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The Prince of Harmony, his Favorite Disciple and other Geniuses: The Diffusion of a “Classical Repertory in Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century Rio the Janeiro

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## The Prince of Harmony, his Favorite Disciple and other Geniuses: The Diffusion of a “Classical” Repertory in Early 19th Century Rio de Janeiro

Rossini is the favorite composer of Brazilians, but Mozart, Beethoven and others are also esteemed<sup>1</sup>.

This is a strange way to start a paper on Haydn, but the statement contains some important information on how music in Brazil was seen by foreign travelers. The statement can be read in a small article in the “Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung” (January 1833), in which the author writes on music and dance in Brazil, and it is in fact a quotation from a description of the province of Rio Grande do Sul, made by Samuel Gottfried Kerst<sup>2</sup>. The main goal was to show the state of music in that remote part of the country, and, of course, to strengthen the opposition between Gioacchino Rossini, on one hand, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven and the “others”, on the other. This opposition will be a central point to our discussion here.

As an introduction I must also state that there is still much to be researched in the history of music in Brazil and, more specifically, in the diffusion of an international repertory in the country’s vast territory. Research has been growing, and especially those that cover manuscript music in the various religious and civil archives will surely bring new light to the study of music in the country. For many decades, a certain nationalistic bias prevented the study of a “foreign” repertory, since authors were more concerned with the construction of a “Brazilian” music. According to this vision, and not only in music history, the origin of a truly “Brazilian” art could be found in the colonial period, mostly in the province of Minas Gerais in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The arrival of the Portuguese court in 1808, with the opening of the harbors and the consequent increase on the number of foreigners

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<sup>1</sup> “Rossini ist der Lieblings-Componist der Brasilianer, aber auch Mozart, Beethoven u.a. werden geschätzt”. Anonymous [identified in the index as the journal’s editor-in-charge Gottfried Wilhelm Fink], Etwas über Musik und Tanz in Brasilien, in: Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 35 (1833), no. 2, 2 January, cls. 19–21, here cl. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding footnote.

visiting the country, was not only a turning point in the history of Brazil but also became a source of issues for nationalistic history: if, as of 1822, Brazil became an independent country, it was necessary to build a past for the new born nation. And this past, preferably, would exclude any “foreign” presence. As an example, opera, always considered an Italian genre (or, sometimes, French), was rarely part of the main interests of Brazilian musicologists, with the exception of the ill fated project of National Opera in the 1850’s. Only very recently more research is being done on “Italian” opera made in Brazil since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is necessary to mention all this because the study of music by foreign composers during the colonial period, or even during the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, has only recently become a true subject for Brazilian musicology.

I should also say that I will not consider the diffusion of a “classic” style of music in the whole country, but rather, in Rio de Janeiro in the first three decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Neither shall I present a complete list of works performed, but rather, will point out some items that could somehow enlighten how the opposition between musical elements perceived as “German” and “Italian” occurred in Brazil. And, in order to do this, I will try to show which role Haydn and some other composers (especially Sigismund Neukomm and sometimes Mozart) had in this scenario.

In a small book published in 1820 in Rio de Janeiro (the first one on music published in the country), a panegyric of Haydn by Joachim Le Breton (originally read at the Institut de France in 1810), some general ideas about the Austrian composer were emphasized by the anonymous author of the Prologue: Haydn would be, as Le Breton himself called him, the “Prince of Harmony”, maybe superior to Mozart, and, “by divine providence”, Brazil could count on the presence of Neukomm, Haydn’s “favorite disciple”, who contributed to the diffusion of his master’s music in the country. Moreover, the Prologue’s author (most probably José da Silva Lisboa) also alleged that “for many years Brazil has known and applauded in temples, theaters and private concerts, various music genres by that original composer [Haydn]”<sup>3</sup>.

This last statement is actually very curious and somehow misleading, since, at least at first sight, documentation on Rio’s musical life does not reveal a substantial presence of Haydn’s music (or any other Austrian composer) in the city. On the contrary, if we look at the chronology of opera perfor-

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<sup>3</sup> “há muitos anos conhece e tem aplaudido nos templos, teatros e concertos particulares os diferentes gêneros de música daquele original compositor”: Joachim Le Breton, *Notícia histórica da Vida e das Obras de José Haydn*, ed. Paulo M. Kühn, São Paulo 2004, p. 41.

mances, from 1800 till 1830, we will notice the preponderance of Italian composers, or, at least, of those who had had some closer contact with Italy. And it is also possible to observe that, as of 1819, when the first mention of a performance of Rossini's "Tancredi" appears<sup>4</sup>, it is this composer who dominates the operatic world of Rio, even after the fire at the S. João Theater in 1824. Various reasons could elucidate why Haydn operas were never performed in Rio or in other cities, and even Le Breton, in his small book, tried to explain it with a cliché:

If Haydn, with the perfect knowledge of all instruments and of their use, with his exquisite taste of singing, with his grace, imagination and sensitivity had had the happiness of living for some time in Italy, and if he had possessed, like Gluck, Piccini and Sacchini, the dramatic system of the French, it would be hard to say which level of perfection he would have reached in the operatic world, in which, however, he obtained some beautiful successes<sup>5</sup>.

With the available documentation, we can assert that Haydn operas were never performed in Rio, which contradicts the Preface of Le Breton's book. In the operatic world of the city, the only mention we have on an opera by an Austrian composer is the performance of Mozart's "Don Giovanni" in 1821, and it is surely due to Sigismund Neukomm's presence in Rio<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> "Die italienischen Opern werden hier einzig in ihrer Art aufgeführt. So gab man z.B. während meines Aufenthalt daselbst, sehr oft die Oper Tancred, allein ich erkannte sie fast nicht wieder, so jämmerlich ward sie verstümmelt und durch ein schlechtes Orchester verhunzt": Theodor von Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien oder Reise von Berlin nach Rio de Janeiro und von dort zurück*, Berlin 1820, p. 25. Although it is not possible to determine the exact date of the performance, since Leithold arrived in Brazil on 7 October 1819 and left the country in February 1820, we can assume that this opera and others mentioned by the author and his nephew, Ludwig von Rango, were performed between October and the end of December 1819. In a letter from Rio de Janeiro, dated 21 December 1819, Rango wrote: "Tancred, ein Theil der Jagd von Heinrich dem Vierten, der Calif von Bagdad, und andere bekannte Opern werden zerstückelt und verunstaltet dargestellt": Ludwig von Rango, *Tagebuch meiner Reise nach Rio de Janeiro in Brasilien, und zurück: In den Jahren 1819 und 1820*, Ronneburg 1832, p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> "Se Haydn, com perfeito conhecimento de todos os instrumentos e dos respectivos empregos, com o seu gosto esquisito de cantoria, com a sua graça, imaginação e sensibilidade, tivesse a felicidade de viver algum tempo na Itália e chegasse a possuir como Gluck, Piccini e Sacchini o sistema dramático dos franceses, seria difícil dizer até que ponto de perfeição se poderia ter elevado sobre a cena lírica, em que todavia obteve belos sucessos". Le Breton, *Notícia histórica da Vida e das Obras de José Haydn*, p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> For more details on the musical life in Rio de Janeiro, cf. Carlos Eduardo de Azevedo e Souza, *Dimensões da vida musical no Rio de Janeiro: de José Maurício a Gottschalk*

In 1817 Prince Pedro, heir to the Portuguese throne, married Princess Leopoldine (1797–1826), daughter of Francis I, Emperor of Austria. After her arrival in Brazil on 5 November 1817 some changes in the artistic milieu became clearer. If, with the court's arrival in 1808, many transformations had occurred in the new capital of the Portuguese Empire and if, as of 1816, with the arrival of a group of French artists (under the direction of Le Breton), with the presence of Neukomm, and the creation of the Fine Arts Academy, a stronger project for artistic teaching began to take form, the Portuguese government in Brazil did not have an official policy for music and opera (just like in Portugal). With the arrival of the Austrian Princess and her entourage, which included two musical bands, somehow the musical world in Rio was directly challenged. The main composer then was Marcos António Portugal (1762–1830, in Brazil since 1811), responsible for operas and also for music at the Royal Chapel, who represented the Portuguese-Italian side of the new dispute. A new realignment of forces could then occur with Neukomm, the new Austrian side, and also with other composers who were active at the time, especially Father José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767–1820).

As a sign of these changes, reports about music in Rio de Janeiro started to appear in the “Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung”, some of them signed by Neukomm himself. The first one was published on 14 May 1817 and mentioned the presence of Neukomm in the city, the performance of some of his compositions and also insisted on Haydn's qualities:

It should be praised that Mr. N[eukomm's] attempts to exalt the works of J. Haydn, not only because Haydn was his teacher, but also because these very works, beyond their notorious merits, have also the especial [merit] of pleasing everyone through their cheerfulness and grace of expression, as well as their understandability and lightness of style. And because of this, they have the advantage over compositions by others to exert imperceptibly an educational effect. And without that, the art of composition cannot be taken seriously<sup>7</sup>.

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e além (1808–1889), PhD dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói 2003.

<sup>7</sup> “Dass Hr. N. hier vornämlich die Werke J. Haydn's gelten zu machen sucht, ist ihm zum Ruhme zu rechnen, nicht nur, weil Haydn sein Lehrer war, sondern auch, weil eben diese Werke, neben den allgemeinen, weltbekannten Verdiensten, noch das besondere haben, durch Heiterkeit und Anmuth des Ausdrucks, wie durch Fasslichkeit und Leichtigkeit des Styls, Jedermann zu gefallen, und daher auch auf diejenigen vortheilhaft, ja unvermerkt bildend zu wirken, welche es mit der Tonkunst sonst eben nicht ernsthaft zu nehmen pflegen“: Anonymous, Nachrichten. Rio-Janeiro, in: Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 19 (1817), no. 20, 14 May, cl. 351.

So Haydn's compositions were again being perceived as universal and as a good remedy to the music in the country. As expected, the main interest of the "Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung" correspondents was the presence in the city of music written by Austrian or German composers: the performance of Mozart's "Requiem", in the version completed by Neukomm, and directed by Father José Maurício, in February 1820; the rehearsals for Haydn's "Creation" (the performance probably took place in 1821)<sup>8</sup>; and the publication of Le Breton's book in 1820. After that, there are very few references to Brazil in the "Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung" (Neukomm left the country in 1821). When describing the performance of Mozart's "Requiem", Neukomm praised Father José Maurício, his skills and character, and expressed an expectation:

[...] all talents competed to receive worthily the ingenious Mozart, stranger in this new world. This first attempt is in all respects so well done that hopefully it will not be the last in its kind<sup>9</sup>.

Regarding church music in Rio de Janeiro, only the already mentioned news on the "Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung" show the presence of some pieces by Austrian composers. However, if we look at other archives in the country, it is clear that Haydn's music was known even before 1808. André Tavares, in an unpublished paper, mentions an excerpt from "The

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<sup>8</sup> "R i o - J a n e i r o , im Februar. Mit der Gesundheit unseres würdigen Neukomm geht es jetzt wieder besser. Von der Königl. Kapelle ist kürzlich das Mozart'sche 'Requiem' mit sehr glücklichem Erfolg gegeben worden, und, obgleich der hiesige erste Kapellmeister Marco Portogallo nicht gern andere Musik neben der seinigen aufkommen lässt, haben wir doch Hoffnung, nächstens durch Hrn. Neukomm und des Pater Mauritius Bemühungen auch Haydn's [sic] 'Schöpfung' zu hören. Man ist bereits mit dem Ausschreiben der Stimmen beschäftigt" (Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung 1820, June no. 23, p. 402). And later that year Neukomm wrote: "Die Korporation der hiesigen Musiker (auf Portugiesisch Irmandade, eine Art religiöser Verbindung) feyert jährlich das Fest der heil. Caecilia, dem einige Tage darauf eine Messe zum Andenken der während dem Laufe des Jahres verstorbenen Musiker folgt. Zu diesem Ende haben einige Mitglieder dieser Korporation, die Sinn für bessere Musik haben, für die letzte Caecilia-Feyerlichkeit Mozart's 'Requiem' vorgeschlagen, welches auch letztverflossenen December in der Kirche d o P a r t o von einem zahlreichen Orchester aufgeführt wurde. Die Leitung des Ganzen hatte der Kapellmeister der königl. Kapelle Hr. Jozé [sic]-Mauricio Nunes Garcia übernommen": Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 22 (1820), no. 29, 19 July, cls. 501–503, here cls. 501f.

<sup>9</sup> "[...] alle Talente wetteiferten, um den genialen Fremdling Mozart in dieser neuen Welt würdig zu empfangen. Dieser erste Versuch ist in jeder Hinsicht so gut gelungen, dass er hoffentlich nicht der letzte in seiner Art seyn wird": ebd., 22 (1820), no. 29, 19 July, cls. 501–503, here cls. 502f.

Seven Last Words of Christ” that was used in the composition of the “Holy Thursday Matins”, by Jerônimo de Souza Queirós (the son of Jerônimo de Souza Lobo), in the Second Responsory<sup>10</sup>. The instrumental version of the “Seven Words” (1786 or 1787) had already had adaptations with text in Europe, even before Haydn’s own version. The most renowned example is the rendering by Joseph Friberth, which Haydn himself would have heard in Passau in 1795. With this piece of information, I only want to signal that Haydn’s music circulated in other parts of Brazil in manuscripts, creating a path that still needs to be traced. And we also know that some of José Maurício’s pupils, Francisco Manuel da Silva among them<sup>11</sup>, are said to have used Haydn’s choral music (“Stabat Mater”, “The Seven Last Words of Christ”, “The Seasons” and “The Creation”) as models to be followed<sup>12</sup>.

Regarding concerts and chamber music, it is still difficult to establish with some accuracy what was heard in the court and elsewhere. Brazilian musicology tended to privilege the study of religious music (the rest would be called *musique de salon* or Italian opera) and only recently some attention has been given to instrumental music, orchestras and chamber music groups. We know that not only manuscripts circulated in the country, but also printed scores (reductions, arrangements) coming from France and Germany<sup>13</sup>. The presence of Neukomm in Rio has been attracting more studies, such as Rosana Lanzelotte’s<sup>14</sup> and Luciane Beduschi’s<sup>15</sup>; Lanzelotte

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<sup>10</sup> Adagio, do Noturno Primeiro: *Ecce appropinquat hora*. The music may have been composed in the first decade of the 19th century. The composer died in 1826. I would like to thank André Tavares for letting me use his unpublished paper “‘Orpheus in the Jungle’: Haydn as a Model for 18<sup>th</sup> Century Brazilian Composers”.

<sup>11</sup> For more details, see Ayres de Andrade, Francisco Manuel da Silva e seu tempo. 1808–1865. *Uma fase do passado musical do Rio de Janeiro à luz de novos documentos*, Rio de Janeiro 1967.

<sup>12</sup> Signed *Diapasão*, in: *Correio Mercantil*, 1854. Apud Ayres de Andrade, Francisco Manuel da Silva e seu tempo, vol. I, pp. 38, 55.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, an advertisement in the “*Diário do Rio de Janeiro*”, 24 April 1837: “Vendem se na rua da Misericórdia n. 109, as seguintes musicas e por modico preço, chegadas proxivamente da Europa: 1 sonate pour le forte pianno [sic], composée par J. Haydn [...]” The history of the circulation of printed music in Brazil is still to be written, but we can find in different newspapers various kinds of music by numerous composers being sold since the 1820’s.

<sup>14</sup> Rosana Lanzelotte, Sigismund Neukomm o criador da música de câmara no Brasil, in: *Haydn, Mozart e Neukomm na Corte Real do Rio de Janeiro (1816–1822) / Haydn, Mozart und Neukomm am portugiesischen Königshof in Rio de Janeiro*, ed. José Augusto Bezerra, Ingrid Schwamborn and Maria Elias Soares, Fortaleza 2010, pp. 51–62.

<sup>15</sup> Luciane Beduschi, Sigismund Neukomm (1778–1858) – Sa vie, son œuvre, ses canons énigmatiques, Thèse de doctorat, Paris Sorbonne (Paris IV), 2008.

states that Neukomm was responsible for introducing chamber music in the country:

There was no chamber music, piano music, band music, symphonies. Neukomm, born in the classicism cradle, Austria, where the magnificent music by his fellow countrymen Mozart and Joseph Haydn reigned, inaugurates this repertory in the country<sup>16</sup>.

It is hard to affirm that there was no chamber music before Neukomm's arrival, as can be seen, for instance, in the transcription of a string quartet – “Quarteti per due violini, viola e basso del Sre. Ayden [sic]”, by Francisco da Cruz Maciel – in 1794<sup>17</sup>, although we do not know for sure if and how it was performed. And a broader understanding of Neukomm's presence in Brazil is still to be determined. While he was in the country (between April 1816 and April 1821) he composed or arranged more than 50 pieces<sup>18</sup>, promoted concerts and recitals and taught some students. Regarding music bands, there are documents proving their presence even before 1808 and surely before 1816, when Neukomm got to Brazil<sup>19</sup>. But one thing is certain: after 1808, there is a consistent improvement of urban life in Rio de Janeiro, turning the new capital of the Portuguese Empire into something similar to other European cities, and then chamber music became an important part of social life.

The search for an “Austrian” repertory in Rio shows its limitations: the documentation is problematic, revealing only very few examples; and we can also glimpse what seems to be an underground circulation of man-

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<sup>16</sup> “Não havia música de câmara, música para piano, música para bandas, música sinfônica. / Neukomm, nascido no berço do classicismo, a Áustria, onde reinava a magnífica obra de seus conterrâneos Mozart e Joseph Haydn, inaugura esses repertórios no país!”: Lanzelotte, Sigismund Neukomm, p. 56.

<sup>17</sup> “Andante, variações, minuete, trio allegro”: Museu da Casa do Pilar, Ouro Preto, Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto, Ms. P04-28, also mentioned by André Tavares in his unpublished paper. The author also insists on the creation of a “classical” coterie, with compositions by Luigi Boccherini (Ms. P03-13 – “Trio per violini viola e violoncello obligato del Sre. Luigi Boccherini di Luca para o uso de seu dono João Nunes”, 1820; Ms. P04-26 6 – “Quintetos del Sre. Boccherini, violino primo de Manuel Julião da Silva Ramos”, 1792) and Ignaz Pleyel (Ms. P04-29, “Trois quartor com violino e viola e basso del sre Pleyel violino dois para uso de Manoel Vieira da Cruz” dated 1824, in possession of João Machado Sá).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Luciane Beduschi, Sigismund Neukomm, vol. 2, pp. 102–113.

<sup>19</sup> For the history of musical bands in Brasil, see Fernando Pereira Binder, *Bandas militares no Brasil: difusão e organização entre 1808–1889*, Masters thesis, Universidade Estadual Paulista, São Paulo 2006.

uscript and printed music that hardly becomes visible. But doing this is somehow reenacting the “Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung” project: narrating to a German speaking community what kind of “German” music was performed in some parts of Brazil, and wishing it could have been more important in the country.

Neukomm, in a letter dated 1 November 1818, somehow inaugurated a vision of music in Brazil that would be constantly repeated by other authors. After mentioning that he had heard Princess Leopoldine playing a sonata by Mozart and that he and the Princess had played another sonata for four hands by the same composer, Neukomm wrote:

People do not have any idea that, besides Mozart and Haydn, there are other musicians in Europe; even of these two, people only know the names. People listen, at most, in the beginning or the end of a Mass, to a cheerful rondo from one of Haydn’s symphonies. Musicians are almost true day laborers. Since I have been here I could not gather a string quartet. Music here is in its childhood, it is though an uneducated and extremely ill-bred child, and surely will become good-for-nothing<sup>20</sup>.

The idea that music in Brazil was in its childhood can be read as a Eurocentric prejudice and as an evidence of the difficulties involved in creating the appropriate conditions for musical production (teaching, circulation, theaters, musicians), or art production in general. And this was one of the main concerns of the Portuguese government in order to modernize the country. But there is also another vision included here, i.e., that the music that was being made in Brazil was not good enough, for other reasons: not only the infancy of music teaching, but also because most of the music performed in Brazil was Italian opera and religious music that resembled too much Italian opera, which was considered by some as indecorous for the church. Neukomm himself complained about the state of music in the Royal Chapel and criticized the performance of David Perez’ “Nocturnes”

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<sup>20</sup> “Man hat gar keinen Begriff daß es ausser Mozart und Haydn auch noch andere Tonsetzer in Europa gebe; selbst dies[e] beyden kennt man kaum den Namen nach – man hört höchstens zuweilen bey dem Eingang oder Ausgang der Messe ein lustiges Rondo einer Haydn’schen Sinfonie. Die Musiker sind fast durchaus wahre Tagelöhner; so lang ich hier bin ist es mir noch nicht gelungen ein Quartett zusammen bringen. Die Musik ist hier ganz in ihrer Kindheit, sie ist aber ein ungezogenes und äußerst übelgeratenes Kind, aus dem wohl ein Taugenichts heranwachsen wird.” Letter 1 November 1818, Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Signatur: Brief Eybler. Quoted in Rudolph Angermüller, *Der Salzburger Komponist Sigismund Ritter von Neukomm in Rio de Janeiro (1816–1821)*, in: *Haydn, Mozart e Neukomm na Corte Real do Rio de Janeiro (1816–1822)*, pp. 251–258, here pp. 256f.

before Mozart's "Requiem"<sup>21</sup>. Johann Baptist Ritter von Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, in the account of their scientific expedition in Brazil, declared that Brazilian audiences were not ready to listen to compositions in the Viennese style:

Haydn's favorite pupil, the Chevalier Neukomm was at that time composer to the royal chapel at Rio. The musical knowledge of the inhabitants was not yet ripe for his masses, which were written entirely in the style of the most celebrated German composers<sup>22</sup>.

The vision according to which there was no artistic maturity in Brazil is not exclusive to the two scientists, but it is actually a topos in travel literature describing the country. Surely, this so called new part of the world, recently opened to other countries, showed itself as a land full of natural resources and also as a place of opportunities. But the disdain over the Portuguese artistic accomplishments was constant, from architecture to painting, from sculpture to decoration. The backwardness would be in what was seen as the "baroque" or "borrominesque" excesses, in the lack of formal artistic education and in its consequences. But there was a ground issue, expressed very clearly in Ludwig von Rango's statement: "all that Nature has done for this country is perfectly beautiful, and even more pitiful seems anything created by man"<sup>23</sup>. This, in a certain way, sounds like an extremely bad prognostic: even with the great efforts being made in the country, it would be impossible to achieve any degree of artistic excellence.

Music or at least the musicality of the Portuguese and the Brazilians, however, was highly praised by foreigners. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, travelers who visited Portugal highlighted some of the country's musical traditions and also the massive presence of Italian opera, which, in a certain way, was also noted in Brazil. But with the changes brought by the court, there seemed to be some

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<sup>21</sup> According to Neukomm's account: "Vor dem Requiem wurden di 'Nocturnen' aus dem 'officio defunctorum', von David Perez in Musik gesetzt, gesungen." Neukomm, Nachrichten. Rio-Janeiro, in: Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 22 (1820), no. 29, 19 July, cls. 501–503, here cl. 502.

<sup>22</sup> Johann Baptist Ritter von Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, *Travels in Brazil in the years 1817–1820*, London 1824, vol. 1, p. 157. In the original: "Der Lieblingsschüller J. Haydn's, Ritter Neukomm, befand sich damals als Compositeur an der Hofcapelle in R i o . Für seine, ganz im Style der berühmtesten deutschen Musiker geschriebenen, Messen war freilich die musikalische Bildung der Einwohner noch nicht reif". In: Spix and Martius, *Reise in Brasilien auf Befehl Maximilian Joseph I, König von Bayern in den Jahren 1817 bis 1820*, vol. 1, Munich 1823, p. 106.

<sup>23</sup> "Alles, was die Natur für dies Land gethan hat, ist vollendet schön, aber desto erbärmlicher erscheint jedes von Menschen Erschaffene": Rango, *Tagebuch*, p. 131.

mistrust regarding musical quality in Rio de Janeiro, as seen above. And we can also envision in Le Breton's manuscript plan for the Academy of Fine Arts a quick mention to music, indicating the necessity of formal education:

I wish that good musical teaching, established over solid bases, would crown the fine arts institute: a naturally musical nation would deserve an institution that would make this happy disposition hatch. We cannot know where its development could go and if it would produce another beautiful school and a particular character in music, but more light than I can give would be necessary for such an organization, which would maybe face many obstacles. It is then a single vow that I express<sup>24</sup>.

In the way the Academy was created, there was no room for music, and formal musical education had to wait a long time to be implemented in the country. So we can ask ourselves how Haydn's music, his disciples' and his fellow countrymen's music were perceived in Brazil, not in order to verify if the country was or was not ready for that type of music, but rather, to understand what possible meanings it could have had in that period. Again, documentation in this case is very fragmentary and there is much more to be explored. If we look at the incipient press in Brazil, which becomes more diverse in the 1820's, we will find some reflections on the musical practice in Rio de Janeiro. But musical criticism was mostly concerned with opera performances, with the opera house (S. João or S. Pedro), with singers, but rarely with a specific debate on musical composition. The most prominent figure then was certainly Rossini, who dominated the operatic world in Rio in the 1820's. Other operas, by composers such as Johann Simon Mayr, Vincenzo Puccitta, Pietro Generali, Francesco Gnecco and others were also performed, but in a remarkably different proportion. As we all know it is not an isolated phenomenon in the history of opera, since the reception of Rossini's works can be seen as a series of overpowering conquests, and many authors compared the composer from Pesaro to Napoleon, who assaulted every land in the world, including Brazil by the end of the 1810's.

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<sup>24</sup> "J'auroit désiré qu'un bon enseignement musical, établi sur des bases solides, couronnât l'institut des beaux arts: une nation naturellement musicienne mériterait une institution qui le fit éclore cette heureuse disposition. on [sic] ne peut pas savoir jusqu'où son développement pourroit aller et s'il ne produiroit pas une belle école de plus et d'un caractère particulier en musique, mais il faudroit plus de lumières que je n'en pourrois offrir pour cette organisation, qui d'ailleurs rencontreroit peut être encore trop d'obstacles": Joachim Le Breton, Letter to the Comte de la Barque, Rio de Janeiro, 9 July 1816. Arquivo Histórico do Palácio do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro, Documentos do Ensino, box 1816 314/3/9, fol. 9r.

In Carpani's view<sup>25</sup>, Rossini would have managed to combine elements of Italian music (melody) and German music (harmony, instrumental music), somehow creating a "European" music. This idea of a universal music was, of course, being pursued since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the *goûts réunis* and others, and there were many candidates to fill that opening. This is certainly a cliché, as Luca Aversano puts it, and the author reminds us that "the dualism between Italian music and German music was, in many aspects, an artificial creation, mainly desired by the German side and then supported by the Italian response"<sup>26</sup>, and he also proposes a new methodological approach to the problem, especially one that would search for the diffusion and the reception of German music in Italy, showing the contradictions in the interaction of the German and the Italian sides of the dispute.

I bring up this debate because we can see in Brazil a small outspread of it. Since the arrival of the French artists in Rio, and Neukomm part of the group, new forces operated in the artistic milieu of the city. The foundation of the Academy of Fine Arts and its beginnings reveal a constant tension between the French and the Portuguese, the latter represented by the Portuguese painter Henrique José da Silva. Historiography tended to vilify him, insisting on his jealousy regarding the French and on what would be his artistic deficiencies. And of course he is not even studied in Brazil or in Portugal. Regarding music, even without the creation of a music school similar to the Academy (the Conservatory was created only in 1848) and without a proper project for musical education, the alignment between Father José Maurício and Neukomm and consequently with "German" classicism, in opposition to Marcos Portugal, an illustrious delegate of Italian music in Brazil, can be read as a new chapter of Italianità versus Germanità, with very specific hints. Brazilian musicology confirmed this dichotomy through the centuries, assuming the German side was superior (as many others did) and choosing the "national" talent aligned with Viennese classicism.

The cliché can be seen almost everywhere in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1876, Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, in his "Brazilian Biographical Yearbook",

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<sup>25</sup> Giuseppe Carpani, *Le Rossiniane ossia Lettere musico-teatrali*, Padova 1824 / Facsimile-Reprint: Bologna 1969.

<sup>26</sup> "Il dualismo tra musica italiana e musica tedesca fu una creazione per molti aspetti artificiosa, voluta primariamente dalla parte germanica e poi alimentata dalla conseguente risposta italiana": Luca Aversano, *Aspetti di storia della ricezione fra Italia e Germania nel primo Ottocento*, in: "Et facciam dolci canti": Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Teresa M. Gialdroni and Annunziato Pugliese, Lucca 2003, vol. 2, pp. 1037–1053, here p. 1053.

measured up a few composers with Haydn's music: José Pereira Rebouças should have chosen Haydn and Mozart, over the Italian school; when discussing Friar Francisco de S. Carlos, Macedo declares that Haydn would call Father José Maurício a brother; in Damião Barboza de Araujo, it is again José Maurício that would have been seen by Haydn and Mozart as "a profound and faithful interpreter of the classical school"<sup>27</sup>. But it is in Francisco Manoel da Silva's short biography that Macedo is clearer: pronouncing José Maurício as the first true musician in Brazil, he praises his pupil after a small criticism:

Popular bad taste and the influence of Italian theater dragged out of his most fertile inspiration litanies and masses, which he himself disapproved of. But instead, left free, without indulging the bad taste of the audience that wanted Bellini and Donizetti in the church, Francisco Manoel gave us masses, *Te Deum*, litanies, sacred music that Haydn and Mozart would have applauded enthusiastically<sup>28</sup>.

As can be seen from this and other quotations, Austrian classicism became the measure to build "good" Brazilian music, and Italy was being transformed into something evil, at least for those trying to establish music criticism and musicology in Brazil. On the other hand, we know that the wish *Neukomm* expressed when describing the performance of Mozart's "Requiem" in Rio de Janeiro that more of that kind of music should be performed regularly in the country carried a long time. In 1870, the "Jornal do Commercio" still complained:

The city of Rio de Janeiro, which has appreciated this century's great lyric artists and soloists, still does not know very well nor praise very much the beauties that are found in symphonies by Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Liszt, etc., etc.<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, *Anno Biographico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro 1876, vol. 3, p. 130.

<sup>28</sup> "O máo gosto popular, e a influencia do theatro italiano arrancarão de sua fecundissima inspiração protectora de interesse alheio ladainhas, e missas, que elle proprio desaprovava; mas em compensação deixado livre, sem a oppressão de exigencias de artistas musicas que lhe pedião pão à preço do máo gosto do publico que sem devoção queria Bellini e Donizetti na igreja, Francisco Manoel deixou 'massas Te-Deum', 'Ladainhas', musicas sacras enfim que Haydn e Mozart applaudirão com enthusiasmo": *ibid.*, p. 559.

<sup>29</sup> Translated in Cristina Magaldi, *Concert Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1837–1900*. PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles 1994, p. 82.

A Mozart Club was founded only in 1868 in Rio de Janeiro and a Beethoven Club in 1882. And opera (mainly Italian), of course, was highly successful throughout the whole 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was fairly common in Spain, Portugal and their former colonies. In this context, Haydn's music, understood inside the usual opposition of *italianità* versus *germanità*, was used as an antidote to the dominance of Italian music, seen mainly as opera<sup>30</sup>. I discussed elsewhere how Le Breton's little book on Haydn was read in Brazil, quite differently from all the criticism it received in Europe<sup>31</sup>. And here we can glimpse that Haydn was again turned into a hero, although his music was not deeply known in the country. His music was viewed as universal and, as André Tavares puts it, Haydn was "a doctor, a court musician, catholic and his works deeply malleable"<sup>32</sup>, and all these qualities were much appreciated in the country.

Getting back to the main subject, we could ask how Haydn's music was perceived in Rio de Janeiro in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As we have seen, documentation is scarce and may hide a larger presence of his music in Brazil (as Beatriz Castro has showed in the case of the Count of Farrobo in Portugal)<sup>33</sup>, and the history of the reception of his music is also hard to establish. There was not a local specific debate around his music and relying only on travel literature, which is a very important source for studies, is too partial.

In "Toward a Geography of Art", Thomas da Costa Kaufmann raises a series of questions regarding important issues that would be essential to the expansion of visual arts and architectural studies; they could also be brought to musicological and opera studies: questions of identity and nationalism, center and periphery, diffusion, influence, interaction and reception, cultural transference, travels, taste and fashion, and many oth-

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<sup>30</sup> In the beginning, Haydn appears as a composer of vocal and religious music and only later becomes the champion of instrumental music. For a discussion of this idea, but in the Parisian context, see Thomas Betzwieser, *Zwischen Geschmackswandel und Genieästhetik: Anmerkungen zur französischen Haydn-Rezeption im 18. Jahrhundert*, in: *Studien zu den deutsch-französischen Musikbeziehungen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Bericht über die erste gemeinsame Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung und der Société française de musicologie, Saarbrücken 1999*, ed. Herbert Schneider, Hildesheim 2002 (Musikwissenschaftliche Publikationen 20), pp. 302–324.

<sup>31</sup> See Paulo M. Kühl, *Haydn no Brasil*, in: Joachim Le Breton, *Notícia histórica*, 2004, pp. 21–38, and my forthcoming book on Le Breton.

<sup>32</sup> Tavares, *Orpheus in the Jungle*.

<sup>33</sup> Beatriz Magalhães Castro, "Haydn's Iberian World Connections". *Perspectives on Robert Stevenson's Contributions to Latin American Musical Studies*, in: *Ictus* 6 (2005), pp. 13–28.

ers<sup>34</sup>. They have actually been part of studies on opera for a number of years, especially those that deal with the diffusion of repertory and other issues related to operatic production in lesser known centers. Thirty years ago, Robert Stevenson's article, "Haydn's Iberian World Connections"<sup>35</sup>, showed how important it was to study Haydn's music in Spain and in the colonies, in order, for instance, to understand the commission of "The Seven Last Words". Before him, Charles Seeger<sup>36</sup> was also trying to expand the limits of musicology in the Americas, though with a very particular approach.

In the case of Brazil, the relations between Portugal, Spain and other countries in America are also very important and the circulation of repertoires and of musicians involved in musical productions is essential. The model center-periphery is very tempting, but brings with it the idea of influence, of a single influx, from one side to the other. And, I must add, the Geography of this music is much more complicated than we usually suspect. One good example is Pablo Rosquellas, a Spanish singer-violinist-composer, who went to Brazil in 1819, and then to what is now Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and finally died in Bolivia. He brought Rossini's music to South America, but also Mozart and other composers. But there are, of course, many other cases of Italian singers who travelled around the world, spreading Italian music almost everywhere. As we can see, all this travelling gives new meanings to what seems to be the same music. So what art historians call "Global Art History" could also work in the case of Musicology, as can be seen in recent research projects<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> Thomas da Costa Kauffman, *Toward a Geography of Art*, Chicago 2004, pp. 7–13.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Stevenson, *Haydn's Iberian World Connections*, in: *Inter-American Music Review* IV/2 (1982), pp. 3–30.

<sup>36</sup> Charles Seeger, *The Cultivation of Various European Traditions in the Americas*, in: *Report of the Eighth Congress of the International Musicological Society*, New York 1961, pp. 364–375.

<sup>37</sup> See, for instance, Reinhard Strohm's *Balzan Research Project, Towards a Global History of Music* ([www.music.ox.ac.uk/research/projects/balzan-research-project/](http://www.music.ox.ac.uk/research/projects/balzan-research-project/) (30.8.2018)), and Axel Körner's *Reimagining Italianità: opera and musical culture in transnational perspective*, funded by the Leverhulme Trust ([www.ucl.ac.uk/centre-transnational-history/research-and-publications/re-imagining-ita](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/centre-transnational-history/research-and-publications/re-imagining-ita) (30.08.2018)).