

“Haydn’s Iberian World Connections”: perspectives on Robert Stevenson’s contributions to Latin American musical studies

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Studies concerning the dissemination of the classical style during the XVIII-th and early XIX-th centuries, initially focused on the practice of instrumental music in the Luso-Brazilian culture, have opened substantial grounds for the study on the ways of its circulation, reception, and reproduction in the Iberian Peninsula and its New World colonies. A sampling of pertinent data obtained from an analysis of MS 4986, consulted at Lisbon’s National Library, regarding a handwritten catalog of works previously existent in the musical archives of the Conde do Farrobo (1801-69), reveals substantial knowledge and practice of instrumental music from composers assimilated to 18th-century musical styles, with a major predominance of works by Joseph Haydn.

The development of this subject has been hampered by the shortage or inadequacy of Iberian and Latin American primary sources, but also by some assumptions on the part of traditional musicologists concerning the function and dynamics of instrumental music practice in these countries. These factors have combined to discredit studies on this subject or relegate them to a secondary status.

For the alteration of such assumptions, there is a pressing need for the development of a consistent body of critical studies on instrumental music practice, that privileges the analyses, in an articulate form, of social contexts, and the internal and external processes that may affect its construction. An example of these assumptions is revealed on the following statement from Benevides (1883), regarding the influence of music classicism in Portugal:

We don’t have any reports to this day that have been sung in the ‘recital salons’ [salão das oratórias] the sublime sacred compositions of Haendel and Haydn; the German school has not been seen at the S. Carlos’ Theatre, not in the stage nor in the living room! Such is the decadence of the musical art and

of the public's taste at Lisbon, that the compositions, then recent, of Mozart, Haendel, Haydn, etc. were not executed! (Benevides 1883, 49).

Or still, as in Vieira's comment on the program of two concerts at the *Teatro das Laranjeiras* – the private theatre owned by the Conde do Farrobo: “Out of thirty five numbers, there is only to notice Beethoven's quintet; almost everything else are arias of operas and fantasies on the same ones” (Vieira, 1900, p. 405). The program, apart from Beethoven's quintet, includes 11 other instrumental pieces, from which only six will be fantasies on opera themes.

However, the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, in 12.01.1825, describes a quite different reality regarding the *Teatro das Laranjeiras*:

The private theater of the Baron of Quintela, at the Laranjeiras [...] is already finished. It will be illuminated by gas. [...] in his return from a long travel, in which he was accompanied by the renowned clarinetist Canongia, the musical *saraus* have been resumed on Sunday nights. [...] there are usually played symphonies, ouvertures, and concertinos of Haydn, Krommer, André, C. M. v. Weber [...], and also concerts for clarinet of Canongia and concerts of violin of Giordani. (*Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 1825; Brito & Cranmer 1990, 62-63).

Considered by Carvalho (1898, 96) as the “*Portuguese Rotschild*”, the Conde do Farrobo's private theater on the *Quinta das Laranjeiras* (ca.1820), was portrayed by the Visconde Benalcanfor (1874) in the following manner:

In the same way that in Trianon and the gardens of Versailles of Louis XIV [...], at the Conde of Farrobo's Laranjeiras was to be found, for twenty years, whatever there was of most different in Lisbon, in elegance, talent, and wealth... Kings and Princes attended more than one of those magnificent parties, that the opulence and the good taste of the Conde do Farrobo turned famous among the most grandiose of Europe. (Benalcanfor 1874 in Carvalho 1898, 98-99).

The prosperous Count, owner of a private palace and theatre, was one of the founders of the renowned *Teatro São Carlos* and the *Royal Conservatory of Lisbon*. Throughout his lifetime he pursued a judicial battle regarding the sales price of a tobacco company he acquired along with textile industries and insurance companies, which led him to bankruptcy towards the end of his life, possibly causing the dispersion of his estate, including his music collection as described in MS 4986, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa.

Musicological studies in Portugal have developed significant works regarding the practice of XVIIIth-century instrumental music, especially



Fig. 1 - Conde do Farrobo, ca. 1845

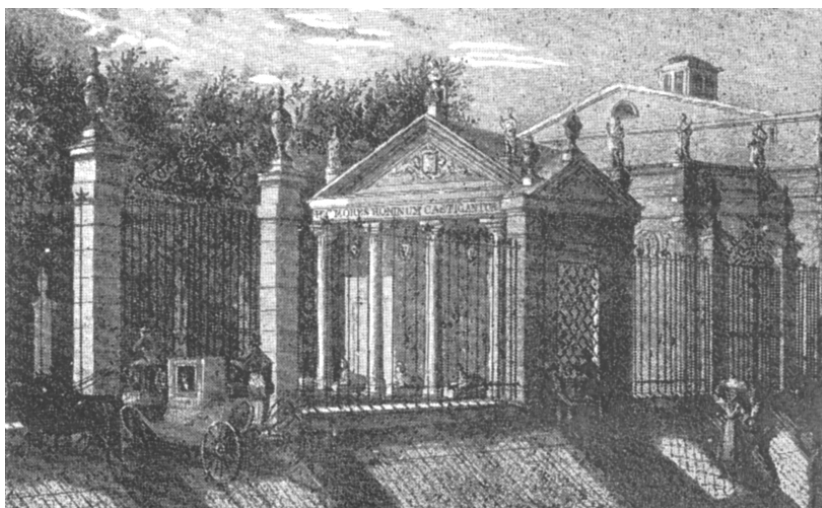


Fig. 2 - Teatro das Laranjeiras, ca. 1820

those of Brito, Cranmer, and Scherpereel. Cranmer (1989), when treating the subject of the first executions of Mozart operas in Portugal, demonstrates that this country would not be an atypical case in the European scenery. Mozart was not very often performed outside of the Germanic world: Italy, Milan and Naples would only see first representations of Mozart's operas in 1807 and 1809 respectively, and London as Lisbon, would only see *La clemenza di Tito* in the year of 1806.

Closer examination on the circulation of works by Joseph Haydn revealed a quite different perspective throughout the research mainly conducted at the *Centro de Estudos Musicológicos* at the Lisbon National Library (BNL). The handwritten catalog of works (MS 4986) was at first considered of secondary significance due to the absence of the musical documents there described. However it contained countless entrances of instrumental musical works from composers of German origin, such as Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, as well as several other assimilated to classicism in vogue at the end of the XVIIIth-century, thus contradicting the abovementioned statements from Benevides (1883), and Vieira (1900).

The catalog, not dated, and measuring approximately 24x30cm, is bound in fabric, in regular state of conservation, and has no indications inscribed on its cover. Its first page reads:

Catálogo das Peças de Música existentes no Archivo de Música pertinente a S. Ex^{cia}. o Senhor Conde do Farrobo, cujas Peças se achão Numeradas, e Classificadas nas diferentes Estantes, como ao diante se vê: Segue-se um Index dos diversos Autores, que principia a F. 199, e bem assim o Index das sobreditas Peças principiando a F. 287.

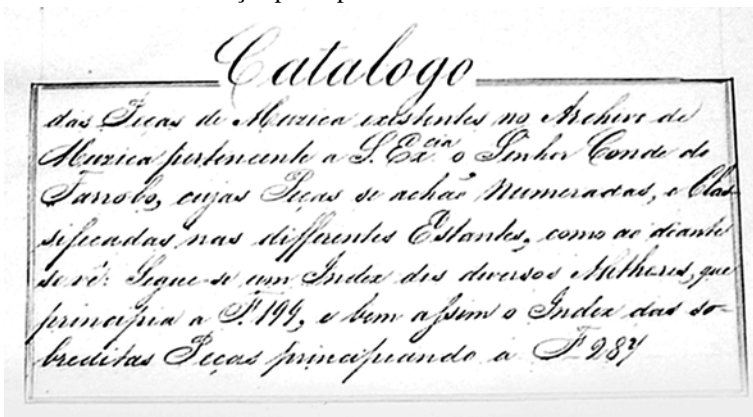


Fig. 3 - First page of the music catalog referred above

The catalog is organized in three parts, presenting and index of works, of authors and of the works contained in the catalog itself. In the first part, *Index das peças de música*, of greater interest, the pieces are organized in alphabetical order by genre. The information corresponding to each entrance is subdivided in five columns, under self-explanatory titles, such as: *N.os*, *Título das peças*, *Qualidade de acompanhamento*, *Autores*, *Na estante n.º*. The latter indicates a spatial location of the works (“in the shelf n^o”) according to a given systematic numerical sequence and classification,

demonstrating a practical concern, possibly for use in countless musical activities - from parties, private concerts, saraus, etc. - common at the time.

The pieces are listed in numerical order from no.1 to 947, and to these should be added approximately 168 entries not numbered, raising the final count to 1,115 works. It was verified, however, that this ordering was not followed rigorously within a genre, with gaps between works, which suggest the existence of a pre-existent cataloguing order prior to the elaboration of the catalogue itself.

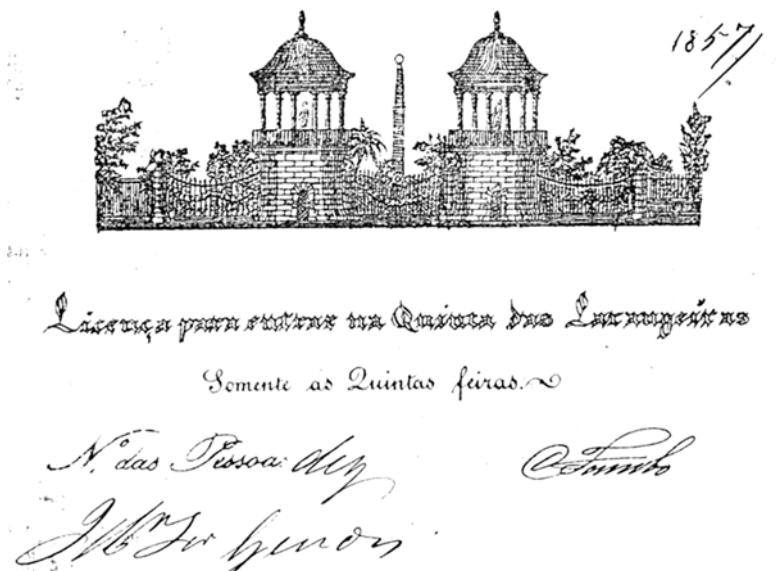


Fig. 4 - Entrance ticket, dated 1857, authorizing 10 individuals to enter the Quinta on Thursdays, signed by Farrobo and other.

An attempt was made to restore the presumed original sequence, and through this method one could observe that the numerical sequence, although attributed throughout the various genres, groups instrumental music either in several or in single large blocks, regardless of the significance or the amount of works represented.

Which would have been the reasons for adopting such numerical sequence? And why would the cataloguer maintain such sequence and not adopt a new one which would better reflect the classification by genres?

It is possible then that the numerical sequence was established from a previous group of works, whether bought from a third party, or as family property since the Conde of Farrobo's father, the 1st Baron of Quintela, had already

acted as a major patron for the arts, specially in the construction of the *Teatro São Carlos*. This would also explain the presence of 18th-century music throughout the first decades of the 19th-century, albeit Rossini's impact on the European music scene. This fact reported in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, in 1825, concerning the re-launching of the concerts of Bomtempo's *Sociedade Philharmonica*: "Only the first concerts have begun with symphonies of Haydn: in the continuation, these were substituted by Rossini's overtures and of other composers." (Brito & Cranmer 1990, 62).

Furthermore, one observes two different calligraphies in the catalog: a first one, precise and balanced, and a second one, yet non-dated but inserted after the first, of inferior quality. An evaluation of the representation of genres of works entered by the different writers reveals the increase of operatic genres (or of those related with opera) by the second writer. One may infer that within a certain time span, there was a change in musical taste, with a progressive abandonment in the instrumental music in favor of vocal works, or of those related to opera.

The number of works was then summed by genre, revealing the predominance of the instrumental genres over vocal ones, especially those most significant to musical classicism. In a comparative sampling of two of the most quantitatively represented instrumental genres (the symphony and the quartet), one observes that the works of Joseph Haydn represents 51% of the total output of symphonies, and 54% of the total quartet entries.

Finally, regarding the general content of the catalog, one finds the presence of some important Haydn works, among which the quartet version of *Die Sieben letzten Worte...*, originally written for the sacred week of the Spanish Cádiz Cathedral (1787), considered as "*Haydn's paramount large work composed for the [Iberian] peninsula*" (Stevenson 1982). In the vocal music genre, under the designation of "*Oratorias*" there is also to be found *Il Ritorno di Tobia* (1775), *Die Schöpfung* (1798), *Die Jahreszeiten* (1801), as well as Beethoven's *Cristo sul monte olivetti* (1803), and Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto* (1817).

Further research into Stevenson's "Haydn's Iberian world connections", revealed a similar situation in the archives of Madrid's National Library, which data was presented through the publication of a "*Catálogo de Impresos Musicales del Siglo XVIII en la Biblioteca Nacional*", in 1989, by the Head of its Music Section, María Mena. This catalog is devoted to printed music, which represents more than 60% of that library's music holdings. This publication represents one of Spain's first endeavors in contributing to RISM and RILM identification of sources, updating previous

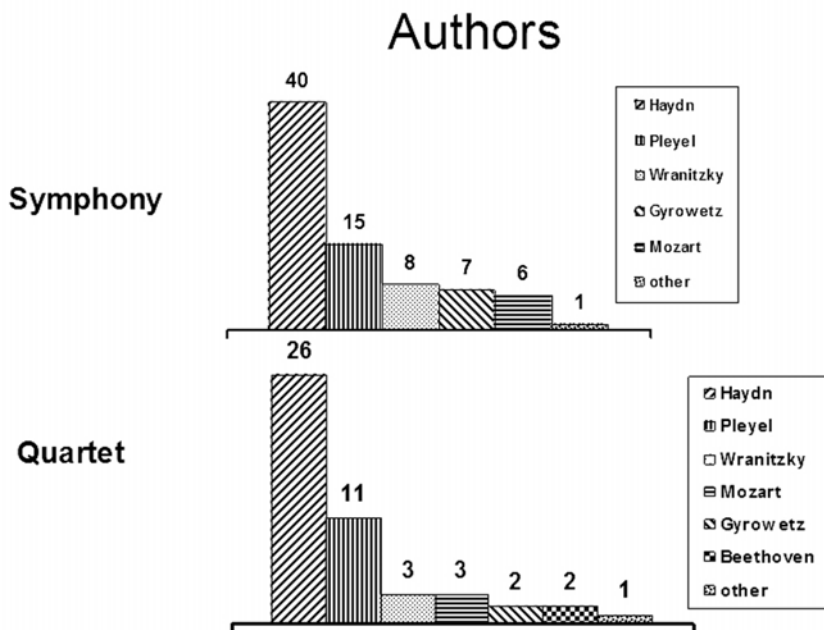


Fig. 5 - Comparative sampling of composers' works distribution between symphonies and quartets

catalogs (that of Anglés y Subirá, for example), and providing further identification of Spanish court musicians active at the time and their works.

In Portugal, and in several Latin American countries, there is a pressing need for establishing a similar effort. The present research has allowed me to identify previously unknown Portuguese composers (or foreign musicians established in Portugal) and their music, and to locate a few 18th-century printed or manuscript sources of Portuguese music in other European libraries, especially in Oxford and London. One is thus obliged to observe that the study of the “adventurous side” of Portuguese music noted by Rees (2005) is yet to be undertaken.

Robert Stevenson’s contributions: scope and reflections

Robert Stevenson’s article “Haydn’s Iberian World Connections” published at the *Inter-American Music Review*, in 1982, draws noteworthy attention to this matter, most prominently, in my view, through a broadened geographical scope in the treatment of a major named composer of Austrian-German origin. This approach was not detrimental to the detailed documen-

tal account concerning Haydn's reception in Spain, extensive to the Iberian Peninsula and to Latin American countries, presenting a detailed view of court musical practices, biographical information of relevant historical figures, contracting logistics and the bondage established between Haydn and his Spanish patroness, the Duchess of Osuna, as well as the holding of early imprints and hand copies of Haydn's music in several Latin American centers.

Furthermore, Stevenson is careful to point out the sources of the 1787 commission of the "*Seven Last Words*" for the "Three Hours" service at Cádiz, funded by the Mexican-born priest, José Saenz de Santamaría, Marqués de Valde-Iñigo (Stevenson *ibid.*, 8). Most important however, is the historical background on the origins of this type of religious service, not being Italian but rather a Spanish New World devotion "instituted by the Jesuits on the occasion of an earthquake at Lima in 1687" (The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, in Stevenson *ibid.*, 10).

According to Stevenson's sources, the Jesuit Francisco del Castillo "had begun in 1660 the custom of assembling worshippers at Lima on Good Fridays from noon to three for meditation on the seven last words," which evolved into a practice of "intercalating the seven words with music", an idea originated by Peruvian-born Jesuit Alonso Bedoya (1655-1732) (Stevenson *ibid.*).

In Madrid the 9th *Duque de Híjar* commissioned a series of organ adagios to be performed during the Three Hours' devotion, when "the church was darkened with heavy blanket-type curtains drawn over the windows" (Stevenson, *ibid.*). In a correspondence cited by Stevenson, between Haydn and Francisco Micón, Haydn "confessed that his composition owed more to the descriptions of such performances rather than to his creative fancy, (...) since they were so vividly and uniquely portrayed [by Micón] that he felt as if he was reading only musical notes, and not a literary description." (Stevenson *ibid.*).

In this example, Stevenson's research was able to identify the links and bonds established between cultures situated and structured on different continents, tapping into larger structures of music dissemination and processes in the realm of "trans-cultural" relations, which indicates the possibility to proceed with a differentiated set of analytical tools in order to render a clearer picture of such broader relations.

Furthermore, one still observes that primary sources are yet to be examined in several musical archives, including the comprehensive listing provided for example, in Stevenson's "Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas". Nevertheless, yet many exist in very fragmented

forms, once more demanding more specific approaches in order to yield broader perspectives.

As an example, in the inventory of the “music papers” (*papeles de música*) left by the Mexican music merchant José Fernández Tauregui, drawn after his death, one may again observe the predominance of works by Haydn (followed by other composers related to musical classicism). One further verify a large number of printed sheet music over manuscript sources: printed music summing \$ 7,452.00 *reales* and occupying 44 boxes, while manuscript music only \$ 460.00 *reales* in 7 boxes, as well as a list of musical instruments used at the time worth \$ 2,395.00 *reales*, or less than 50% of the printed music available.

The question to be considered is how to bridge, connect or insert very small fragments into an organic whole and into larger scale perspectives which may yield much needed information on music’s function and meaning of a given time. These processes include how music was produced, circulated, transmitted, and reused, to cite a few. This view implies a more “contextual” rather than a “textual” approach to the matter, and a departure from the autonomous aspects of musical works. The representation shown below attempts to convey these aspects through a “spiral-shaped” dynamic approach to the processes involved in music transmission and reception.

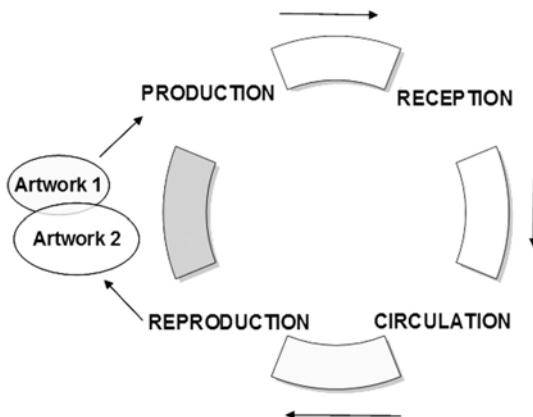


Fig. 6 - Transmission and reception of music

Perspectives and final considerations

In regards to Latin American music research, one needs to question, first, how to establish the balance between the development of a new framework of musicological approach (there included both analytical methods

and tools), and the amount of patrimonial and ground work yet to be done towards the preservation of primary sources; and second, whether this framework should (or could) proceed from general views or be drawn and constructed from specific objects of study.

The scope and breadth of the foundations established by Stevenson in patrimonial work ranges from his 1970 typewritten publication, “Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas” – which covers archives in 10 Latin American countries, and progresses throughout his long-term publishing career (including articles, books, and anthologies of music).

Such work provides ground for the writing of more general views such as his own “Music in Mexico: a historical survey”, published as early as 1952. Nevertheless, one needs to ask which “kind” of history Latin America needs to approach and construct for itself?

At first, one could consider a “horizontal” perspective balancing past and present, aiming towards a constructive approach to music research, dealing simultaneously with preservation of primary sources and a progression towards the inclusion of so-called secondary or fragmented material.

A second fundamental question would be how to envision larger scale views grounded on such fragmented documentation, whether it is at all possible, or whether it is at all desirable?

This could be seen as a “vertical” perspective, departing from small compressed and raw nucleus and projecting towards an unfolding knowledge of musical practice.

A third question however, could be labeled as an added third-dimensional approach that would relate the dynamics of socially affluent music constructions, to other forms of music-making, specially the indigenous and popular genres, juxtaposing and analyzing the type of *in loco* cultural miscegenation that took place in specific contexts and social structures, such as in colonial and post-colonial societies.

In the relatively short lecture given at The Library of Congress, in 1970, entitled “Philosophies of American Music History”, Stevenson questions some defining points regarding certain approaches (or philosophies) to musicology, raising questions such as:

What criteria [should be used] for determining musical value does the historian accept, and why? (...) Is the historian teleologically minded, or [...] does he envision [...] music history as moving forward to some recognizable goal? If so, is the goal toward which history leads understood to be always higher and better than anything that had preceded it? (Stevenson 1970, 2).

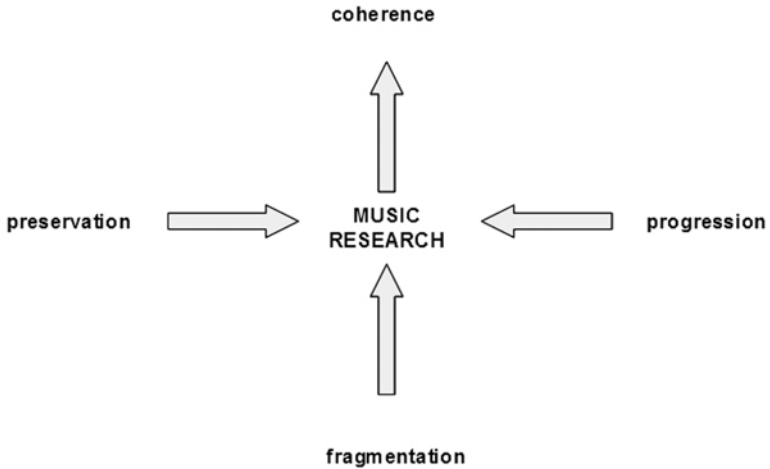


Fig. 7 - “Horizontal” and “Vertical” perspectives in music research

In presenting differentiated perspectives from music historians from North America and Latin American countries, Stevenson further notes the fact that:

no self-respecting Latin American [musicologist] would dream of beginning with the music brought over tardily by Cortés, Pizarro, et al. Instead they begin with the music of the Tupinambás, Incas, Mayas, etc. (Stevenson *ibid.*, 2).

With such framework in mind, Stevenson again taps into broader perspectives of musicological research as discussed today, convergent to and protective of an all-inclusive historiography of music.

This type of historiography would probably also inquire the indigenous reactions to such music and the processes involved in such a crossroad of diverse influences. And how much different would that be from today’s cross-cultural mix of styles and genres?

Such three-dimensional approach would also consider relations within and between different social classes, with special attention to the forms of “symbolic empowerment” attributed to music as a cultural “object” or “product” to be sold, exchanged, possessed, among other forms of “social distinction” in the Bourdieu sense. What significance and meaning may have had to the Conde do Farrobo his rich and very modern musical archive? Was it a demonstration of his “class distinction” through the access to cultural goods and his up-to-date knowledge of what was best and fashionable? Could that not have been the same impetus that drove the Duchess of Osuna to confection in such grinding terms the 12 per-year deliverance of Haydn works?

In that perspective, to what extent music classicism may have become the first “world-wide” musical fad driving Haydn to world-class stardom, occupying a position similar to a “pop” idol in his time?

The process of “rethinking music” in Cook’s (1999) sense may nevertheless stem from differentiated perspectives.¹ In my view, this rethinking may be generated from very small objects, utilizing frameworks and analytical tools which may yield data and the inference of musical processes and their meaning to human musical activities.

From a Latin American point of view, it is fairly easy to envision an all-embracing “new musicological” perspective stemming from a miscigenated and culturally diverse context. A repossession of Blacking’s sense of music as an innate musical capacity of mankind and a defining characteristic of being human, in opposition to stifling western elitist conceptions of music and its exclusivist approach to artistic creativity, would readily offer a broader outlook to historical musicology.

In conclusion, I would like to offer a visual image possibly of a good rendition of today’s dynamic and expanding concept of music research, one that may actively find in all-inclusive procedures the directions and responses to a more contextualized and objective approach to the meaning of music today: Stephen Hawking’s image of the universe as an all enclosed object, and the universe as seen nowadays, as expansion and unfolding of energy.

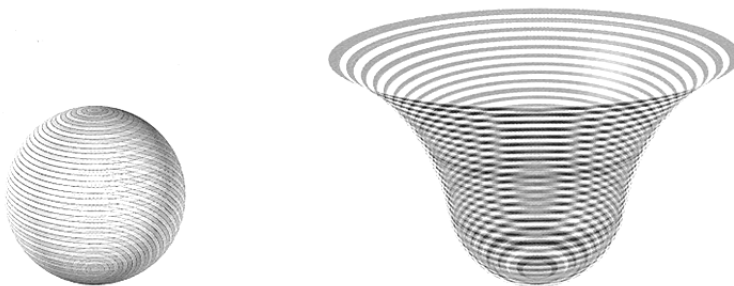


Fig. 8 - Stephen Hawking’s representations of closed and opened universes.

¹Not to be mistaken with what Nicholas Cook considered as “one more dutiful and tempted musicologist reporting on a [Haydn] connection [...] simply too great to ignore, [...] [and] moved by academic pressures.” In Cook 1999, v.

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