

Opera, painting and society in 19th-Century Bahia: The Barbosa de Araujo case study

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Abstract: Until the beginning of the 20th-century in Brazilian musical history, the theatre (or in a more general sense, the stage) has been considered the proper place to publicly represent the hierarchical social structure and to teach people ways to deal with it. The three main socially established "stages" in 19th-century Bahia were the church, the theatre and the plazas (largo). The Bahian composer Damião Barbosa de Araújo (Itaparica, 1778-Salvador, 1856), the first non-ecclesiastical chapel-master (mestre-de-capela) of the Bahia Cathedral and the most important musician invited by the Regent Prince D. João (during his one-month stop in Bahia on his runaway from Lisbon to Rio the Janeiro) to be a part of his new Royal Chapel, is best-known for his religious music, although he also wrote arias and overtures, and, according to Manoel Querino (1907), one single "opera" called *A intriga amorosa* (The amorous intrigue) supposedly composed in 1808. The only known portrait of Damião Barbosa de Araújo, an oil painting, is currently lost; however, a facsimile reproduction is provided in Querino's work, with no ascription of authorship. This paper focuses on the authorship, time and pre-compositional models of the painting (and the painter's inspirational resources), as well as on the aforementioned "opera", all of which are viewed as forms of publicly displaying Barbosa de Araujo's relevance within that social hierarchy.

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Introduction

Until the beginning of the 20th-century in Brazilian musical history, the theatre (or in a more general sense, the stage) has been considered the proper place to publicly represent the hierarchical social structure and to teach people ways to deal with it. The three main socially established "stages" in 19th-century Bahia were the church, the theatre and the plazas (largo).

Though European travelers such as Tollenare, Denis and Jacquemont used to described Brazilian operatic productions (mostly from Bahia and Rio de Janeiro), as including "pitiful spectacles, cynical dances, and execrable orchestras" (Budasz 2005, 1), we should take care on using the common term opera, because "while the term opera in Colonial Brazil referred usually to a dramatic representation interspersed with musical numbers, often there was no music at all" (Budasz 2005, 1).

Reviewing different works from Silio Boccanera Jr (1915; 1924), Francisco Curt Lange (1964), Ayres de Andrade (1967), José Galante de Sousa (1960), Lorenzo Mammi (2001) and Nireu Cavalcanti (2004) among others, would confirm the "rules" for "staging" the social structure and manners. Differently from what it would be supposed to happen, opera in Portugal during Dom José I enlightened reign "was the product and reflection of a conservative society, occupied in justifying and legitimizing

the absolute regime" (Budasz 2005, 1). According to that, the 1771 citizens' petition to open a public theatre management society in Lisbon, appeared justified by the

splendor and utility which every nation obtains through the establishing of public theatres, because they are, when properly ruled, [a] school, where the nations learn the healthy precepts of politics, moral, motherland's love, value, zeal, and fidelity with which they should serve their sovereigns, civilizing themselves and firmly out casting some barbarian remains left by the miserable centuries of ignorance¹. (Benevides 1883, 12-13)

On the other hand, during Count da Ponte's ruling period in Salvador, Bahia (1805-1810), the 1806 governmental resolution for the creation of the Teatro São João in that city, shows how "tuned" were the authorities in the Colony with those previous private Portuguese initiatives in the metropolis.

Realizing that theatrical spectacle is the kind of entertainment generally adopted by Civilized Nations to distract and entertain the youth of a populous city, during that hours when Idleness seems to invite it to fall into pernicious vices, apart from the immeasurable benefit of growing it accustomed to live among the rest of society, a habit that, numb and spontaneously acquired, becomes a break almost invincible to improve the language [...] [raising] a more relaxed man, inspiring him love

¹ "esplendor e utilidade, que resulta a todas as nações do estabelecimento dos teatros públicos, por serem estes, quando bem regulados, escola, onde os povos aprendem as máximas sãs da política, da moral, do amor da pátria, do valor, do zelo, da fidelidade, com que devem servir os seus soberanos: civilizando-se e desterrando insensivelmente alguns restos de barbárie, que neles deixarão os séculos infelizes da ignorância."

and esteem to his equals, and the self-respecting fear of being despised by them².

They understood the social role that theatre could play in promoting and establishing hierarchical relationships. Theatrical spectacles, as it used to be throughout history, could "crown" the parallel efforts being made at liturgical and religious "stages" in "civilizing" societies. In both places the "spectacles" showed casts of different characters with their rank and role in society somehow as a portrait of power relationship and social respectfulness.

During early 20th-century, due to some late romantic bias³, reinforced by the then Brazilian republican spirit and its need in building recognizable cultural icons, so helping to firm its own national artistic history and its value to the eyes of the so called "civilized western society", many efforts were taken in Bahia as well as in other country provinces. In the case of music composers from 19th-century, having very little chances of

2 "Reconhecendo ser o espetaculo theatral o entretenimento geralmente adoptado pelas Naçoens Civilisadas para distrahir, e entreter a mocidade de huma populosa cidade n'aquellas horas, em que o Ocio parece convidalla a precipitar se em vicios perniciosos, alem do beneficio incalculavel de habitualla a viver no centro dos mais individuos da sociedade, habito, q. insensivel e expontaneam.te contrahido se torna um freio quase invensivel a aperfeiçoar a lingoagem pela in[ilegível]abilidade, e condescendencia de um revisor na approvaçãõ e reprovaçãõ das pessos, q. lhe forem a censurar" (apud Robatto, 2006)

3 It must be stressed here that Brazilian music history texts during the first three decades of the 20th-century reflected, one way or another, cultural, esthetical and artistic values with a neat late 19th-century European, or in a wider view, Western ideological bias.

reaching nobility power, because of their black or Creole (mestiço) origins, one of the highest "rank" they could be placed to "establish" their social respectfulness could be very well represented by showing them as masters of opera composition (mostly due to their interdisciplinary requirements for its whole artistic creation) and having deserved a commanded portrait painting exposing his importance in that social hierarchy. So, opera composition and portrait painting should be very well seen as related examples of social and hierarchical representation of a composer's "level" in a nationalistic republican biased view of Brazilian music history. That would explain Manoel Querino's and Guilherme de Mello's interest in "building" a representative and quality "image" of Damião Barbosa de Araujo (Itaparica, 1778-Salvador, 1856) as one of the most important Brazilian composer of 19th-century Bahia. Supporting the more critic and reflexive research that is currently redefining his social and artistic relevance, some musical and painting aspects must be discussed to better-fit Araujo's vocal production and artistic role in that society.

The amorous intrigue I: available information

Damião Barbosa de Araújo was the first non-ecclesiastical chapel-master (mestre-de-capela) of the Bahia Cathedral ever noticed in local music history and one of the most important and skilled musicians invited by the Regent Prince D. João (during his one-month stop in Bahia on his

runaway from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro) to be a part of his new Royal Chapel. Although is best-known for his religious music, he also composed arias, cavatinas, modinhas, overtures and, according to Querino (1907) and Mello (1908), one single opera buffa called *A intriga amorosa* (The amorous intrigue) supposedly composed in 1808 and which currently lost score has not been found yet.

The first appearance of this work's name was in Sacramento Blake's *Brazilian Bibliographic Dictionary*: its 2nd volume (1893), informs that **Damião Barbosa de Araújo**

Wrote in full score:

- Marches and other military compositions
- Arias, duets and choirs for theatrical operas, then being represented in Bahia.
- Arias, romances, concertos, etc. for chamber; being some of that compositions still yet today appreciated
- Quartet, offered to Minister Antonio de Araújo.
- *A intriga amorosa*, composition for singing voice, with Italian lyrics⁴. (Blake 1893, v.2, 159)

⁴ Escreveu em grande cópia:

- Marchas e outras composições militares
- Arias, duettos e coros para óperas teatraes, que então se representavam na Bahia.
- Arias, romances, concertos, etc. para salão; sendo ainda hoje apreciadas algumas de taes composições.
- Quartetto, offerecido ao Ministro Antonio de Araújo.
- *A intriga amorosa*, composição para canto, com letra italiana. (Blake, v.2, 1893, p.159)

It must be emphasized that Blake described *A Intriga Amorosa* as simple as a "composition for singing voice with Italian lyrics", but not specifically an opera, opera buffa or even burletta. However, Mello, along with Querino, credited Damião to have written it as an opera buffa, also informing that it was presented in the local opera house (Casa da Opera) located at the Guadalupe plaza in Salvador where he was also the orchestra conductor (Cf. Mello 1908, 253).

Though apparently mistaken the Casa da Opera (opened in 1798) for the Guadalupe theatre (extinguished in 1787 and known as Opera da Vala, located at the then Vala street) (Cf. Santos, 2007), since then, other authors such as Diniz (1970), Pimentel (1979), Stevenson (1992), and Béhague (2005) repeated Mello and Querino's asserts, eventually treating the genre in a loose manner.

Partly along with Mello and Querino, Pinheiro Chagas (1909, 68) also defined *The Amorous Intrigue* as a burletta, but he denied its public premiere. In a similar way, Diniz (1970) also questioned the same aspect but now related to Pimentel.

There are many publicized data, in relation to Damião Barbosa, that seems to me obscure and unreliable. More unreliable than obscure. One of them: the date of the performance (or *mise-en-scene*) of the *Intriga Amorosa* "for singing voice with Italian lyrics", according to Manoel Querino. The writer Ubaldo Ósório [Pimentel], [...] showed me a page from his yet unpublished work, where he asserts that the referred work - still enigmatic - was performed in Rio [de Janeiro] in 1808. A

pure and simple declaration with no documental support⁵
(Diniz, 1970, 9).

Though Pimentel finally reduced his assert to a single comment about its success during Araujo's lifetime with no year or place ascribed to its premiere (Cf. Pimentel 1979, 120), the so-sustained tradition raised into new levels of confusion when different internet websites dedicated to opera avers that the work was premiered in Salvador during 1810 at the Teatro de Guadalupe⁶.

Just to clean the informational "scene", it would be quite difficult for Damião to premiere his work in Salvador at the referred dates or years because he left Bahia in February 1808 and went to Rio de Janeiro with D. João (Cf. Sotuyo Blanco, 2005). The only tiny chance could rely amongst one of two possibilities: weather its premiere happened during January or the first two weeks of February (before sailing to Rio with the

5 "Há uns tantos dados divulgados, a respeito de Damião Barbosa, que me parecem obscuros e duvidosos. Mais duvidosos, que obscuros. Um deles: a data de execução (ou encenação) da *Intriga Amorosa* "para canto com letra italiana", segundo Manoel Querino. O escritor Ubaldo Osório, [...] mostrou-me uma página da sua obra ainda inédita, em que afirma que a mencionada obra - ainda enigmática - foi executada no Rio em 1808. Afirmação pura e simples, sem base documental."

6 Cf. Robert Martindale, OperaGlass s.v. Damião Barbosa de Araújo. Dec. 2003. <<http://opera.stanford.edu/Barbosa/>> Accessed 10 dec. 2007; Anna Trombetta & Luca Bianchini, Italian Opera s.v. Damião Barbosa de Araújo. 2005. <<http://www.italianopera.org/compositori/B/c217066F.htm>> Accessed 10 dec. 2007. Other sites with no responsibility declared about the primary sources of the information are <http://www9.plala.or.jp/dxc_opera/comp/b/barbosa.html>, <http://www.fournier-musique.com/Opera/comp/compositeurs_b.htm> and <<http://www.fandopera.info/Compos002/barbosa.htm>> all accessed between 10 and 15 dec. 2007.

Regent Prince), thus considering it as one of the public events the future king would have witnessed during his one month stop in Bahia (from 22nd January to nearly the 20th of February 1808), or it happened without the presence of the composer at all.

The amorous intrigue II: possible (suspicious?) solutions

What really was that enigmatic vocal composition lost long time ago? Was it a whole vocal-musical creation for the stage or something else? Studying Barbosa de Araujo surviving scores at the Gregorio de Mattos Foundation music archive in Salvador, among his non-religious vocal and opera-related production, only ten works can be listed: five for solo voice and two vocal duets (accompanied with piano or with orchestra) together with two overtures⁷ and a capriccio for orchestra.

As Budasz already mentioned: "Loose arias - like the Aria de Dardane and other numbers by Damião Barbosa de Araújo [...] - keep surfacing throughout Brazil, but complete scores of operas or entremezes composed in Brazil during Dom João VI rule are quite rare" (Budasz, *idem*).

⁷ Relying on sequential number of these two overtures (6th and 7th) it must be accepted that there were, at least, other five overtures previously composed by Barbosa de Araújo that are currently lost, thus enhancing the comprehension about his participation in operatic or musical theatre productions.

Title	Description	Codes ⁸ and other info
<i>Non è colpa innamorarsi</i>	<i>Cavatina</i> for soprano (in Italian) and piano	SAV-FGM 6.25
<i>Conselhos dirigidos a Francisco Barbosa...</i>	2 versions: [male?] voice (in Portuguese) with piano or with orchestra	SAV-FGM 6.03 [1839-1843]
<i>Dardane</i>	Aria for soprano (in Italian) and orchestra	SAV-FGM 6.08 [for the Paisiello-Cerlone homonymous work?]
<i>Tristes Saudades</i>	<i>Modinha</i> for voice (in Portuguese) and accompaniment	SAV-FGM 6.38 [>1808<1828 - printed by Arthur Napoleão in Rio de Janeiro]
<i>Mon País [Paix] Bretanha</i>	<i>Canzonetta</i> for solo bass (no written text) and orchestra	SAV-FGM 6.23 [fragm.]
<i>Os dois rivais desafiados por amor</i>	"Serious" duet for 2 basses (in Portuguese) and orchestra	SAV-FGM 6.10 (1825)
<i>Rossini / Dueto do Barão Enganado</i>	Duet for 2 basses (in Portuguese) and piano [from Rossini's <i>La Cenerentola</i> - 2nd Act - duet between Dandini and Dom Magnifico]	SAV-FGM 6.11 [>1817; possibly for the 1821 production in Rio de Janeiro?] ⁹
<i>Abertura 6⁴</i>	Overture for orchestra	SAV-FGM 6.27 (1843)
<i>Abertura 7⁴ "A balda certa"</i>	Overture with 2 versions: for piano or for orchestra	SAV-FGM 6.28 (1842)
<i>Capricho Musical da ópera Ernani</i>	<i>Capriccio</i> for orchestra [from Verdi's <i>Ernani</i>]	SAV-FGM 6.02 [>1844]

TABLE 1 - BARBOSA DE ARAUJO VOCAL AND OPERA RELATED WORKS

Relying on Budasz' assert that "in Colonial Brazil opera is part of that spectacle of power, of political and social representation, borrowing and adapting European forms, views and uses" (Budasz, idem), considering the title and its related dramatic subject, it can be conjectured that The Amorous Intrigue could have been an adaptation number or version of a known opera or libretto, as Araújo also did with Rossini's duet from *La Cenerentola* or Verdi's *Ernani*. Among them there is one whose Italian title

8 These codes (SAV-FGM x.xx) refers to the internal music catalogue, originally done by Jaime Diniz in 1970 for the Arquivo Histórico Municipal (City Hall Historic Archive) still unpublished. A new RISM-ian version of it is under development and will be published in the near future.

9 Cf. Ayres de Andrade, 1967.

seems to be the "perfect translation" of Barbosa de Araújo's work: *L'intrigo amoroso* of Ferdinando Paer (Parma, 1st June 1771 - Paris, 3rd May 1839), composed upon Giovanni Bertati's libretto and premiered in Venice the 4th December 1795¹⁰. There would be another reason in that choice. Among the whole list of operas staged in Brazil enrolled by Curt Lange (1964), Andrade (1967) or Cavalcanti (2004), two Paer's operas were staged in Rio de Janeiro during Araújo's lifetime in Rio de Janeiro (from 1808 to ca.1828): *Camilla* (staged in 1818) and *Agnese* (staged from 1827 to 1829), thus becoming of Araújo's knowledge and, eventually, professional interest.

Having discussed the "operatic" work attributed to Barbosa de Araújo, let the portrait painting "enter in scene".

The (lost) portrait I: brief description

The only known portrait of Damião Barbosa de Araújo, an oil painting, is currently lost; however, a black and white facsimile reproduction is provided in Querino's work, with no ascription of authorship. Although, there is a humble monogram with an N and an I (or a J if modified to Latin) superposed on the lower right corner that could be assumed as the author's "seal" (Fig. 1).

The only copy of this libretto found until today (but not yet reviewed) is in the National Library of France, catalogued under the notice FRBNF30094422.



Fig. 1 - monogram assumed as the painter's "seal"

The painting shows the composer's half body sat at the corner of a table-like piece of furniture, with a feather on his right hand writing (most probably) music. His head is slightly twisted to his right showing his left cheek with his eyes looking directly to the observer (Fig. 2).

Being evidently Creole (mestiço) his dark skin only appears on his hand and face. The short curly hair, partly grizzled and hoary, frames his face. Closed serious and relaxed mouth with thin lips and long straight nose completes the calm, firm and direct gaze of his eyes.

His wearing an open dark clothe coat of three or four buttons over a waistcoat, a shirt and a scarf, all of them of clearer colors (if not strictly white). The picture also shows the waistband of the mid-dark trousers.

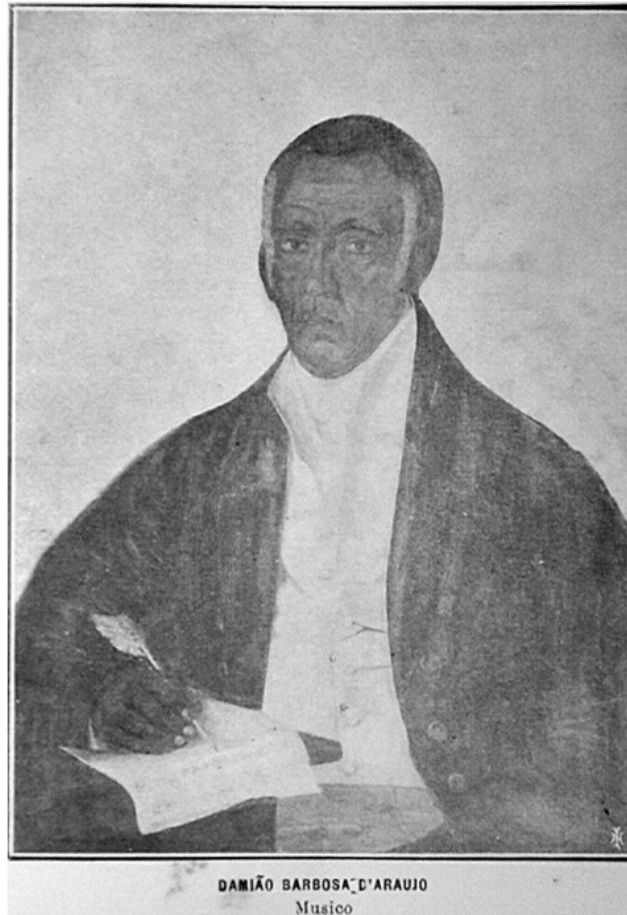


Fig. 2 - portrait of Damião Barbosa de Araújo (after Querino's 1907 facsimile reproduction)

The (lost) portrait II: possible authorship and pictorial analysis

Knowing that the composer only achieved a socially respected musical position when he became chapel-master of the Bahia Cathedral, and this happened only after his return to Salvador from Rio de Janeiro

(ca. 1828), it could be assumed that the portrait was painted after that, sometime between 1828 and his death in April 1856. Also assuming that the letters in the painted monogram are the initials of the portrait author, the search for any painter whose initials' name were I.N., J.N. N.J or N.I. and active and renowned in Salvador as a portrait painter during the same period (to deserve that kind of command), should represent the next step. Among the available information (Alves 1976; Ayala 1986; Campofiorito 1983; Leite 1988; Ott 1982; Pontual 1969) it appears to be only one that could match the case: José Rodrigues Nunes.

Born in Salvador in 1800, José Rodrigues Nunes was a pupil and collaborator of the renowned Bahia painter master Franco Velasco (1780-1833). After Velasco's death, Nunes concluded many church paintings commanded to his teacher. According to Campofiorito, being "Bachellor in Writing, he obtained a scholarship paid by his province [Government of Bahia], having frequented the École des Beaux Arts in Paris and known Rome and Florence" (1983, 33)¹¹. According to Carlos Ott, he preferred to copy from old masters than to execute original pictorial compositions (Cf. Ott 1982). Professor of Drawing at the Provincial Lyceum (Lyceo Provincial) from 1827 to 1859, he also painted different portraits of political

¹¹ "Bacharel em Letras, obteve pensionato de sua província [Bahia] tendo frequentado a École des Beaux Arts de Paris e conhecido Roma e Florença"

authorities, professors from de Medicine Faculty, benefactors and patrons from the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, among other noteworthy characters of his time. If inclined to copy from previous models, through portraiture he sometimes achieved unexpected levels of mastery. (Cf. Nunes 2007).

Furthermore, still according to Ott (1947), Rodrigues Nunes would had Barbosa de Araújo in high esteem as an artist, having included him as the only noteworthy composer in his manuscript relation about the origins of art in Bahia, asserting "where shines the profound wisdom [...] of many vast intelligences, it also fulgurates the eminent artistic genius [...] of a Damião Barbosa de Araújo¹²." (Nunes apud Ott 1947, 217)

Considering the aforementioned details, the analytical description should look for any possible pre-compositional model of portrait painting.

In general terms the pictorial composition seems to obey to academic rules of portrait painting, though, as it will be shown here, it seemed he borrowed a very special model to expose the composer in its own task and social rank.

While the painted clothes seems to coincide with the expected proper male vestments (Cf. Verardi 1910, 78), so reaffirming Araújo's

12 "onde rutila a profunda sabedoria [...] de tantas inteligências vastas, também fulgurram os eminentes gênios artísticos [...] de um Damião Barbosa de Araújo." According to Ott's research, José Rodrigues Nunes would have written this manuscript relation between 1866 and 1876, thus during the second decade after Araújo's death.

social established condition, his calm and serious expression, his vertical face, with no head canting (facing the observer as equal)¹³ and his firm and direct gaze, showing no sign of submission (Cf. Larsen & Shackeford, 1996), clearly transmits his own self-esteem and confidence that, along with his possibly nearly 60 years old aspect, according to his hoary hair, completes the face of a successful man, with achievement; the proper respectfulness image eventually desired by the painter. However, as Costa, Menzani and Bitti hypothesize, "since single-figure portraits are generally commissioned [...] are intended to convey positive characterizations" (2001, 65).

Araújo's face appears slightly twisted to the left, showing his left cheek. This can be understood whether as a painter technical option

13 After Costa, Menzani & Bitti (2001, 64-65) "Head canting has been described as a submissive gesture (Key, 1975), an example of the "power differential" (Henley, 1977, 1973), an appeal for protection (Morris, 1977), and a form of ingratiation or appeasement achieved by reducing one's overall height (Goffman, 1976, 1979). [...] Rosa (1959), for instance, in his attempt to code emotional expressions concerning art works into fixed patterns, reported head canting as a constituent of the following situations: a) listening and communicating secrets; b) silent reproach, imploring; c) ingratiating oneself with someone; d) commiserative laughter; e) dejection; f) adoration; worship; g) supplication; h) uncertainty, doubt. [...] Gaze aversion is a typical sign of submission and, in contrast, gaze fixation is a sign of power and dominance."

embedding just a better visual arrangement for the observer¹⁴, or a subtle code on the emotional bias of the portrayed character, much more alike with the 19th-century judgment about musical profession¹⁵.

At first sight, the whole picture reminds many different musician portraits. It must be confessed that the 1748 Haussmann's portrait painting of Johann Sebastian Bach (Fig. 3) does first crosses the mind, mainly because of the music paper on the image, though it was a clear mistake. While Bach is showing his three voice canon already written (and his face is twisted to the right inducing a more rationale appeal, so matching the counterpoint canonical subject intellectual requirements), Araújo is still writing something we do not know what it is. Though the music writing is a usual descriptive attribute for the music professional function in painting, it is not as common as it would seem to be.

14 "In a left-cheek portrait the most prominent and distinguishing facial characteristics (eyes, nose, mouth) are in the left part of the portrait (from the viewers perspective). For this reason, artists may, consciously or not, have a preference for arranging the sitter to arrive at this pose" (Cate. 2002, 176).

15 "The left side of the face, because it is controlled by the emotional right hemisphere, is more expressive of emotion. When individuals adopt an emotional role, or if they are emotionally expressive themselves, they are more likely to turn their left cheek when posing for a portrait. What's more, as observers, we find portraits that feature the left side of the face to be more emotionally expressive than those that feature the right." (Nicholls. et al., 2008)



Fig. 3 - Portrait of Johann Sebastian Bach by Elias Gottlob Haussmann, 1748

Inside the Historische Portraits bedeutender Persönlichkeiten website, with more than 2300 portraits of historic characters (Cf. Kaar 2007), a total of 505 portrait paintings of musicians and composers from the 16th to the 19th-century were observed and compared to Araújo's, taking account of many different aspects such as general format of the frame, proportion/distribution of the body, general posture and attitude, attribute(s) included, head canting, face twisting, gaze direction, cloth wearing and gray/color palette, there is surprisingly only one portrait among them that could be recognized as an outstanding pre-compositional pictorial

model: the one corresponding to the German composer August Eberhard Müller¹⁶ (1767-1817) (Fig. 4).

16 August Eberhard Müller (Composer, Thomaskantor). Born: December 13, 1767 - Northeim, Hannover, Germany

Died: December 3, 1817 - Weimar, Germany. Müller, was a German pianist, organist and flautist as well as composer and conductor. Müller's father, organist at RinteIn, was his first instructor, and he subsequently learnt of J.C.F. Bach of Bückeburg. In 1785 he went to Leipzig to study law, but soon gave it up. In 1789 August Eberhard Müller became organist of St. Ulrich's Church in Magdeburg. In 1792 he was chosen to direct the concerts, etc., at Berlin, and there became intimate with Marpurg, Johann Friedrich Fasch, Reichardt and other distinguished men. He was made organist of Nikolaikirche in Leipzig in 1794. He played the organ and harpsichord equally well, and was also a proficient on the flute. In 1800 he was appointed deputy to Johann Adam Hiller at the Thomasschule and assistant Kapellmeister at Thomaskirche, and from 1901 followed Hiller as Thomaskantor. From 1810 he was musical director at the Weimar court.

Works - August Eberhard Müller composed concertos, keyboard and chamber music and various vocal works. His early output is Mozartian; his later piano music is more virtuoso in style. He wrote influential piano and flute tutors. The following is a list of his compositions: (1) Piano: Two concerto!: a trio for piano and strings, op. 17; two sonatas for violin and piano; many sonatas for piano solo, besides variations. etc.; (2) Organ: Suites, a sonata and Choral, variations; (3) Flute: Eleven concertos; a fantasia with orchestra and twenty-three duets for two flutes; (4) Vocal: Three cantatas for four voices and orchestra; two posthumous operettas (Singspiele); songs with piano accompaniment; (5) Instruction: Method for the piano, and instruction-book for flute (see Q.-L).

Influences - August Eberhard Müller was 'greatly esteemed' by Beethoven, and valued by Goethe for his energy when he was in charge of the music in Weimar. He was most known for his propagation of the music of Haydn and Mozart, and for his much-reprinted Klavier- [i.e. clavichord] und Fortepiano Schule (1804).

[...] He was a strong advocate of Mozart's music (he was eleven years younger than the composer), provided a commentary and cadenzas to his piano concertos and arranged the late Symphony in E flat K. 543 very effectively as a Sonata brillante a quattro mani (1801).

Source: Grove Concise Dictionary of Music (© 1994 by Oxford University Press); Christopher Hogwood Website; Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1952 Edition)



Fig. 4 - Portrait of August Eberhardt Müller (author unknown) (Cf. Kaar, 2007)

Between Araújo's portrait and Müller's one, the only two main differences are: 1) the status of the coat (open vs. closed) and gaze direction (frontal vs. up-to-heaven like). It seems that Müller's painter wanted to include some kind of constrained inspirational or spiritual-seeker like expression.

At this conjectural point, the reminding of Haussmann's portrait of Johann Sebastian Bach does not seem to be so far from our topic. An attempt to relate Barbosa de Araújo lost portrait with that of Müller, even in a loose way and as crazy as it would appear, may pass through Bach's music and family. And, surprisingly or not, Teri Noel Towe (2001a; 2001b)

lent more links to this than anyone can handle in a glance, helping to establish relationships between different topics apparently distant.

First of all, Müller was one of Bach's successors as Thomas cantor at Leipzig from 1801 to 1809, having previously studied with Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach in Bückeburg.

Müller owned Haussmann's portrait of Bach until 1809 when he left it as a gift to the Thomasschule.

Müller gave an original figured organ player's part of Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam, BWV 7, to Haydn's beloved pupil, Sigismund Neukomm, as an "andanken" in 1808, taken it from the Thomasschulle Library in Leipzig.

Neukomm arrived in Paris at the end of 1809, living and working among the local high-society.

Between 1816 and 1821, he moved to Rio de Janeiro, where he served as music teacher to the court of John VI of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves. During his Rio de Janeiro years he had surely met Damião Barbosa de Araújo. It can also be assumed that Neukomm shared his

musical knowledge (mostly about Mozart, Haydn and, eventually, Müller and Bach¹⁷) with Damião¹⁸.

Finally, it should also be considered that, among other possibilities, Rodrigues Nunes might have known about Müller's and/or Haussmann's portraits during his years in Paris and, back in Bahia, recalled it as a model for the Barbosa de Araújo's one.

Final considerations (curtain!)

Although it can be said that most part of this paper was built-up with conjectures and suppositions, they must be understood as working hypotheses, none of them lacking the minimum of reliability required to continue the research. As a matter of fact, the path taken led to a better comprehension of Barbosa de Araújo music and role in 19th-century Bahia society, enhancing our knowledge about the human connections he established along with his social and musical acceptance during his lifetime, as well as his vocal repertoire, language skills and compositional practices and preferences.

17 In Towe's words, "if Neukomm took the part with him, rather than leaving it for safekeeping in Paris, it was almost certainly the first sample of Bach's handwriting to visit the Americas and certainly the first to visit South America" (Towe, 2001b).

18 These musical exchanges, within the whole musical experience at the court and the city of Rio de Janeiro, would explain the significant development of Damião Barbosa de Araújo musical style and compositional technique clearly present in his later production.

He certainly did compose (or arrange) a vocal work called *A Intriga Amorosa*, but it surely was simply an aria, a vocal number or something of the like. Though it should be expected to find more of his musical manuscripts in the near future, due to RISM-Brasil efforts throughout the country, it would be very difficult to believe, considering Brazilian milieu's cultural profile, that it was a whole opera buffa or burletta, as Mello and Querino tried so hard to establish the projection of his iconic image into Brazilian music history. It was clearly stated that he did not need any help to deserve his own place in our national music history, at least. He caught the eye of the future Portuguese king D. João VI and went with him to work in his court. Almost twenty years later, he became the first non-ecclesiastical chapel-master in Salvador. Until death in 1856, he occupied the most important and better-paid musical place in the second most important city in 19th-century Brazil. That was the reason to deserve a commanded portrait painting, possibly made by an artist that, long before Mello and Querino, already considered Araújo as the only noteworthy composer in Bahia, even almost twenty years after his death.

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