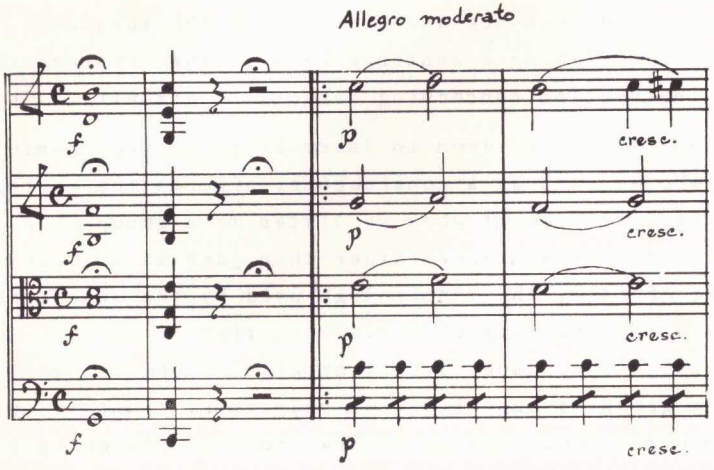
* * *

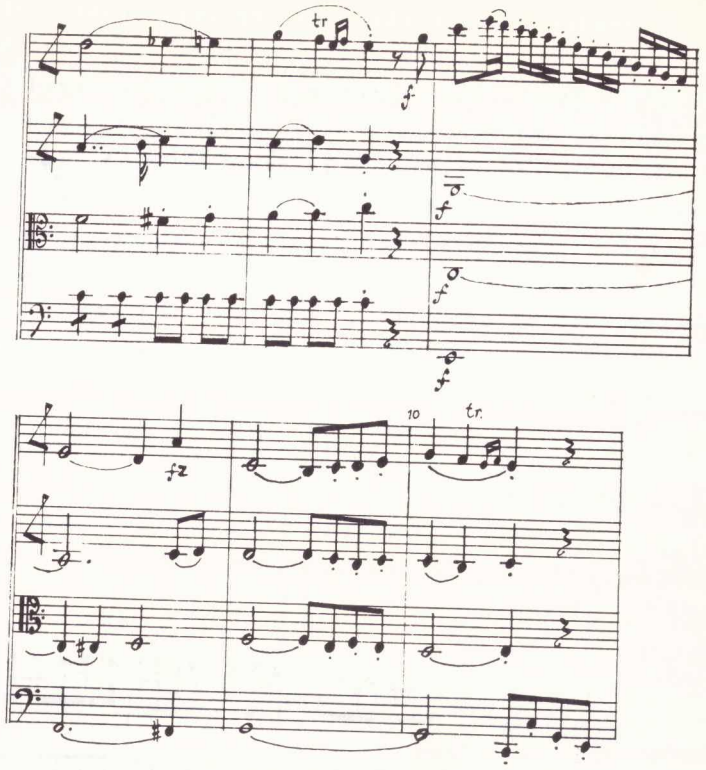
The presence of silence at the beginning of structures described as sonata-form deserves attention because it represents a transposition of the relationship between a beginning and the previous silence. In addition to that it is related to the predictions which this section conveys permeating the gestures which are being presented. As far as silences are concerned, arrival and departure are different events; one may associate these silences with each or a combination of three functions: a. introduction b. articulation and c. interruption.

Silence as Introduction

Ex.6

Haydn, *Quartet op.74 nº1/I*





Haydn's Quartet exemplifies with precision what is meant by introductory silence. This kind of silence is usually involved with gestures which prepare a "real beginning." These gestures, which are many times similar to a cadence, could belong to a number of different pieces. This is precisely what delays the perception of a beginning to the following bars; a beginning must be idiosyncratic. Note that a cadence not only closes a section but also predicts a new one.

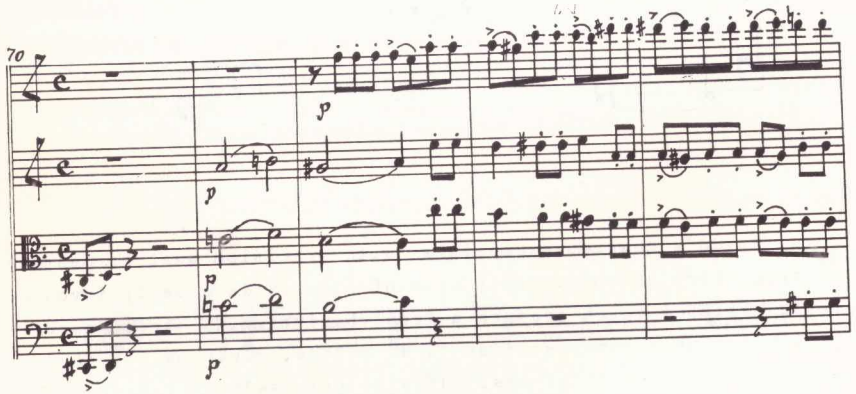
Although resembling a formula, these gestures and silences must occupy a position within the universe of the composition. It's necessary to investigate how these conventional gestures are rescued by the individuality of a composition.

The silence of m.2 separates the cadential gestures (m.1-2) from the proposal (development) of m.3. This involves melodic

lines, a pulsation, and a different dynamic level. The choice of this silence follows the desire to make the "real beginning" arise from silence. The difference is dynamic level, the eighth note pulsation, and the stationary bass, are all elements of thi beginning, whose effectiveness is granted by the contrast between the two situations. The decision to build a beginning arising from silence has significant consequences during the movement; this is a direct connection between the silence and the thematic web of the piece. At. m.70 the same idea is revisited. The eighth-note pulsation is transformed to absorb the melodic ideas of the initial bars.

Ex.7

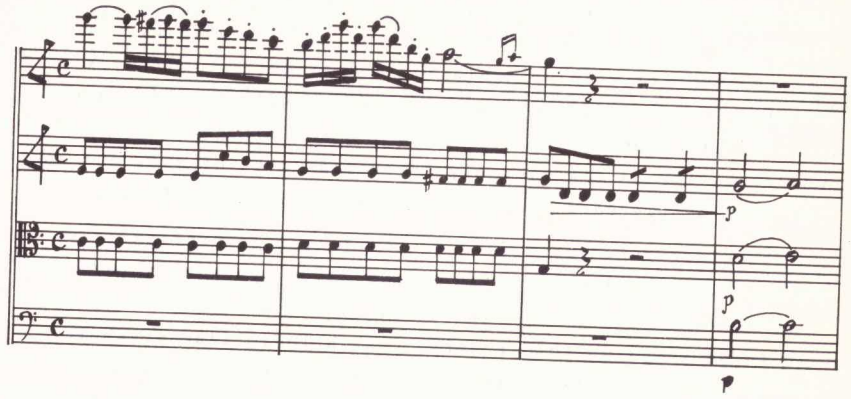
Haydn, *Quartet op.74 nº1/I - m.70-74.*



The silence of m.2 is also important because it produces the frame in which the elements are introduced. Some transformations of these elements keep the memory of this former association: m.41-42 - the pulsation becomes a substitute for the silence.

Ex.8

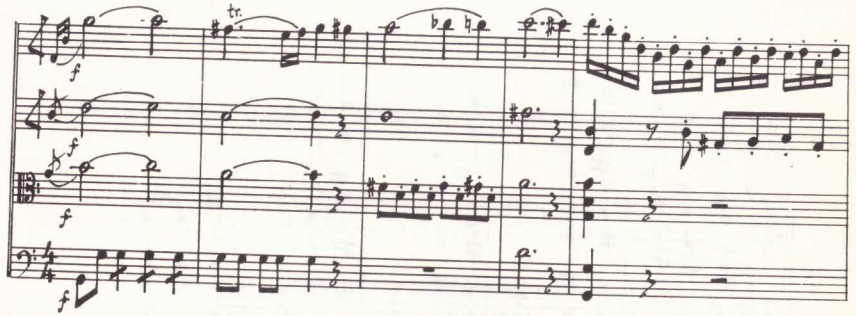
Haydn, *m.39-42.*



m.31 - inverts the dynamic level of the "real beginning".

Ex.9

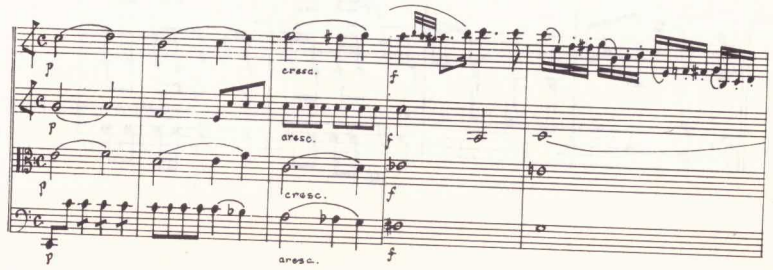
Haydn, *m.31-35.*



m.11 - the stationary bass becomes a descending line

Ex.10

Haydn, *m.11-15.*

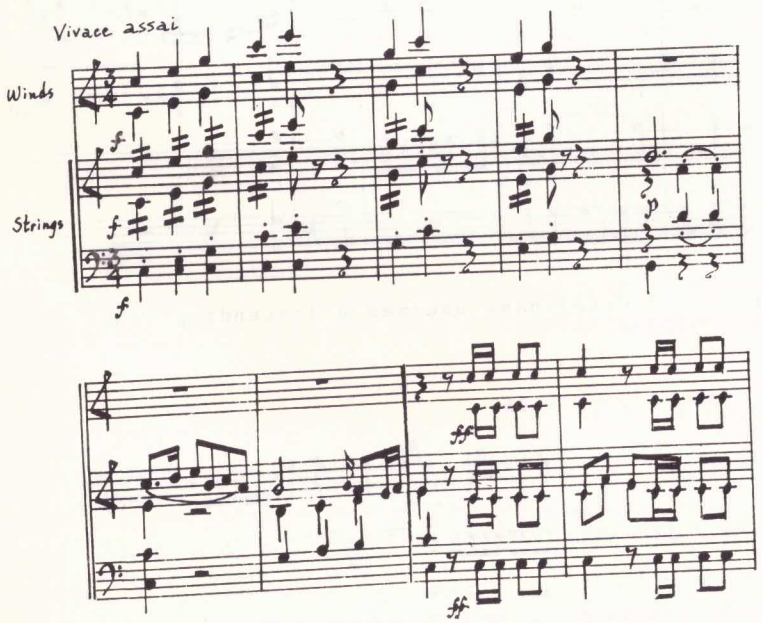


It is tempting to say that the significance of an introductory silence depends on how and to what extent the elements presented at the beginning reflect its presence. The silence of m.2 is quite different from the one of m.6, which is clearly involved with articulation and symmetry. Strictly speaking, the introductory silence also articulates (we are dealing with overlapping functions), but its degree of predictability is considerably lower than that of m.6, due to the fact that it precedes the proposal (-development) of m.3.

There are many exceptions to these last generalizations. The first four measures of Haydn's C major Symphony (nº82) are no doubt a gesture of introduction. The dynamic level of m.5 (subito p) confirms this remark. The melodic idea presented is just an arpeggio articulated by a missing third beat. The effectiveness of this beginning comes from the decision to build an introduction which is already in motion; it prepares itself.

Ex.11

Haydn, *Symphony nº 82/I*



The elimination of the third beat precedes a section which depends heavily on its presence (m5-20). The sentences which appear after m.21 (21-24, 25-28, 29-32, 33-36, etc.) develop an interaction between the two situations, confirming the notion that the initial silences are introductory and thematic.

Silence as articulation

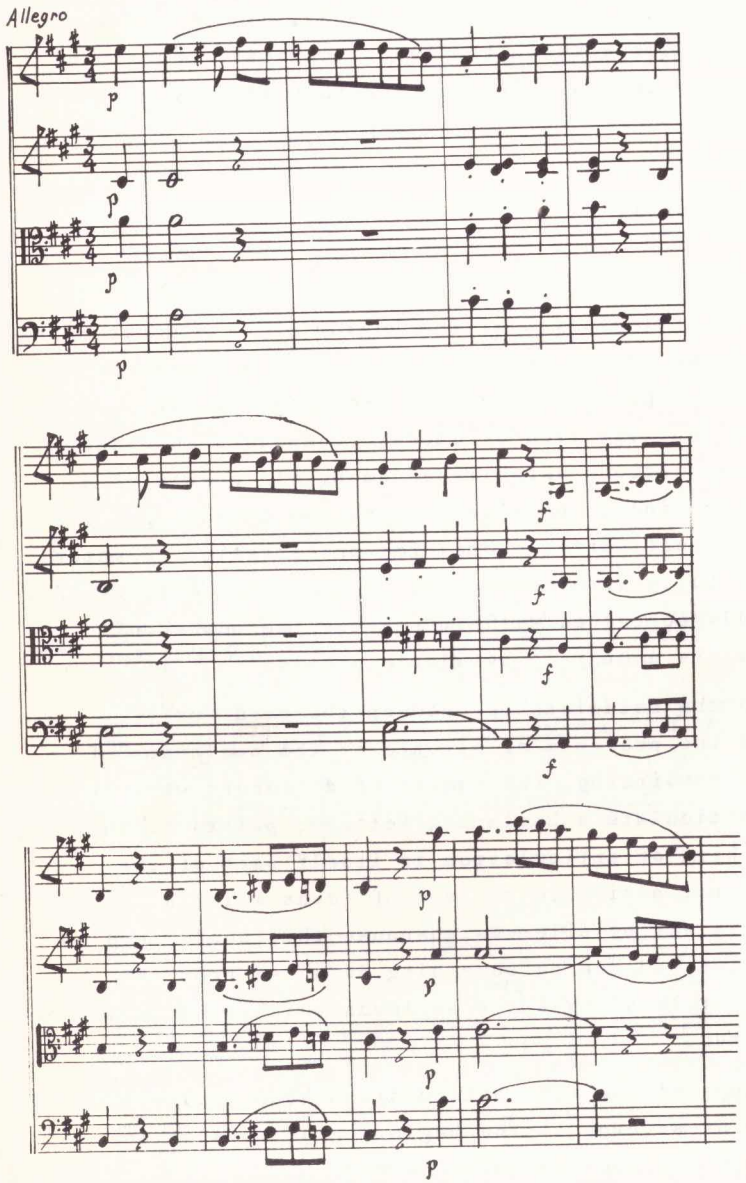
The need for articulation at the beginning of a sonata-form is certainly related to the description of such a section as a situation of maximum possibilities and predictions. The coherence of the language used by classic composers depended heavily on the connections established among all events of a composition. This kind of premise favours the beginning segments of a piece as the most suitable ones for presentation of material which is not yet fully interconnected. The middle sections of a sonata are usually concerned with increasing the number of possible connections among all available proposals.

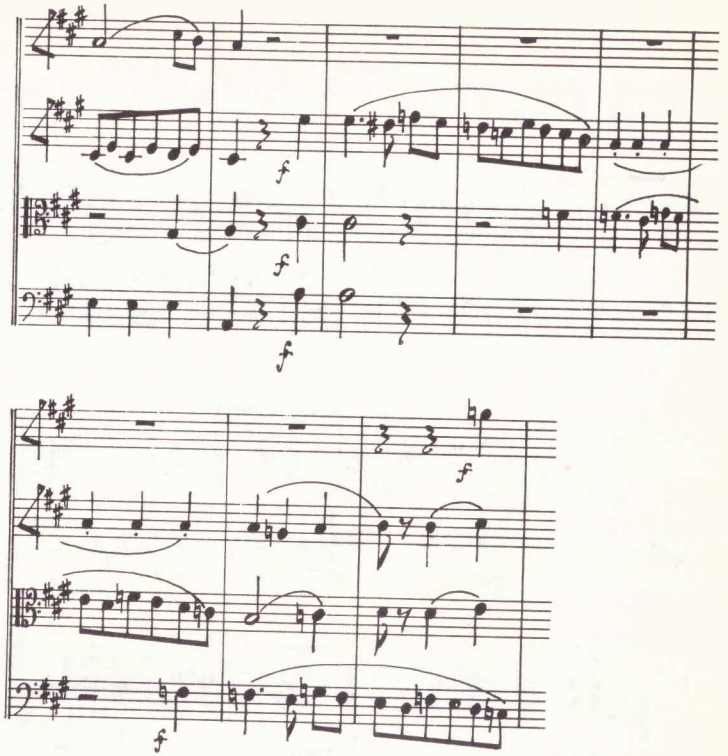
Even though the relationship between the need for articulation and the presence of silence at the beginning of sonatas is quite convincing, the number of different ways in which silences articulate a beginning section, points to the notion that the kind of articulation is itself part of the proposal. It is not advisable to talk of ideas which are articulated (isolated) by silences, because this would lead us to a description of silence as something detached from the proposals. Let's talk of silences as ideas which articulate the proposals presented.

The wide scope of the word articulation when applied to describe the use of silence at the beginning of sonatas is clearly exposed by the two following examples.

Ex.12

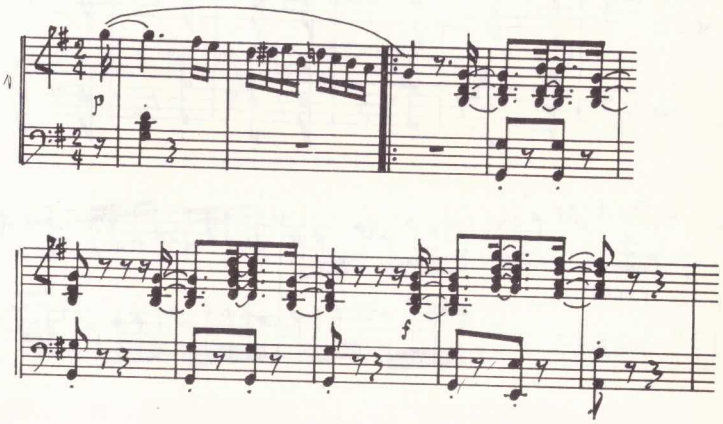
Mozart, *Quartet K464/I*

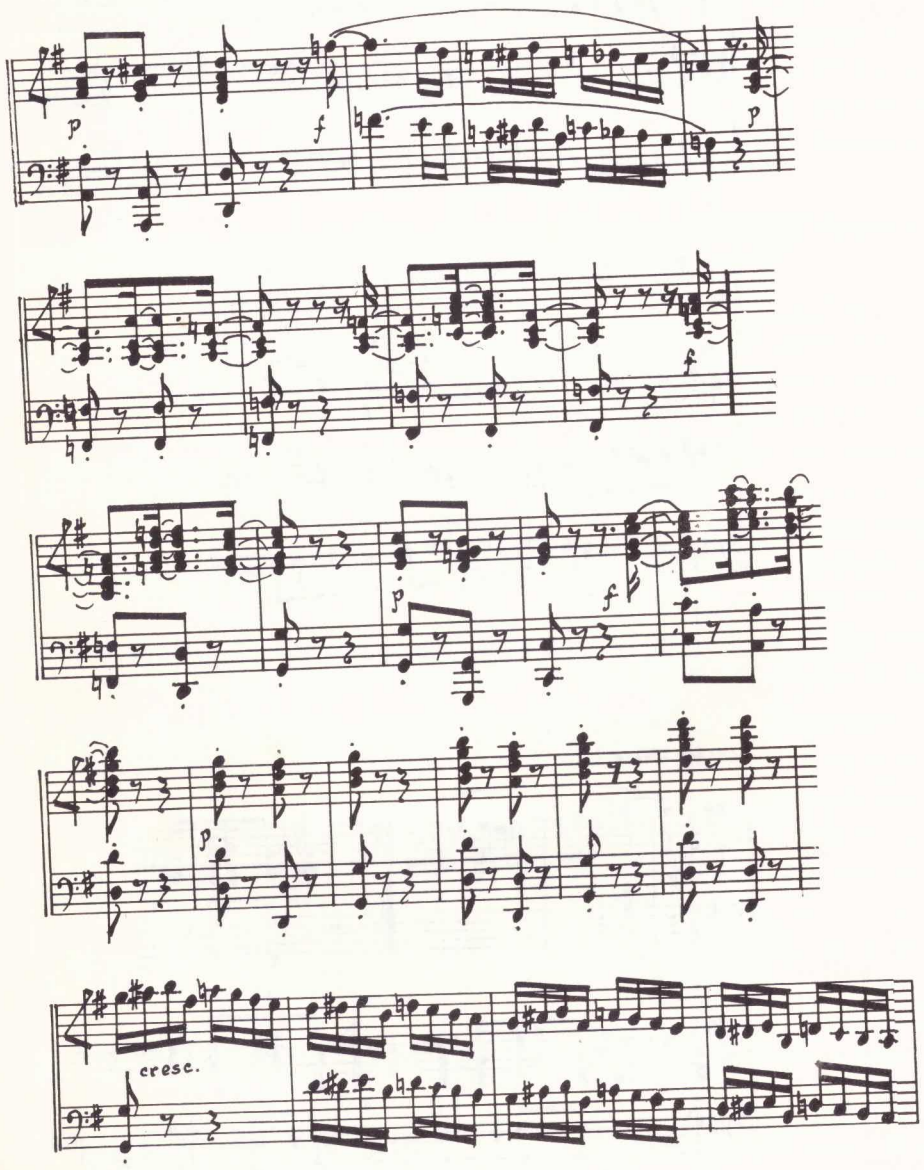




Ex.13

Beethoven, *Sonata op.31 nº1/I*



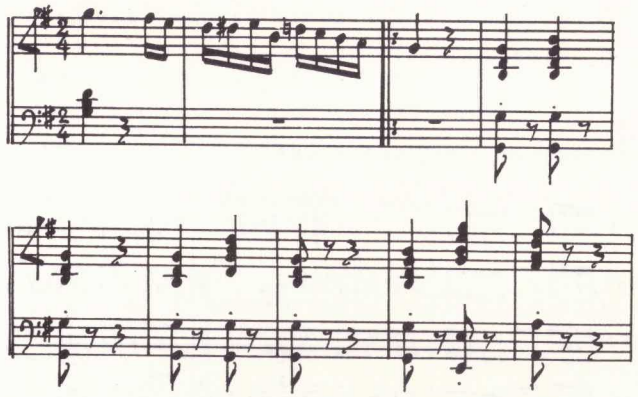


The series of rests to be found in mm. 4,8,10,12,16 of the first fragment, is involved with a process of punctuation of the ideas presented by this beginning. As a result of this punctuation, the second beat of the mentioned measures becomes empty, absent. This is the choice which includes the punctuation as part of the proposal. It's important to know that after m.29 we have an inversion of this tendency; the second beat becomes explicitly present, accompanying an harmonic transition to the Dominant. The section which precedes the recapitulation (23 measures before it) is also built with an emphasis on the second beat. The use of silence as punctuation is a fairly common procedure, which may be involved with the thematic web of the movement.

The situation presented by the second example is better investigated if one begins by eliminating all up-beats.

Ex.14

Beethoven, *Sonata op.31 nº1/I*



This will certainly lead us to the conclusion that the conflict between up-beat and down-beat attacks is a thematic process in this sonata. The silences of this beginning play a very important role because they are filled with the very conflict produced by a double prediction. Without the conflict, the rests become merely punctuation. The first gesture already has in it a proposal concerning the resolution of conflict, which is the flow of semi-quavers. This is precisely the choice

made from m.30 on, and it brings about the elimination of silence.

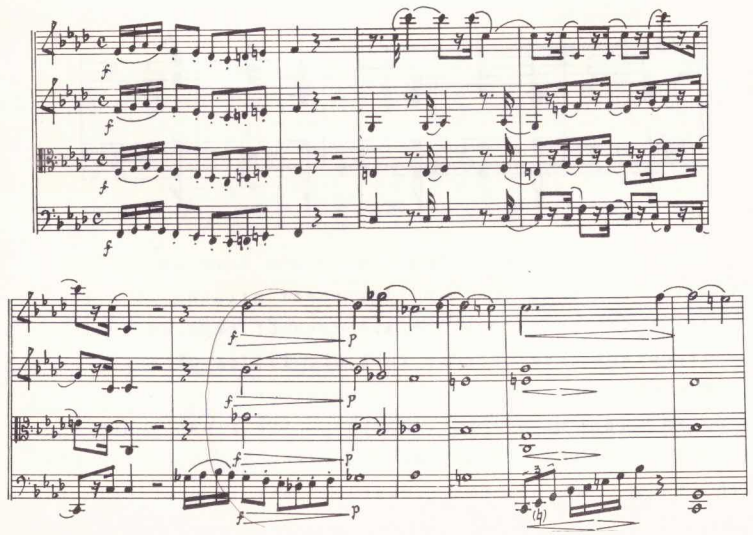
Silence as interruption

In spite of the fact that every silence interrupts the sound flux of a piece, one is entitled to talk of a specific function which is related to the interruption of a proposal. The silences which may be described as an interruption, are usually involved with retroactive-correction. In other words, the new proposal, which they support, interrupts the continuity which precedes them, or even tries to absorb it. If there is no conflict between two proposals, the silence which separates them won't be perceived as an interruption.

The silence under the fermata, discussed at the beginning of this article (Beethoven's op.2nº1,m.8) represents an interruption because it generates a conflict between two distinct processes. In this case, the silence itself was the new proposal. Sometimes only the events after the silence generate a new proposal with retroactive-correction; the silence becomes also retroactively, involved with interruption.

Ex.15

Beethoven, *Quartet op.95/I*

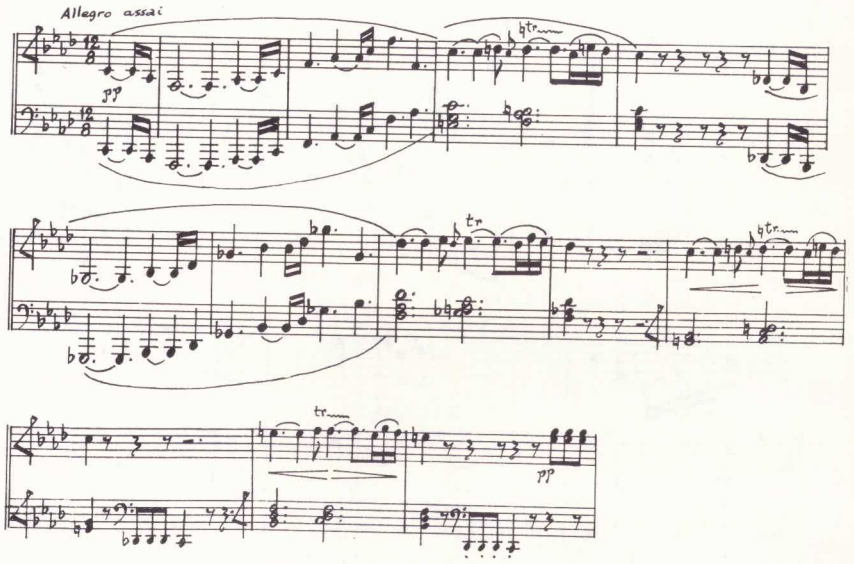


The beginning of this movement is pregnant of ambiguity. The presentation of the initial motive in an altered degree (m.6) upsets the harmonic proposal of the initial bars, which restricts itself to tonic and Dominant. Only with the transformation of g_b into g (m.9) do we arrive at an atmosphere of transition. At this point the gesture of m.6 is rescued by the harmonic relations of the piece.

A very similar situation is presented by the beginning of Beethoven's op.57. In this case we have an oscillation between the two harmonic areas and, as a consequence, the silences used to separate them (m. 4-8-10) may be described as articulation and interruption.

Ex.16

Beethoven, *Sonata op. 57/I*



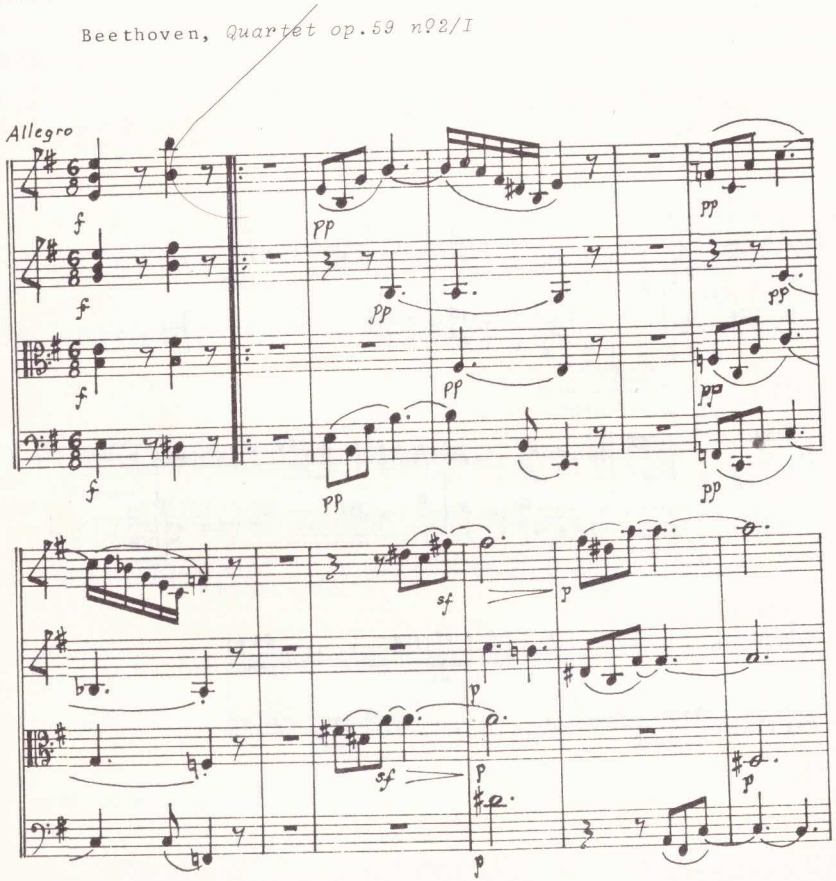
This brings us to the possibility of overlapping among the functions which habe been so far discussed. One may discover situations which are ambiguously located between introduction and articulation, articulation and interruption or interruption and introduction.

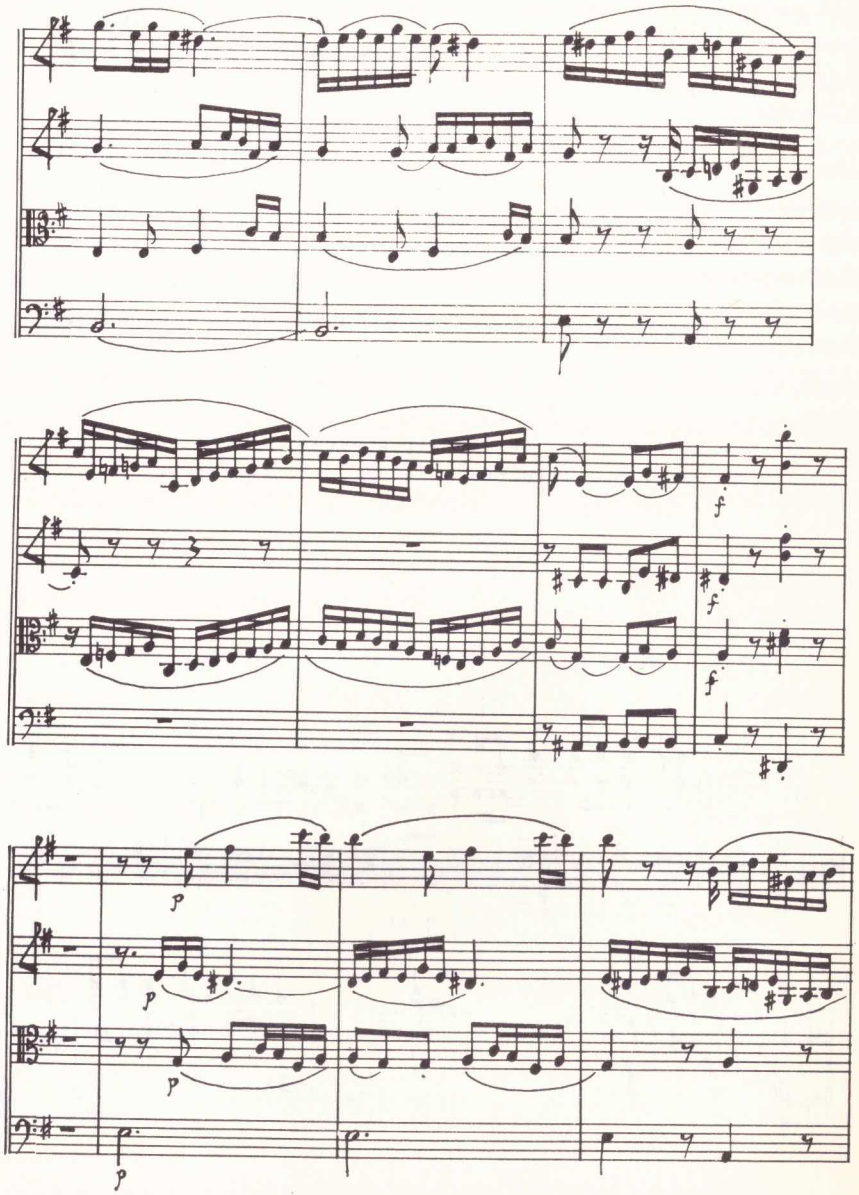
Silence as introduction-articulation

The silence of m.2 from Beethoven's op. 59 nº2 is no doubt an introductory silence (filling a whole measure), similar in many ways to the one presented in Ex.6. The repetitions at measures 5 and 8 reinterpret it as articulation of a proposal (development) which detaches itself by steps from silence.

Ex.17

Beethoven, *Quartet op.59 nº2/I*





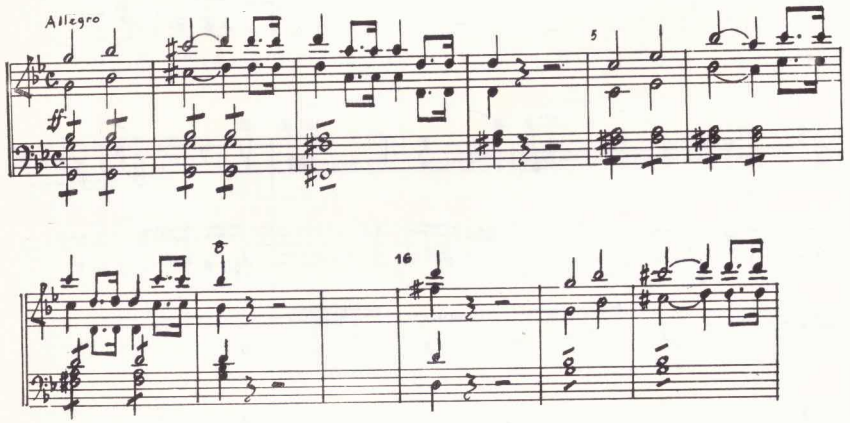
One hears the silence of m.2 as introductory because it separates the cadential gesture from the idiosyncratic ideas of m.3. Only at m.5 do we discover that the silence of m.2 was a prediction of articulation. From this point on, we follow a rhythmic process which unfolds till m.20 (silence again) and deals with a gradual transformation from an eighth-note pulsation texture into a sixthteenth-note pulsation texture. The silences on mm.2-5-8 are necessary to convey the idea of gradual unfolding. Besides that, they keep up the expectation of grouping and stresses presented by the initial gesture. The surprise sforzando of m.9 marks the beginning of acceleration; the silences help to build its unexpectedness.

Interruption-articulation-introduction

Haydn's g minor Symphony (nº83) presents a situation which may be described as performing any of these three functions (m.4).

Ex.18

Haydn, *Symphony nº 83/I*

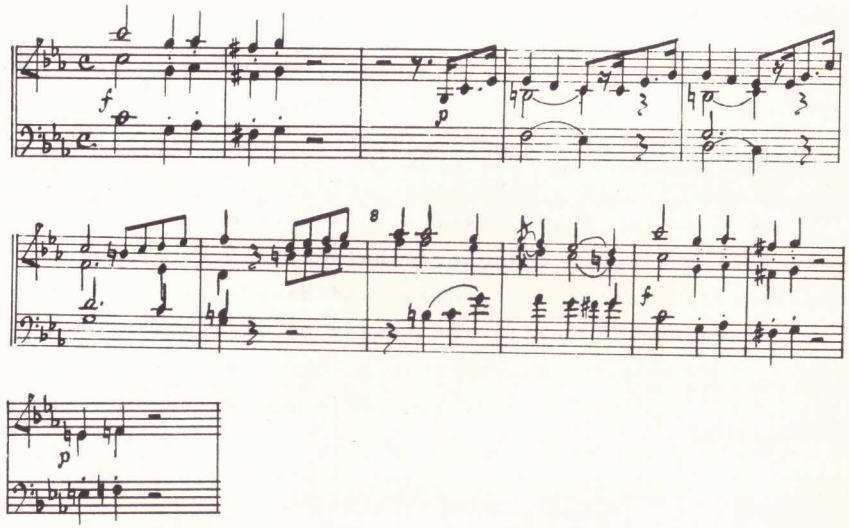


The bass-line displays interruption as a main feature; the recurrence of silence in mm.8 and 16 brings about articulation, and the atmosphere of introduction becomes clear, retroactively, after the elimination of silence, at the beginning of transition (m.17).

Haydn's nº 95 presents a beginning which builds unexpectedness and symmetry through the use of ambiguously located silences. The first one (mm 2-3), from the standpoint of its onset, is better interpreted as introductory; later on (mm 4-5) we notice that it was an interruption, since the motive presented by mm 3-4 may be described as a consequence or complement of the initial gesture.

Ex.19

Haydn, *Symphony nº 95/I*



The possibility to build an introduction which is at the same time an interruption, gives to this fragment the ability to oscillate between coherence and surprise. The silence of m.7 functions as an interruption; it emphasizes the role of the first beat, m.8, and also the stress over the second beats of the next bars. This rhythmic disposition prepares the end of the sentence, which overlaps with the recurrence of the initial gesture (m.10). One may assume that a silence should be expected after the end of the first sentence. Because of this process, this expectation is delayed till the silence of m.11 which sounds as introduction and interruption, but also as a final silence (articulation). The three functions were carefully connected. At this point, the silence becomes one of the most thematic ideas of the piece. One may even describe the quarter notes of mm.12 and 13 as articulating the long silence which is being held over the three measures. The change of dynamic level (f - p) confirms this idea; the composer wants to preserve silence and he achieves that, by transforming it from a final cadence into a new beginning.

It's necessary to discuss the use of these three functions as a way of scanning the presence of silence at the beginning of sonata-form. They should not be considered as merely pigeonholes; it would be sheer nonsense to classify every possible silence within one of the three functions just for the sake of taxonomy. They were used to create distinctions between the events created by silences,and as a consequence between all other events which iniciate a sonata-form (proposals and developments). In addition to that they should invite the reader to discover new functions and procedures related to the manipulation of musical silence. The recognition of overlapping functions is already a movement in this direction, and it favors the strategy of keeping the same basic elements while studying their possible combinations.

A few final remarks are in order about the connections which have been established. The desire to protect the discovery of

ambiguity in compositions requires a critique of the concept of theme. The traditional treatment of this concept maintains the isolation of *proposal* and *development*, describing them as two analytical situations. The investigation of silence at the beginning of structures described as sonata-forms becomes useful to deal with the dialetics which links a proposal to its development. The many functions which may be associated to the use of silence at the beginnings of sonata-forms point to a description of theme as a web of events connected not only by symmetry and coherence but mainly by discontinuity and paradox. Thematic sections are usually concerned with the presentation of distinct -many times conflicting- proposals, and silence seems to be an excellent tool to handle these circumstances.

NOTES

1. Schnabel, *Sonatas de Beethoven*, v.I. Angel 3BBX44.

2. William Drabkin, "Theme". In: *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980).

3. Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style*, (New York:Norton, 1972), p.19.

4. Dahlhaus wants to speak of A.B.Marx as someone who was not interested in a blind analogy between form concepts and musical events: "So sehr Adolf Bernhard Marx, als er um 1810 die Rondo-Sonatenrondo- und Sonatenformen entdeckte oder konstruirte.' *Archiv für Musik-Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1977.

5. If the language used to describe a series of events (composition, I's lifetime,etc.) looks upon itself, then each signifying element will be decoded as a connection and not as an autonomous entity. If the decoding process of an event is bound to the decoding processes of other events, it will be undesirable to think of time as a linear affair. This was quite clear for Freud at the turn of the century, but not as much for Schenker.

6. Ian D. Bent. "Analysis". In: *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980).

7. Notes from the Seminars in Experimental Music (Fall 1980) under Herbert Brün, at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

8. Francis D. Tovey, *Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas*. (London, 1931).

THE BRAZILIAN MILHAUD

John Laughton

ABSTRACT

Milhaud didn't come to Brazil to write Brazilian music, but he arrived at a critical period in his own development. He wove the sounds of Brazil into the fabric of his own compositions, and because of this new thread created a material richer and more vibrant. Milhaud continued to travel and continued to mix colors from all over the world into his compositions. However, that special Brazilian color would always have a place in his psyche and his music.

When Darius Milhaud left France for Brazil in 1917, Paris was the cultural mecca of the world. Artists from all over the world and from every discipline were flocking to this great city in search of enlightenment. French pedagogues were much sought after, and Nadia Boulanger was the guru of young composers. The message she was giving her visiting composition students was to remember the sounds of their own cultures when writing music.

Darius Milhaud was 24 when he left his culture to travel half-way around the world to the strange and exotic culture of Brazil. His years of composing were few, and his stay was to be relatively short, only 2 years. For a man whose life spanned 81 years, this stay could have been insignificant, yet the sights and sounds that greeted him in Brazil were to have a great impact on his writing and his life.

Did Milhaud share Mdme. Boulanger's philosophy? Did he desert his early explorations with melody, counterpoint, and polytonality in favor of the Brazilian samba, maxixe, and tango, or did he incorporate these new sounds into his previous explorations? The answer is found in his compositions of the time, but also in his prose; his autobiography, *Notes Without Music*[1], and his published articles in journals and newspapers.

"I am a Frenchman from Provence, and by religion a Jew,"[2] sentence one of his autobiography and the first step in the journey to understand Milhaud's roots. He left Provence and his family in 1909 to study in Paris and was greeted by all forms of creativity, not just in music, but in dance, drama, literature, and the plastic arts as well.

Musically, he came to know the sounds of Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, and Wagner. His impressions of Debussy and Stravinsky were favorable, while Wagner and Ravel left the

opposite impression.

His studies at the Paris Conservatory shaped his style, but he remained true to one basic aspect in his inner ear -- the importance of melodic shape and structure: counterpoint, first and foremost; harmony, a bore and not to be bothered with. When Milhaud was studying counterpoint with Andre Gedalge, he learned one important sentence that served him well his entire life: "Just write eight bars that can be sung without accompaniment."[3]

However, musicians were not his only influence in the early Paris years. Literary figures played an important part as well. As early as 1912, Milhaud began collaboration with Paul Claudel, the poet and author, and it was because of Claudel that Milhaud went to Brazil. World War I had erupted in Europe and Claudel, the poet and author, became Claudel, the diplomat. Being appointed minister to Brazil, he asked Milhaud to accompany him as his secretary. Traveling to Brazil at that time was no easy matter, but after 18 days on a ship, Milhaud and Claudel arrived in Rio de Janeiro on February 1, 1917.

Full emersion would be the best way of describing Milhaud's initiation into the folklore and popular music of Brazil, because he arrived in the midst of Carnival, 1917. Then, as today, Carnival began weeks and months before the three-day celebration. Groups met daily to prepare costumes, dances, and of course, music. Carnival songs were heard everywhere, played by military bands, municipal orchestras, pianolas, phonographs, and whistled and sung by everyone[4].

The rhythms and melodies of this popular music intrigued Milhaud. It took many months for him to master the intricate Brazilian rhythms, but the melodies were an extension of his own earlier exploration. Popular music, or *musica popular*,

was at that time, as today, a very influencial force in the Brazilain cultural life. A popular song affected speech patterns and could become a rallying point for national causes. Popular singers and musicians were looked upon as leaders in the culture, and their songs were not just learned, but became indelible stamps in the minds of the Brazilian people. It, therefore, was not surprising that Milhaud would turn to the composers of this *musica popular* as the major source for his own exploration into this musical life of Brazil.

Milhaud's search for these popular music figures beg indirectly with Arthur Rubenstein and more directly with Heitor Villa Lobos. Rubenstein was having his own love affair with the Brazilian people and music and made frequent tours of the country. Always upon his return to Europe he actively promoted the music of Villa Lobos. Therefore, when Milhaud arrived in Brazil, the music of Villa Lobos was not a stranger to him, and he often frequented the cinema in which Villa Lobos played the cello.

The surprise for Milhaud was not Villa Lobos and his cello, but Ernesto Nazareth and his piano, also performing in the same cinema. "His elusive, mournful, liquid way of playing (also) gave me insight into the Brazilian soul."[5]

Nazareth was born in Rio de Janeiro on March 20, 1863, and as a child studied the piano, with special interest in the music of Chopin. At thirteen, he began composing popular dance genres, and his tangos were to establish him as one of the most influential Brazilian popular composers of the twentieth century.[6] Villa Lobos called him the true reincarnation of the musical soul of Brazil. A man who represented in the imaginery and spontaneity of his music, a determined people whose character was strongly mystical.[7]

The popular Brazilian tango composer, Marcelo Tupinambá,

was another strong influence on Milhaud. Born in São Paulo in 1892 as Fernando Lobo (Tupinambá was his pen name), he was the son of a band conductor. He learned to play the piano and violin by ear, but for an occupation he turned to civil engineering. Eye disease, however, caused him to change occupations, and music became his full-time endeavor. His music was recorded by the most famous popular singers of the time, so it was easy for Milhaud to familiarize himself with it.

In an allegorical comparison, Milhaud called Nazareth and Tupinamba the two great stars in the astral sky, Centauro and Alpha Centauri.[8] An interesting and strong statement when you compare this allegory with Milhaud's written comments on crossing the equator on his first trip to Brazil.

> "The crossing took eighteen days. At night, on the completely blacked-out upper deck, I felt caught midway between the starry firmament and the sea. From that vantage point I witnessed the transition from northern to southern skies at the equator; the Great Bear still glittered on the horizon as the Southern Cross, closely attended by the twinkling glow of the two stars in the constellation of the Centaur, rose to meet it."[9]

While Milhaud admired and respected the music of these two men, he did not alter his style. One can develop insight into the Brazilian Milhaud by studying the music of the two men, but Milhaud did not begin to write tangos, maxixes, sambas, or cateretes. However, when he returned to France, Milhaud implored Brazilian composers to understand the importance of their own popular composers and not to write music through the eyes of European Wagner, Saint Saens, or Debussy.[10]

Polytonality, melodic shape, and counterpoint continued to intrigue him, and became the central compositional traits of the ten pieces written in Brazil. Opus 39, a vocal quartet was the first completed work in Brazil and Opus 48,

L'Homme et son Desir, also using a vocal quartet, was the final piece of this epoch.

L'Homme et son Desir was written in collaboration with Claudel and for the famous ballet dancer Nijinsky who was in Rio de Janeiro with Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo*. Nijinsky and Diaghilev were in the midst of their final great struggle and Nijinsky's health was failing. Unfortunately, the work was never danced by Nijinsky. However, it was staged in Paris in 1921 by the Swedish Ballet. There was a vocal component in seven of the ten pieces written in Brazil. The non-vocal pieces consist of his fourth string quartet, his first symphony for small orchestra, a violin sonata, and his only independent chamber work for piano and winds, *Sonata for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, and Piano, Opus 47*.

The *Sonata, Opus 47*, shows several new trends in his writing, yet at the same time shows the continuation of ideas Milhaud had been working with since his youth.

The creative genius of a composer is influenced by many aspects of his or her life. Certainly the music of his/her contemporaries has a part in the puzzle, but also the travels and encounters with the people and cultures are important. Therefore it is important to look to Milhaud's travels inside Brazil while working with the French Embassy.

Although he was stationed in Rio de Janeiro, he traveled to São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, and south to Porto Alegre. He saw the colonial cities of Ouro Preto in Minas Gerais and was most impressed with the rich mines in the region. But it was his weekend trips with Claudel to the areas near Rio that gave him contact with the "enchanted forests of Brazil."[11]

When Milhaud's time in Brazil came to an end after the war, he departed by ship for the United States. But his

contact with Brazil was not yet over, for because of engine trouble he docked at the first capital of Brazil, Salvador, Bahia. This city of 365 churches introduced Milhaud to another aspect of the Brazilian culture, the African influence. With a secretary from the French consul, he rode by horseback to the edge of the city for an African religious ceremony. During this period, such ceremonies were forbidden in the cities, hence the need to travel outside the boundries. The ceremony he described in his autobiography was not typical of candomblé today, and, indeed it seems strange that no drumming was mentioned at all. However, when the ceremony reached its peak, Milhaud decided that he had had enough and returned quickly to the city.[12]

Milhaud's two years in Brazil came at the beginning of one of the most creative periods in his life. Shortly after his Brazilian experience he was to discover American Jazz. Just as Brazilian music offered rhythmic and melodic expansion for Milhaud, Jazz offered expansion and freedom from conventional tonal orientation. Milhaud had already begun expanding conventional concepts with polytonality, and jazz offered him new vistas of tonal stretching.

Upon his return to France, Milhaud was to continue his association with the leading figures in the arts and was to begin a period of composing with a group that came to be known as *Les Six*. His interest in Brazilian music did not wane, but he came under other strong influences. But Brazilian sounds continued to surface in his later works in 1920, with *Saudades do Brasil* and in 1937, with *Scaramouche*.

Milhaud didn't go to Brazil to write Brazilian music, but he arrived at a critical period in his own development. He wove the sounds of Brazil into the fabric of his own compositions, and because of this new thread created a material richer and more vibrant. Milhaud continued to

travel and continued to mix colors from all over the world into his compositions. However, that special Brazilian color would always have a place in his payche and his music.

When he returned to Paris for the first time after leaving Brazil, his joy was tinged with a certain nostalgic regret for as he says in his autobiography: "I had fallen deeply in love with Brazil."[13]

Opus 47, Sonata for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet and Piano

Composition Date: 1918 (Rio de Janeiro)
Publisher: Durand (1923)
Performance Time: 17 minutes 30 seconds
Movements:

I	Tranquille	♩ = 50
II	Joyeux	♩ = 108
III	Emporté	♩ = 116
IV	Douloureux	♩ = 58

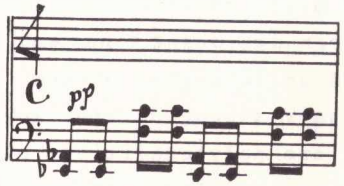
This *Sonata* was written by Milhaud while he was in Rio de Janeiro, and it is important from two perspectives. It i his first piece for winds and his only independent chamber work for piano and winds.

Technically, the wind parts are not overly demanding. However, the rhythmic complexities offer a constant challeng to the ensemble. Polyrhythms abound and syncopation is usec frequently. The piano part is technically quite difficult, full of cluster chords, non-triadic chords, difficult runnir scales, and other passages. Chromaticism abounds in all the parts, and Milhaud makes full use of the range of each of tl instruments.

Milhaud's disregard for the functional tonal orientatic

of the past is evident in this piece. The first movement has scarcely a bar without one or (often many) more intervals of a fourth or fifth. To this essentially quartal and quintal environment the recurring major seconds add sharp dissonances, often with a truly percussive effect. Several bars later at "C", in the first movement, a series of mostly minor-minor seventh chords relieves the dissonance for some eight bars. In obvious contrast to tonal music, flats and sharps appear side by side in measure after measure. Like Stravinsky and Debussy, Milhaud does not develop tonalities: instead he takes full advantage of generating and expanding melodies and rhythms to attain a cohesive whole.

Movement I can be divided into three sections with an ostinato pattern of chords-in-fourths and chords-in-fifths[14] used to begin the first and third sections.



These lengthy ostinatos are tonally deceptive and set the stage for the polytonal melodies that follow in the wind parts.

The middle or "B" section, marked "expressif," begins with a cross-rhythmic three-quarter note ostinato pattern in thirty-second notes. Even as it almost always deteriorates into a continuing series of running thirty-second notes, it continues to serve a unifying function.

Milhaud closes the movement with a return of the original melody. However, in this case it is heard in the flute rather than the oboe that originally presented the melody. It is as if Milhaud is returning to the beginning, but the chords-in-fourths and chords-in-fifths are more complex and playful.

Movement 2, marked "Joyeux," uses many of the Latin rhythms Milhaud experienced while in South America. Syncopation is the main rhythmic force behind the movement. It is this syncopated rhythm that later became common in many of Milhaud's works. (See, for exemple, the third movement of *Scaramouche*, Opus 165c.)

The high point of movement two from the rhythmic, melodic, textural, and dynamic aspects occurs at rehearsal letter "C." It is at this point that the action reaches a climax that continues for four measures before lessening in dynamic level and motion to lead into the concluding section. From the high point at "C" until the end, the mood changes, and the motion winds down to the closing chord. Harmonically, the second movement capitalizes on the powerful support of a series of full, often syncopated major chords that serve as a bulwark against which higher dissonant tones and instrumental parts sound. The F major chord at rehearsal number "1" is primary in no less than fourteen bars throughout the movement. As in the first movement, there are polytonalities, ostinato figures, and unison major seconds found throughout the movement, but their effect is less pervasive.

Emporté literally means to be carried away with passion, and the third movement fulfills its marking. The wind parts in the first measure lift the listener to the strikingly dissonant chord in measure 2. It is this opening in quartal harmony that sets the stage for the harsh and aggressive quality that Milhaud uses throughout the movement.

In spite of the dissonance, Milhaud proves himself to be a composer always interested in melody. For it is the

recurring flute melody, first found in measures 2 through 5, that draws the movement together. However, it must be said that the running scales, the syncopated rhythms, the overlapping phrase structures, and the familiar ostinato figures found in the keyboard are also important in giving the movement a cohesive structure. With the exception of only two measures where the piano offers a striking solo contrast, the movement thrusts penetrating dissonant chords at the listener. The three-chord motive heard in the piano in measures 1 and 2 recurs "fff" in four of the five bars following four measures after "D." It then occurs for twelve successive bars, beginning at "F," and finally closes the movement.

Movement 4 offers a mournful contrast to the fast and vibrant third movement. The two most important tonal aspects of this movement are presented in the first few measures. The clarinet presents a melody in measures 2 and 3 that will be heard, in whole or part, ten times in the movement. The melody is in C major, but at letter "E" and five measures before letter "F" this melody is transposed to C major.

As with other movements, ostinato patterns are used throughout. The beginning measure is used again and again, in the first twelve measures, at letter "B" for seven measures, four measures after letter "F," and five measures before the end of the piece. At letter "A" a parallel fifth sequence in the piano offers another ostinato pattern that takes the listener to the dynamic high point of the piece. After sharp dissonances, dynamic extremes, extremes in range, polytonal and polyrhythmic mixings, Milhaud closes the piece with an extremely soft passage(pppp), using an extended tessitura(C_1 and g^4), and most importantly, a concluding C major triad.

NOTES

1. Darius Milhaud, *Notes Without Music*, Da Capo Press Reprint Edition, trans. Donald Evans and Rollo H. Myers, ed. Rollo H. Myers and Herbert Weinstock (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953).

2. Ibid., 3.

3. Ibid., 66.

4. Ibid., 74.

5. Ibid., 75.

6. "Nazareth (Nazare), Ernesto (Julio de)" *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1980 ed.

7. Renato Almeida, "Ernesto Nazareth," *Historia da Musica Brasileira*, 1926 ed.

8. Bruno Kiefer, *Historia da Musica Brasileira* (Porto Alegre: Editora Movimento, 1976), pp. 118-119.

9. Milhaud, *Notes*, p. 69.

10. Kiefer, *História*, p. 119.

11. Milhaud, *Notes*, p. 72.

12. Milhaud, *Notes*, p. 88.

13. Milhaud, *Notes*, p. 86.

14. Another work by Milhaud that makes use of these same chords is the *Saudades do Brasil* written in 1920-21.

"INTRODUCTION" AND "MYSTIC CIRCLES OF THE YOUNG GIRLS" FROM STRAVINSKY'S "THE RITE OF SPRING", SECOND PART

Jamary Oliveira

The first two tableaux of the second part of "The Rite of Spring" form a continuous whole by using a common thematic material. The overall structure can be outlined as follows:

Part A: 79 - 85 Anticipation of part B in 84

Part B: 86 - 90 Anticipation of part A in 89

Part A: 91 - 92

Part C: 93 - 96

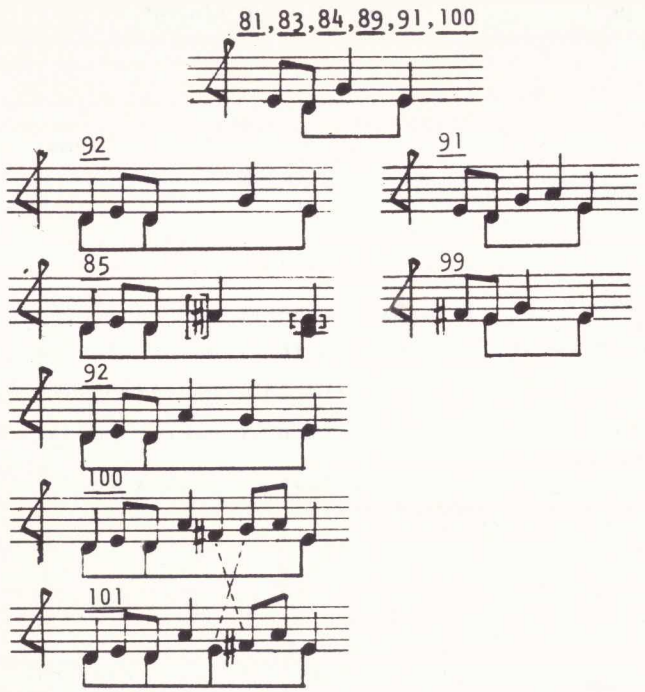
Part A: 97 - 103

The melodic material of part A is more elaborated and more developed than the materials used in parts B and C, and, at its first definite appearance (81.2-3), it consists of two motives, both beginning and ending with the same tone and both of the same lenght:

Ex.1

While motif a remains unchanged throughout the piece, motif b, which outlines the motion of an ascendent major second, is the main source of development. Ex.2 shows motif b and its several variants as well as the rehearsal numbers from the passages where they appear.

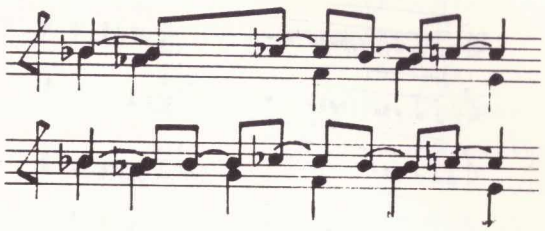
Ex.2



Two of these variants deserve mention: first, in 85 the motion of an ascendent major second, which is characteristic of the motif, is changed in a descendent major second in the upper voice, but the lower voice (4th horn) keeps the original motion; and second, the transposition of the first two tones of the motif a major second up in 99 changes the characteristic major second motion to a prolongation of the same tone.

Part B, uses a fourth-specie-like counterpoint in two voices as the melodic material. It comes in two versions (see Ex.3), both with the upper voice outlining an ascendent major second and the lower voice outlining a tritone. The major second recalls the motives of part A and seems to be not only the real melodic source, but also, together with the tritone, the source for the harmonic relations.

Ex.3



Part C consists basically of three phrases with similar melodic motion characterized by a leap of either a perfect fourth or a perfect fifth, and besides, maintaining the characteristic major second as neighbor of its higher and lower tones.

The "Introduction" begins in a three-part texture with the following characteristics:

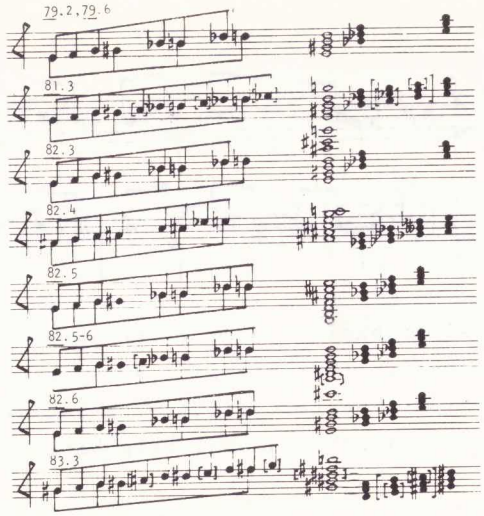
1. Upper layer: a prolongation of the tone A which develops in the melodic line;

2. Middle layer: minor chords in an eight-notes motion and in close position, starting with the alternation of the triads eb(d♯)-c♯(db) and introducing all the twelve minor trids, two by two, except for the gb introduced in 82.4 and the b in 83.2;

3. Lower layer: the harmonic base for the upper layer.

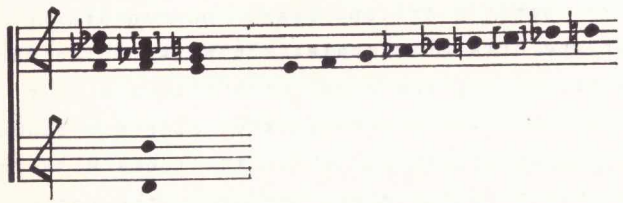
The three layers meet at certain points which I call points of interaction and which have as main feature the simultaneity of two chords a tritone apart and containing all the pitches of the octatonic scale. In Ex.4, which shows these points of interaction, the tones with the stem down and the chords in blank notes represent the tones and chords used in the lower and upper layers, while the tones with the stem up and the chords in black notes represent the notes and chords used in the middle layer.

Ex. 4



Despite the fact that all the three basic octatonic scales are used, the one over E (G,Bb,Db) predominates and, except for 82.5 and 82.6 (first beat), it generates an E chord in the lower layer. These two referred places, where a G and an A chords are emphasized in the lower layer, are part of a transitional passage which also contains the octatonic scale over F♯ (A,C,Eb). In the example, the tones in parentheses do not belong to the octatonic scale and are originated as passing tones and as part of passing chords. Another place which contains the octatonic scale over E and which can also be considered as a point of interaction is found in 80.3:

Ex.5



In this case however, the tritone related chords are not

simultaneous and the lower layer is interrupted.

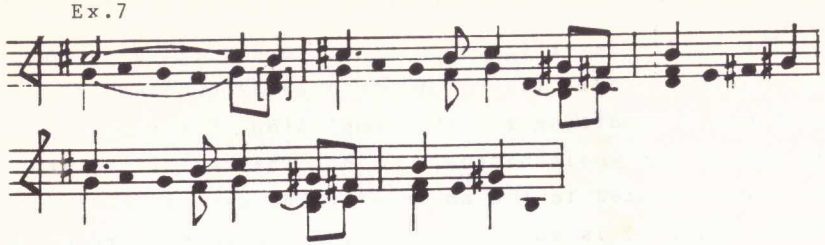
The middle layer seems to be tritone related to the upper layer (melodic layer) and this relation seems to constitute a condition for the completion of the melodic line and of the whole passage. Since the beginning, the tone A was related to the eb triad. The next tone of the melodic line, G, is introduced in the second measure of 80, but the middle layer contains an f triad. The melodic line begins again in the following measure and then, the G is related to a db triad, but the D, now introduced, is not tritone related. Finally, in 81.2 the D is related to an ab triad. The E, introduced at this point, as well as the G and the E in the following measure are not tritone related. However, the first E is related to the g triad which contains the bb and which is preceded by a bb triad, while the G and the second E are at the point of interaction:

Ex.6

In 83 the melodic line returns transposed to f♯, and begins with the C♯ related to a g triad, but with the B related to a d triad. Since the tritone relation to the B was not fulfilled, the melodic line begins again. At this point the lower layer changes to a G♯^{7} chord with the ritardation 4 resolving to 3 in the last beat. Now, except for the G♯, all the tones are tritone related to the chord in the upper layer. The third measure is an almost exact transposition of 81.3. In the fourth measure the melodic line begins once more, this time over the f♯ chord leading back to d in m.5. Finally, in this last measure the G♯

is tritone related to a d triad in the upper layer:

Ex.7

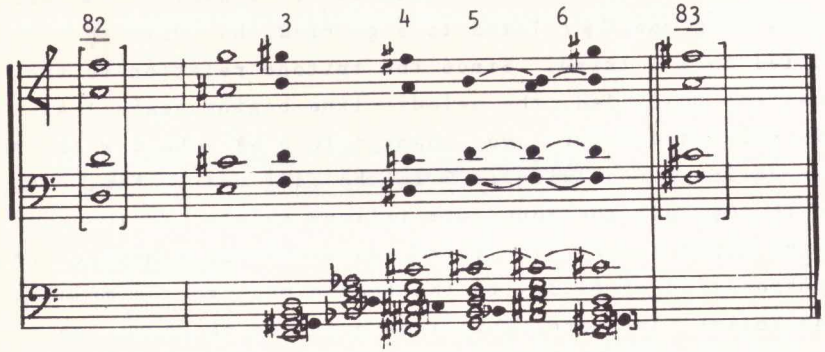


The roots of the triads in the middle layer seem to perform a kind of heterophony with the upper layer, not in unisson or octaves as usual, but in tritones.

The chords used in the lower layer of this passage (79-83) are basically the d and f♯ triads and its neighbors second major related E^7 and $G♯^7$ respectively. The seventh chords are used at the points of interaction and under the last two tones of motif b, except for the G♯ in 83.2 which I referred to above.

In 82, the transitional passage, the lower layer moves diatonically from d to f♯, while the upper layer moves diatonically down from A to C♯. Ex.8 sketches the harmonic motion of this passage:

Ex.8



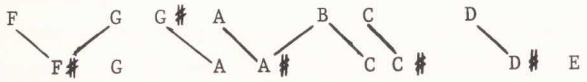
The two upper staves show in whole notes the four tones which are present throughout the passage and which result in a diminished seventh chord, and in black notes, the additional tones which appear in every measure, and which result in the upper and lower neighbor tones in half step relation to each tone of the diminished seventh chord. The lower staff shows the emphasized chords, respectively major-minor $E^7/B♭^7$, major-minor $F♯^9$, major-minor G^7, major A^7, and major(-minor) E^7. The tone C♯, present throughout the passage, is also emphasized from measure four on.

In the last measure of 83, which would correspond to a point of interaction, the lower layer uses a G chord with major seventh and a major-minor D♯ chord instead of a $G♯^7$ chord, while the middle layer function as a link between this and the next passage with the A of its d triad moving outward to both its neighbors to yield a $B♭^7$ chord.

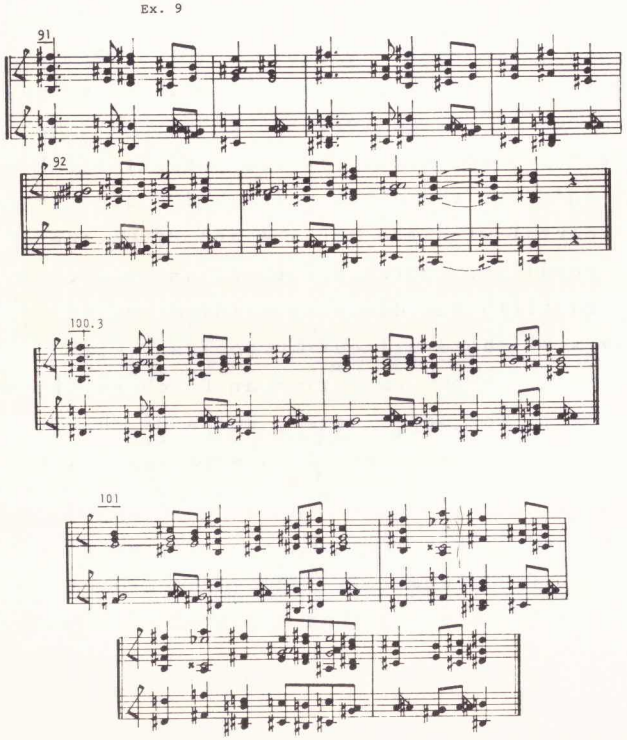
The passage I considered as antecipation of part A, 89, follows an interruption of part B which leaves a C chord prolonged over motives a and b in three voices. The two upper voices of the motives are in parallel major thirds while the lower voice plays a perfect fifth with the tones B and E of the upper voice and a diminished fifth (augmented fourth) with the tones A and F♯ of the upper voice. The resulting chords are e, a, and two chords with the diminished fifth and diminished third (major second), respectively a B^7 chord without the root and with diminished fifth, at the same time an F^7 chord without the fifth relating to the upper layer, and a D^7 chord without the fifth. The harmonization of this passage is the base for almost all the subsequent treatment of part A.

To the three voices of 89, three more voices are added in 91, 92, 100, and 101. These three lower voices or double or add new tones minor second related to the

tones of the upper voices. Ex.9 contains in the upper staff the tones doubled as well as some tones which are not in a minor second relation (shown in blank notes), and in the lower staff the tones in a minor second relation. In 100 and 101 two of the tones minor second related are nevertheless doubled, and are represented as blank notes in the lower staff. These tones minor second related seems to be respectively part of an a aeolian and of an A octatonic, as we can verify in the sketch below which contains the tones played by the upper voices in the first rwo and by the lower voices in the second row. The E and the G, though not minor second related, are included in the second row since they complete the collection added by the lower voices.



Ex. 9



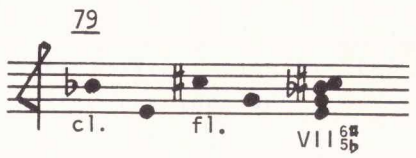
In the "Introduction", a good case can be made for d as tone center considering

1. its neighbor chord E^7 (V of V), which contains the tone D;

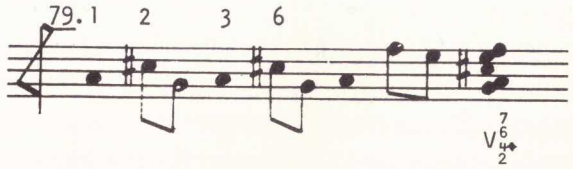
2. the triads constructed ever the upper and lower neighbor-tones of D (d♯ and c♯); and

3. its own dominant chord outlined in the upper voice of the middle layer (Ex.10), and in the upper layer (Ex.11).

Ex. 10

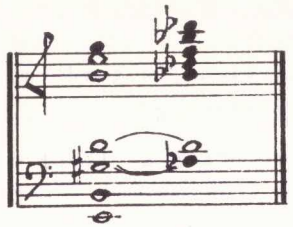


Ex. 11



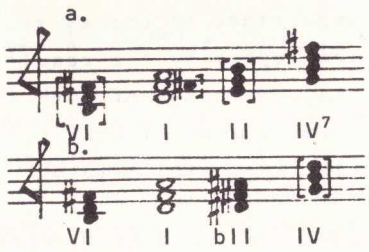
Although d can be considered as the tone center, the A, which seems to be the tone-center of the whole work, and its tritone related Eb assumes, at the beginning,a certain importance. This importance is emphasized at the points of interaction of the layers by the resulting sonority which contains the major-minor V of both A and Eb, with a stronger tendency to A, since the E^7 chord predominates and is basically major in contrast to $B\flat^7$ which is basically minor:

Ex.12

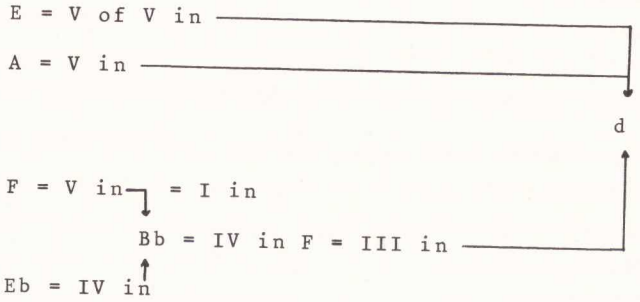


Like a deceptive cadence, the final E^7 chord of the transition in 82, leads to a passage in f♯ where all the relations pointed out above are transposed a major third up. The last measure of this passage leads back to d, with the tonic chord now in the middle layer, and functions as a link to the next passage. Ex.13 relates the chords used in the first (a) and second (b) beats of this measure with the tone center d. The chords in parentheses are of secondary importance. In the first beat, the I and the IV^7, and in the second, the I and the bII predominate. The VI in the second beat becomes an important chord by its role in the whole measure as well as, as an intermediate from the preceding (IV of f♯) to the following passage (VI of d).

Ex.13

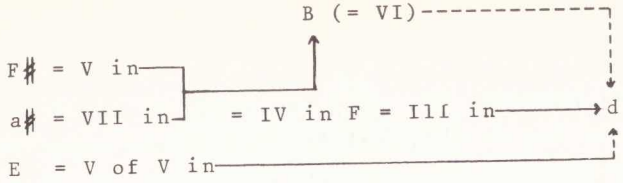


The next passage, 84, uses two types of chords: V^7 with the tones Bb, Fb (E), and Bbb (A) in the upper voice, and the half-diminished chord with major seventh with the tones Ab and Gb in the upper voice. The two half-diminished chords with major seventh are respectively the major-minor F^7 chord and the major-minor Eb^7 chord, without the root. The following sketch relates these chords to the prior tones and to the tone center:



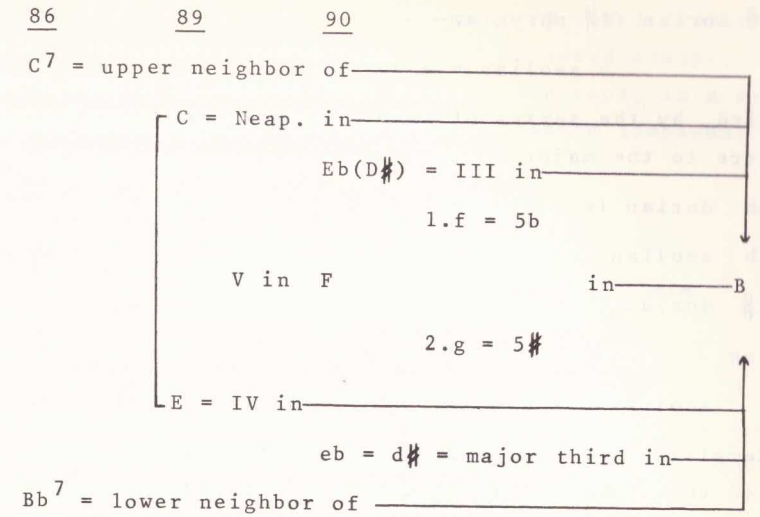
The last measure of this passage, which antecipates the next thematic material, has an implied harmonic motion from Bb to C, and is followed by the same two chords which ended motif a in 84.3, with the Gb incorporated to both chords.

The two part texture of 84 returns in 85.2 using the chords: B^7 (Cb^7), a♯ (bb), and the two half-diminished chords with major seventh with the Gg (F♯) and G in the upper voice. It seems to me that the tone center changes momentarily to B, a minor third related to the d, with the a♯ chord as VII and the chord under Gb (F♯) as V^9, antecipating the following tone-center. At the same time the a♯ refers back to the d through the F, and the chord under G refers back to the d as a major-minor seventh chord over the ommited E (V of V):



Part B uses only two major-minor V^7 type chords, Bb^7 and C^7, and though very static, has a tendency to resolve towards f, since these chords are its IV and V respectively, and they contain all the f collection. This tendency toward f, though not fulfilled, is strongly emphasized in 89 where the C chord remains over the material of part A prolonging an e chord (VII if f) and in 90 where the C chord resolves momentarily over an F.

In 90 all the preceding events converge to a common goal. In the upper voice the F and the G, defined as first and second degrees in f, are changed in the upper and lower neighbor tones of the fifth of B. The e chord from 89, a subdominant of B, goes to Eb, which, enharmonically changed, is also the major third of B. The arpeggio in the cello outlines a Eb chord with major seventh and an added sixth functioning as a major mediant of B. In addition, the two chords of 86, the major-minor C^7 and Bb^7 relates to B as its upper and lower neighbor chords, defining the new tone center in the same relation the Eb and C♯ chords defined the tone center d at the beginning. These relations can be summarized as follows:



The "Mystic Circles of the Young Girls" begins with part A in B major-minor, fulfilling the implied in the preceding passage. Part C, which follows, has only an added layer in 93-94 and two in 95-96. The first added layer is basically an ostinato in parallel major seconds (later minor sevenths) whose lower voice is constructed around the Ab, and which, while maintaining the quarter notes motion, changes the pattern from Ab-A-Bb in 93, to Bb-A-Ab-G-Ab-A, repeated only once in 94, and to Ab-G-Gb-F-Gb-G in 94, 95, and 96. The second added layer is also an ostinato in parallel major sevenths, in quarter notes, with the pattern F♯-C♯-E-B-E-C♯. In this part the Ab seems to begin a course which leads back to B and later, forward to A. We have here a triple relation, first by the series of fifths through the priorities on ab dorian (93), db aeolian (94), and f♯ dorian (95), implying a b aeolian; second, by the importance given to Ab in the ostinato layer, i.e.,

ab dorian (93) (ab phrygian————————————)

db aeolian (94) - f♯(gb) dorian (95),

implying

f♯ dorian (f♯ phrygian————)

b aeolian - e dorian;

and third, by the series of major seconds resultant from the reference to the major scale

ab dorian in Gb (93)

db aeolian in Fb(E) (94)

f♯ dorian in E (95)

implying

b aeolian in D.

Recalling the beginning of the "Introduction", as a modified recapitulation, 97-98 contains the alternation C♯ -D♯ and the prolonged D chord, now major. The implied relations pointed out above are, however, fulfilled only in part since instead of the b, aeolian in D, we have the D itself. The seventh beat of 98.2 contains an E chord with major seventh, followed by a B^7 without the root and with the added G and Bb, completing the harmonic motion

in D: I (II VI)

in B: III IV I

leading back to B.

The return of motives a and b in 99, with a polyphonic texture in four voices, is founded in a B^7 (first four beats) and a major-minor $F♯^9$ (last two beats). In 100.1-2, the texture remains polyphonic, now in three voices under a sustained major seventh (G-F♯). The three voices are derived from 99, the difference being that in this case, since the B chord is not used with motif a, it results in a prolongation of the F♯ chord as V of B.

The remaining of the tableau stays basically in B, but a certain importance is given to the E in 101 continuing the relation of fifths from 93, and leading to A.

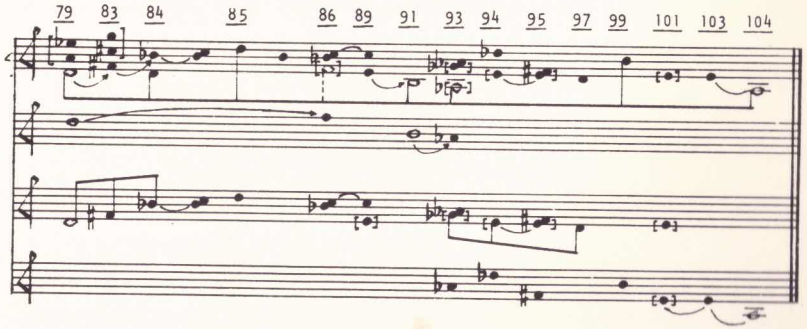
The final measure, following an F♯ chord (without the third, and with a minor nineth and an added sixth), has an E^9 chord over a B^9 chord, both without the root, in a symmetrical disposition, except for the A in the third timpanum:

Ex.14

The resulting sonority is an E^{11} chord without the root, with an augmented fifth, a major nineth, and the upper and lower neighbor of the root, as dominant of A.

Ex.15

Ex.16



Ex.16 shows the tone centers and prominent pitches, as well as their relations throughout the two tableaux, summarizing what was said above. In the second staff we have the two tone centers, D and B, each one followed by a secondary tone center minor third related, and which complete the four possible resolutions from the diminished chord outlined in the beginning of the "Introduction". In the third staff we have at the beginning the tones major third related which produce the first tonal motion in the piece, followed by the tones major second related which link the two tableaux and which carry out the internal harmonic motion. And finally, in the fourth staff we have the series of fifths which beginning in 94, leads to the next tableau in A.

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