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## UM COMPOSITOR ITALIANO NO BRASIL

Jaime C. Diniz

Historiadores brasileiros esqueceram de dar o devido relevo à presença no Brasil oitocentista do compositor Joseph Fachinetti, "Italiano, Mestre de Muzica formado nos Colegios de Paris, Milão e Genova", que viveu por algum tempo em Salvador e, durante mais de trinta anos, no Recife.

De tal forma deixou-se fascinar por nossa terra, nossa gente, nossos papagaios, que logo cedo declarava ter adotado o Brasil como sua segunda pátria<sup>1</sup>.

Guilherme de Mello, em 1908, acreditou ser o mestre italiano um dos compositores de modinha do Rio de Janeiro<sup>2</sup>. Informação esta, aproveitada por Renato Almeida em 1942<sup>3</sup>, que parece ser fruto de brutal equívoco. Até o momento não se conhece nenhuma prova de que Fachinetti tenha residido no Rio de Janeiro depois de 1838, nem mesmo antes desta data. Publicou muitas modinhas na então Capital do Brasil, no século passado, porém compostas no Recife, e do Recife enviadas ao editor no Rio de Janeiro.

Silio Boccanera Junior, em trabalho de 1915, forneceu melhor dado sobre o compositor italiano: "Em 1838-39, foi contratado pelo governo da então província ( da Bahia ), pa



ra servir ao Theatro S. João, na qualidade de compositor e mestre dos cantores, o professor de música José Fachinetti, de nacionalidade italiana"<sup>4</sup>.

"Mestre dos cantores", expressão do Boccanera que foi transmitida como "mestre de coros", um tanto duvidosamente, por musicólogos brasileiros<sup>5</sup>. Mestre de coro (não "coros"), no sentido moderno de regente de coro, não parece provável tenha sido Joseph Fachinetti. Nunca foi uma de suas atividades profissionais permanentes, como fora a de professor de canto, de piano e outros instrumentos.

Apesar de esforços despendidos, não me foi possível topar com a fonte em que se louvou o autor de *O Theatro na Bahia*, para a sua informação sobre o músico italiano, principalmente quanto à data 1838-39. Afirmo em página de poucos anos atrás que Fachinetti "esteve na Bahia, a informação (do Boccanera) é segura. Mas que já se encontrava no Recife em começos de 1839, também é notícia exata"<sup>6</sup>.

Nada se sabe a respeito de sua chegada ao Brasil e, mais particularmente, à Bahia. Não me inclino a acreditar que Fachinetti tenha vindo ao Brasil contratado pela administração do Teatro S. João, da cidade do Salvador. Penso que ele, em data ignorada, chegando à Bahia, conseguira a contratação pelo governo de que nos fala Boccanera.

Chegou ao Brasil já com nome feito na Itália ou, mais precisamente, em Gênova, onde parece ter nascido. Fachinetti se confessa integrante da "Escola Genovesa Moderna" e que fora um dos empregados "no novo Theatro Carlos Felix", onde cinco óperas compostas por ele "forão executadas": *Colombo na descoberta d'America*, *Os pescadores da Calabria*, *As duas rainhas*, *O Genio Benefico* e *Iginia d'Asti*<sup>7</sup>.

Não morria de amores pela capital da Italia. Chegou a

falar desfavoravelmente a respeito de Roma, como no fim do capítulo intitulado "Da Muzica da Bohemia": "O Santo Padre tem pouca ou nenhuma confiança com os nacionaes de Roma; e a prova evidente é, que todos os annos pede recrutas na Suissa, e tem perto de 14 mil homens suissos debaixo das armas para a sua salvaguarda. O povo romano é de natureza o mais falso e vingativo que existe em toda a Itália"<sup>8</sup>.

*O Diário de Pernambuco*, edição de 12 de fevereiro de 1839, trás o "aviso" seguinte: "José Fachinetti, Italiano, Mestre de Muzica formado nos Collegios de Paris, Milão e Genova, Compositor de Muzica, autor de varias Operas, tocador de Piano, e outros muitos instrumentos, offerece-se ao Publico Pernambucano, para dar licções tanto de contraponto como de canto e toque de qualque(r) instrumento, assim como está prompto a compor a muzica propria para qualquer poesia, ou para banda militar, ou festividade de Igreja: quem se quizer utilizar dos seus préstimos o poderá procurar nas Boticas dos Senhores Bartholomeu e Ramos na rua do Rosario larga, ou na rua (do) Collegio D. 9, segundo andar"<sup>9</sup>.

Salvo seu possível mérito pessoal, Fachinetti não anunciava, no Recife, nenhuma novidade musical aos pernambucanos. Renato Almeida e Pereira da Costa lembram a figura de Luiz Antônio Smoltz, também italiano, também compositor, que residia no Recife em 1829 - dez anos antes do Fachinetti - dando "lições de piano, cantoria e contraponto"<sup>10</sup>. Marcelino Cleto Ribeiro, em 1885, lembrava "o tratado de Contraponto de Januario Tenorio, outro de Marcellino da Costa" (Pai, certamente). Obras dos primeiros decênios do século XIX que não chegaram a ser impressas<sup>11</sup>.

Fachinetti, "chegado" aos intelectuais, aos poderosos e influentes, conseguia dos aristocráticos irmãos do Santis

simo Sacramento da Matriz do Corpo Santo do Recife, durante a Semana Santa de 39, embolsar cinqüenta mil rês - uma invejável quantia à época - "de tocar o Pianno" nas funções litúrgicas realizadas no belo e majestoso templo, demolido em 1913, em nome do "progresso"<sup>12</sup>. Tocar piano num templo sagrado, era para Fachinetti uma forma também de se tornar conhecido e apreciado no Recife, antes mesmo de um seu concerto, que daria proximamente, apresentando-se como cantor e compositor.

A 8 de abril de 1839, a imprensa recifense levava aos seus leitores duas notas curiosas, fornecidas pelo próprio artista italiano. Ei-las:

O abaixo assignado roga a quem achou um anel de ouro com um brilhante no meio, queira restituir, que será recompensado, assim como também roga aos Srs. ourives, e a qualquer pessoa a quem for offerecido de o tomar a anunciar sua morada. - José Fachinete.

- Tendo fugido da casa de José Fachinetti na rua da Cruz n. 17 um papagaio no dia 5 do corrente, levando uma corrente no pé, sendo metade de ferro, e metade de latão; roga a pessoa que o pegou queira entregar, que será recompensado<sup>13</sup>.

Sua verdadeira estrêia artística deve ter acontecido no dia 24 de abril, uma quarta-feira, de 1839, na velha Casa da Ópera, então chamada de *Theatro Publico*, do Recife. Nessa ocasião mostrava-se como violinista, que então se dizia rabequista, como cantor de duetos de óperas, uma das quais de sua lavra e, principalmente, como compositor. Parece possível tenha sido também o regente da Abertura de sua autoria.

O programa da noite artística foi de excelente nível para o ambiente cultural recifense. O *Diário de Pernambuco*, do dia anterior ao benefício de Joseph Fachinetti, publica o seguinte texto:

#### Theatro Publico

Quarta feira 24 do corrente em beneficio de J. Fachinetti, e D. Tribuci. Aberta a Scena, depois de executar a Orchestra uma das mais deleitaveis Ouverturas, composta pelo Beneficiado Fachinetti, dar-se-á principio a representação da optima, e assaz applaudida Tragedia - Gabriela de Vergi - No fim do primeiro acto cantarão os Beneficiados o Duetto - Das Pistollas - na Opera - Clara de Rozembergh (Rosemberger) - de Mr. (Luigi) Ricci, arranjado para Orchestra pelo dito beneficiado J. Fachinetti; concluido o 2º acto o mesmo executará um - Concerto de Rabeca, - acompanhado da Orchestra como posto por elle; terminando o 3º acto cantarão os mesmos o Romance, e Duetto de - Marilia de Dirceo - posto em Muzica pelo sobredito Beneficiado Fachinetti, e finalizará o Expectaculo com a Farça - O Velho perseguido.

J. Fachinetti e D. Tribuci fasem scientes aos Srs. Socios da Sociedade Theatral, que mandem procurar os bilhetes de platea para o seu beneficio do dito dia, pertencentes à Sociedade, em caza do Sr. Thezoureiro, o Sr. Arcenio Fortunato da Silva<sup>14</sup>.

O "mestre da Orchestra" da referida Sociedade Teatral fora Patrício José de Souza, neto de Luiz Alvares Pinto. "A ex Direção da finada Sociedade Theatral", a 16 do mês de agosto, "reconhece, e agradece os esforços, e gosto que o Sr. Patricio José de Souza mestre da Orchestra, empregou para melhorar, e abrilhantar a mesma, ao que conhecidamente se deve o melhoramento que da mesma foi observado e aplaudido"<sup>15</sup>.

Em fins do mês de julho de 39, estava Fachinetti com "estudo" instalado na rua da Senzala Nova, D. 2, onde se

encontravam "prontos para vender, Duetos novos em partitura próprios para teatro, sérios, e buffos, livros impressos dos melhores autores de pianoforte, chegados há poucos da Itália, ouverturas por (para) orquestra, novas contradanças para orquestra, tirados (sic) da grande Ópera Elisir de Amor do insigne Donizette, tudo por preço discreto, no dito es tudo fazem-se composições de todas as qualidades para qualquer instrumento, e para cantoria"<sup>16</sup>. Uma ampliação do co mércio musical do Recife possivelmente era o que o composi tor italiano desejava. Uma inegável contribuição cultural. Um esforço que merece aplauso.

O número de pianos já era incontável no Recife por volta de 1839. Até armazéns de chapéus ofereciam "Pianos mui ricos e de superiores vozes, e de diversos preços"<sup>17</sup>. Loja de ferragem, como a que existiu na rua Nova, não ficava atrás. Vendia "piano inglez com algum uso por preço como do"<sup>18</sup>. À rua da Cruz, n. 60, estava à venda um piano francês de armário "de uma das melhores fabricas de Paris, com excelentes vozes e proprio para ornamento de sala por ser mui rico, e d'um gosto novo e moderno; na mesma caza tambem tem outros pianos para vender e para alugar"<sup>19</sup>. A prática do aluguer de piano que chegou ao século vinte no Recife, pelo visto, vem de longe.

Piano e dança eram ensinados em colégios do Recife, como o Santa Cruz aos seus "Alunos Pensionistas, meio-Pensionistas e externos"<sup>20</sup>. A boa ironia do padre Lopes Gama, o Carapuceiro, levou-o a exclamar: "Muito nos parecemos com a França, Inglaterra, e Estados-Unidos!" Quanto às moçoilas, dizia o ilustre pernambucano: "As nossas meninas, geralmente falando, recebem uma educação meramente sensual. Todo o disvelo dos Pais limita-se a fazê-las aprender a música, o piano, dansas de todas as castas, a cozer, e bordar, ler,

escrever, e a infundir-lhes nos tenros coraçõesinhos todo o gênero de vaidades"<sup>21</sup>.

Um tal José dos Santos Neves andou perdendo tempo com o intento de localizar ou, melhor, encontrar o "mestre de música" Fachinetti, "a fim de lhe entregar uma carta de im portância". Apelou para a imprensa, após ter "por diversas vezes procurado o Sr. José Fachinetti na casa de sua resi dência, e não o tendo encontrado, sem dúvida pelos seus mui tos afazeres como professor, e mestre de música"<sup>22</sup>.

Fachinetti possuía formação humanística inegavelmente superior à pálida, ou quase nula, ilustração da maioria dos músicos recifenses de então. Vários eram os seus saberes. Entre outras coisas cultivou o grego e o latim. Dava-se, vez por outra, aos versos, dos quais alguns se conservam em ve lhas folhas.

Em março de 1840, escrevia aos redatores do *Diário de Pernambuco*, um soneto em italiano, que a velha folha deve ter estropiado ao publicá-lo.

Senhores Redatores. - Desejando mostrar sempre a mi nha gratidão aos generosos habitantes deste Império, dos quaes tenho constantemente recebido as mais evi dentes provas de estima e consideração, escrevi o se guinte soneto por ocasião do casamento do Sr. Doutor Nabuco, Promotor Publico desta Comarca; e lhes rogo se sirvão de transcrevel-o no seu interessante Diário, mesmo em italiano, visto que a minha curta residencia n'este paiz não me permite ainda exprimir-me, como qui sera em portuguez.

Seu muito amigo venerador e criado

José Fachinetti (sic)

## SONETO

Come rosa gentil ch'in sul matino  
 Stilante ancora il rugiadoso umore  
 Alletta i rai del rozzo Contadino  
 Pel suo vivace purpurin Colore.

Così pur la belta del tuo divino  
 Leggíadro volto imprigio nomi il core  
 In guisa tal, che senza te, meschino,  
 In continuo dolor trar degio'l'ore.

Se la rosa tu sei, le di cui foglie  
 A rinfrescar la mattutina aurora  
 In cristallino umore se discioglie,

I lievi Zeffiretti a te d'intorno  
 Scherzando vanno, e i rai inte colora  
 L'Astro lucente aportator del giorno.  
 Em attestado de sincera estima,

J. Fachinetti<sup>23</sup>.

No mês seguinte, homenageava o famoso padre Carapuceiro, seu amigo e - mais tarde - um dos ilustres subscritores de sua obra publicada no Recife, o tratado de Contraponto. Desta vez, escreve também um Soneto em italiano, lamentando a retirada do Padre Lopes Gama para o Rio de Janeiro.

Srs. Redatores.

Como ouvi dizer que o Ilm. e Rm. Sr. Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama, em breve retirava-se para a Capital d'este Imperio para acolá residir na qualidade de Deputado; e sendo eu muito estimador e venerador do dito Sr. pelos seus raros talentos e virtudes; por tan

to é nesta mesma ocasião que rogo-lhes o obsequio de terem a bondade de fazer inserir na sua estimada folha este Soneto, que em louvor do mesmo Sr. tenho com posto em lingua Italiana, pelo que lhes ficará sumamente obrigado o seu constante leitor e assinante.

José Fachinetti.

## Soneto

Dell'Illustre Brasil Uom Generoso  
 Che i tuoi esempi (sic), di tue Virtù son figly:  
 Ricevi un' Veddio da chi premuroso  
 Lamenta il tuo ritiro, eguale a oblio.

Dall'Italia terra, fra quei perigly  
 Ebbi natal, tu non ignori; e un Dio  
 Sol qui mi trasse a visitar tue Spiagge  
 Non che fede prestar a tuoi consigly.

Ti assenta è Ver, ma oh! qual portento!  
 Alta mission ti chiede, e non invano  
 Trionfar saprai nel tuo intento.

Tu Mecennate del popol di Giano  
 Cambatti, Vinci; e la tua impresa  
 Renda ridente il Suol Pernambucano.

Em attestado de sincera estima

J. Fachinetti<sup>24</sup>.

Não bastou este soneto laudatório, apressa-se Fachinetti em compor música e poesia, desta feita com versos em latim, dedicados a S. Cecília e oferecidos ao Carapuceiro:



Ao Ilm. e Rvm. Snr. Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama.

Canção Sacra, que executa-se no ofertório da Missa.  
Poesia e Música composta e oferecida pelo Compositor  
Italiano Joseph Fachinetti, na ocasião da festividade  
de Santa Cecília.

O' que Syderas  
Inter spectanda Choreas

Jam bene, te Cecilian dicere  
Cecilia potes. Accipe que leto  
Modulamur carmina cantu  
Et quod nectareo  
Fundimus ore melus.

Hos tibi Virgineus, ridet:  
Proh! labere: florem  
Hunc solir Radijs,  
Que potes usque cove

Te tua festa vocante;  
Crepitant tibi thura,  
Thura per aras; Ergo adsis  
Felix sic erit iste dies.

O' Lux Valeriani  
Virginum Matrona  
Que Throno prono  
Nos tueris filij,

Te Canimus plena  
Ethrerei decoris  
Lumina serena  
Bis converte choris.

Cecilia Parens si celestis  
Pervenire hinc sedes prestes  
In Eternum decantado... Alleluia.

Tunc Beatum  
Cecilie nomen  
In Eternum cantado... Alleluia.

Oferecido ao Sabio e Virtuoso, o Ilm. e Rvm. Snr. Mi-  
guel do Sacramento Lopes Gama, Por Joseph Fachinetti<sup>25</sup>.

Essa *Canção Sacra* ainda não foi localizada. Talvez es-  
teja perdida para sempre. O texto, pela sua dimensão, obri-  
garia o celebrante da Missa a momentaneamente suspender a celebração até  
que o canto terminasse, pois extrapolaria o espaço do ofer-  
tório da Santa Missa, fosse ela cantada ou simplesmente re-  
zada. Aliás, se cantado ou solene fosse o Sacrifício Eucá-  
rístico, impróprio seria cantar uma "canção" religiosa em  
lugar do texto litúrgico prescrito, no caso, o do ofertório  
da festa de S. Cecília.

Essa composição do Fachinetti poderia ser vista, indi-  
retamente, como um gesto de aparente consideração pela Ir-  
mandade de S. Cecília, dos músicos recifenses, à qual corpo-  
ração nunca quis o autor se filiar. Talvez não quisesse se  
misturar com uma multidão de mulatos músicos sem diplomas  
de conservatórios... Também nunca conseguiu um mestrado de  
capela em qualquer de nossas grandes igrejas pernambucanas,  
mestrado efetivo já se vê. Violinista que era, cantor que  
era, não deixou documentada sua participação em orquestras  
sacras dos regentes recifenses.

Em setembro de 1840, Fachinetti anunciava que havia mu-  
dado de residência "para a rua das laranjeiras casa de so-

brado", no segundo andar. Como se constatará, o músico italiano andou sempre mudando de endereço no Recife. Olinda é que possivelmente nunca conseguiu atrair a atenção do compositor. Não deve nem ter pensado em morar na vizinha ilustre do Recife.

Quem também gostava de andar mudando de residência, durante os dois primeiros anos em que Fachinetti trabalhava no Recife, era um seu patrício, Jacob Maria Bertazzi, "professor de música", pianista e afinador de pianos. Deve ter aportado na capital pernambucana em 1839, como o Fachinetti, embora se ignore a data precisa. Em abril de 1840, mudou-se da rua da Cruz para a Praça do Comercio. Aproveitou o ensejo para renovar "os seus oferecimentos para com o respeitável público desta Cidade (o Recife), no exercício de ensinar bem a tocar, bem como afinar pianos, com o mesmo desempenho com que até o presente se tem prestado às pessoas que benignamente o tem ocupado, mostrando-se satisfeitos (sic) do seu préstimo"<sup>26</sup>.

Bertazzi - que a imprensa recifense dava, por vezes, como Bertervi ou Bertorzi - já em outubro do referido ano passava para outra morada: "mudou a sua residência do Recife, onde residiu mais de um ano na casa de seus íntimos amigos, Rozas, e Irmão, para a Boa Vista..... continua a ocupar-se no ensino de piano, bem como afinações dos mesmos; aproveita a ocasião para cordialmente agradecer o acolho, filantropia, consideração, e estima, com que os honrados habitantes daquela Freguesia se dignaram honrá-lo, penhorando infinitamente a imudável gratidão do anunciante, que junta mente suplica aos seus amigos que o julgaram digno de sua confiança hajam de apresentar-se no espaço do corrente mês, para serem indenizados de qualquer quantia que sejam acrescidos"<sup>27</sup>.

Pelos fins de outubro de 40, estava resolvido a embarcar para o Rio de Janeiro. Bertazzi "retira-se desta Cidade para Corte deste Império até ao fim do próximo futuro mês; roga às pessoas que com ele quiserem falar tenham a bondade de procurá-lo na rua do Calabouço casa n. 2 inerente ao Quartel do Corpo Municipal"<sup>28</sup>. Se Jacob Maria Bertazzi voltou ou não ao Recife é ponto misterioso atualmente.

Não obstante os muitos quefazeres que enfrentava, Fachinetti não larga a composição musical. Não composição apenas de motetos ou outros pequenos "pensamentos", como se costumava dizer no século passado, mas grandes formas, complexas, com solos, coros e orquestra, como seja a missa, que chegou a escrever várias no Recife. A primeira das quais, escrita em 1840, é enviada ao Imperador do Brasil: "uma nova Missa em partitura, de minha composição, cujo livro peço a V. Ex. (o Presidente da Província) que por me fazer mercê, se sirva por aos pés do mesmo" Imperador, conforme dizeres seus publicados a 16 de novembro de 1840<sup>29</sup>.

Não me inclino a admitir fosse a "nova Missa" uma obra dedicada ao Imperador, isso ele o fará posteriormente, com a chamada *Missa D. Pedro II*, de vasta dimensão, a dois coros e orquestra. No momento pretendia apenas agradecer à Sua Majestade, digamos, com um brinde e, por acréscimo, chamar a atenção do Imperador para o compositor que residia no Recife, "compositor italiano" como sempre gostou de juntar ao seu nome em tudo que andou fazendo como músico.

Também no mesmo mês de novembro fazia entrega ao Presidente da Província de Pernambuco, de um *Hino Nacional* (no sentido de hino cívico, patriótico; não "nacional"). Em um "nota bene", o compositor esclarecia que o "presente hino foi expressamente composto pelo referido autor para orques

tra Teatral, Música Militar, e Piano Forte". No *Diario de Pernambuco* apareceu a carta que escrevera:

Augusto Senhor

Também por a mesma ocasião e via, tenho a honra de oferecer ao ilustre e digno Irmão de V. Ex., o Exmo. Sr. Martim Francisco, um seu antigo hino Nacional, posto por mim em música, a quem peço a V. Ex. se digne aproveitá-lo, como tributo da minha mui cordial simpatia pela distinta família dos Andradas, e por me persuadir que esta última composição lhes trará ao espírito mui saudosas e gratas memórias.

Desculpe V. Ex. com sua natural bondade este meu arrojado, e digne-se acreditar-me com o mais profundo respeito de V. Ex. reverente creado, e admirador - Ilm. Sr. Antonio Carlos Ribeiro d'Andrada Machado e Silva. - Joseph Fachinetti. Cidade do Recife 7 de Novembro de 1840<sup>30</sup>.

Segue o texto poético do "Hino Nacional composto pelo Exm. Sn. Martim Francisco Ribeiro de Andrada, e posto em Música pelo Compositor Italiano Joseph Fachinetti.

Salve o' Sete de Setembro  
O' dia por excelência  
Enraiza em nossos peitos  
Liberdade, Independência.

Coro

Às armas bons Brasileiros  
Contra qualquer prepotência,  
Ai d'aquêle que tocar  
Do Brasil na Independência."

Outras estrofes deixaram de ser transcritas.

Quanto à *Missa* referida, tenho a impressão de que se trata da intitulada do Sr. Bom Jesus das Portas, para coro,

solo, e orquestra. Se assim é, como de fato penso, a obra felizmente se conserva no Recife. Não em partitura, mas em partes cavadas, copiadas provavelmente em fins do século transato. Um autógrafo porém, em partitura, datado de 1841 existe encadernado, com letras do título gravadas em ouro, para um solo de voz grave masculina com orquestra, para ser cantado no fim do *Glória*. Tem nítido sabor de música de Rossini. Partes e partitura referidas estão atualmente em meu poder, à disposição de estudiosos.

Em 30 de dezembro, anunciava-se a execução na festa do Bom Jesus das Portas, no Recife, de "uma missa toda nova em música, composta expressamente para ( este ) dia pelo hábil compositor Italiano o Sr. ( José ) Fachinetti"<sup>31</sup>.

Não se trata de outra obra, evidentemente. É a mesma de que se falou acima, a qual teria sido encomendada pela Irmandade do Sr. Bom Jesus das Portas, ou por ela comprada ao compositor, para ser uma obra privativa de suas festas. As irmandades religiosas tinham, entre outros ciúmes, tanto em Pernambuco como na Bahia, como no Brasil em geral, o de ter Missas e *Te Deum*, sobretudo missas, privativos, para uso exclusivo de suas grandes solenidades anuais, compradas no Brasil e no exterior, ou encomendados por altas quantias. Quanto ao Fachinetti, ver-se-á que chegou a cobrar quase meio conto de réis por uma dessas partituras a uma Irmandade, sediada na Igreja do Corpo Santo, como vulgarmente era conhecida a Matriz de São Pedro Gonçalves do Recife, um dos mais antigos templos pernambucanos.

Concluída e executada, por primeira vez a 19 de janeiro de 1841, festa do Bom Jesus das Portas, a missa escrita no ano anterior, parte o compositor para outra façanha: escrever um *Te Deum*, que será oferecido a D. Pedro II, com a

pretensão de que seja executado "no Dia fausto da Coroação do Mesmo Augusto Senhor", juntamente com um *Hymno Marcial*, também dele, que Pierre Laforge já publicara, antes de maio de 1841, em versão para canto e piano.<sup>32</sup>

Em inícios de 41, os recifenses podem ter uma idéia das condições econômicas do Fachinetti, que ainda se dizia "provisoriamente residente" no Recife. No entanto, a intenção de liquidar o que possa ter na Itália parece um indício de que o Brasil já o havia conquistado definitivamente. Transcrevo com muito cuidado o documento que estampou em folha pernambucana:

Joseph Fachinetti natural da Italia, professor e compositor de música, provisoriamente residente nesta Cidade de Pernambuco; querendo liquidar suas contas de tudo e quanto lhe pertence, seja em título de propriedades, como de dinheiro que existir nas mãos da casa de comércio de Genova dos Srs. Modona Ly, Hipoti, que representavam até hoje como seus procuradores; substitue para esta liquidação o Sr. João Rozacuta Capitão da Polaca Sarda Abdul Mygilde como consta da carta d'ordem do respectivo Sr. Consul Illm. Sr A.Schramm. O mesmo Sr. Rozacuta poderá liquidar, exigir, e receber; e cessará depois da publicação desta, toda a ingerencia para aqueles Srs., de procuradores, como de clara nula a primeira carta de procuração. Faz-se o presente anúncio para que os ditos Srs. Modona não admitão dificuldades em reconhecer no dito Sr. Capitão a pessoa legitima para a mesma liquidação. Publicado em Pernambuco, e para (sic) o mesmo assinado neste dia 8 de Janeiro de 1844 (!).

Joseph Fachinetti<sup>33</sup>.

Durante os primeiros meses de 1841, o Recife ampliava seu ambiente cultural, principalmente no que tange à arte musical, embora outras artes fossem oferecidas a pernambucanos, como uma elitista aula de esgrima, ministrada por um francês, Francisco Gayrel, que se orgulhava de ser "Membro d'academia de belas artes, professor D'Esgrima por um meto

do moderno; ex Tenente do Exercito libertador de portugal (sic) no tempo das Linhas do Porto"... Anunciava a 9 de janeiro que iria abrir "uma aula da arte das armas na rua do Hospicio defronte de José Marie Scheffer". Propunha-se ensinar o "Espadão moderno", o "jogo de pistola por o metodo do celebre Andrieu, primeiro atirador da Europa" e por aí vai a longa nota. Provinha, provavelmente, da Bahia, onde estava em 1840<sup>34</sup>.

Colégios particulares transformavam-se em pequenos conservatórios, acolhendo professores de música, tanto da terra como de além mar. O Colégio da Boa-Vista, fundado e dirigido por Angelina Faustina de Siqueira Wyatt, tinha "Professores de Muzica, Desenho e Dança"<sup>35</sup>. O Colegio Santa Cruz, na Boa-Vista, ensinava as "Artes de recreio: música vocal - Joaquim Bernardo de Mendonça ( Filho ), Brasileiro ( de Pernambuco ); Piano: Antonio Maria Chaves e Melo, Português; Flauta e Violão: Candido José Lisboa, Brasileiro; Dança: Antonio Rufino Severiano da Cunha; desenho linear, de figura, e paisagem: Domingos Tribucy, Italiano". O pianista português Chaves e Melo assumiu a cadeira de latim<sup>36</sup>. Pianos estrangeiros continuavam chegando ao Recife, como aqueles "dous piannos inglezes chegados ultimamente", que se encontravam à venda no segundo andar da rua da Cruz D.4<sup>37</sup>. Uma variedade de partituras musicais, inclusive para flauta e violão, podia ser adquirida: "A pessoa que precisar de algumas músicas para flauta, e violão, inclusive averturas (sic), senfonias (sic), cavatinas, variações, quadrilhas etc. ou mesmo de alguma pessoa que copie, e transporte, assegurando-se uma boa cópia, e exata ( isenta ) de erros; anuncie"<sup>38</sup>.

O filho do falecido compositor e mestre de capela, dos mais renomados do Recife, na primeira parte do oitocentos,

Joaquim Bernardo de Mendonça Ribeiro Pinto, cearense de origem<sup>39</sup>, oferecia seus préstimos ao povo do Recife:

O abaixo assinado que a (sic) pouco chegou de fora, propõe-se a ensinar Música, Piano ou Flauta, para o que tem os conhecimentos necessários; quem se quiser utilizar de seu préstimo dirija-se a Praça da Independência loja de miudezas D. 3, ou a praça da Boa-Vista quasi no princípio da rua do Aragão primeiro andar do sobrado em que mora o Sr. Francisco do Rego Barros Falcão.

Joaquim Bernardo de Mendonça<sup>40</sup>.

Um outro professor, Antonio dos Santos Vital, branco e solteiro propunha-se "a ensinar fora da praça, a ler, escrever, e contar com perfeição, Gramática nacional, Geometria prática, e música"<sup>41</sup>.

As "inas" da ironia do Carapuceiro constituíam bom número de sociedades recreativas, teatrais e instrutivas, em plena atividade no Recife de 1841, onde a música, evidentemente, tinha vez. Citam-se a Sociedade Euphrosina, a Lobentina (ou Lubentina, Loubentina) de Beberibe, a Euterpina, ou, ainda, a Sociedade Theatral, Recreio e Instrução, a Terpsichore, a Teatral-Recreio da Juventude, a Pastoril, a Natalense, a Panense, a Campestre Teatral do Manguinho, tendo esta "caza do Theatro", a Amelia Pernambucana.

O ativo e inteligente empresário da velha Casa da Ópera, vulgarmente conhecida por Capoeira, afastava-se do Recife, mas deixava pessoa de sua inteira confiança na direção do teatro público do Recife: "Francisco de Freitas Gamboa não lhe sendo possível regreçar (sic) a esta Cidade por estes seis meses tem entregado toda a direção do Theatro ao Sr. Joaquim José da Gama, ao qual sede (sic) todos os seus direitos relativos a esse negocio"<sup>42</sup>.

Em fins de abril, ou no máximo em princípio de maio de 1841, Fachinetti já havia concluído a composição do *Te Deum*, que deveria ser oferecido a D. Pedro II. O *Diário de Pernambuco*, com efeito, publicava a treze de maio do referido ano, longa nota, ocupada grande parte dela pela transcrição da poesia de mais de dez estrofes, de autoria do padre José Marinho Falcão Padilha, que fora musicada pelo compositor italiano. O reverendo, diga-se de passagem, foi o que se chama hoje "parceiro" do Fachinetti, autor das letras de várias modinhas aparecidas no Brasil. O texto do *Hymno* não será transcrito integralmente. Fala o *Diário*:

Por intermedio do Illm. o Exm. Sr. Presidente desta Provincia ofereceu Joseph Fachinetti, Compositor Italiano a Sua Magestade Imperial hum novo - *Te Deum* -, e hum Hymno Marcial para serem executados no Dia fausto da Coroação do Mesmo Augusto Senhor. O Hymno também se acha posto em acompanhamento de piano forte, e já impresso na officina de Mr. P. Laforge no Rio de Janeiro: quem o quizer pode dalí mandá-lo vir - Sua poesia, composição do Illm. e Rm. J. M. F. P. he a seguinte:

#### Hymno

A face do Ceo, e Terra  
Pedro Segundo aclamamos  
Por elle, pelo Brazil  
Dar a vida hoje juramos.

#### Coro

Viva a Patria, o Brazil viva,  
E viva a Constituição  
Viva de Pedro Segundo  
A Feliz Coroação

Elle jurou sustentar  
O Santo Catholicismo;  
Nós juramos repellir  
Qualquer outro Cathecismo

Viva a Patria etc.

Elle jurou defender  
Do Brasil a integridade;  
Nós juramos augmentar  
De Seu Solio a Mägestade

Viva a Patria etc.

Muito provavelmente, graças à oferta feita do *Te Deum* e do *Hino*, foi que Fachinetti recebeu um título honorífico, concedido pelo Imperador do Brasil. Encheu-se certissimamente, da maior vaidade do mundo. E passou o fim do ano de 1841, feliz e... orgulhoso, mais do que fora sempre.

Do *Livro do pessoal da casa imperial*, fl.170, Iza Queiroz Santos retirou o texto de nomeação e o publicou em 1942. Por não me ter sido possível compulsar a fonte original, transcrevo o texto dado a conhecer pela historiadora:

Hei por bem Nomear Musico da Minha Imperial Camara ao Mestre Joseph Fachinetti. Candido Jozê d'Araujo Viana, do Meu Conselho, Ministro e Secretário d'Estado dos Negocios do Imperio, assim o tenha entendido, e faça executar com os Despachos necessários. Palácio do Rio de Janeiro em dezessete de Novembro de mil oitocentos e quarenta e um.

to centos e quarenta e um. Vigésimo da Independência, e do Império.

Candido Jozê de Araujo Viana<sup>3</sup>.

Saía a nomeação da Corte, no momento em que Fachinetti andava metido em canseiras de uma nova façanha sua no Recife: a criação, ou organização, ou simples direção de uma orquestra, a "Philarmonica", em moldes possivelmente inéditos no Recife, além da preparação também de um programa musical que refugia ao padrão comum até então. Novidade, esta, não só para Pernambuco, talvez para todo o Brasil. Não conheço notícia de coisa semelhante, na história musical de Pernambuco até então: um concerto inteiro de música, que se poderia chamar de lírico-sinfônico, de feição tal que poderia ser repetido hoje sem estranheza de público e de... críticos.

Não estou aqui revelando uma página histórica, relativa a Pernambuco. Estou me repetindo, não há outro jeito<sup>4</sup>.

Até novembro de 1841, a música das festas de arte - geralmente conhecidas pelo nome de *benefício* - consistia em rodear, por assim dizer, alguma obra teatral. Executavam-se aberturas, em número excessivo às vezes, para cada "acto" ou para cada *dueto*, de gosto muitas vezes duvidoso, *árias* de óperas, uma que outra *modinha*. Na década de 40, salvo engano, muitas modinhas subiram ao palco do velho teatro do Recife, a antiga Casa de Ópera. As danças também faziam parte dos programas de então, como o *Solo Inglês*, como a *Caxuxa*. Até mesmo Fachinetti, no primeiro concerto seu no Recife em 1839, não conseguiu desvencilhar-se de antigos ranços relativos à apresentação pública de um repertório musical.

Quanto à orquestra, a Filarmônica, desconheço fontes esclarecedoras de sua verdadeira origem. Está evidente, creio, que não mais se utilizou a estável orquestra existente no próprio Teatro Público. Fachinetti pensou em um completo instrumental autônomo, embora recheado de músicos do teatro. O que não faltava no Recife era músico capaz de integrar uma orquestra. A Irmandade de S. Cecília estava ali com os seus professores de música. As igrejas e matrizes e até capelas contavam com instrumentistas experimentados em suas funções e aparatosas festas litúrgicas. Fachinetti encontrou - e aproveitou no programa de estréia da Filarmônica - dois excelentes instrumentistas: Pedro Antonio de Azevedo, violoncelista, e Candido José Lisboa, flautista, ambos convidados pelo "compositor italiano", colecionador de diplomas e títulos honoríficos, para a execução de "concertos". "Concerto" no pleno sentido da palavra musical? Talvez sim, talvez não. Vejo a hipótese de ter sido apenas alguma página escrita para violoncelo, ou flauta, com acompanhamento de orquestra (arranjo do Fachinetti) ou de piano (Fachinetti, o acompanhador).

Os dois artistas eram nomes sobejamente conhecidos e admirados pelo meio cultural do Recife. Ambos eram membros da corporação dos músicos. Pedro Antonio de Azevedo, proveito em sua arte, ingressara na Irmandade de S. Cecília aos 13 dias de novembro de 1795. Além de instrumentista, fora mestre de capela - o quarto em ordem cronológica - da Igreja Matriz do Santíssimo Sacramento de S. Antônio, no Recife<sup>45</sup>. O flautista, Candido José Lisboa, que não chegou a tocar no concerto da Filarmônica, por motivo de saúde, pertenceu à corporação dos músicos de S. Cecília do Recife, desde 1834. Na veneranda irmandade ocupou cargos de destaque. Foi

Definidor na Mesa de 1834-5, eleito em votação realizada a 15 de novembro de 34, ocasião em que era escolhido para Juiz o mestre Thomaz da Cunha Lima Cantuária (c. 1800 - 1878). Ambos tomaram posse no dia 29 do mesmo mês<sup>46</sup>. Em 1836-7 exerceu o cargo de *Tesoureiro* da dita confraria<sup>47</sup>. A 15 de novembro de 1838, "nesta cidade de Pernambuco", passou a *Escrivão* da Irmandade de S. Cecília. Dos 10 votantes, ou eleitores, arrancou 7 votos<sup>48</sup>. Há notícia de que foi responsável pela orquestra que tocou no "Teatro no Forte do Matos", em 7 de novembro de 1840, assim como várias vezes na "Opera na rua da Praia." Também foi responsável pela música que se executou em uma "Festa na sacristia (da igreja) dos Martirios" e numa "Ladainha na rua da Guia (em) Junho" de 1841. Pagou sempre corretamente o chamado "tostão de S. Cecília", uma espécie de imposto sobre as execuções musicais que os professores de S. Cecília se viam na obrigação de pagar<sup>49</sup>.

Assim foi anunciada a festa artística, cuja vedete maior era Joseph Fachinetti:

Na noite de 27 do corrente Novembro (de 1841), ha de ter lugar a Philarmonica no Theatro e começará as 8 horas. Nessa noite se executarão as seguintes peças (sic) de musica.

#### 1º Partido

- 1 ouvertura composta pelo Sr. Fachinetti
- Dueto Belizario - de Donizetti
- 1 Concerto de violãocelo, pelo Sr. Pedro Antonio

## 2º Partido

- 1 overture, composta pelo Snr. Fachinetti  
 A Aria - Anna Bolena, de Donizetti  
 1 Concerto de flauta, pelo Sr. Candido da Silva Lisboa  
 A Aria de Marilia e Dirceu, composição do Sr. Fachinetti.

## 3º Partido

- 1 overture, composta por o Sn. Fachinetti  
 1 Romance, e Cavatina, idem  
 Dueto - Silvio, e Anfrisa, obra do Sr. Reverendo Padre  
 Marinho ( José Marinho Falcão Padilha ), e posto  
 em muzica por o Sr. Fachinetti<sup>50</sup>.

## NOTAS

1. No seu *Tratado Científico de Contraponto*, impresso no Recife pela Typ. de Santos & Companhia, em 1943, p. 2, refere-se Fachinetti ao Brasil: "que tenho adoptado por minha segunda patria".
2. Mello, Guilherme Theodoro de. *A música no Brasil desde os tempos coloniais até o primeiro decênio da República*, 2a. ed., Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1947, pp. 129-30.
3. Almeida, Renato. *História da música brasileira*, 2a. ed., Rio, F. Briguiet & Comp., nota 104, p. 66.
4. Boccanera Junior, Sílio. *O theatro na Bahia*, Salvador, Oficinas do "Diario da Bahia", 1915 (parte quinta), p. 146.
5. Almeida, Renato. *Op. cit.*, p. 354. Azevedo, Luiz Heitor Correa de. *150 anos de música no Brasil*, Rio, J. Olympio, 1956, pp. 61-2.
6. Diniz, J. C. *Notas sobre o piano e seus compositores em Pernambuco*, Recife, Coro Guararapes do Recife, 1980, p. 40.
7. Fachinetti, Joseph. *Tratado Científico de Contraponto*, cit., p. 65.
8. *Idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
9. *Diario de Pernambuco*, "Avisos diversos", p. 3; o mesmo "aviso" é reproduzido com erros de revisão, na ed. de 14 de fevereiro, n. 37, p. 3.
10. Costa, F. A. Pereira da. "Estudo historico-retrospectivo sobre as artes em Pernambuco", *Revista do Instituto Archeologico e Geografico Pernambucano*, Ano XXXVIII, n. 54, 1900, p. 21. Almeida, Renato. *Op. cit.*, p. 336.
11. Lima, Marcelino Cleto Ribeiro. "A arte em Pernambuco", *Revista das Artes*, Ano I, 6a. semana, Recife, março de 1885, p. 4. Os dois citados músicos pernambucanos - Francisco Januario Tenorio, falecido em 1834, e José Marcelino da Costa, pertenceram à Irmandade de S. Cecília dos professores de música do Recife e, segundo Marcelino Cleto, foram compositores de mérito.
12. *Livro de Receita e Despesa*, 1812-1843, da Irmandade



do SS. Sacramento do Corpo Santo, do Recife, conservado na Igreja de Madre de Deus, fls. 206.

13. *Diário de Pernambuco*, n. 77, "Avisos diversos" 8 de a bril de 1839, p. 3.

14. *Idem*, n. 90, 23/04/1839, p. 3. Notícia desse "espectaculo" já fora dada pelo autor deste artigo em "Breve notícia sobre música, teatro e dança no Recife durante o terceiro de cênio de 1800", separata do vol. 52 da *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano*, Recife, 1979, p. 21. O texto do programa, porém, é aqui revelado por primeira vez.

15. *Diário de Pernambuco*, n. 176, 16/06/1839, p. 3.

16. *Idem*, n. 160, 26/07/1839, continuação dos "Avisos diversos", p. 4.

17. *Idem*, edição de 04/01/1840, p. 4.

18. *Idem*, ed. de 19/01/1839, p. 3.

19. *Idem*, ed. de 16/02/1839, p. 3.

20. *Idem*, ed. de 12/02/1840, p. 3.

21. Carapuceiro (padre Lopes Gama). "O nosso gosto de maca quear", *Diário de Pernambuco*, 14/02/1840, p. 2.

22. *Diário de Pernambuco*, n. 53, 05/03/1840, p. 4.

23. *Idem*, n. 56, 09/03/1840, p. 2.

24. *Idem*, n. 86, 15/04/1840, p. 3.

25. *Idem*, 19/08/1840, "A pedido", p.3.

26. *Idem*, edições de 8, 9, 11 de abril de 1840, p. 4.

27. *Idem*, 05/10/1840, p. 3

28. *Idem*, n. 231, 26/10/1840, "Avisos diversos", p. 3.

29. *Idem*, n. 250, 16/11/1840, p. 2.

30. *Idem*, *Ibidem*.

31. *Idem*, 30/12/1840, p. 4.

32. Laforge fora o impressor oficial no Brasil de Joseph Fachinetti, principalmente de modinhas, embora se tenha c

nhecimento de que outros impressores, ou editores, tenham se apossado de algumas de suas obras, fato que chegou a contrariar ou irritar, tanto ao Pierre Laforge como ao Fachinetti. Quanto a Laforge, ver Pequeno, Mercedes Reis. "Impressão musical no Brasil", in: *Enciclopédia da música brasileira*, 2 vols., S. Paulo, Art Editora Ltda, 1977, I, 352-363, p. 353.

33. *Diário de Pernambuco*, 08/01/1841, "Avisos diversos", p. 4.

34. *Idem*, 09/01/1841.

35. *Idem*, 02/01/1841.

36. *Idem*, 19/02/1841.

37. *Idem*, 03/02/1841.

38. *Idem*, 05/02/1841.

39. Ver biografia do Ribeiro Pinto (pai) em Diniz. *Músicos pernambucanos do passado* (3 vols.), I, UFPE, Recife, 1969, pp. 181-211.

40. *Diário de Pernambuco*, 23 e 25/02/1841.

41. *Idem*, 08/03/1841.

42. *Idem*, "Theatro", 04/02/1841.

43. Santos, Iza Queiroz. *Origem e evolução da música em Portugal e sua influência no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1942, p. 320.

44. Veja-se Diniz. *Músicos pernambucanos do passado*, III, Recife, UFPE, 1979, pp. 124-126.

45. Veja-se estudo biográfico de P. A. de Azevedo em Diniz, *op. cit.*, vol. cit., pp. 87-126.

46. *Livro de Termos de Eleição, e Posses*, 1816-1846, da Irmandade de Santa Cecília do Recife, fls. 23 e 23v.

47. *Idem*, fls. 25v.

48. *Idem*, fls. 30.

49. *Livro das Funções*, códice 32, da Irmandade de S. Cecília do Recife, fls. 298. A identificação de Candido José Lisboa com Candido da Silva Lisboa (no texto do programa)

está baseada em notícia do *Diário de Pernambuco*, em "Avisos diversos", edição de 27 de novembro de 1841: "Não he possível haver o concerto de flauta hoje na Philarmonica, por encommo, que sobreveio ao Snr. Candido Joze Lisboa.

50. *Diário de Pernambuco*, n. 256, 23/11/1841.

## GERMAN AND FRENCH VISITORS

Manuel Veiga

Hans Staden

Hans Staden, born in Hamburg, Hesse, probably between 1525 and 1528 [Staden, 1963: 158], seems to have been an easy-going mercenary with little formal education. According to Karl Fouquet, he belonged with the many sixteenth-century German adventurers eager to try their fortunes in newly discovered lands. He visited Brazil twice, first as a gunman in a vessel leaving Lisbon in 1548, next in a ship sailing from Seville in 1549. During the first trip, he was among the forty who rescued the population of Iguarassu, in Pernambuco. As he tells it, 90 Christian and some 30 "Moors" and Brazilian slaves (Africans and Amerindians) were besieged by 8,000 Caeté. Provisions from nearby Itamaracá enabled those under siege to withstand the Indian assaulters, who at the end of a month withdrew after killing none of the besieged but losing several of their own.

The second trip ended with the sinking of Staden's Spanish ship during a storm near São Vicente (São Paulo). Staden and his companions managed to reach the shores of Itanhaém, southwest of São Vicente. However, shortly after having, with three companions, accepted a commission to garrison a fortress in Bertioga facing the island of Santo Amaro about five miles from São Vicente, Staden was captured by the Tupi-inbas (as he calls the enemies of the Portuguese and their Tupiniquin allies). During the next ten and a half months his captors kept him a constantly nude candidate for the roasting rack or the cooking pot.

Staden's account of his captivity has reached over eighty editions during the last four centuries [Staden, 1963: 157]. Moraes [1958: 280] cleared up the confusion concerning the editio princeps that existed until then due to the fact that two editions were printed at Marburg in 1557. The second of these two 1557 editions bore a title beginning "Wahrhaftige Beschreibung" rather than "Wahrhaftige Historia."<sup>31</sup> Unlike the Portuguese sixteenth-century witnesses thus far cited, such as Caminha, Cardim, and other Jesuits, or for that matter French commentators such as Thevet, Léry, Abbeville, and Evreux, Staden described Brazilian Amerindians without dressing his narrative in pious garb or expressions of missionary zeal.

He calls the marine shell "Matte pue" (matapú) [Staden, 1963: 129]: "Einen anderen Schmuck stellen sie aus den Schalen grosser Méerschnecken her, die si Matapú [Matte pue]. Er hat die Form eines

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31. Wahrhaftige Historia und beischreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden, Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newenwelt America gelegen vor und nach Christi geburt im Land zü Hessen unbekant, bis vff dise ij. nechst vergangene jar, Da sie Hans Staden von Homberg auss Hessen durch sein eygne erfahrung erkant, vnd vetzo durch den truck an tag gibt . . . [True History and Description of the Country of the Wild, Naked, Ferocious Cannibals, Situated in the New World America, Unknown in the Land of Hesse Before and After the Birth of Christ, Until the Last Two Past Years, Which Hans Staden From Homburg in Hesse Has Learned From His Own Experience, As He Now Gives Acquaintance Through the Press] (Marburg, Hesse: Andres Kolben, 1557).

Quotations in this dissertation derive from Hans Staden, Zwei Reisen nach Brasilien, 1548-1555, edited by Karl Fouquet, 2nd enl. ed. (Marburg: Trautvetter and Fischer, 1963); which will be supplemented or from Viagem ao Brasil, translated by Alberto Loefgren, with notes by Teodoro Sampaio (Salvador: Editora Progresso, 1955 [reprint of the edition of the Academia Brasileira de Letras]).

Halbmondes und ist schneeweiss. Sie haengen ihn um den Hals. Er heisst Bojecí" [Another ornament they use is made of the shell of a large sea snail they call matte pue [matapu]. It has the form of a half moon and is snow-white. They hang it on the neck. They call it bojecí] [1963: 129]. Sampaio [Staden, 1955: 233] confirms matapú = uatapú as the "name which the native used for a big shell with a large mouth, which when pierced at the apex could be blown, and which sounded louder than a buzina." As for the bojeci, he says, "it probably is from Tupi--mbojacy, which means--'like the moon, or the image of the moon'."

The 46 large and 10 small woodcuts enlivening the first two editions of Staden are reproduced by Fouquet.<sup>32</sup> Though the illustrations in Staden's original 1557 editions lack the sophistication of De Bry's, they do seem remarkably faithful to the events described in the text. Two of Staden's illustrations document the existence of complex trumpets [1963: 68; 1955: 118]. The illustration to Chapter 29 of the First Part depicts a war scene: "Assault by the Tupiniquin upon Ubatuba." Indians with bows and arrows encircle a Tupinambá village surrounded by a stockade. In the top left part of the picture a Tupiniquin end-blows a single trumpet held horizontally. The

32. Moraes (1958) does not identify the artist, nor does the useful publication of Biblioteca Nacional, Três Séculos de Iconografia da Música no Brasil. The latter, however, commenting on De Bry's illustrations for both Staden's and Léry's works included in America tertia pars (Frankfurt: Theodore De Bry, 1592), says that De Bry's are based on the original woodcuts done for the two early Marburg editions. Though the perspective is often rather naive, the illustrations as such are often quite attractive.

resonator seems rather unmistakably represented by an elongated pavilion that could be a gourd. The trumpet player is either signalling, trying to incite his companions, or frighten the enemy. No other instrument is in sight, nor does the player carry any weapons. Next to the trumpet player, there is a suggestion of background (a pair of curves) with the name Uwattibi (Ubatuba), indicating the locality where Staden was then being held. The illustration shows also a few women, a child, and the naked Staden himself (recognizable on account of the beard)--all in obvious consternation, expressed by arms thrown upwards.

The second illustration of the complex trumpet comes in Chapter 41 of the First Part [1963: 92; 1955: 155]. A Tupinambá player in each of two boats holds the complex trumpet with one hand. Again Staden describes a fight, this time with the Tupinambá on the attack. According to him, the Indians used mid-August when the paratí (mullet, tainha in Portuguese) left the sea to spawn up river both for fishing and for fighting each other. Around August 15, 1554, the Tamoio warrior Cunhambebe seems to have ordered Hans Staden taken. Some 38 canoes carrying 18 men each brought the total Tupinambá involved to a possible 684 [1963: 89]:

Einige von ihnen hatten sich durch ihre Goetzen [maracás, probably], durch Träume und andere Narrheiten, an die sie sich halten, ueber den Krieg weissagen lassen, so dass sie zuversichtlich an das Unternehmen gingen [Some of them having obtained favorable prophecies about the war through their gods, dreams, and other foolishnesses, as it is their custom, went confidently to their enterprise].

On the eve of the fracas, Cunhambebe camped near the enemy recommended that [1963: 91]

Jeder solle sich den Traum merken, den er in der Nacht haben wuerde, und zusehen, das er etwas Glueckliches träume. Nachdem er ausgeredet hatte, tanzten sie mit ihren Goetzen bis in die Nacht. Dann gingen sie schlafen [each one remember the dream he had that night and try to have happy dreams; at the end of which harangue they danced with their idols (maracás) until nightfall, and then they went to sleep].

Cunhambebe's forces sighted the enemy near Boisucanga (Staden's Boywassukange). After four hours' pursuit, the Tupinambá overtook the enemy's canoes and after another two hours' struggle seized five canoes holding several mameluke acquaintances of Staden and a woman. Some killing ensued on the spot. All or most captives were reserved for ritual cannibalism.

The following day, gathered in a circle and forced to sing and to shake "the Tammaraka idols," various prisoners began boasting: "Yes, we sallied forth the way brave people used to do, to learn how to eat our enemies. Now you have conquered, and made us prisoners, but we do not mind this. The brave die in the land of their enemies; our people are still great and will avenge ourselves upon you" [1963: 96].

Twice in his text Staden mentions trumpets without a supporting woodcut illustration. When Staden arrived at Cunhambebe's own village of Ariroba, or Ariró (near Angra dos Reis, in Rio de Janeiro):

Als ich in die Naehel der Huetten kam, hoerte ich einen grossen Laerm; sie sangen und spielten auf ihren Blasinstrumenten.<sup>33</sup> Vor den Huetten staken ungefaehr fuefzuehn Koepfe auf Pfaehlen. Es waren Koepfe von Maracaiás, die zu ihren Feinden gehoerten und die sie

33. The Brazilian edition has trumpets, instead of wind instruments. The Brazilian version is the likelier [Staden, 1955: 112].

aufgegessen hatten [As I came near to the huts, I heard a great noise; they sang and played their wind instruments. In front of the huts there were approximately fifteen impaled heads. They were Maracaiá heads, those of their enemies and those they had eaten].

[1963: 64]

On this occasion, Staden was forced to jump with feet tied and was mocked at: "Da kommt unser Essen hergehuepft!" [There comes our food jumping!] [1963: 67].

In his second textual reference to trumpets Staden explains how wars were planned and how the Indians attacked:

Sie greifen mit grossem Geschrei an, treten dabei fest auf den Boden und blasen auf Instrumenten, die aus Kuerbissen gemacht werden [They attack amid great shouting, pounding of the ground, and blowing of their instruments which are made of gourds].

[1963: 137]

Sousa [1974: 179], confirms what Staden says of Tupinambá war preparations:

Os roncadores levam tamboril, outros levam buzinas, que vão tangendo pelo caminho, com que fazem grande estrondo, como chegam à vista dos contrários [The noise-makers (?) take drums, while others take horns (or trumpets) which they play as they go along, and with which they make great clangor when they come in sight of the enemies].

Among other instruments not only mentioned by Staden but actually worn by him were the leg rattles he was forced to wear while prancing to the beat of women's mocking song.

Von dem Platz, an dem sie mir die Augenbrauen abgeschoren hatten, fuehrten die Frauen mich vor die Huette, in der ihre Goetzen waren, die Maracás, und bildeten einen Kreis um mich. Ich stand in der Mitte. Zwei Frauen neben mir banden mir mit einer Schnur einige rasselnde Geraete an ein Bein und hinten auf den Hals, so dass mir ueber den Kopf hing, einen

viereckigen Faecher aus Schwanzfedern von Papageien, den sie Araçoiá nennen. Darauf fingen die Frauen alle zu singen. Nach ihrem Takt musste ich mit dem Beine, an das die Rasseln befestigt waren, aufstampfen, so dass es rasselte und zu ihrem Gesang passte [From the place where they shaved my eyebrows, the women took me in front of the hut where their gods, the Maracás, were, and made a circle around me. I stood in the middle. Two women next to me tied one leg with a string sewn with rattling devices, and they placed a square fan made of parrot feathers behind my neck and going over my head, which they call araçoiá. Afterwards all the women started to sing. I had to stamp down with my leg to which the rattles were attached in time to their beat, so that the rattling and their singing fit .

[1963: 60]

A woodcut [1963: no. 17] accompanying Chapter 23 in which the jingle rattle is mentioned, shows Staden surrounded by women, some of them carrying children on their backs, but none wearing a rattling string. Staden sporting a feather headpiece seems to wear two leg rattles, one on each leg.<sup>34</sup> Although he gives no name for the string rattle, uaí (uay, ouây in French chroniclers) seems the likeliest

34. Izikowitz [1935: 53] says that in South America fruit-shell jingle rattles are worn almost exclusively by men. They are not worn at girl's puberty ceremonies, as are jingles made of animal hoofs, but are instead reserved for festivals of another type. Among traits common to those festivals, he notices abundant food and drink [1935: 54].

Staden danced with leg rattles during a season of abundant fish when cauim, which is a fermented beverage made of manioc, was being prepared. The preparation of the cauim was followed by "drinking lasting the whole night, with also dancing amidst bonfires, sometimes shouting, playing their instruments [trumpets?], and making a formidable din, when they get drunk" [Staden, 1963: 127].

name.<sup>35</sup> The uaí was consistently called a rattling idiophone<sup>36</sup> by André Thevet and his plagiarists. Thevet (copied by Léry<sup>37</sup> and Claude d'Abbeville) described the uaí = uay = ouây = ahouai thus:

Entre autre choses, ils [the shamans or pajés] s'aident d'un arbre nommé en leur langue Ahouai, portant fruit veneneus et mortel, lequel est de la grosseur d'une chataigne moyēne, et est vray poison, specialement le noiau . . . . Ce fruit blāc avec son noiau est fait comme un  $\Delta$  delta, lettre des Grecs. Et de ce fruit les Sauvages, quand le noiau est dehors, en font des sonnettes qu'ils mettent aux iambes, lesquelles font aussi grand bruit comme les sonnettes de par deçā [Among other things, the pajés (shamans) avail themselves of a tree named ahouai in their language, which bears a poisonous and mortal fruit. The size of the fruit is that of an average chestnut. It is true poison, especially the kernel . . . . This white fruit with its kernel is shaped like a  $\Delta$  delta, a Greek letter. From this fruit when the kernel is removed, the savages make small rattles which they attach to their legs, making as much noise with them as little bells around here].

[Thevet, 1878 = 1557: 173]

Léry [1951: 157] contrasts the good smell of certain trees with that of the uaí (Thevetia ahouai):

. . . . Aouai, qui put & sent si fort les aulx, que quand on le coupe ou qu'en met au feu, on ne peut durer apres: & a ce dernier quaisi les feuilles cōme celles de nos pommiers. Mais au reste son fruit (lequel ressemble aucunement vne chataigne d'eau) & encore plus, le noyeau que est dedans est si venimeux que qui en mangeroit il sentirōit soudain l'effect d'vn vray

35. Almeida [1942: 37] reports auaiú for the Tembē--who are Tupi--surviving (the few left of them) on the Gurupí river.

36. Octaviano de Mello questionably defines uaí as drum in his Dicionário Tupi (Nheengatu) Português e Vice-Versa (São Paulo: Falco Masucci, 1967).

37. Thevet compares the height of the uaí tree to that of a pear tree [1878: 174]. Léry [1585: 189] among several coincidences likens the ahouai to an apple tree.

poison. Toustesfois parce que c'est celui, duquel i'ay dit ailleurs que nos Bresiliens font les sonnettes qu'ils mettent a l'entour de leurs iambes . . . [Auaí stinks and smells so strongly like garlic than when it is cut or placed in the fire nobody can stand close. This tree has leaves almost like those of apple trees, and fruit like chestnuts. The kernel inside, however, is so poisonous that if one ate it, the sudden effect would be felt like a real poison. Nonetheless, as I mentioned elsewhere,<sup>38</sup> our Brazilians use this fruit to make small bells which they place around their legs].

[Léry, 1585: 189; Leite, 1946: 46]

After several months in Maranhão during 1612, Claude d'Abbeville had this to say of uaís [1963 = 1614: 274]:

Ils ont encore vne sorte de iartieres qu'ils appellent Aouáy faictes comme celles que dessus, mais plus larges, & au lieu de plumes il y a force fils de Cotton retors longs d'un doigt, ayant autour de certains fruicts attachez gros comme noix, lesquels ont l'escorce fort dure lors qu'ils sont secs, & estant tout vuides, ils mettent dedans des petites pierres ou des poix fort durs en sorte qu'elles font vn bruit lors qu'ils dansent comme si c'estoient des sonnettes [They have a kind of garter that they call auaí, made like those above (described as made with feathers for decoration, used by men), but larger, and instead of feathers having a strong twisted thread of cotton a finger in length, around which certain fruits are attached. Those fruits are as large as nuts, having a very strong rind when dried out. When they are empty, little stones or very hard peas are placed inside, in such a way that noise is made when they dance as if there were little bells].

38. Léry [1951: 105] explains that before "dancing, drinking, and consuming cauim, which is their ordinary occupation, they search for something more animating than the singing with which they generally accompany the dances. They take a certain fruit, the size of a water chestnut, and resembling it. After drying it up, they take the seeds out and replace them with some pebbles. When tied to their ankles, the uaís make as much noise as do European jingles, which incidentally they very much covet."

Alfred Métraux [1928a: 217] when he mentioned the ouáy (uaí), added a reference from Sousa.<sup>39</sup> Izikowitz [1935: 55] commented that "The rattle [fruit-shell rattle] is in some way the intermediary between the living and the forefathers" [1935: 55]. Since the whole ritual leading to the killing of the prisoner and ensuing cannibalism apparently involves some sort of reparation, it is possible that Staden's little jingle rattle, precisely marking the beat of the women's dancing and singing, was playing its role as a communicator with the other world.

Staden mentions rather insistently still another instrument called "Tammerka"<sup>40</sup> most frequently (or "Maraka" twice). Eight pages [1963: 57, 60, 61, 95, 132-134, 136] abound in references to maracás--especially pp. 132-134. Illustration nos. 25, 28, 41, 44 and 45 depict the rattle in some form: particularly no. 41, in which it enjoys central billing. Staden's insistence on labeling maracás as idols

39. Sousa refers to jingle rattles without specifying either name or material. To improve their good looks, the Tupinambá in Bahia (especially the males) "Usam . . . nos pés uns cascavéis de certas ervas da feição da castanha, cujo tenido se ouve muito longe" [use . . . jingles made of certain herbs looking like chestnuts whose tinkling is heard from afar] [1974: 171]. The Thevetia ahouai is known in Brazil as agaí (from Amazonas to Ceará), aguai, auai (from Tupi awa'i), cascaveleira, and tingui-de-leite. Estevão Pinto, in note to his edition of Thevet's Singularidades da França Antártica (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1944), p. 215 quotes G. Marcgrave's Historia Naturalis Brasiliae [1648: 271]: "Ex fructus Aguay, qui triangularis est, corticibus, quos filo annectunt etiam monilia faciunt, quae cruribus infra suras circumligant, qui cortices inter saltandum sonum quendam edunt."

40. If "Tammerka" comes from itamaracá, it means literally a maracá of iron. Obviously, Staden in every instance meant maracá.

(Goetzten) [1963: 57, 60, 61], idolized (Abgoettern) [1963: 95], gods [1963: 116 (for the Guaianã group), 134, 136], belief (Glauben) [1963: 132], and as prophets (Weissagen, Prophet) [1963: 57, 61, 95, 113] underlines the sacredness of the rattle but does run the risk of misrepresenting the Tupinambá as having been idolaters. True, spirits spoke through the maracá, and the pajé [Staden, 1963: 132] vaunted sufficient spiritual force during his annual visit to enhance the war-making powers of the Tupinambá. Hence special colors (red), ornaments (feathers), the blowing of smoke, the food, and even the special huts for housing maracás. Magic power should not, however, be confused with worship.

According to Staden, the maracá was an instrument for men only, and each one had his [1963: 133].

Die Wilden glauben an ein Ding, das wie ein Kuerbis waechst. Es ist so gross wie ein Topf von einen halben Mass und innen hohl. Sie stecken ein Stoeckchen hindurch, schneiden ein Loch wie ein Mund hinein und tun kleine Steine hinein, dass es rasselt. Damit rasseln sie, wenn sie singen und tanzen. Sie nennen es Maracá. Jeder Mann hat ein eigenes [The savages believe in a thing that grows as a gourd. It is as large as the size of a hollow half pot. They stick a little rod through it. They cut a hole in it, like a moon, and then put little stones in it, so that it rattles. They call it maracá. Every man has his own].

All women and children had to leave any hut chosen by the pajé for maracá ceremonies [Staden, 1963: 133].<sup>41</sup> Maracás were shaken during dancing [Staden, 1963: 91, 136], as well as honored by singing

41. This statement frontally contradicts Sachs's dictum that "Except in shamanic rituals, the gourd rattle is mostly shaken by women" [1940: 28]; this may be true for Africa, but not for Brazil.

--"sangen zu Ehren ihrer Goetzen, Maracá genannt" [1963: 57]. Rituals involving maracás [1963: 132-134], included predictions, preparation for the killing of prisoners [1963: 57, 60, 61], and war preparations [1963: 91, 136].

Staden also offered useful data on the maracá among the Guaianã<sup>42</sup> (whom he calls Wayganna [1955: 198; 1963: 1151]). According to Staden the Guaianã had no fixed residence and lived in permanent enmity against all other nations. "Wie andere Wilde haben sie die Maracá genannten Rasseln, die sie fuer Goetter halten. Auch veranstalten sie Trinkgelage und Taenze" [Like other savages, they have the rattle known as maracá, which they treat as idols. These inspire both drinking bouts and dances].

The Guaianã extended from Angra dos Reis, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, to Cananéia, in São Paulo. They were the ancestors of the present Kaingang, or Coroado, with whose music Manizer (1934) also occupied himself. Among instruments described by Manizer (1934: 312), some may be more recent acquisitions (idioglottal clarinets without stops); however, the nasal flute--which Manizer considers similar to that of the Botocudo--is believed by Izikowitz [1935: 304, 328] to be a very ancient instrument on account of its distribution toward the east, its use by the Ge and Guiana tribes, and its scarcity in Peru. The transverse flute with a blow hole in the septum may derive from

42. Cardim includes them among Tapuia [1939: 176] having a "língua por si" [language of their own]. Sousa says [1974: 53] that the Guaianã had an easy-going nature and lived underground in caves.



nose-blown resonator whistles, such as the three-holed resonator whistles (blow hole and two stops) named tsin-haly and hait-teataçu by the Pareci and Nambiquara. According to Izikowitz [1935: 328], those "evidently very old flutes . . . derive from the same pristine instrument--the resonator whistle with two stops." It is therefore possible that other instruments, apart from the maracá mentioned by Staden, were used by the Guaianá (who were southern Gê--Tapuia, according to the generic designation).

#### Earliest allusion to bird call imitations and whistling

Among Brazilian chroniclers, Staden may be the earliest who mentions animal and bird imitations--to which should be added whistling. If anyone doubts the skill these arts require, let him listen to the imitations performed as a duo by a pair of Kayabi [Tupi, now at the Manitsáua-açu tributary of the Xingu river, in Mato Grosso] included in Music of Mato Grosso (Side 1, Band 10). Though the record notes do not specify the performers, the variety of pitch and timbre seems to be obtained solely by voices--their coordination being probably no simple matter. Collaer gives a picture [1973: Illustration 95, 171] of a young whistling boy from the same Kaingang, whose ancestors--the Guaianá--Staden had described. Collaer's text explains that the Kaingang boy, shown practicing his whistling, "is exerting pressure on his lips and cheeks by changing the position of his fingers, thus modulating the tone. Doing so forms part of his training as a hunter" [1973: 170]. Already Staden had said [1955: 199; 1963: 116]: "Die Leute kennen ganz allgemein die Rufe der Tiere und den Gesang der

Voegel und benutzen das, um sie desto besser zu beschleichen und zu schiessen" [The men know in general all the calls of animals and the song of birds, and make use of their knowledge to stalk and to spring upon their prey]. Staden's comments about the Guaianá imitations not only attest his accuracy, but also the persistence of customs over more than four centuries--despite the process of integration for the southern Kaingang started more than over a hundred years ago [cf. Ribeiro, 1967: 136].

To summarize Staden: the Tupinambá between Rio and São Vicente spent long hours in dancing and singing; most of it was of a ritual sort, supporting their belligerent way of life; rattles were sacred instruments invested with power; made under specific conventions as to color, decoration, and shape of the opening, they were kept in isolated huts; only men played them; during dancing precluding prisoner killings more modest jingle garters called uafs also played their roles as communicators with the spirit world; the beat of the uaf coincided with women's singing during the long ritual of reparation [1963: 60];<sup>43</sup> to incite war or inspire terror, aerophones--complex trumpets--were the paramount instrument; leaders such as Cunhambebe included trumpeters in their retinues.

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43. The Brazil'an translation "Cantavam e dansavam unísonos os cantos que costumam, como canta sua gente quando está para devorar alguém" [1955: 97] belies "tantzen sie [the women] und sangen ein Lied, das sie nach ihrer Sitte den Gefangenen vorsingen, die sie verzehren wollen" [1963: 57].

Jean de Léry

After the French chronicler Jean de Léry's earliest notations of Amerindian music thus far known (1585), no other Brazilian Amerindian musical notations survive until Brasilianische Volkslieder und Indianische Melodien, appeared c. 1831, in an appendix to Spix and Martius's Reise in Brasilien. They notated Indian music heard probably between 1817 and 1820, over three hundred years after the discovery.<sup>44</sup>

The credit for having brought Léry's melodies into Brazilian musicology belongs to Eduardo da Silva Prado (1889). Or, at least Prado--as pointed out by Azevedo [1946: 86]--"was the first Brazilian author to use them." Although not a musicologist, Prado included a music section in his short history of Brazilian art, "L'Art," published in Le Brésil en 1889 (Paris: Charles Delagrave, 1889), edited by F.-J. de Santa-Anna Nery for the Franco-Brazilian Committee of the Exposition Universelle de Paris. How authentic are the melodies? is the first question that must be asked before tackling such other problems as the best sixteenth-century edition, the later uses to which these unique melodies have been put, and their importance for theorists and composers.

Frank Llewellyn Harrison [1973: 204] in a footnote to the musical notations assumes that they "were made from first-hand observation." Since Léry's name is not listed among authors whose contributions to

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44. See footnote 16, p. 21.

Harrison's anthology derive from secondary sources (Juan de Torquemada for Mexican Indians, Pierre François-Xavier de Charlevoix for Paraguayans, and three others), Léry belongs implicitly among those who "heard it happen" [1973: 3]. Harrison does ponder whether Léry's tunes were "notated by him or another" [1973: 6]. Nonetheless, he joins what the critic Francisco Leite [1946: 110] is pleased to call "the relay run in which Léry's torch goes passing uncritically from hand to hand." According to Leite, André Thevet--the Catholic rival of the Huguenot Léry--has been denied credit rightfully his by Brazilian ethnography, history, and even natural science.

Not alone, but in the company of at least 27 major Brazilianists, Harrison acknowledges Léry for data copied from Thevet and others [Leite, 1946: 93-112]. Between Léry and Thevet rose a wall erected by the religious wars in France. Although there seems no reason to deny his approximately ten-month stay in Brazil, Léry's publishing so much valid data two decades later does at least prove his wide reading in the meantime of everything published on Brazil. If Barleu (Gaspar van Barleu) could excellently document the eight years of Nassau's rule of northeastern Brazil without having ever been there, why could not Léry have done the same for the French expedition to Guanabara captained by Villegaignon? Leite contends that Léry's perceptive compilation of Thevet, Gómara, Staden, and a few others [1946: 92], could account for everything in him except the musical notations--which stand isolated. Granted that Leite justly impugned Léry, musicologists ought

to wrestle with the possibility that Léry also copied his Tupinambá melodies from someone else. Leite even suggests that Léry made them up out of his own imagination [1946: 79].

After Harrison the next author to review Léry's melodies in recent times was Helza Camêu [1977: 83-101]. Having omitted Azevedo's study of Léry's Tupinambá melodies from her bibliography, Camêu needlessly duplicates work already done; also, she asks irrelevant questions. Apparently unaware of Mersenne's quotation [1963: 148] of Léry's melodies, she pointlessly queries Rousseau's "Chanson des Sauvages du Canada" [1768: Plate N]: "Coincidence? Interpretation? Fantasy?" rather than recognizing that Rousseau merely miscopied Mersenne. She also takes seriously F.-J. Fétis who, according to her, was "the first to attend to the coincidences found between primary songs collected at several points: Black Caribs, Indians of Canada, and Polynesians." She even goes so far astray as to contend that "primitive music being the case, made with a limited number of sounds, the similarities pointed to are admissible" [1977: 100]. Mathematically it is impossible for even the four pitches (g, f, e, d), of Fétis's misattributed examples to be identically arranged in 32 or 39 slots (Rousseau's melody from the Canadian "sauvages" and the chant of the "Black Caribs") by any mere coincidence.<sup>45</sup> Camêu goes even further astray when she seriously proposes the possibility that not only

45. The probabilities of merely coincidental duplication reduce arithmetically to:  $\frac{1}{1.84 \times 10^{19}}$  or  $\frac{1}{3.02 \times 10^{23}}$ .

melodies but also texts could be identical for songs misattributed by Fétis to Black Carib, Polynesian, and Brazilian.

The first edition of Léry's Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la Terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique was published in 1578,<sup>46</sup> but the third edition, published in 1585, was shown by Azevedo to have been the earliest containing the musical notations. Of the total of five notations, three belong to the same episode in Léry's narrative. Subsequent editions altered details of all five melodies rather substantially. The most blatant "corrections" accompanied the Latin paraphrase of Léry's work published by De Bry. Azevedo located the source of what he calls the "Brazilian version" in De Bry's America tertia pars (Frankfurt, Theodore de Bry, 1592). Since "all later writers are indebted to him [Prado] for their knowledge of these texts" [1946: 86], Azevedo may also imply that the present "Brazilian version" stems from Prado's version (notwithstanding certain changed notes and clefs in Azevedo's own "Brazilian version"). Prado, according to Azevedo, was a well travelled bibliophile, "a man of refined taste whose greatest pleasure was to search for old volumes on Brazil

46. Camêu (1977) thoughtfully reproduces some of the essential fragments of Léry's Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la Terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique. Contenant la Navigation, & choses remarquables, veuës sur la mer par l'auteur. Le comportement de Villegagnon en ce pays-la. Les moeurs & façons de vivre estranges des Sauvages Bresiliens: avec un colloque de leur langage. Ensemble la description de plusieurs Animaux, Arbres, Herbes, & autres choses singulieres, & du tout inconnues par deça: dont on verra les sommaires des chapitres au commencement du liure. Avec les Figures, reveue, corrigee & bien augmentee de discours notables, en ceste troisieme Edition. Le tout recueilli sur les lieux par Iean de Lery, natif de la Margelle, terre de saint Sene, au Duché de Bourgogne (Geneve: Antoine Chappin, 1585).

among the *bouquinistes* of Paris or the rare-book dealers of London," but not a musicologist [1946: 86]. But the publication of the Paris Universal Exposition volume even though subsidized by Pedro II contains inexpensive, not well proofread musical plates.

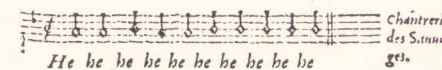
Camêu (1977) provides useful facsimiles of Léry's third edition. The Huntington Library, in San Marino, California, owns an issue of this edition that clears up doubts about various note-values not clearly reproduced in Camêu's facsimile. Transcription of the whole passage would be too long to reproduce here, and should be referred to Camêu [1977: 90-93]. Léry's excursus [1585: 277-286] containing melodies III, IV, and V need not be integrally repeated here, the whole passage being easily available in Camêu and in Sérgio Milliet's translation of the Paul Gaffarel French edition, *Viagem à Terra do Brasil*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Martins, 1951), pp. 191-196).<sup>47</sup>

Melodies III, IV and V enter Chapter XVI, which is headed "Ce qu'on peut appeler religion entre les Sauvages Bresiliens; des erreurs, ou certains abuseurs qu'ils ont entr'eux nommez Caraibes les detiennent: & de la grande ignorance de Dieu où ils sont plongez" [What can be called religion among the Brazilian Savages; the errors in which they are kept by certain deceivers that they have among themselves, called Caraibes; and the great ignorance of God in which they are submerged]. The 500 or 600 natives who gathered once every three or four years were on the occasion Léry witnessed their ceremony separated by the ten or twelve Caraibes present into three groups--men, women and

47. See also Harrison, 1973: 10-14.

children. Léry and his two companions who remained with the women in a house some 30 steps away from the men began hearing a low murmur, like the saying of daily hours. Next, the approximately 200 women stood up and pressed together into a close group, whereupon the men raised their voices and began repeating two-tone melody III--the text consisting of He, he, he, he. In tremulous voices the women answered the men with repetitions of the same exclamation, He, he, he, he, that eventually rose to shouts lasting more than a quarter of an hour. Subsequent

Melody III



howling, leaping in the air and, eventually, something like an epileptic seizure for some, brought devil-possession to Léry's mind. Despite more than six months' contact with those natives, Léry felt afraid until they stopped howling. After a small pause, they started singing again, this time however with such agreement that Léry lost his fright and moved in to observe the men at closer quarters. The men danced in a circle--"ains etans arrengez en rond" [Harrison, 1973: 13]. As Léry elsewhere had already observed ("leurs beuveries & caouinages" [1585: 136]):

Il faut noter en ceste endroit, qu'en toutes les danses de nos Sauvages, soit qu'ils se suyvent l'un l'autre, ou, comme ie diray, parlant de leur religion, qu'ils soyent disposez en rond, les femmes ny les filles, nestant iamis meslees parmi les hommes, si elles veulent danser cela ce fera à part elles [it should here be remarked that in all dances of our savages, whether they are following one another, as I will say when speaking

of their religion, or whether they are disposed in a circle, the women as well as the girls never mix with the men; if they want to dance, they do so apart from men).

Melody IV is perhaps the most melodically developed of all five. The Caraibes, who unlike the other dancers did not remain stationary but who instead jumped forward and backward, started blowing tobacco smoke from wooden pipes four to five feet in length--"l'herbe de Petun seche et allumee" [tobacco herb dried and lighted up]. They did so to instil power into the 500 or 600 Indians, who by now had been dancing and singing for nearly two hours without interruption.

Il y eut une telle melodie qu'attende qu'ils ne sçavaient que c'est de l'art de Musique, ceux qui ne les ont ouys ne croiroient iamaïs qu'ils s'accordassent si bien. Et de fait, au lieu que du commencement de ce sabbat (estant comme i'ay dit en la maison des femmes) i'avois eu quelque crainte, i'eu lors en recompense une telle ioye, que non seulement oyant les accords si bien mesurez d'une telle multitude, & sur tout pour la cadence & refrain de la balade, à chacun couplet tous en traissant leurs voix, disans en ceste sorte:



i'en demeuray tout ravi: mais aussi toutes les fois qu'il m'en ressouvient, le coeur m'en tressaillant, il me semble que ie les aye encor aux oreilles.

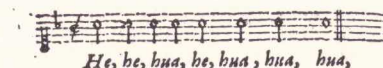
[Léry, 1585: 285-6]

[Considering that they do not know what musical art is, their melody was such that those who did not hear them would never believe that they adjusted to each other so well. To say truly, while I had had some fear at the beginning of this sabbath (being as I have said in the women's house), by now I was recompensed with such joy in not only hearing the so well measured sounds of such a crowd but above all the cadence and refrain of the song --at each verse every one voicing the following (Musical

notation)--I was completely enraptured. Every time that I recall it, my beating heart seems to tell me that I am again hearing it].

When they were at last ready to stop, they more strongly pounded their right foot on the ground, spat forward, and sang Melody V together two or three times with a raucous voice, thus closing the ceremony.

Melody V



Not knowing the native idiom perfectly, Léry resorted to an interpreter who explained the sense of the ceremony: "en premier lieu qu'ils avoyent fort insisté à regretter leurs grands peres decedez, lesquels estoyent si vaillians: toutesfois qu'en fin ils s'estoyent consolez, en ce qu'apres leur mort ils s'asseuroyent de les aller trouver derriere les hautes montagnes, où ils danseroient & se resioiroyent avec eux" [in the first place they had very insistently regretted their deceased grandparents, who had been so brave. They were, however, consoled, in view of the fact that they were going to meet them beyond the high mountains, where they would dance and rejoice with them] [1585: 286].

Leite quotes a passage from Thevet in which he finds similarities:<sup>48</sup>

48. Most of Leite's comparisons are made in relation to Thevet's Les Singvlaritez de la France Antarctique, avtrement nommée Amerique: & de plusieurs Terres & Isles decouvertes de nostre temps (Paris: Chez les heretiers de Maurice de la Porte, 1557), whose publisher and place

Neantmoins le grand dueil se fait les quatre ou cinq apres les trespas. C'est chose hideuse de les ouyr crier, lorsqu'ils lamentent: & en est aussi plaisante l'harmonie qu'est le bruit des Chiens & Chats s'entrebattans ensemble. Vous verriez hommes & femmes couchees sur leurs litz pendants, les autres le cul contre terre, s'embrassans l'un l'autre, & faisans mille signes de tristesse, usans les femmes de telles parolles en leur langue Cherémimotarouéreyemen, faisans cest y-men long de quatre à cinq poses ou environ. puis après font un soupir ainsi, eh, hē, hē, hē, heh: puis vn autre ēh, hē, hēh, heh, heh, de deux pose & demie ou enuiron. Et pour la quatrieme fois hē, de pose & demie, lesquelles pleurs & lamentation si elles estoient visitees aux femmes de pardeça pourroient entre ainsi interpretees. Cestuy là que i'aymois tant, Helas! Les enfans & autres parens vsent de parolles de telle substance, Helas, Nostre pere & amy est mort! il estoit tant hōme de bien, si vaillant à la guerre, & auoit fait mourir grand nombre de noz ennemis. Hé qu'il estoit puissant Y fort! comme il labouroit bien nos iardins, & prenoit des bestes & possons pour nous nourrir! Helas! il est trespasé, nous ne le verrons plus, si ce n'est apres la mort que nous irōs avec noz amis, au païs, que nos Pages nous disent auoir veu.

Thevet, Cosmographie Vniuerselle, II, 926; Leite's italics in both Léry and Thevet for comparative purposes

[Nonetheless, they chiefly mourn four or five days after the decease. It is something hideous to hear their lamentation: which is as pleasing as the noise made by dogs and cats fighting each other. Some men and women would lie prostrate on their hanging beds; others, backs on the ground, would embrace one another, and make a thousand signs of sadness. The women use words in their language such as Cherémimotouéreyemen, making y-men last four to five seconds or thereabouts. After that they produce a sigh such as eh, hē, hē, hē, heh, followed by another ēh, hē, hēh, heh, heh, of two and a half seconds or so. And still he for the fourth time, one and a half seconds. Those cries and lamentations by the women there could be thus interpreted: 'This was the one I loved so much, alas!'. The children and

of publication, or else the date, do not correspond. In the present quotation, he is using Thevet's La Cosmographie Vniuerselle (Paris: Pierre l'Huillier, 1575).

other relatives sigh 'Alas, our father and friend is dead! He was such a good man, so brave at war, and who brought death to so many of our enemies. How powerful and strong he was! How well he labored in our gardens, and caught animals and fish to nourish us! Alas! He is deceased, and we will see him no more, since it is not until after death that we will go with our friends to the country that our Pajés tell us they have seen!']

Concerning their continual drinking bouts,<sup>49</sup> Léry wrote:

Semblablement aussi, soit qu'ils boivent peu ou prou, outre ce que i'ay dit, qu'eux n'engendrants iamais melancolie, ont ceste coustume de s'assembler tous les iours pour danser & s'esjouir en leurs villages, encor les ieunnes hommes à marier ont cela de particulier, qu'avec chacun un de ces grans pennaches qu'ils nomment Araroye,<sup>50</sup> lié sur les reins, & quelques fois le Maraca

49. Léry could have added at least one detail missing from his account of Tupinambá drinking bouts had he known Staden's Wahrhaftige Historia: "An der Stelle, wo sie trinken, schlagen sie auch ihr Wasser ab" [1963: 127]. Staden described cauim drinking in Part II, chapter 15. However, because Léry did not know German he denied having read Staden until after the French translation was published in 1586 [1951: 43, fn. 67]. His frequent citation of Gómara indicates that he may have been able to read Spanish: "It is still less possible for me to satisfy those who consider books useless or sterile which are not enriched by other people's examples and citations; for, though I could have quoted countless authors, except for the historian of the West Indies [Gómara] I very rarely resorted to others" [1951: 43].

50. Discussing the significance of araroye, Yves d'Evreux wrote [1864: 23]: "Et de faict ie voulu sçauoir par mon Truchement pourquoy ils portoient ces plumes d'Autruche sur les reins: ils me firent responce que leurs peres leur auoient laissé ceste coustume, afin de les enseigner comment ils se deuoient comporter en guerre contre les ennemis, imitans le naturel de l'Autruche, qui est quand elle se sent la plus forte, qu'elle vient hardiment contre celui qui la poursuit: si elle se sent la plus foible, leuant ses aisles pour emboufer le vent, elle s'enfuit, iettant de ses pates le sable & les pierres vers son ennemy: ainsi deuons nous faire, disoient-ils" [When I wanted to know through my interpreter why they used those ostrich [emu] feathers over their loins, they answered me that their fathers had bequeathed them this custom in order to teach them how they should behave against warring enemies: imitating the ostrich [emu], which when feeling stronger boldly attacks its pursuer and when weaker opens its wings to catch the wind, and run away, throwing up sand and stones with its



en la main, & les fruicts secs (desquels l'ay parlé cy dessus) sonnans comme coquilles d'escargots, liez & arrangez à l'entour de leurs iambes, ils ne font presque autre chose toutes les nuicts qu'en tel equippage aller & venir, sautans & dansans de maison en maison: tellement que les voyant & oyant si souvent faire ce mestier, il me resouvenoit de ceux qu'en certains lieux par-deçà on appelle valets de la feste, lesquels ès temps de leurs vogues & festes qu'ils font des saints & patrons de chacune parroise, s'en vont aussi en habits de fols, avec des marottes au poing, & des sonnettes aux iambes, bagnenaudans & dansans la Morisque parmi les maisons & les places {Whether they drink lots or a little, they gather together every day in their villages to dance and to enjoy themselves--for they never cultivate melancholy. Each of the young marriageable men wears those special great plumages that they call Araroye tied around their loins. With Maracá in hand and the dried fruits (about which I have spoken above) that sound like snail shells tied and disposed around their legs, they do almost nothing else every night, except to roam from house to house, leaping and dancing--so much so that seeing them thus equipped and listening to them doing this business so often, I was reminded of those whom we call valets de la feste who, at the time of festivities for saints and patrons of each parish, circulate from house to house in ridiculous attire, with trinkets in their fist and little bells on their legs, fooling around and dancing the Morris-dance}.

(Léry, 1585: 136; Leite's italics indicate passages derived from an illustration in Thevet (see Appendix 2))

Métraux offers useful summaries both for the fabrication of the cauim [1928a: 112-113] and, more to the point, for the contexts in which cauim drinking took place [1928b: 197-200]. In his chapter entitled "Les fêtes de boisson," Métraux insists that there was no

feet against its enemy. Thus should we do, they said. Ferdinand Denis, editor of d'Evreux's Voyages dans le nord du Brésil fait durant les années 1613 et 1614 [(Leipzig and Paris: A. Franck, 1864), p. 437], opined that d'Evreux had not read Thevet's publication of 1558 [1557], nor the more recent one by Léry. Quite the opposite is likelier.

important occasion in the social or religious life of the Tupinambá not enlivened with "vast consumptions" of cauim. Among such occasions he lists [1928b: 197]: "birth of a child, first menstruation of a girl, the perforation of the lower lip of a boy, magical ceremonies preceding departure for war or following the return, the ritual massacre of a prisoner, the occasion when the tribe went to work on felling for the chief, and every gathering to discuss important affairs." Métraux's discussion of the music for such events owes more to Sousa [1974: 176] than to Léry.

Were Léry's melodies part of the memoirs that he claims "were in great part written with the ink of Brazil" (1951: 27)? If he did not exaggerate the hardships of the return trip it is hard to conceive how Léry's memoirs could have survived storms, imminent threat of shipwreck more than once, fire, flooding, and loss of part of his baggage [1951: 229]. According to his own telling, not until 1563 did he decide on publishing his memoirs, and then only at the prompting of friends [1951: 27]. Helza Camêu [1977: 26], who reminds us that Gaffarel saw Léry's as an "oeuvre de souvenir"--a work of recollection--probably heads in the right direction. Additionally, the melodies awaited the third edition. If he had enough musical expertise to notate the melodies in Brazil, why after all is his musical information so scanty and fragmentary?

However, between a general true or false, the evidence tips in favor of Léry's fragments as being actual Tupinambá music. The fact that Léry was merely a shoemaker, and as yet not an ordained Calvinist

minister, does not prejudice the case against him. If the situation in sixteenth-century Germany had any counterpart in France and in Geneva, middle-class music-making among members of the guilds of craftsmen was already in its heyday. One of those shoemakers, Hans Sachs (1494-1576) from Nuremberg, became one of the most famous Meistersinger of the sixteenth century--being both a poet and composer. Even if the annotations were not done in situ, there would still be margin for their having been taken from either Tupinambá Indians brought to Europe, or by some of those Norman interpreters whom Léry himself mentions. Ferdinand Denis [1968 = 1850] revealed how well known were the mores and customs of the Tupinambá and Tabajara in one French city six years before Léry's Brazilian sojourn when he studied a regional French publication dated 1551: Cest la dedvction du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dresses, et exhibes par les citoiens de Rouen ville Metropolitaine du pays de Normandie, A la sacre Maiesté du Treschristian Roy de France, Henry secōd leur souuerain Seigneur, Et à Tresillustre dame, ma Dame Katharine de Medicis, la Royme son espouze, lors de leur triumphant ioyeux & nouuel aduenement en icelle ville, Qui fut es iours de Mercredy & iuedy premier & secōd iours d'Octobre, Mil cinq cens cinquante . . . (Rouen: Iean le Prest for Iehan du Gord, 1550). Moraes commented on the 1551 festivities involving Brazilian Indians [1958: I, 152]:<sup>51</sup>

51. Moraes [1958: I, 154] adds that "concerning the subject of the Brazilian Indian in France in the sixteenth century there is vast bibliography; see Denis Godefroy's Ceremonial français."

In October 1550, Henry II of France and his 'bien aimée compaignie' Catherine of Medici solemnly entered the city of Rouen. As was the custom, great festivities included theatre, cortèges, recitatives, etc. But the 'clou' of these festivities was the construction of a Brazilian Indian village on a square close to the river. The natural local flora were reinforced with bushes and trees painted red to simulate Brazilian wood, and multi-colored fruits were hung from them. Huts were built similar to those of actual Indian tribes. Some fifty Brazilian Indians who had been brought from their country by the Norman sailors, and who lived in the city, were assembled to populate this forest. These Brazilian Indians living at Rouen were one of the city's curiosities for a long time. Later, in 1562, when Charles IX visited the city they were presented to the King. Montaigne was present at the interview, and he must have retained a vivid recollection of the Indians, for he refers to them in a famous passage of his Essais. However, returning to the festivities of 1550: to complete the population of the village some 150 sailors who had travelled to Brazil masqueraded as Indians (their naked bodies completely painted and reclined in hammocks behaving as if they were in a real Indian village, the sailors speaking 'the language as well' as the Indians.

The success of the spectacle was enormous. It reached a climax when the Indians simulating an attack between the 'Toupinambaulx' and the 'Tabageres' assailed each other with arrows, and ended by putting fire to the huts.

According to Denis [1968: 22] "during the Renaissance the habit of introducing Americans in all solemm festivities had become almost general." He mentions two other occasions, during the reign of Charles IX, in which Indians took part. At the entry of Charles IX in the city of Troyes, on March 23, 1564, "des sauvages figurèrent" [savages appeared]; but Denis complains that Godefroy's Ceremonial is silent about their nationality [1868: 23]. Better can be said of the entry that took place at Bordeaux, April 9, 1565:

On vit paraître trois cents hommes d'armes 'conduisans douze nations estrangères captives, telles qu'estoient Grecs, Turcs, Arabes, Égyptiens,



Taprobaniens, Indiens, Canariens, Mores, Éthiopiens, sauvages américains (sic) et Brésiliens. Les capitaines desquels haranguèrent devant le Roy chacun en sa langue entendue, par le truchement, qui l'interprétoit à Sa Maesté" [Three hundred military men appeared leading twelve captive foreign nations, among them Greeks, Turks, Arabs, Egyptians, Taprobaniens, Indians, Canaries, Moors, Ethiopians, American savages and Brazilians].

[1968: 23]

### Léry's notation

Transcription of Léry's five melodies into modern notation [Harrison, 1973: 203] does not necessarily enhance understanding of the originals. They were not "pieces," as the descriptions make clear. Melody IV, which Léry called a refrain--"cadence & refrain de la ballade, à chacun couplet tous en trainans leurs voix, disans en ceste sorte" [1585: 285]--comes after nearly two hours of continuous dancing and singing. Melody V is a closing formula. But to what? Léry does not specify the relation of Melody IV to V, nor does he notate any of the solo calls. At best, he notates only snatches out of the many reiterations and some variations allowed by the culture and the religious circumstances. Notwithstanding its obvious incongruity with Tupinambá music, the older notation better befits it than does present-day dress. Apart from having corresponded with predominantly vocal music, Léry's notation--having a slightly less familiar look--forces reflection on the sound conceptions it was meant to have captured. Josquin des Près, Cabral,<sup>52</sup> and the Tupiniquin of the discovery were after all contemporaries; so were Palestrina, Léry, and Tupinambá. Léry's

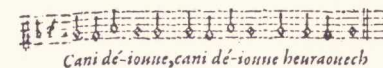
52. Cabral's dates (1460?-1526?) are comparable with Josquin's (?1440-1521) and Palestrina's (?1525-1594) with Léry's (1534-1611).

notation poses no more problems than the same notation to graph the music of that Portuguese bagpipe by which Diogo Dias danced and enthralled the Tupiniquin in 1500.

Melodies I and II presented out of context by Léry turn up in chapters dealing with the the variety of birds in America (Brazil), and with the most common fish and the manner of catching them:

L'avtre [oiseau] nommé Canidé, ayant toute le plumage sous le ventre & à l'entour du col aussi iaune que fin or: le dessus du dos, les aisles & la queue, d'vn bleu si naif qu'il n'est pas possible de plus, estant aduis qu'il soit vestu d'vne toile d'or par dessous, & emmantelé de damas violet figuré par dessus, on est ravi de telle beauté.

Les Sauvages en leurs chansons, font communement mention de ce dernier, disans & repetans souuent selon ceste musique:



*Canidé-iaune, canidé-iaune heuraouch*

c'est à dire, vn oyseau iaune, vn oyseau iaune, &c. car iaoue, ou ioup vent dire iaune en leur l'age. Et au surplus, cōbien que ces deux oyseaux [le Canidé et l'Arat] ne soyēt pas domestiques, estās neātmoins plus coustumièrement sur les arbres au milieu des villages que parmi les bois, nos Tououpinambaoults les plumans soigneusement trois ou quatre fois l'année, font (comme i'ay dit ailleurs) fort proprement des robes, bonnets, bracelets, garnitures d'espees de bois & autres choses de ces belles plumes, dont ils se parent le corps.

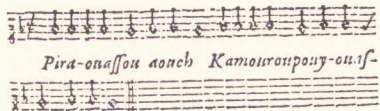
[The other [bird] called Canidé has all its plumage as yellow as fine gold; under the belly and around the neck. The upper part of the back, the wings, and the tail are of a blue that could not possibly be more beautiful. It looks as if it were dressed with a golden cloth underneath, and mantled with purple-colored figured damask above, causing one to be ravished by such beauty.

The Savages commonly mention this bird in their songs, saying and often repeating this music: [Melody I];

that is to say, a yellow bird, a yellow bird, etc., because iouue or ioup means yellow in their language. In addition, though these two birds (the Canidé and the Arat) are not domestic, being nonetheless found more usually over the trees in the middle of the village rather than in the woods, our Tououpinambaoults carefully pluming them three or four times a year very appropriately make mantles, head pieces, bracelets, fittings for wooden clubs and other things (as I mentioned before) with these beautiful feathers to adorn the body .

[1585: 158]

CAMOVROVPOVY-OVASSOV, est vn biē grand poisson (car aussi Ouassou en langue Bresilienne veut dire grand ou gros, selon l'accent qu'on luy dōne) duquel nos Tououpinambaoults dansans & chantans, font ordinairement mention, disans, & repetās souuent ceste chanterrie,



CAMOVROVPOVY-OVASSOV, is a very big fish (for Ouassu also means big or fat in Brazilian language) which our Tououpinambaoults frequently mention when dancing and singing, saying and repeating often this chanting [Melody II], and it is very good to eat .

[1585: 173]

In Melody I it is difficult to say whether the two notes before the last are voids or blacks. As for the clefs (second line, mezzo soprano) and the d' flat in the second space, only the French editions of 1600 (for both melodies) and 1611 (for Melody II only) maintain

both features. The first Latin edition (1586) already modifies clef and key signature for both melodies, starting the improvements by experts still in vogue as late as Harrison [1973: 203]. Azevedo's transcription [1946 = 1941: 91] of Melody II includes a rest between the fifth and fourth notes before the end (anticipatory sign  $\surd$  used to help the continuity of the reading at the change of staves interpreted as a minimum rest). If the choice of clef reflects pitches in an absolute sense, Melodies I and II hovering around c', though too high for basses, and too low for sopranos, could of course have been comfortably sung by tenors.

The fact that no specific context for the first and the second melodies is mentioned, except singing, or singing and dancing, has allowed some authors free rein to their imagination. Léry's canindé (Ara ararauana, Linn.) has been changed from yellow to blue by Almeida [1942: 23], who foists his "A blue bird, a blue bird" on us without the slightest regard for Léry's text, the Tupi language and the Tupi-nambá.<sup>53</sup> In thus belying Léry he joins Léry's earlier traducers, Rousseau and Fétis. Azevedo [1946: 90] gave Melody I a name: "Song of the Yellow Bird, Canindé Ioune." For him [1938a: 40] "the Léry songs mentioned . . . are pure formulas of incantation and invocation of the spirits." Gallet [1934: 43], who decorated Melody I with tempo and

53. Plínio Ayrosa, a Tupi authority in São Paulo, transliterates canindé júb, canindé júb, eýra oaé to mean "Yellow canindé, yellow canindé, such as honey" [Léry, 1951: 136].

The canindé is a type of arara--the great gold and blue macaw.

character indications, legato slurs and details of phrasing, and parsed it in 6/4 (without time signature), described "Canide Iune" as "an invocation to the 'Yellow Bird' celebrating its beauty." Despite Gallet's perspicacity, Melody I is here well on its way to becoming the character piece made of it by Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) who like Gallet (1893-1931) belonged to the generation of "green and yellow [the national colors] nationalism" [Azevedo, 1948: 73]. Villa-Lobos's distinguished biographer, Vasco Mariz [1977: 144], calls Villa-Lobos's version of "Canide Ioune" "elegiac, based on theme collected by Jean de Léry, the sixteenth-century French traveller, reproducing the singing of the yellow bird." At this point Melody I becomes a piece of descriptive music. (Unfortunately, the vocal talents of the macaw are far from rivalling its good looks.)

Prado's initiative in 1889 lagged almost two decades behind the first appearance in 1870 of a Brazilian Indian on the operatic stage--Gomes's Peri, a Guarani singing in Italian. Another two decades were to elapse before the first Brazilian music history included Léry's melodies. Guilherme de Mello [1922: 1622], repeating in the Diccionario Historico, Geographico e Ethnographico do Brasil, v. 1, pt. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro, 1922) what he said in the original edition (1908) of A música no Brasil averred that "the first of these passages [Léry's Melody I] represents a faunian song, which celebrates the beauty of the yellow bird: Canide iaune--yellow bird; the second [Melody IV], however, is an elegiac song, which they denominated sabbath." Continuing, Mello assessed Léry's melodies thus:

Observing the character of the music of the Indians transmitted by Léry, one can see how much it is impregnated of barbaric and savage feelings, ending almost always in superstitious and cabalistic interjections such as "He, he, he, he, he/He, he, hua, He, he, hua/Heura, Heura, Heura, ouech" [phonetic values represented by French spellings]. And this must not cause us astonishment since still even today vestiges of this hideous cannibalism and of these superstitious beliefs are found among the impure creole rabble, in whose veins still runs the uncultivated blood of the African. What are the candomblés, if not a faithful and authentic copy of the Indian sabbaths?

[1922: 1623]

Ironically, Mello was himself a mulatto, beset however by feelings of cultural inferiority. Even so, not all is lost with Mello, so far as Amerindian music goes. His list of instruments, some of which he briefly described [1922: 1624] includes among aerophones the membí-chuê, cangoera, uatapú, inubia or enubia, membí-tarará, pemi, mimi, toré or bqré, tori, mimê, oufuá; and among idiophones the cotecá, curugú, maracá or caracaxá, curuqui, and the wapi or watapi.

#### Earliest republications of Léry's melodies

The first to republish a Léry fragment was the lay brother named Gabriel Sagard (to which he added "Theodat"), a French missionary of the Recollect branch of the Franciscans who worked in Canada between June 1623 and the autumn of 1624. His comments on the music of the Huron in a chapter entitled "Des dances, chansons et autres ceremonies ridicules," of his Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hvrns, situé en l'Amerique vers la Mer douce, és derniers confins, de la nouvelle

France, dite Canada (Paris: Denys Moreau, 1632),<sup>54</sup> derive chiefly from Lescarbot's Histoire de la Nouvelle France (Sagard, 1939: xvii).

Sagard also knew either the 1585, 1600, or 1611 published versions of Léry's Melodies III and IV. However, he permitted himself the liberty of repeating final notes, between the quotation of the solmization syllables in the text and the following four-part harmonizations. In his chaste harmonizations of three Huron melodies, followed by one of his harmonizations of Léry's Melody IV, he confides the quoted melody to the superius. The third of the Huron melodies,<sup>55</sup> whose text is Tameia alleluia, tameia a dou veni, hau, hau, hě, hě (sol, sol, sol, fa, fa, re, re, re, fa, fa, sol, sol, sol, fa, fa, re, re) reached Sagard from an author whose name he does not vouchsafe:

quelque chanson qui se disoit un iour en la Cabane du grand Sagamo des Souriquois, à la loüange du Diable . . . ainsi que nous apprist vn François qui s'en dist tesmoin auriculaire [some song that used to be said one day in the lodge of the great Sagamore of the Souriquois in praise of the devil . . . as it was taught us by a Frenchman who said he had heard it himself].

The next after Sagard to levy Léry's melodies was the theorist Marin Mersenne--who used three Tupinambá melodies and an additional "Chanson Canadoise" to demonstrate the naturalness of the diatonic

54. George M. Wrong, editor of a modern translation entitled The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939) included a complete transcript of the original text.

55. Fétis [1869: 15] quotes something similar, referring it to Jean de Laet's Novus Orbis (1633), and saying that "the Souriquois, primitive inhabitants of Canada, used to sing it at a feast called Tabaya (at the time of the claiming of that country by Jacques Cartier . . . in 1537).

over other genera [1963 = 1636: 148]. Neither the reasoning nor meticulousness of the Minorite friar can be impugned. Not only does he study the physiological functioning of the human larynx, but also he duly notes the possibility of cultural bias. He is aware that the apparent facility represented by the diatonic degrees possibly "ne viens que de la coustume qui nous preoccupe quasitous" [derives only from custom to which almost all of us are habituated] [1963: 147]. Since Mersenne can find no clear confirmation from physiology and does not know what degrees a "singer who had never heard any singing" would emit [1636: 148], he bases his conclusions on these mere probabilities: (1) that the peoples whose music he quotes lack musicians among them; and (2) that the notations available to him indeed represent reality. Mersenne could perhaps have heard the six Tupinambá taken from Maranhão to France in 1613 by Claude d'Abbeville and the Seigneur de Rasily. Even though interest in Equinoctial France and the fate of Capuchin missionizing in northern Brazil was subsiding by the time the Tupinambá reached Paris in April of 1613, the six Indians were taken to pay tribute before Marie de Médicis, regent of France since 1610, and the twelve-year-old Louis XIII.<sup>56</sup> Mersenne had already in

56. Moraes [1958: I, 5-7] gives an excellent account of the extreme curiosity around the Indians, and of the Capuchin publicity campaign--apparently in view of their rivalry with the Jesuits in matters of catechization--which resulted in the news of the arrival of the Indians being known even in Italy and Germany, through publications in the respective vernaculars already in 1613. Of great interest is the correspondence of François de Malherbe, mentioned by Moraes, which, among certain details even of marriage arrangements for the surviving Indians (apparently with women of a rather low station), tells about the dancing with maracás (letter dated April 15, 1613). He describes

1611 started his novitiate, in 1613 was ordained after studying theology and Hebrew at Paris. Despite French editions of Léry's melodies, Mersenne preferred De Bry's *America tertia pars*, first published in 1592,<sup>57</sup> second edition in 1605 [Moraes, 1958: I, 212]. Not only does Mersenne quote De Bry's Latin paraphrase of Léry's text but also he uses De Bry's "corrected" alterations of the clef position and key signature that affect both absolute pitch and interval relationships. Here are Léry's five melodies as corrected by De Bry:

Melody I



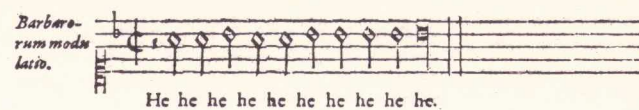
Melody II



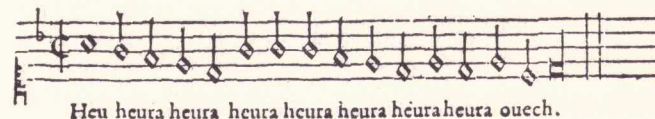
it as "une espèce de branle sans se tenir pour les mains et sans bouger d'une place" [a kind of branle without holding hands and without moving from one place] --always the same details which are expressive of both cultures in contact, by contrast, namely the question of dancing.

57. De Bry's versions quoted from the University Research Library copy at UCLA. The title reads: *America tertia pars Memorabilē provinciae Brasiliae Historiam continēs, germanico primum sermone scriptam a Ioāne Stadio Homburgensi Hesso, nunc autem latinitate donatam à Teucro Annaeo Privato Colchante Po: & Med: Addita est Narratio profecti nis Ioannis Leri in eandem Provinciam, quā ille initio gallicē conscripsit, postea verò Latinam fecit. His accessit Descriptio Morum & ferocitatis incolarum illius Regionis, atque Colloquium ipsorum idiomate conscriptum. Omnia recens evulgata, & eiconibus in aes incisus ac ad vivum expressis illustrata, ad normam exemplaris praedictorum Autorum. Theodori de Bry Leodiniensis, atque civis Francofurtensis anno MDXCII.*

Melody III



Melody IV



Melody V



The De Bry corrections involved the following shifts:

- Melody I - Change of clef from the second to the first line, while preserving the original position of the notes in the staff, pitches the melody a third higher. Transposition and the modification of the flat from D $\flat$  to B $\flat$  turns the pitch series b-c'-d'flat into d'-e'-f'. An extra note between the last two, possibly to accommodate the text better, makes the melody rhythmically square and repetitious;
- Melody II - Position of clef in the second line preserved, but position of flats altered from D $\flat$  to B $\flat$ . General pitch level (c') preserved, but interval relationship changed from minor second (d'flat-c') to major second (d'-c'). Rhythmic values halved but general relationships preserved except that the first, third and fourth e' are lengthened (doubled) and made equivalent to the second c'. Result: symmetry and less flexibility;
- Melody III - Position of the clef retained, but notes written a third higher; half step e'-f' changed into half step a'-b'flat; quarter-note values suppressed,

turning the fragment into a succession of equal values until the last note; once again, a move toward symmetry;

Melody IV - Position of clef kept, and alteration of flat from  $A\flat$  to  $B\flat$ ; text modified toward monotonous repetition of "heura" only, except for initial "heu" and final "oueh" (turned into "ouech" in De Bry's version); two added notes stressed by longer value create a climax at the beginning of the melody, followed by a general descending melody; rhythm consequently also becomes less fluid;

Melody V - Similar observation as to clef position and flat (modification from  $A\flat$  to  $B\flat$  does not affect the actual pitches, but the tonal sense); four additional repercussions of the reciting tone  $a'$  corresponding to a textual addition of an "he" and the treatment of the three "hua" as two syllables (as in the first time it appears, making altogether four appearances of "hua"), instead of as diphthongs; modification of the final note to  $f'$ , creating an emphatic cadence; rhythmic alterations once again in the direction of symmetry and squareness.

The differences between the De Bry versions and L ery's 1585 version can also be reduced to the following interval count:

	L�ery (1585) (original)	De Bry (1592) (revised)
m2 down	20.3	9.1
m2 up	8.5	3.0
M2 down	8.5	21.2
M2 up	8.5	10.6
d3 up	3.4	-
m3 down	-	-
m3 up	-	4.6
M3 down	1.7	3.0
M3 up	-	-
P4 down	-	-
P4 up	1.7	1.5
Note repetition	47.4	47.0
Total	100.0	100.0

As the table shows, De Bry's corrections brought the Tupinamb  melodies closer to a European ideal such as the Gregorian melody Alma redemptoris mater by replacing descending minor seconds with descending major seconds, replacing the diminished thirds of Melody I with minor thirds, and including two descending major thirds.

If value judgments can be admitted to a scientific discussion, the distinctive musical features lost between the earliest version (1585) and the De Bry "corrected" melodies (1592), strongly argue for the authenticity of L ery's uncorrected melodies. Basically, between the two alternatives--the first to accept the priority of the earliest, despite the features that may seem naive or incorrect; the second to suggest "probable" corrections or intentions [Azevedo, 1946: 91]--who can claim enough knowledge of the grammar involved and sufficient evidence to guide the criticism?

In transcribing the fragments, Harrison [1973: 203] oscillates between one criterion and the other.<sup>58</sup> He presents Melody I according to the original version of 1585, with the unusual  $D\flat$  accepted as intentional; but adopts a revised version for Melody II (similar to De Bry's); he presents Melody IV, however, in a revised form not De Bry's; and Melody V appears in two versions: the original French edition (1585), and the earliest Latin one (1586).

58. Harrison's footnotes vouch for the five editions of L ery's book which he consulted: 1585 (third French edition), 1586 (first Latin edition), 1593 (German translation), 1605 (Latin text published in Frankfurt), and 1625 (three melodies in Purchas). Azevedo had already considered two of them (1585, 1586), which he compared with four more among the earliest 1600 and 1611 (French), 1594 (second Latin edition), and 1592 (De Bry's Latin).

The laborious task of comparing chronologically the early editions, despite Azevedo's contribution and the additions by Camêu and Harrison, has not been completed. However commendable this task, the first edition makes strong claims until better critical criteria can be developed. Contrary to Mersenne's view, diatonicism does not necessarily represent Tupi "naturalness." Some recorded Camaiurá music clearly shows that among this Tupi group, at least, two half steps bounded by a tritone were a possibility (Music of Mato Grosso, Side 1, Band 1, in which a group of women sing social music with pitches approximately represented by  $b\sharp-c'\sharp-d'\sharp-e'\sharp-f'\sharp$ ;<sup>59</sup> half steps of some sort enter most of the Camaiurá vocal music recorded in this disc). Therefore, the recorded evidence of Brazilian Indian music does not permit calling the version of Melody I given in the 1585 edition unique. If indeed the actual music approached the form represented by the notation, whoever notated it was remarkably prescient. No middle ground serves; either Léry (or someone assisting him) had sufficient ethnographic objectivity to mold the notation to the needs of the music; or, in view of the needless and unusual accidentals in the notation of Melodies IV and V, the gross "misprints" that marred the third edition reveal a distressing dearth of editorial expertise. Whether Mersenne

59. Though this progression could fit into a diatonic  $b-c-d-e-f$ , the context in which those approximate pitches appear seems to emphasize the two half steps:  $c'\sharp-b\sharp$  (downwards), and  $e'\sharp-f'\sharp$  (upwards). The tritone between the highest and lowest pitches is also too evident to be ignored. Whether terms such as chromatic or diatonic have any place at all here is the real question. In its broadest sense, chromaticism already implies a deviation from an established "natural" scale. (See Harvard Dictionary, "Chromaticism" and "Diatonic" [1969: 164, 231]).

heard the Tupinambá or not is not known. However, he could hardly have missed hearing about their arrival, since the propaganda attending the arrival of the Tupinambá was intense. Not only does Malherbe's correspondence with Mersenne's patron Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc reveal this, but Moraes certified as much in a note to d'Abbeville's Histoire de la Mission des Peres Capucins en l'Isle de Maragnan et terres circonvoisines ov est traicte des singularitez admirables & des Meurs merueilleuses des Indiens habitants de ce pais (Paris: Imprimerie de François Huby, 1614).<sup>60</sup>

The news was spread by the publication in several languages of information about the expedition, and about the spectacular solemnities . . . . The procession . . . the reception at Court, and . . . the baptism of the savages, deserved being remembered by the Mercure François as a distinctive event in the regency of Marie de Médicis.

[Moraes, 1958: I, 5]

Fétis cited "P. Kalen's" Reis door Noord-Amerika (Utrecht, 1772, in 4<sup>o</sup>), Pl. 7, as "rectification" (ratification?) of Rousseau's "Chansons des Sauvages du Canada" (Rousseau's juxtaposition of Melodies I, III, and IV in his Dictionnaire de Musique [(Paris, Duchesne, 1768), Pl. N ]. But Fétis misprints P. Kalen for Pehr Kalm (1716-1779), a

60. A modern facsimile edition has been brought out with an "Introduction" by Alfred Métraux and Jacques Lafaye. See Claude d'Abbeville, Histoire de la Mission des Pères Capucins (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1963). D'Abbeville adds numerous ethnographic observations for the four months he spent in the country. After him, twelve more French Capuchins would soon travel to Brazil. Yves d'Evreux, one of the four members of the original mission, remained there a total of two years. Once returned to France, he could not go back to Brazil, perhaps on account of ill health. Ambroise d'Amiens died in Brazil; Arsène de Paris was sent to the Huron in Canada.

Swedish naturalist who travelled in the United States and in Canada between 1748 and 1751. Kalm's account was published in Swedish as En Resa til Norra America (Stockholm: Lars Salvii, 1753); in Dutch as Reis door Noord Amerika, gedaan door den heer Pieter Kalm, 2 vols. (Utrecht: J. van Schoonhoven, 1772); English translation as Peter Kalm's Travels in North America, edited by Adolph B. Benson (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937). Fétis's pompous errors cause infinite trouble. "Abemaale," author of Nieuwe reyse door Caracasland, whose Pl. 2 must account for another of Fétis's "singularities"--his attribution of Melody I to "Caribes noirs." Are those "Caribes noirs" indeed Black Caribs, or merely Fétis's confusion of Léry's Caribes (= pajés or shamans) with Caribs? Does Fétis's fictitious Abemaale equal Pieter van der Aa, redactor of Brasiliaanz scheepvaard door Johan Lérius?<sup>61</sup>

The following excerpt [Léry, 1585: 286] mentions the Caribes that Fétis seems to have turned into Black Caribs:

Semblablement qu'à toute outrance il's auoyent menacez les Ouetacas (nation de Sauvages leurs ennemis, lesquels comme i'ay dit ailleurs sont si vaillans qu'ils ne les ont iamais peu dompter) d'estre bien tost prins & mangez par eux, ainsi que leur auoyent promis leurs Caribes. Au surplus qu'ils auoyent entremeslé & fait mention en leurs chasons, que leseaux s'estans vne fois tellement desbordées qu'elles couuriret toute la terre, tous les hommes du monde, excepte leurs grands peres qui se sauuerent sur les plus hauts arbres de leur pays, furent noyez: lequel dernier poinct, qui est ce qu'ils tiennent entre eux approchant de l'Escriture sainte, ie leur ay d'autres fois depuis ouy reiterer [Similarly, they had direly threatened the Ouetacas [Goitacá] (a

61. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de F. J. Fétis acquise par l'Etat belge (Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969) lists no Abemaale, Léry, or Kalen, nor is the De Bry's work listed America tertia pars.

nation of savages who were their enemies, who as I have said elsewhere are so brave that they have never been able to subdue them) of being soon captured and eaten by them, for such their Caribes had promised them. In addition, they intermingled and mentioned in their songs the waters having been once so much overflowed that they covered the whole earth. All the men of the world, with the exception of their grandfathers who had saved themselves by climbing over the highest trees of their country, were drowned. This last point, which is the one of their beliefs that comes near the holy scripture, I have heard them reiterate at other times.

#### Claude d'Abbeville

According to Claude d'Abbeville, the only occasion when women danced with men, placing their hand over their shoulder, was during the "canouinage" [1963: 299]:

Aduenant qu'ils n'ayent point de guerre ils passent vne partie de leurs temps en oysieté & employent le reste à danser, Caouinner, cahsser & pescher plustost pour se nourrir & recreer, que pour desir qu'ils ayent d'amasser des richesses.

La danse est le premier & le principal exercice des Maragnans, qui sont à mon aduis les plus grands danseurs qu'on trouue sous le ciel. Car il ne se passe iour qu'ils ne s'assemblent en leurs villages pour ce suiect, mais les danses ne sont si dissoluës entre ces barbares comme elles sont entre les Chrestiens, d'autant que les filles & les femmes ne dansent iamais avec les hommes, si ce n'est quelquefois en Caouinnant ou beuant, mais encore se gardent ils bien alors de folies, d'attractcs & deshonestetez par trop ordinaires és danses de pardeçà; car les femmes ne mettent que la main sur les espales de leurs maris qui dansent; aussi ne voit-on tant scandales & de mal-heurs qui arriuent icy par les danses & balets pleins de lubricitez & de dissolutions.

Quant à leur maniere de danser, elle est telle qu'ils ne sont tant de mines & de folies, tant de sauts, tant de mignardise & destours: seulement ils se mettent tous en rond fort pres les vns les autres, sans neanmoins se toucher ny s'entretenir aucunement, ne bougeant ordinairement d'vne place: de sorte qu'ils ne s'eschauffent guere en dansant & encore moins en sautant, si ce n'est au temps de leur Caouin; car lors ils vont dansant



& sautant autour des loges de leurs villages.

Lors qu'ils dansent, ils ont coustumierement les deux bras pendans, & quelquefois la main droicte vers le dos, se contentans de remuer seulement la iambe & le pied droict. Il est bien vray, que quelquefois ils s'approchent les vns desautres, & puis ils se retirent en arriere, tournant apres en rond, tousiours frappant du pied contre terre, mais ayant tournoié trois ou quatre tours, chacun à la cadence se retrouve en sa place d'où il estoit party.

Ils ne se seruent d'autre instrument pour danser que du chant & de la voix, qui n'est pas moins estrange que leur façon, a ceux qui n'ont accoustume de les voir: & pour obseruer leurs cadences & tenir la mesure, ils portent à la main vn certain instrument ou hochet appellé Maraca, fait d'vn fruct vn petit long en forme d'vn moyen Melon mais tout vni, qui croist en leurs païs, dedans lequel ils mettent force petits grains noirs fort durs & passent vn bastõ au trauers pour seruir de manche & poignée, qu'ils couurent de fil de cotton & l'enrichissent es iours de leurs grands festins avec de belles plumes de diuerses couleurs, ayant à leurs iartieres des sonnettes de coques de fruicts.

Ils sonnent ces Maraca ou hochets selon le chant de leurs chasons en guise de tambour bisquaie; il ne leur arriue iamais de chanter aucune chanson vilaine ou scadaieuse, comme l'on fait icy, avec par trop de licence, souuentefois au preiudice de l'honneur de Dieu . . . . Mais leurs chansons ne sont qu'à louange d'vn Arbre, d'vn Oiseau, d'vn Poisson, d'vn animal & autre chose semblable, sans aucune paroles scandaleuses; & surtout ils prennent plaisir a chäter chansons de leurs combats, de leurs victoires, de leurs triomphes & autres exploits de guerre, dont ils se vantent à merueille: rapportāt le tout à exalter & magnifier la vertu militaire; donnant des chants diuers à toutes leurs chansons, avec vn refrain qu'ils repetent tous ensemble à la cadence & à la fin de chasque couplet.

Ils chantent fort bas au commencement de leurs danses & petit à petit ils se mettent en haleine, esleuant leurs voix en telle sorte qu'en la fin vous les entendez chanter de fort loin avec vn accord merueilleux, principalement estant assemblez en grand nõbre comme ils sont ordinairement.

[When they are not at war, they spend a good part of their time in idleness, employing the rest of it in danc-

ing, cauinning, hunting, and fishing--more for their nourishment and recreation, than for any desire they may have of amassing riches.

The dance is the first and the main exercise for the Maranhese /people from Maranhão/, whom I consider the greatest dancers there are under the sky. Not a day passed without their meeting in their villages for dances; but those barbarians' dances are not as dissolute as Christians' dances. Girls and women never dance with the men, unless sometime during the cauinning or drinking; but even so, their dances are far from the follies, the lures, and the dishonesties too common in our dances; the women place their hand on the shoulder of none but their dancing husbands and, for this reason, the scandals and misfortunes resulting from the lubricity and dissoluteness in our dances and balls are not seen.

As for the manner of their dancing, they indulge in no simperings and foolishnesses, leaps, daintinesses and bendings; they simply place themselves in a circle, very near each other but without touching or supporting one another--almost without moving from place. Thus, they do not get inflamed by the dancing, and still less by the jumping, unless it is the time of their cauins; then, they go dancing and jumping around the huts of their villages.

When they dance, they usually keep their two arms down, sometimes with their right hand behind their back, and they content themselves with moving the right leg and foot only. It is very true that sometimes they get nearer each other, but turn around afterward, always pounding the foot against the ground. Having turned three or four times, however, everyone moves back on cadence to the place that he left.

Instead of instrumental accompaniment, they sing as they dance. Their singing sounds no less strange than their dancing appears to those not used to them. To keep their cadences and to mark the beat mesure, they carry a certain instrument or rattle in their hand, named maracá.<sup>62</sup> It is made of a fruit a little elongated

62. Staden's and Thevet's, both in 1557 are probably the oldest printed descriptions of the maracá, in Brazil--Staden's observation being from 1548-9. From 1549, however, there is also Nóbrega's account [cf. Cas udo, 1956: 22] of a maracá ceremony, where the name, however, was not mentioned. Rodolfo Garcia gives the etymology of maracá as being mbara (strong, resistant), and ka (rind), the crust, the cover [cf. d'Evreux, 1945: 237]. This has also been maintained in the Novo Aurélio, but without explaining what the particles stand for. Cascudo [1962: 458], however, mentions the etymology given by Teodoro Sampaio in his O Tupi na Geografia Nacional, who looks for support in a descrip-

in the shape of an average melon, but entirely smooth, which grows in their country. They place countless small black seeds, which are very hard, inside the fruit, and pass a stick through it to serve as shaft and handle, which they cover with cotton thread and ornament with beautiful feathers of several colors in the days of their great feasts; they use then their jingle garters of fruit shells.

They shake these maracá or rattles in time to the music of their chansons, in the manner of the tambour de Biscaye.<sup>63</sup> It never occurs to them to sing any sordid or scandalous song, as is done here with too much licentiousness, often in detriment to the honor of God . . . . Their songs, however, are but in praise of a tree, of a bird, of a fish, of an animal or other similar thing, without any scandalous words. Above all, they take pleasure in singing songs about their combats, their victories, their triumphs, and other war exploits, of which they boast wonderfully, all in the sense of exalting and magnifying the military valor. Each chanson has its own melody and a refrain that all repeat together at the cadence and at the end of each couplet.

They sing very softly at the beginning of their dances, and little by little they increase in breath, raising their voices in such a manner that, at the end, you can hear them singing from very far, with a marvelous ensemble, especially if a great number of them are assembled, as they ordinarily do].

Among points in common between Abbeville's long account of Tupinambá singing and dancing in Maranhão in northern Brazil, and Léry's in the neighborhood of the Bay of Guanabara, the following can be mentioned: the same large number of Indians crescendoing little by

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tion of a maracá endowed with features of the human face (eyes, mouth, nose), by the Jesuit Simão de Vasconcellos (1597-1671), in his Chronica da Companhia de Jesu no Estado do Brasil. Sampaio gives "Maracá, corr. marã-acã, the simulating or fictional head," which does seem like folk etymology.

63. Marcuse [1975: 508] calls the tambour de Basque, or tabourin de Basque, the tambourine described by Thoinot Arbeau in 1588 as a frame drum, with Cotgrave adding "small bells and other jingling knacks of lattin" [apud Marcuse, 1975: 504].

little to the end, call and response, a distinctive vocal production (strange for Abbeville, raucous for Léry) supporting the cadence and "beat" of the dancing by the shaking of the maracá, uafs concurring with the pounding of the right leg and foot, the dancing without departing from the circle, the arm pending, the right arm toward the back, the exclusion of the women except for the cauin festivities, the subjects for the singing, and even the symbolic feather ornaments used by the younger warriors can be noted.

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