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May 2013

**A CONDUCTOR'S GUIDE FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF THE MASS IN E-
FLAT BY JOSÉ JOAQUIM EMERICO LOBO DE MESQUITA**

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department

of Music

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Musical Arts

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this document is to assist conductors and scholars in the preparation of a historically informed performance of the Mass in E-flat by Brazilian colonial composer José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita (1746[?]-1805). This research seeks to assist musicians in three ways.

First, it provides a context for understanding the history of sacred music in Brazil during the colonial era under Portuguese rule. Lobo de Mesquita's Mass in E-flat was part of a large discovery of sacred works made in 1944 by German musicologist Francisco Curt Lange. Lange's discovery prompted decades of ongoing research into Brazilian colonial music in general and Lobo de Mesquita's Mass in E-flat in particular, with a special emphasis on the relationship between European sacred music traditions, the burgeoning culture of colonial Minas Gerais (where Lobo de Mesquita lived and worked), and the role of the "brotherhoods" that dominated the liturgical musical activities of the region.

Second, this document includes research on the life and background of José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita, with a particular emphasis on his musical background and training and the Iberian-Italian influences that almost certainly shaped his compositional output. It also looks briefly at Lobo de Mesquita's other works to demonstrate that the Mass in E-flat is not only representative of his style, but also an outstanding example of Brazilian colonial repertoire.

Third, this document examines the musical influences and original conditions in which the Mass in E-flat would have been performed. This examination identifies the

vocal and instrumental practices used in the work, substantiates the use of keyboard continuo for a performance of the Mass, and considers the original performance context of the work and how that can be replicated in contemporary practice. It also offers contemporary accommodations for modern performances that can be made without compromising the integrity of the original work.

Research for this document includes a review of the archival records from the Museum of Inconfidencia in Ouro Preto, Brazil (BR-OPmi), and an examination of a variety of secondary sources, including those by Curt Lange, in an attempt to demonstrate the Mass in E-flat's importance from both a historical and an artistic perspective. Understanding its importance through increased knowledge of its performance practice and historical context will give twenty-first century conductors and musicians the ability to produce high quality performances of this work, thereby making it more accessible to contemporary audiences both in Brazil and elsewhere.

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To

Maria Luiza Gomes

Lucio Mango

Miguel Caetano

Neusa Meireles

Elida Magalhães

Selineia Gripp

INTRODUCTION

The Brazilian colonial era is a three-hundred-year span dating from roughly 1500, when the first Portuguese explorers arrived in South America, to 1822, when Brazil became independent from Portugal. During this rich period in Brazil's history, Brazilian culture and music would evolve to a level comparable to some of the artistic centers of Europe, built largely on the sugar production and gold mining that were the basis of a burgeoning economy and a growing middle class. For many years, any proper study of the music from this period was incomplete, until the German musicologist Francisco Curt Lange (1903-1997) became the first academic to conduct serious research on the music of the Brazilian colonial era.

Of particular interest to Lange were the composers from the province of Minas Gerais, located in the southeastern part of Brazil, near both São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (Since 1995, Lange's research has been available in the cultural archive of the *Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais* [ACL-UFMG].¹) Minas Gerais has a long cultural history based on its importance in the cultivation of both farming and mining during the colonial era. It was also known as an important musical center in Brazil, especially during the eighteenth century. In 1944, Lange rediscovered the work of José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita (1746[?]-1805), one of the most prolific composers of the colonial era. An organist and music director, Lobo de Mesquita spent the majority of his life in the province of Minas Gerais.

¹ The Museum of Inconfidencia (BR-OPmi) also has an archive with materials from Curt Lange's studies, including manuscripts from Lobo de Mesquita's works. See http://www.curtlange.bu.ufmg.br/iinicio_pgs/iinicio01.htm.

Among Lobo de Mesquita's rediscovered works was the Mass in E-flat, a significant piece in need of further research and analysis. The goal of this document is to add to the body of research about this work by examining the relationship between sacred music traditions and the culture of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais, as found in the Mass in E-flat. In addition, this document will discuss the performance practice of Lobo de Mesquita's time to help ensure that twenty-first-century musicians understand the appropriate performance context and practices for the work. Through a combined understanding of the musical and cultural context of this composition, as well as historically informed practices for performance by present-day musicians, Lobo de Mesquita's sacred works will, it is hoped, become more accessible and appreciated by performers and audiences both within and outside Lobo de Mesquita's homeland.

Lobo de Mesquita's life and works, like many of his contemporaries in Minas Gerais, deserve attention because they are essential to understanding the development of both sacred and art music in colonial Brazilian society. Even though Brazil was not an independent nation in the eighteenth century, Minas Gerais can be considered culturally equivalent to middle class European society. As historian Edward Bradford Burns has noted:

In contrast with the rest of the captaincies [of colonial Brazil] in the eighteenth century, an essentially urban society characterized Minas Gerais. A small class of exalted governmental officials and successful miners and merchants dressed elegantly, furnished their residences with European luxuries, attended local theaters, and even read and discussed the latest French, English, and Portuguese books.²

² Edward Bradford Burns, *A History of Brazil* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1993), 68.

Sacred music was particularly important to the culture of Minas Gerais. It served as a backdrop for many provincial activities from both a religious and social perspective. New music, commissioned by both the church and the town, was needed for religious services, processions, receptions, and public ceremonies.³ Of particular note was the commissioning of sacred music by lay institutions known as “brotherhoods,” volunteer associations organized for charitable purposes that flowered in eighteenth-century Brazil. Often amassing considerable wealth as a result of either mining or mercantilism (some brotherhoods were organized around a particular trade and/or religious affiliation), the brotherhoods undertook both social and religious activities and, as their wealth and power grew, frequently financed the building of new churches throughout the province.

The brotherhoods also commissioned composers and specified the type of music needed, often with the dual purpose of teaching the catechism and providing music for religious services. Many books of expense records that can be found in the archives of Minas Gerais include contracts between various brotherhoods and music directors (these records will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3.)⁴ Most of these contracts would make a given music director responsible for the musical activities promoted by the brotherhood, including music for the masses in the church to which the given brotherhood was affiliated. In his lifetime, Lobo de Mesquita worked for several different brotherhoods and, given the way in which almost all music was commissioned and

³ Paulo Castagna and Jaelson Trindade, “Chapelmasters and Musical Practice in Brazilian Cities in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 133.

⁴ The books of expense records of the places where Lobo de Mesquita worked are compiled in Francisco Curt Lange’s *Historia da Musica na Capitania das Minas Gerais: Vila do Principe do Serro e Arraial do Tejuco* (Belo Horizonte: Conselho Estadual de Cultura de Minas Gerais, 1983). Some of the records are housed in “Historic Ecclesiastic Archive, Museum of Sacred Art of Ouro Preto.”

created, it can be reasonably inferred that the Mass in E-flat was composed as part of his contractual duty to one of these groups, although the exact brotherhood remains unknown.

With this document, a number of resources will shed light on how modern performers may create a liturgical and historical informed performance of the Mass in E-flat by Lobo de Mesquita, and to an extent, any work from this environment.

This document consists of three major sections:

- A discussion of the sacred musical traditions of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais;
- A review of the musical background of and the sacred music repertory written by José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita; and,
- An examination of the context of the Mass in E-flat's original performance and practical suggestions for contemporary conductors.

The first section of this document will demonstrate how the Mass in E-flat is representative of the sacred musical traditions of eighteenth century Minas Gerais, paying particular attention to the evolution of music in the sub-regions of Vila do Principe (now Serro) and Arraial do Tejuco (now Diamantina), where Lobo de Mesquita was most active. This section will also discuss the role that the lay institutions played in the social, political and religious life of the region. The role the brotherhoods played in the composition and performance of music in eighteenth century Minas Gerais, as well as in the works of Lobo de Mesquita, will also be explored, with special attention to the competitions sponsored by the brotherhoods and the impact the resulting competitive

atmosphere may have had on sacred colonial composers, including Lobo de Mesquita.⁵ This historical context will be essential to understanding the social and religious aspects of the culture as a whole.

The section addressing Lobo de Mesquita's life and works will analyze the composer's musical style and the influence that working for different brotherhoods may have had on his compositions. The context in which Lobo de Mesquita composed his sacred music, particularly the Mass in E-flat, will also be examined to appreciate fully the Mass in E-flat, a concise history of Lobo de Mesquita's mass settings within the context of the musical traditions of colonial Minas Gerais will be included. Research from primary source material--including manuscripts, annual contracts between Lobo de Mesquita and the various lay institutions of Minas Gerais, as well as early printed editions--will provide a context for understanding the life and development of this important composer.

The final section of this document explores the original context in which the Mass in E-flat was performed. This includes an examination of vocal practices, instrumental forces, and the use of keyboard continuo in the Mass in E-flat. The section on vocal practices will examine the types of voice used for the performance, the number of singers, the type of singers used for the solo parts, and the meaning of the *solo*, *duo*, and *tutti* indications in Lobo de Mesquita's parts. It will also discuss the likely number of instruments that were part of the performance. The discussion of keyboard continuo will

⁵ Francisco Curt Lange, *Historia da Musica na Capitania Geral de Minas Gerais*, vol. 5 (Conselho Estadual de Cultura de Minas Gerais, 1983), 40-1.

help identify the extent of Iberian (and Italian) influence on keyboard practice in Minas Gerais and provide insight into how Lobo de Mesquita used continuo in his sacred works.

To accomplish these goals, this document consults archival records, musical manuscripts, iconographical resources and a variety of books, articles, and dissertations to provide relevant source material. Francisco Curt Lange's *Historia da Musica na Capitania Geral das Minas Gerais: Vila do Principe do Serro do Frio e Arraial do Tejuco*⁶ (Belo Horizonte: Conselho Estadual de Cultura de Minas Gerais, 1983) remains an important source for understanding the performance traditions of sacred music in colonial Minas Gerais, and specifically the music of Lobo de Mesquita. In addition, Maria Ines Guimarães' "L'Oeuvre de Lobo de Mesquita: Compositeur Brésilien (?1746-1805)" (PhD. diss., University of Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1996); Paulo Castagna and Jaelson Trindade's "Chapelmasters and Musical Practice in Brazilian Cities in the Eighteenth Century," from *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and Sérgio Pires' "Source, Style and Context for the *Te Deum* of José Emerico Lobo de Mesquita (1746(?)-1805): A Critical Edition" (PhD. diss., Boston University, 2007) provide excellent resources for obtaining biographical information and understanding the context of liturgical music in colonial Brazil. Lastly, scores, parts, manuscripts, iconographic materials, and transcripts from the archives of the Museum of Inconfidencia, in Ouro Preto City and the Acervo Curt Lange (in this author's home town of Belo Horizonte) provide additional insight in to the music itself. Ultimately, all of this material will shed

⁶ *The Music History in the Captaincy of Minas Gerais: In the Town of the Prince of Serro and Village of Tejuco.*

light on the musical legacy of Lobo de Mesquita and how to present a historically informed and accurate performance of his Mass in E-flat for modern audiences.⁷

⁷ The music of colonial Minas Gerais, including that of Lobo de Mesquita, is spread among different museums and ecclesiastical archives. While much work has already been done by musicologists to catalog, decipher, and transcribe this music, the process of score restoration is slow due to government bureaucracy and lack of funding. As a result, it is difficult to access some colonial works, resulting in infrequent performances and recordings of this repertoire.

CHAPTER 1

THE SACRED MUSIC TRADITIONS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MINAS GERAIS

Eighteenth century Minas Gerais was one of Brazil's most culturally active areas. Due in large part to prosperous gold and diamond mining in the province (see figure 1), there was an increasing demand for cultural activities to satisfy a growing middle class. As it was in many of the European mercantile centers, there was a great need for music in Minas Gerais — music that could be part of the social, cultural and religious practices of its people. With increasing wealth, the citizens could afford celebrations, religious services, feasts and processions — some of which could last for several days.⁸

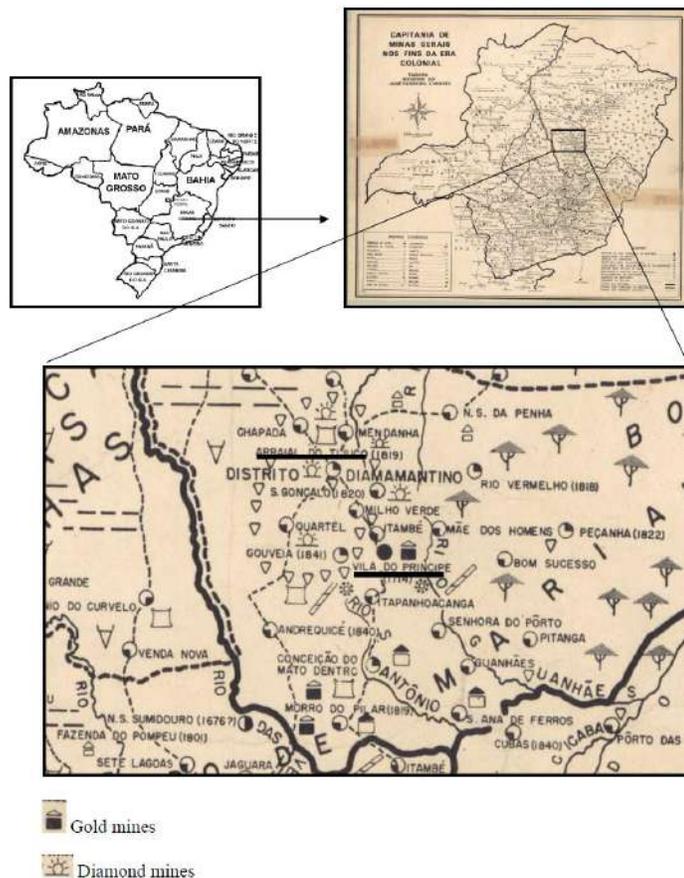
The continued flourishing of Minas Gerais brought a significant increase in the population of the province. Similar to the “gold rush” of nineteenth-century America, the search for precious metals in the region drew prospectors not only from Portugal and other Brazilian provinces, but also from other European and African nations. Fearing that mining profits might be funneled to other sources through churches, Portugal's king, Dom João V, took the unusual step of banning all clergy not directly associated with the Portuguese crown from Minas Gerais in 1709.⁹ This action would have two important implications for composers in Minas Gerais. First, it meant that most musical instruction that would have come from the Catholic church priests at the time, in what were most likely apprentice situations for local-born musicians (later generations of teachers would

⁸ Lange, *Historia da Musica na Capitania Geral*, vol. 5 106.

⁹ Caio César Boschi, *Os Leigos e o Poder: Irmandades Leigas e Política Colonizadora em Minas Gerais* (São Paulo: Editora Atica, 1986), 81-2.

be native born), would suffer a loss with the ban of the clergy. Second, the majority of the musical life in the province would be now controlled by lay institutions known as brotherhoods. The reason for that is because there were fewer priests available to take care of religious activities in Minas Gerais.

Figure 1. Map of Brazil, the Province of Minas Gerais, and the Diamantina region.¹⁰ Image from the Cartography Collection of the Mineiro Public Archives (APM-015).



At this time, the majority of musical life in Minas Gerais was centered around the churches. As most churches lacked some of the financial resources to provide a full

¹⁰ While miners were spread throughout the region, they would come to the major village to conduct banking, buy food and attend mass, which was considered almost mandatory among the population. From Francisco Curt Lange's *Historia da Musica na Capitania Geral das Minas Gerais: Vila do Principe do Serro do Frio e Arraial do Tejuco* (Belo Horizonte: Conselho Estadual de Cultura de Minas Gerais, 1983), 14.

palette of musical activities, the brotherhoods not only stepped in to provide music for services, they wielded considerable influence in building churches, hiring composers and musicians.¹¹ The role of the brotherhoods in Minas Gerais was similar to the role of the Italian confraternities of the eighteenth century. However, the brotherhoods in the colonial era had a larger role in all aspects of society. They supported musical activities as their Italian counterparts but in addition, they controlled church services, secular feasts, and provided assistance to the families of the brotherhoods' members in life and death.

THE ROLE OF THE BROTHERHOODS

The brotherhoods of Minas Gerais were associations of tradesmen and merchants who organized to support the activities of various churches in the region. As the fortunes of these tradesmen and merchants grew, so did their power in their respective communities. One's association with a given brotherhood was a symbol of status in the local society and each brotherhood had a significant impact on the political, social and religious life of the community. In addition to restoring and adding to existing churches, wealthier brotherhoods undertook the construction of new churches, often with an eye toward outdoing other groups in the area. Moreover, the brotherhoods would support the worship ceremonies, concerted mass settings (a term henceforth used to describe larger-scale works with orchestral instruments) and processions for special occasions associated with their respective churches. As such, they largely controlled the production of sacred music in the region, they hired the music directors who would compose, play the organ,

¹¹ Ibid., 129-30

conduct the choirs, sing and – as needed – manage the various ensembles associated with the church.¹²

Catholic worship musical practices, introduced during the early years of Brazilian colonization, flourished in the middle of the eighteenth century and were the musical foundation for activities sponsored by the brotherhoods. Each brotherhood would ensure that music was composed for the important events of the seasons of the liturgical calendar. In addition, the brotherhood ensured that music was composed and performed for important celebrations of individual churches, including processions for patron saints of the villages, coronations, vespers, funerals of important dignitaries (and members of the brotherhoods), and masses in addition to the ones on the liturgical calendar.¹³ Most influential brotherhoods of that time would have had an annual contract with a music director that specified all of the duties he was expected to perform. The hiring of a talented music director would ensure the position and status of the church, and therefore the brotherhood, in the region. The oldest known record from the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony, in Arraial do Tejuco, from 1715, shows a music director who was paid two hundred golden octaves (a considerable sum) for his annual contract.¹⁴ Such a sum would most likely have guaranteed a music director of some talent and reputation. Despite the generous fees, their contracts could be quite stringent and frequently called for the music director to forfeit his belongings to the brotherhood as a guarantee of competent and

¹² Maria Inês Guimarães, “José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita,” *Patrimônio Arquivístico Musical Mineiro* 1 (January 2008): 91.

¹³ Paulo Castagna, “A Música Religiosa Mineira no Século XVIII e Primeira Metade do Século XIX,” *História da Música Brasileira* 6 (February, 2012): 4.

¹⁴ Harry Crowl, “A Produção Musical em Minas Gerais no Period Colonial,” *Análise e Conjuntura* 4, no. 2 (May-December, 1989): 217.

professional services.¹⁵ In the culture of Minas Gerais, the more ostentatious the celebration, the greater the power and position of the brotherhood.

It was also the responsibility of the music director to supervise all of the music performed in the church and the musicians who were performing it. In 1737, a document signed by Bishop Dom Frei Antônio de Guadalupe stated that the chapel master (*mestre de capela*) was responsible for giving licenses to musicians, both instrumentalists and vocalists, who were eligible to perform in the church. In addition, this document stated that the chapel master was also in charge of checking musical compositions to ensure that no secular texts or themes from popular songs were used in his church. As brotherhoods had different standards of what constituted “sacred” music in their perspective, and in the absence of any kind of overseeing authority on the matter, local music directors were often tasked with ensuring the “holiness” of a submitted work.¹⁶

COMPETITION AMONG THE BROTHERHOODS

Any competition between colonial era composers to produce larger and more ostentatious works was, for the most part, a reflection of the influence exerted by the different brotherhoods. While these contests, both formal and informal, would have almost certainly pressured composers to create music that would distinguish their church, and therefore their brotherhood, from the others, it is equally possible that the contests

¹⁵ Aldo Luis Leoni, “Os Que Vivem da Arte da Musica: Vila Rica Século XVIII” (PhD diss., Universidade de Campinas, 2007), 50.

¹⁶ Paulo Castagna, “Sagrado e Profano na Música Mineira e Paulista da Primeira Metade do Século XVIII,” in *Anais: II Simpósio Latino-Americano de Musicologia*, ed. Elizabeth Prosser (Curitiba: Fundação Cultural de Curitiba, 1999), 111-12.

would have contributed to efforts to increase the quality and style of the works composed, especially the masses. By fostering an atmosphere that prized innovation and some level of showmanship, composers would have almost certainly looked to their contemporaries and to their European counterparts for the newest compositional techniques to influence their own works. The composers would, therefore, be motivated to produce the finest works possible so as to ensure both their continued employment and good reputation.

Two areas in which the progression of these competitions can be seen include the processions in the villages and the composition of the concerted mass settings. When brotherhoods were part of religious processions in the villages, there was a clear hierarchy among them. Those with the least status would lead the procession whereas those with the greatest prestige in the community would march closest to the image of the saint, at the end of the procession.¹⁷ As such, the music that would accompany these processions could help improve (or detract from) a given group's status – thereby ensuring healthy competition among the brotherhoods for talented composers.

An example of a religious procession promoted by brotherhoods in Minas Gerais was the *rasouras*. In this procession, the parishioners would walk around the church singing and praying. If there was a portative organ available at the church, it was used to accompany the singing during the procession.¹⁸ In the book of records of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Mercy there is confirmation of the existence of a portative organ in the

¹⁷ Aldo Luis Leoni, “Os Que Vivem da Arte da Musica,” 63.

¹⁸ Paulo Castagna, “O Estilo Antigo na Prática Musical Religiosa Paulista e Mineira dos Séculos XVIII e XIX,” (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2000), 409.

Arraial do Tejuco region.¹⁹ This is significant as it is among the earlier known records of an organ being present and it shows its increasing presence in sacred services. Because Lobo de Mesquita was trained as an organist, he would have accompanied the *rasouras* as described in one of his contract with the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church in Diamantina.

Concerted mass settings also provided an excellent vehicle for composers to showcase their skills to the community, impress the brotherhood and ensure their ongoing employment. Due to their prominence in the church music repertory, masses (and especially masses for special occasions), gave colonial composers the opportunity to impress their employers by calling for additional performing forces, instrumentation, and musicians. A spirit of competition in music, therefore, became inevitable, just as there was competition for the best artists, architects, and painters who could bring the most attention to a given church or parish, resulting in greater patronage and additional revenue. Musical competitiveness among the music directors was further enhanced by the fact that the Catholic church would assign specific ceremonies from the liturgical calendar to specific brotherhoods, thereby fostering an even greater desire for increased performance forces, the latest in musical practices, and creativity.²⁰ As such, Lobo de Mesquita's Mass in E-flat was written to insure the primacy of his employers at the time (although who those employers were has unfortunately been lost to history).

¹⁹ Handel Cecilio, "O Setecentista da Igreja do Carmo de Diamantina: Seus Enigmas e sua Estreita Ligação com o Orgão de Córregos" (master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2008), 34-5.

²⁰ Paulo Castagna, "A Musica Religiosa Mineira," 5-6.

LOBO DE MESQUITA AND THE BROTHERHOODS

Over the course of his career, Lobo de Mesquita was hired by number of different brotherhoods in Minas Gerais (see Table 1).

Table 1. Important brotherhoods that Lobo de Mesquita worked for during his life time.

| Date | Brotherhood | Location |
|------|---|---------------------------|
| 1777 | Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament | Vila do Principe do Serro |
| 1783 | Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament | Arraial do Tejuco |
| 1785 | Brotherhood of Our Lady of Rosary | Arraial do Tejuco |
| 1787 | Brotherhood of Our Lady of Mercies | Arraial do Tejuco |
| 1787 | Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel | Arraial do Tejuco |
| 1789 | Brotherhood of Our Lady of Perpetual Help | Arraial do Tejuco |
| 1792 | Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Forsaken | Arraial do Tejuco |
| 1798 | Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament | Vila Rica |
| 1799 | Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel | Vila Rica |
| 1801 | Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel | Rio de Janeiro |

Sources: from the records of the brotherhoods' ledger books compiled by Lange in Francisco Curt Lange, *Historia da Musica na Capitania Geral das Minas Gerais*, vol. 8 (Belo Horizonte: Conselho Estadual de Cultura de Minas Gerais, 1983), 199-422.

Some of his employment for the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Perpetual Help was as a scribe and bookkeeper, in addition to serving as the music director.²¹ Lobo de Mesquita's longest extant contract was with the Brotherhood of the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel of Diamantina, where he worked from 1789 to 1795. In his 1789 contract, his responsibilities are described as follows:

²¹ Lange, *Historia da Musica na Capitania*, vol. 8, 140-41.

Play the organ in all masses and Litany of Our Lord that are celebrated in this church on Fridays and Saturdays and on all days where there are novenas for the Blessed Mother, Saint Quiteria, Our Lady of Carmel, Triduum of Saint Elijah, Saint Theresa and Our Lady of Pity. If music does not already exist for these occasions, he [Lobo de Mesquita] will be expected to compose music for these and for a service for Saint Joseph.²²

Holy Week would have been Lobo de Mesquita's busiest time of year and the time when the people of Minas Gerais would have heard at least some new works for that year's celebration. As part of his contract, Lobo de Mesquita would have hired the musicians for all Holy Week services. Over the course of his career, he would also compose a mass for Palm Sunday, motets for the Procession in the Footsteps of Our Lord, a Stabat Mater, and matins for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Easter.²³ Due to the control the brotherhoods exerted on the cultural life of the province and the regular employment that the church provided, it is not surprising that all of Lobo de Mesquita's compositional output is sacred in nature. Almost one-third of the works cited in his thematic catalog were composed for Holy Week.

Because the setting of the Gloria is omitted during Lent, the Mass in E-flat could not have been written or performed for this season. While there is no direct evidence to confirm it, it is possible that the work was composed for other important liturgical celebrations or to commemorate a visiting dignitary such as a bishop or someone from

²²"Book of Terms (Livro de Termos) of the Third Order of Our Lady of Carmel" No. 67, page 53 from July 17, 1789. Housed in Casa do Pilar Arte Sacra Museum, Shelf 2, no. 52. Carlos Oliveira, Director of Museum e-mail message to author, February 15, 2013. "Tocar o órgão em todas as missas, e Ladainhas de Nosso Senhor que se costumão Selebrar [sic] nesta Igra, a saber nas sextas feiras e Sábados, e em todos os dias de qualquer festividade de N. Snra na Novena, e dia de Santa Quiteria, Novena e dia de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo, Triduo de Santo Elias, Novena e dia de Santa Teresa, de Nossa Senhora das Dores. Quando nas sobre ditas ocasiões nem houver Muzica [sic], porque no Caso de haver, ficará elle[sic] ditto habilitado para entrar nela, e tambem quando se fizer algum culto ao Senhor São Joze [sic]."

²³Castagna, "O Estilo Antigo na Prática Musical Religiosa," 379-80.

the Portuguese royal family. This is based on Lobo de Mesquita's expanded instrumentation in the Mass in E-flat and the overall style of the work – all for which will be addressed in this document.

CHAPTER 2

JOSÉ JOAQUIM EMERICO LOBO DE MESQUITA HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Most scholars agree that José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita was born in Vila do Príncipe do Serro do Frio, Minas Gerais circa 1746.²⁴ However, there is little data to confirm this date or location. To date, no birth record has been found that confirms Lobo de Mesquita's birth date or place. The only concrete piece of evidence that helps establish the composer's approximate year of birth comes from a 1765 contract with the brotherhood in the Diamantina region. According to Maria Inês Guimarães, to be hired as a music director required a certain amount of prior experience. From the timing of this contract, we can reasonably conclude that Lobo de Mesquita was between twenty and twenty-five years old at the time he was hired.²⁵

Almost nothing is known about Lobo de Mesquita's parents or his upbringing (the first public record of his existence is the previously mentioned 1765 contract). As such, little is known about his musical education or at what point in his life it may have begun. To date, much research is still needed on how Luso-American composers were trained and educated. According to André Guerra Cotta, a professor of musicology at the Federal Fluminense University in Rio de Janeiro, scholars should be skeptical of any information they find that was published prior to the 1980s. "This kind of poor research is a disgrace

²⁴ Maria Inês Guimarães, "José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita," 91 and Lange, *Historia da Musica na Capitania*, vol. 8, 43.

²⁵ Maria Inês Guimarães, "José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita," 92.

to the history and research of Brazilian colonial music” he adds.²⁶ Despite the lack of well-researched information, most scholars agree that Portuguese priests were almost always the primary source of music education for both musicians and composers at this time. This instruction likely took the form of master and apprentice situations.

Where Lobo de Mesquita is concerned, there are several theories as to how and where he received his musical instruction. One theory, put forward by Geraldo Dutra de Moraes, postulates that Lobo de Mesquita received his musical instruction from a Portuguese priest named Manuel da Costa Dantas. Dantas was a priest and chapel master in the village of Mariana, roughly two hundred miles from Serro do Frio, where Lobo de Mesquita lived. However, Curt Lange’s research confirms that there are no records of Dantas in any of the official documents in the village of Serro do Frio, casting doubt on Moraes’ theory and whether this relationship ever even existed.²⁷

Another more likely theory was put forth by Maria Ines Guimarães in her dissertation on Lobo de Mesquita. She theorizes that another priest named Manoel de Almeida e Silva was, in fact, Lobo de Mesquita’s main instructor. Her theory is supported by the fact that there are records in the village of Serro do Frio that show Almeida e Silva making regular trips between Diamantina and Serro do Frio between 1760 and 1778. Almeida e Silva was also hired to build the organ at St. Anthony’s Church in Serro do Frio, so it is almost a foregone conclusion that he and Lobo de

²⁶ André Guerra Cotta, interview by the author, 20 October 2012.

²⁷ Francisco Curt Lange, *Historia da Musica na Capitania*, 112-14.

Mesquita knew one another. While no evidence of an apprentice and student relationship exists to confirm it, this theory has the strongest evidence.²⁸

Another early record of Lobo de Mesquita's musical life can be found in a book of expenses for the brotherhoods in the regions of Diamantina. In 1774, an expense in the record books of the village of Serro do Frio shows Lobo de Mesquita receiving a payment for the music for a royal feast promoted by the *Senado da Camera* ("Senate Chamber"). To fulfill his duties, Lobo de Mesquita was paid on four different occasions to provide music for the feasts of Corpus Christi, Our Lady of Conception, Saint Isabel and Angel Custodio.²⁹ As his reputation grew, Lobo de Mesquita received increasingly important contracts, like that from 1777 for the wedding of a Portuguese Prince.³⁰ Like almost all professional musicians of his time, Lobo de Mesquita was associated with the brotherhoods, working as an organist, composer or music director. In his lifetime, the composer had significant contracts with the brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament in Serro do Frio; the brotherhoods of Our Lady of Rosary, Holy Sacrament, Our Lady of Mercy, and the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Diamantina (see figure 2); and the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Ouro Preto. The recurring presence of the Third Order in so many cities strongly suggests that Lobo de Mesquita had a special relationship with this organization.

Over the course of a long career, Lobo de Mesquita would emerge as one of the

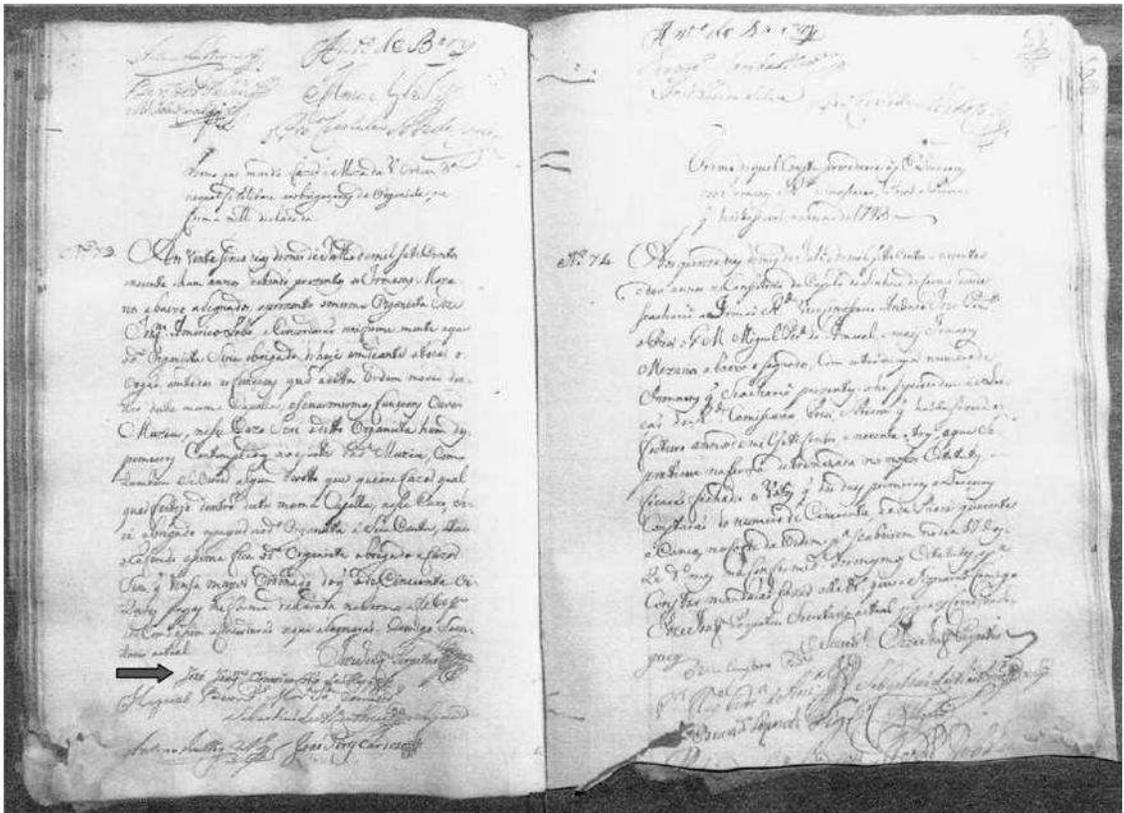
²⁸ For a list of names and possibilities about Lobo de Mesquita's musical background, please see Maria Inês Guimarães, "L'Oeuvre de Lobo de Mesquita: Compositeur Brésilien (?1746-1805)" (PhD diss., University of Paris IV-Sobornne, 1996), 110-12.

²⁹ Lange, *Historia da Musica na Capitania Geral*, vol. 8, 30-31.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

most prolific and celebrated composers in colonial Brazil. Later in life, Lobo de Mesquita moved to Rio de Janeiro, where he had a contract with the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. He died in Rio de Janeiro in 1805.³¹

Figure 2. Contract signed by José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita for the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Diamantina. In the Mariana Museum of Music (BR-MAMM), Term no. 73, page 67-68 of the “Books of Terms for the Government of the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, 1771-1900.”



³¹ For a more up-to date biography of the composer please see Sérgio Pires, “Source, Style and Context for the Te Deum of José Emerico Lobo de Mesquita (1746?-1805): A Critical Edition” (PhD diss., Boston University 2007), 20-30.

THE COLONIAL STYLE AND THE MASS SETTING

An analysis of representative works in colonial Brazil, both sacred and secular, reveals a strong influence from the Italian tradition in terms of both instrumentation and compositional technique. This stems, in part, from Italian influence in Portugal in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese court in Lisbon hired two Neapolitan composers, Davide Perez (1711-1779) and Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1774) resulting in a strong Italian influence at the eighteenth century Portuguese court. This influence can be seen in the works of many contemporary Portuguese composers, such as José Joaquim dos Santos (1747-1801), Antonio Moreira Leal (1758-1819) and Marcos Portugal (1762-1830)³² and copies of works by these composers, including both sacred music and operas, can be found in the archives of Minas Gerais.³³ These copies demonstrate that both the style and performing forces used by colonial composers — such as Lobo de Mesquita, Inácio Parreiras Neves (1730-1793) and Francisco Gomes da Rocha (1754-1808) — in their concerted mass settings are largely consistent with masses of their Italian-influenced Portuguese counterparts. An examination of their music reveals that the colonial compositional style includes the following features:

- Predominantly homophonic settings.
- Consistent use of parallel thirds in both the vocal and violin parts.
- The consistent use of either woodwinds and/or horns for harmonic support.

³² Régis Duprat and Carlos Alberto Baltazar, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais: Compositores Não Mineiros dos Séculos XVI a XIX* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 1991), 48-62.

³³ Mary Angela Biason, interview by the author, 11 November 2012. Ms. Biason is a musicologist and coordinator of the Department of Musicology at the Museum of Inconfidência in Ouro Preto, including the Curt Lange collection.

- Modulations to closely-related keys
- Sections with vocal parts written in imitative style with instruments *colla parte* (e.g., doubling the voice part).
- An overall lack of counterpoint or fugal material. Guilherme Werlang has noted that the musical style in colonial Minas Gerais is closest to European homophonic pre-classical styles in that they are largely free of contrapuntal material including fugues.³⁴

These features, largely in keeping with the Neapolitan school of composition, were embraced by composers in Minas Gerais in an effort to demonstrate the most recent developments in compositional technique, including Lobo de Mesquita.³⁵

Another important Neapolitan influence can be found in settings of the mass by colonial composers. Many concerted mass settings of the time consist only of the Kyrie and the Gloria, with the remaining traditional mass movements (Credo, Sanctus/Benedictus, and Agnus Dei) being performed from different liturgical pieces, allowing for more flexible mass performances.³⁶ This is in keeping with the Neapolitan style, in which individual parts of the mass were written and performed independently from one another, while the Kyrie and Gloria movements were given primary importance.³⁷ The strong evidence of the Iberian-Italian connection during the eighteenth

³⁴ Guilherme Werlang, “Estilo e Personalidade na Música do Ciclo do Ouro em Minas Gerais,” *Latin American Music Review* 12, no. 2 (Janeiro, 1991): 188.

³⁵ Paulo Castagna, “A Música Religiosa Mineira,” 6.

³⁶ João Maria de Freitas Branco, *História da Música Portuguesa* (Mem Martins Lisbon: Publicações Europa-América, 1995), 212-13.

³⁷ Dennis Arnold and John Harper, “Mass,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Oxford University Press, < <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> > (accessed 7 January 2013).

century almost certainly influenced the performance practices of the Portuguese royal court and, as a result, the colonial composers in Minas Gerais.

WORKS AND INSTRUMENTATION

Lobo de Mesquita's oeuvre consists solely of liturgical music. There are sixty-seven works in Brazilian archives, including the Museum of Inconfidencia (BR-OPmi), the Museu da Musica de Mariana (BR-MAmm) and the archives of the Orquestra Lira Sanjoanense (BR-OLs). Forty-eight of these works have been authenticated by scholars, including the Mass in E-flat. The remaining nineteen works attributed to Lobo de Mesquita await further study and verification. Their current attributions, according to most scholars, are considered tenuous.³⁸ As is consistent with his contemporaries, none of his works was published in his lifetime.

There are eight known autographs in the Brazilian archives.³⁹ In her dissertation, "L'Oeuvre de Lobo de Mesquita: Compositeur Brésilien," Maria Inês Guimarães created a catalog system for Lobo de Mesquita's works. The catalog numbers ("CT-MIG" numbers, as shown below) are based not on any known chronological order of composition but instead are ordered alphabetically by the Latin title of the work (although most of Lobo de Mesquita's works are not identified by their Latin titles). The eight known autographs are:

³⁸ Maria Ines Guimarães, "A Obra Dominica in Palmis (1782) de Lobo de Mesquita," in *A Musica no Brasil Colonial: Coloquio International*, ed. Rui Viera Nery (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000), 216.

³⁹ Guimarães, "L'Oeuvre de Lobo de Mesquita," 140-41.

- *Adstiterunt Reges Terrae* (Passion of Good Friday, year of composition unknown), CT-MIG 01
- *Asperges Me Domine Hyssopo; Domine Ne Longe* (Office Passion and Mass of Palm Sunday, 1782), CT-MIG 03
- *Diffusa este gratia* (Tercio, 1783), CT-MIG 14
- *Exaudi nos; Misereris omnium* (Office and Mass of Ash Wednesday, 1778), CT-MIG 16
- *Regem... Requiem aeternam* (Office of the Dead, 1798), CT-MIG 37
- *Regina Coeli Laetare* (Antiphon, 1779), CT-MIG 39
- *Salve Regina* (Antiphon, 1787), CT-MIG 40
- *Te Deum Laudamus* (1798), CT-MIG 44

Lobo de Mesquita composed at least seven masses (see Table 2). Table 2 compares the voicing and orchestration of each of these pieces in an effort to demonstrate two consistent aspects of his work. First, that Lobo de Mesquita clearly imitates the types of instrumentation most commonly used by composers of the Portuguese royal court for large scale celebratory works. These works include Antonio Moreira Leal's Mass a 4 and Davide Perez's Mass in B-flat (both written for oboes, horns, soprano, alto, tenor, bass, violins, violas, and *basso continuo*) which Lobo de Mesquita replicates in the Mass in E-flat. Second, it also demonstrates, that in spite of his desire to replicate the work of Portuguese royal composers, that Lobo de Mesquita made adjustments to the performing forces called for in his works based on the availability of both instruments and, potentially, the strength of the choir at the church for whom the work was commissioned.

Table 2. Masses composed by Lobo de Mesquita.⁴⁰

| Mass | Catalog # | Voicing | Instrumentation |
|---|-----------|---------|--|
| <i>Asperges Me Domine Hyssopo; Domine Ne Longe</i> (Office Passion and Mass of Palm Sunday, 1782) | CT-MIG 03 | SA[T]B | Hrn I and II Vln I and II Vla, Basso Continuo |
| <i>Credo in unum Deo</i> (Credo in C) year of composition unknown. | CT-MIG 11 | SATB | Fl I and II Ob I and II Hrn I and II Timp Vln I and II Vla, Vcl Basso Continuo |
| <i>Exaudi nos; Misereris omnium</i> (Office and Mass of Ash Wednesday, 1778) | CT-MIG 16 | SATB | Vcl Basso Continuo |
| <i>Kyrie eleison, Gloria</i> (Mass in E-flat) year of composition unknown | CT-MIG 21 | SATB | Fl I and II Ob I and II Hrn I and II Vln I and II Vla, Vcl Basso Continuo |
| <i>Kyrie eleison; Gloria; Credo</i> (Mass in F, 1785) | CT-MIG 22 | SATB | Ob I and II Hrn I and II Vln I and II Basso Continuo |
| <i>Regem... Requiem aeternam</i> (Office of the Dead, 1798) | CT-MIG 37 | SATB | Organ |
| <i>Regem... Requiem aeternam</i> (Office and Requiem Mass) year of composition unknown | CT-MIG 38 | SATB | Fl I and II Hrn I and II Vla I and II Basso Continuo |

For example, the scoring of the masses falls into three categories: Strings; strings with woodwinds and horns; and special scoring. The strings are almost basic for the masses with some exceptions: the Office Mass and Requiem (CT-MIG 38). Here only violas are

⁴⁰ Table examples are according to the Thematic Catalog by Maria Inês Guimarães (CT-MIG), in her dissertation “L’Oeuvre de Lobo de Mesquita: Compositeur Brésilien (?1746-1805)” (PhD diss., University of Paris IV-Soborne, 1996), 307, 321, 329, 339, 341, 372, 374.

used instead of the violins, likely to give a darker tone for the Requiem. The scoring of the woodwinds also varies between oboes and flutes, perhaps for reasons of occasional availability of instrument or players. The special scoring can be verified in the Mass for Ash Wednesday (CT-MIG 16) most likely a special commission or availability of a good cello player in the region.

Current research suggests that one can determine the size of the celebration or the importance of the commissioning brotherhood based on the size of the performing forces. It is important to note that in Lobo de Mesquita's oeuvre, the term "mass", as discussed earlier, was defined differently than it is in standard practice. In colonial Brazil, the term "missa" (or "mass") referred only to settings of the Kyrie and Gloria. The term "Credo" refers to a setting of the remaining three parts of the Ordinary of the mass (e.g., Credo, Sanctus/Benedictus and Agnus Dei).⁴¹

The importance of concerted mass settings in the cultural life of colonial Minas Gerais can be verified by the fact that there are more than two hundred different concerted settings of either the *missa* or the Credo in the archives of the Mariana Museum of Music (Museu da Música de Mariana, BR-MAmm) in Minas Gerais. The Mass in E-flat was likely one of the most important of this time, as it calls for one of the largest performing ensembles of any of Lobo de Mesquita's works. As it is technically only a *missa*, it is sometimes performed with Lobo de Mesquita's *Credo in C Major* in order to make the traditional Ordinary of the mass complete.⁴²

⁴¹ Museu da Música de Mariana, "Mass," http://www.mmmariana.com.br/vi_cd2_paginas/mass.htm (accessed September 15, 2012).

⁴² Pires "Sources, Style and Context," 48.

To understand colonial instrumentation, religious iconography can also be an important source for information. Images taken from churches often depict aspects of performance practice, and as instruments types and shapes, arrangement of performers and whether there was a conductor for the ensemble.

While there is no direct iconographical information on the instruments and performers at the time that Lobo de Mesquita was active in Minas Gerais, there are the 1804 paintings in the Saint Francis of Assisi Church in nearby Ouro Preto that provides evidence of the instruments that were most likely used in Minas Gerais between the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century. The ceiling fresco, painted by Manoel da Costa Athaide (1763-1830), depicts flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, violins, cellos, basses, a harp, a lute, and percussion (see Figure 3).

Marly Pignataro, theorizes that this iconography gives us a representative understanding of Manoel da Costa Athaide's musical knowledge and a true depiction of the musical forces for sacred music at the time.⁴³ This is supported by Ivo Menezes' biography on Athaide, which points out that he worked not only as a painter but also as a musician for the brotherhoods in Minas Gerais.⁴⁴ A closer look at the ceiling fresco also suggests what may have been the number of musicians and their relative positions for a performance that involves choir and orchestra in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais. There is a continuo group represented at the bottom-center, the woodwinds and strings positioned on each side, and a fair number of singers on the right side of the painting. The painting shows that the *basso continuo* may have consisted of a violone, a harp, two cellos and lutes.

⁴³ Mary Pignataro, "Athaide: As Multifaces de Um Artista Barroco Mineiro (Branco, e Preto, Azul e Vermelho)" (master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, 1983), 78.

⁴⁴ Ivo Porto Menezes, *Manoel da Costa Athaide* (Belo Horizonte: Ed. Arquitetura, 1965), 28.

Figure 3. Photograph of the ceiling fresco of the Saint Francis of Assisi Church, Ouro Preto Photo by Jose Eduardo Montes.



There are also three “conductors” holding rolled up sheet music;⁴⁵ one each for the instrumental group on the left, the singers on the right, and the continuo group on the center.

⁴⁵ It was Ludwig Sporch who claimed to have introduced the baton conducting in 1820.

In addition, the painting portrays a tradition that, according to their ledgers, was common among the brotherhoods: the addition of more instruments and vocalists for special occasions. These included, but not limited to, additional singing groups, increased strings, a larger continuo group, and the use of winds and brass. This is all consistent with the performance forces used in the Mass in E-flat. Furthermore, it is supported by Curt Lange's research, in which he found records that list the instruments and vocal forces used for performances of many concerted mass settings of the time.⁴⁶ These records support the depiction in Athaide's painting and will shed light on the discussion of instrumentation and performance forces for a contemporary performance of the Mass in E-flat in the next chapter.

THE MASS IN E-FLAT AND ITS SCORE

The Mass in E-flat Major, also known as *Missa Grande*, is thought to have been composed circa 1782.⁴⁷ While it is thought that Lobo de Mesquita composed the Mass for a special occasion, there are no records that show whether the piece was commissioned by either a brotherhood or the public authorities. For reasons not entirely clear, the scribes who kept the records for the brotherhoods never mention payments for specific music, just for celebrations and festivities. So while there are references in the 1780s of Lobo de Mesquita assisting the priest Manoel Almeida e Silva in the construction of an organ and of his working as an organist for the brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament in

⁴⁶ Francisco Curt Lange, *La Música en Villa Rica: Minas Gerais, siglo XVIII* (Santiago de Chile: Facultad de Ciencias y Artes Musicales, Universidad de Chile, 1968), 72-6.

⁴⁷ Castagna, "A Música Religiosa Mineira," 9 and Leslie Bethell, *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 801.

Diamantina,⁴⁸ and we know that Lobo de Mesquita had contracts with the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Mercies at the same time, we do not know whether he composed the Mass in E-flat as part of a contract or commission with either of these groups or any others.

The Mass in E-flat is scored for SATB choir with soloists and an ensemble consisting of two flutes, two oboes, two horns, strings and basso continuo. This shows an evolution in the composer's orchestration in that:

- The addition of winds and brass shows a need for something more than the traditional instrumentation of strings and *basso continuo* employed in earlier works such as the Mass of Holy Saturday (CT-MIG 02), Antiphon (CT-MIG 05), Mass of Ash Wednesday (CT- MIG 16), and Mass in F (CT-MIG 20) (it is also an indication of the importance of the celebration for which the Mass in E-flat was composed)
- Despite a lack of virtuosic writing (which is consistent with Lobo de Mesquita's overall style), one can see the beginning of independent accompaniments and a separation between the vocal and instrumental material (see Example 1).

With regard to the vocal writing in the Mass in E-flat, the largely homophonic choral part is set in a syllabic, declamatory style (see Example 2). This style can be found among the settings of the mass. There is also evidence that Lobo de Mesquita was familiar with more elaborate formal structures including the *da capo aria* (as found in the

⁴⁸ In the "Book of Income and Expenses of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament," from 1783-1784, fls 123v, in the Curt Lange Archive at the Federal University of Minas Gerais. André Cotta, e-mail message to the author, October 20, 2011.

solo section of the “Quoniam tu solus sanctus”) and duet (as found in the “Laudamus te” of the Gloria). These elements will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Example 1. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Qui sedes, mm. 106-12

Musical score for Example 1, showing parts for Flutes, Oboes, Horns, Chorus, and Strings. The score is in E-flat major and 4/4 time. The Flutes, Oboes, and Horns parts are marked *p* (piano). The Chorus part includes the lyrics: "mi - se - re - re. mi - se - re. mi - se". The Strings part is marked *p* and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

Example 2. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Kyrie, mm. 59-67

Musical score for Example 2, showing parts for Chorus and Strings. The score is in E-flat major and 4/4 time. The Chorus part includes the lyrics: "son Ky - ri - e. Ky - ri e e - le - i - son. son. e - le - i - son. e - le - i - son. e - le - i". The Strings part is marked *f* (forte) and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

Assembling a historically informed edition of any work from Brazil’s colonial period presents a variety of challenges: scores lay in neglected archives, and composers’ manuscripts are often missing, leaving poorly written copies in their place. To further

compound the challenge, many copies were altered by musicians of the time to fit the needs of the church where the works were performed. As such, sections might be excised to fit the liturgical seasons (e.g., eliminating the Gloria section of the mass during Lent season) or added from other sources for longer services. In addition, the instrumentation might vary according to the forces available from one performance locale to another. These altered copies with different instrumentation and excised parts were, over time, often interpreted as the composer's original intentions and were described as such in archival catalogs.⁴⁹

The majority of autographs and manuscripts of Lobo de Mesquita's works and of other colonial composers are now better studied and preserved by leading musicologists at the Museum of Inconfidencia (BR-OPmi) and by the Mariana Music Museum (BR-MAm). Maria Inês Guimarães created a thematic catalog of Lobo de Mesquita's works as part of her 1996 dissertation. That catalog provides an identifying number for each work, a frontispiece, a description of the scoring, a listing of movements, tempo marks, number of measures, key signatures and other relevant information about each piece and/or each movement. This thematic catalog is considered the most accurate and up-to-date listing of Lobo de Mesquita's works, and while there are no surviving manuscripts of the Mass in E-flat, Guimarães' catalog lists copies of the work from the nineteenth century. The list of the copies of manuscripts of the Mass in E-flat, which are housed at the Museum of Inconfidencia, is represented in the table that follows. (The author has photographs of all score parts of these manuscript copies.)

⁴⁹ Mary Angela Biason, "Os Musicos e Seus Manuscritos," *Per Musi*, no. 18 (July 2008): 17-9.

Table 3. Manuscript copies from the Mass in E-flat in the Museu da Inconfidência.⁵⁰

| Copyist | Location where copies were made | Date | Score parts |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| Anonymous | Unknown | First half of the nineteenth century | Soprano |
| Francisco Basílio da Silva Ribeiro | Unknown | January 14, 1875 | ob I and II fl I and II |
| João Nepomuceno Ribeiro Ursini | Diamantina | February 26, 1875 | Alto |
| Neco Coutinho | Diamantina | March 1875 | TB hrn I and II vl I and II vln and bass |
| Modesto Antônio Ferreira | Unknown | March 1889 | soprano |
| João Guimarães | Sabar | September 16, 1907 | trumpet (added by copyist) |
| Joo Gomes Brochado | Sabar | September 20, 1907 | trombone (added by copyist) |

The first reconstruction of the full score of the Mass in E-flat was undertaken in 1960s in a handwritten edition by Curt Lange. It was based on scores and parts that were found during his research in Minas Gerais. Given the variety of copies of the Mass in E-flat discovered throughout Minas Gerais and with none of them complete, Curt Lange's research process was made that much more difficult. Rui Mouro describes some of Lange's challenges in finding the score parts of the mass:⁵¹

While restoring the manuscript of the Mass in E-flat by Lobo de Mesquita, Curt Lange faced enormous pressure to finalize the project. Minister Clovis Salgado was determined to have the restoration for a concert he was sponsoring. According to Curt Lange, when he was traveling through Minas Gerais one day, by chance he found what he needed to complete the work: a violin part in the city

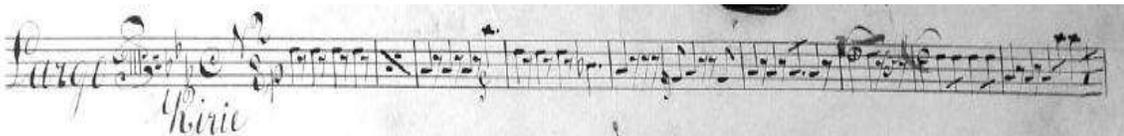
⁵⁰ Mary Angela Biason, e-mail message to the author, September 24, 2012.

⁵¹ Rui Mouro and Francisco Curt Lange. *O Alemo Que Descobriu a Amrica* (Braslia: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1990), 61.

of Gouveia and an oboe part, found inside a rice and bean crate, in the neighboring town of Dantas.

In assembling this reconstruction, Lange apparently made his own “corrections,” according to Brazilian musicologists such as André Cotta, Harry Crowl, and Paulo Castagna. These “corrections” included changing the voice leading, correcting parallel fifth and octaves, rewriting incomplete sections and adding dynamics and performance indications. As Pires argues, Lange “corrected” the music from the perspective of a twentieth-century German musicologist and brought a distinctly European viewpoint to the music of colonial Minas Gerais.⁵² His full score of the Mass in E-flat, therefore, includes dynamics, bowing and ties that informed musicians agree were not part of the original manuscript.⁵³ One example of Lange’s corrections is at the beginning of the Kyrie (m. 4), in the viola part. Here Lange changed an interval adding g-flat to the e-flat chord, making the harmony minor; in addition, he added notes to the viola line (see Examples 3a and 3b).

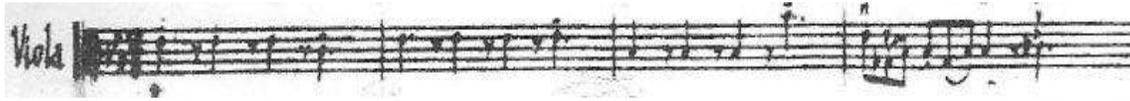
Example 3a. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Kyrie, mm. 1-10, Viola, Neco Coutinho’s manuscript from 1875.



⁵² Pires, “Source, Style and Context,” 46.

⁵³ There is a copy of Lange’s full score at the Benson Latin America Collection at the University of Texas in Austin, call number M 2010 M 584 M3 E-flat Maj. 1960Z LAC (US-AUSm).

Example 3b. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Kyrie, mm. 1-4, Viola, Lange's manuscript from 1960s.



In 2007, an electronic realization of the full score was completed by the conductor Márcio Miranda Pontes. This edition is largely based on Lange's version. It is possible to buy the vocal score, instrumental parts and a full score under the title *Missa no.1, em Mi Bemol* from Editora Pontes, Pontes' publishing company. Another edition, and the one that carries the least editorializing,⁵⁴ was created by Arnon Sávio Reis de Oliveira, who is the Coordinator of the Research Center at the Music School of the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. In his edition there are no corrections or additions of any kind to the music.

Because an over-edited score can be problematic for contemporary performers seeking historical accuracy, contemporary researchers might be wise to consider the likely performance context of eighteenth century colonial Brazil. It would have been the performers' responsibility to interpret the music on the page. A contemporary editor might consider providing the freedom for modern conductors and performers to do the same. Because Savio's edition has the fewest interpolations, it may be considered the closest to Lobo de Mesquita's conception of the work. The manuscript copies will serve as a starting point for the historically informed performance practice that is the subject of the next chapter.

⁵⁴ Examining the manuscripts of the Mass in E-flat and Arnon Sávio's edition, the author concludes that Sávio's edition are the most original to the manuscripts without adding dynamics, bowings and notes. An unpublished copy of his full score edition was provided to the author. Arnon Sávio Reis Oliveira, e-mail message to the author, January 5, 2013.

CHAPTER 3

THE MASS IN E-FLAT MAJOR: PERFORMANCE CONSIDERATIONS

The original intentions of any composer in terms of desired sound and style are part of an ongoing musical debate and represent an evolving understanding of how works from the past should sound. This chapter addresses several of the practical matters of performing the Mass in E-flat to assist conductors in staging a performance of the work and potentially to spur further investigation into Lobo de Mesquita's works. This music represents a rich musical heritage that has both historical and contemporary significance with regard to performance considerations.

In creating a historically informed performance of the Mass in E-flat, the matter of Iberian-Italian influence on Brazilian colonial sacred music must be addressed because of the performance practice came from Portugal. Several scholars have pointed to both the Portuguese and Italian musical practices that influenced both composition and the performance of Brazilian sacred works.⁵⁵ While Portuguese influence is more obvious and direct due to Portugal's colonization of Brazil, Italian influence is equally important and can be traced to the significant impact of Italian composers, their works and performance practice on the Portuguese court of the eighteenth century. When the Portuguese brought their music to Brazil, they brought the totality of that music, which includes its Catholic and, therefore, Italian heritage. As a result, Lobo de Mesquita's

⁵⁵ See, for example, Maurício Dottori, *The Church Music of Davide Perez and Niccolò Jommelli: With Special Emphasis on Funeral Music* (Paraná: DeArtes UFPR, 2008), 1 and Paulo Castagna, "Música na America Portuguesa" in *História e Música no Brasil*, ed. José Geraldo Vinci Moraes and Elias Thomé Saliba (São Paulo: Alameda, 2010), 22-3.

works in general, and the Mass in E-flat in particular, reflect both Iberian and Italian compositional techniques and practices.

Consistent with Neapolitan mass settings and performance practice, the Mass in E-flat has only two movements, a Kyrie and a Gloria. (This is also consistent with the practice of the Portuguese royal court.⁵⁶) Nineteenth century copies of the parts are currently housed at the Museum of Inconfidencia (the autographs are lost). Table 4 shows the overall structure of the two-movement work, listed with each movement's sections, tempo marking, time signature, and number of measures. The length of the entire Mass is approximately forty minutes.

Table 4. Overall structure of the *Mass in E-flat* based on the manuscripts from the Museum of Inconfidencia.⁵⁷

| Movements | Tempo Marking | Time Signature | Number of Measures |
|--------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Kyrie | | | |
| <i>Kyrie</i> | Largo | 12/8 | 12 |
| | Allegro | C | 64 |
| <i>Christe</i> | Fuga | ♩ | 111 |
| <i>Kyrie</i> | Largo | 12/8 | 11 |
| Gloria | | | |
| <i>Et in terra</i> | Allegro Moderato | 4/4 | 114 |
| <i>Laudamus</i> | Andante | ♩ | 106 |
| <i>Gratias</i> | Largo | C | 12 |
| <i>Domine Deus</i> | Allegro Moderato | C | 134 |

⁵⁶ Cristina Fernandes, "La Fortuna Del 'Coro dos Italianos' Della Cappella Reale e Della Patriarcale di Lisbona nel Secondo Settecento," *XIV Convegno Annuale Della Società Italiana di Musicologia* (October 2007): 237.

⁵⁷ The manuscripts are housed in the Museum of Inconfidencia under BR-OPmi/ MI_FCLange 116.

Table 4, continued

| Movements | Tempo Marking | Time Signature | Number of Measures |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Qui Tollis</i> | Largo | 2/4 | 19 |
| <i>Suscipe</i> | Andante | 3/8 | 36 |
| <i>Qui Sedes</i> | Largo | 2/4 | 70 |
| <i>Quoniam</i> | Andante Expressivo | 2/4 | 115 |
| <i>Cum Sancto Spiritu</i> | Largo | 3/4 | 11 |
| | Allegro | 3/4 | 149 |

Broadly speaking, performance forces in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais were more consistent with European Baroque and pre-Classical models than with more mature Classical works. Scholars such as Guilherme Werlang and Harry Crowl have often described Lobo de Mesquita's time as most closely incorporating the vocal and instrumental characteristics of the pre-Classical period in Europe. Given the date that the music was composed, one would expect this Mass to be in a more pre-Classical style. However, because pre-Classical sacred music has many Baroque characteristics, it is best to compare colonial Brazilian performance practice of Lobo de Mesquita's Mass in E-flat with those practices from both the European Baroque as well as pre-Classical styles. This will allow for a more detailed and thorough analysis and will help conductors and performers understand the specific stylistic connections within an evolving musical tradition.

There are several ways in which a modern conductor can create a historically informed performance of the Mass in E-flat. Essentially, they involve finding answers to five key questions through an examination of the available historical material and then

determining how best to recreate a historically informed and accurate performance for modern day audiences. The questions to consider are:

1. What voice types were used in the Mass in E-flat?
2. How many singers were used for the performance?
3. What type of singers should perform the vocal solos?
4. How should the passages marked *solo*, *duo*, and *tutti* be performed?
5. How many instrumentalists were used for the performance and was there an organ continuo?

For each question, this study will provide a historically based answer that will assist contemporary conductors in preparing the Mass in E-flat for performance. It also provides alternatives that, while not necessarily consistent with the original historical circumstances, will assist modern conductors in making other musically astute and balanced choices that are historically informed. To provide an overview for the discussion that follows, table 5 depicts the vocal and performance forces used by the composer in each section of the Mass in E-flat.

1. What voice types were used in the Mass in E-flat?

In some manuscripts of the score, there are some indications that specify the types of voices called for in the Mass in E-flat that are not always consistent with current choral practices. Historically, and consistent with long-standing Catholic tradition, the soprano line was sung by a boy soprano and the alto line by an adult male falsettist (countertenor).⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Francisco Curt Lange, "La Musica em Minas Gerais," in *Boletim Latino-Americano de Música*, vol. VI (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1946), 477.

Table 5. Performance forces for each section of the Mass in E-flat

| Movements and Sections | Vocal | | | | | | Instrumental | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|---------------|---|---|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-----|----|----|
| | Choir SATB | Solo S A T | | | SA Duet | SAB Trio | Fl I, II | Ob I, II | Hrn I, II | Vln I, II | Vla | Vc | Cb |
| <i>Kyrie</i> | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Criste</i> | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Kyrie</i> | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Et in terra</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Laudamus</i> | | | | | ✓ | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Gratias</i> | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Domine Deus</i> | | | | | | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Qui Tollis</i> | | | | ✓ | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Suscipe</i> | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Qui Sedes</i> | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Quoniam</i> | | ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Cum Sancto Spiritu</i> | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

For special performances in colonial Brazil, two boy sopranos often performed the soprano part together. Evidence of this can be found in the book of expenses of the Brotherhood of Saint Francis. It records a performance with five singers, including the two boy sopranos, known as *tiples* (“trebles”), performing with an instrumental ensemble.⁵⁹ Two trebles were likely necessary because boys are unable to produce the volume that would have been needed to balance the remaining singers and the ensemble. A review of Lange’s catalog of sacred music from colonial Minas Gerais show no five-

⁵⁹ This record is housed at the Ecclesiastical Archive of the Archdiocese of Mariana (AEAM), in the “Book of Expenses of the Brotherhood of Saint Francis,” no. 95, fols. 174, 1782.

part works, thereby supporting the theory that two boy sopranos doubled the soprano part.⁶⁰

The voicing in the Mass in E-flat suggests that a historically informed performance would best be served by having two boy sopranos, so as to achieve balance in the *tutti* sections. For example in the Gloria (m. 12-14), the forte dynamic and the heavy orchestration--consisting of woodwinds, horns and strings-- would make it difficult for one boy soprano to be heard (see Example 4).

Example 4. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Gloria, mm. 11-14.

The image shows a musical score for five parts: Flutes, Oboes, Horns, Chorus, and Strings. The Flutes part has a melodic line with some rests. The Oboes and Horns parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Chorus part has a vocal line with lyrics: "De-u. Glo-ri-a in ex-cel-sis De-o. in ex-cel-sis De-u". The Strings part plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. Dynamics include *f* (forte) for the woodwinds and *p* (piano) for the strings.

With regard to the alto line and its performance by a male countertenor, this voice type was both lower in volume and thinner (i.e., lacking resonance), as J. W. Large explains: “The reason for that [lack of resonance among falsettists] is because only a

⁶⁰ Régis Duprat, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais: Coleção Francisco Curt Lange Compositores Mineiros dos Séculos XVIII e XIX* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 1991), 6-175.

portion of the vocal folds make contact and the airflow is higher”⁶¹ thereby resulting in a thinner sound. As a result, a countertenor would provide a more suitable vocal balance with a boy soprano, especially in the duet “Laudamus te.” The records kept by the brotherhoods and assembled by Lange indicate that adult male countertenors, including singers like Francisco Gomes da Rocha and Miguel Dionizio Valle, generally sang alto at this time, and not boys.⁶²

If a conductor has neither a good boy soprano nor a male countertenor for these parts, an acceptable option for a contemporary performance of the work would be to have women sing the parts. While there are no records of women singing in colonial Minas Gerais (consistent with the church prohibition of women singing in church, *mulier taceat in ecclesia* or “Let woman be silent in church”),⁶³ the use of mixed choir was not unheard of in the eighteenth century. As Paul Henry Lang has noted: “Curiously, the true mixed chorus was not only known in the late Baroque, but distinctly preferred by musicians — if they could get away with it.”⁶⁴ Johann Mattheson, when reflecting on the decision to have the upper voices sung by women instead of boys, considered them “of a little advantage.”⁶⁵

⁶¹J. W. Large, “Male High Voice Mechanism in Singing,” *Journal of Research in Singing*, 8 (June 1984): 5.

⁶² Lange, *La Musica en Villa Rica*, 73, 74, 78, 79.

⁶³ Paul Henry Lang, “Performance Practice and the Voice” in *Musicology and Performance*, ed. Alfred Mann and George J. Buelow (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 191.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁶⁵ Johann Mattheson, quoted in Paul Henry Lang, “Performance Practice and the Voice” in *Musicology and Performance*, 193.

In the Mass in E-flat, the use of women's voices would also solve some issues of balance and intonation that may arise with a group of all male singers. In the three extant recordings of the Mass in E-flat, conducted by Edoardo Guarnieri, Sergio Dias, and Luis Otavio de Souza Santos, women sing the upper parts. Despite a lack of historical accuracy, this accommodation does not compromise the integrity of the original work and does provide valuable opportunities for the work to be performed.

2. How many singers were used for performances?

In colonial Minas Gerais, the number of vocalists and instrumentalists could often vary according to the type of service or the relative size of the celebration. Assessing the records kept by the brotherhoods, it is possible to reach some well-justified conclusions concerning the number of singers that performed colonial repertoire. The vocal ensemble that most often performed sacred music at this time would have had four singers, or five if the soprano part was performed by two boys. Additions to this ensemble were made for more elaborate musical celebrations as in one important 1781 performance of the Corpus Christi mass that featured eight singers.⁶⁶ Another example where a larger number of singers were used occurred at a 1784 funeral for a prominent local citizen. This ensemble featured sixteen singers, the largest number of singers ever recorded for a sacred performance in the region at the time.⁶⁷

The larger instrumental scoring of the Mass in E-flat indicates that this piece was almost certainly composed for a special celebration. Using the collections of records of the brotherhoods assembled by Lange, one can conclude that there were five (i.e., two

⁶⁶ Guimarães, "L'oeuvre," 74.

⁶⁷ Lange, *La Musica en Villa Rica*, 76.

boy sopranos) or more singers used at such occasions. A review of fifty records assembled by Lange reveals twenty-seven celebrations that appear to be major feasts of the kind in which a work like the Mass in E-flat might be performed (see Table 6).

Table 6. Table based on Lange’s Document H, Terms and Contracts from 1762-1796.⁶⁸

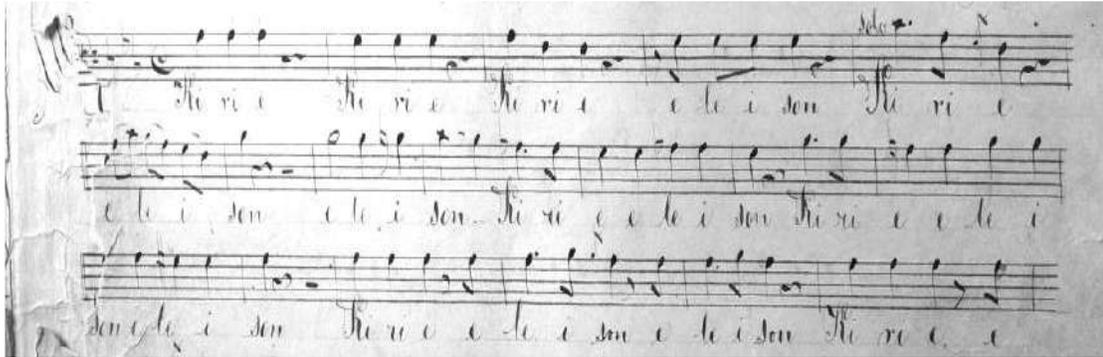
| Number of singers | Number of instruments (strings, horns and woodwinds) | Name of the Feast |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Five | Five | Annual Feasts, (10) Royal Feast Birth of a Princess |
| Eight | Fourteen to twenty | Inaugural Celebration Birthday of Prince Dom Antonio |
| Nine | Ten to eighteen | Annual Feasts (5) Inaugural celebration (2) Royal Feast Chamber Annual Feast Corpus Christi |
| Five to ten | Five to twenty | Inaugural Celebration (2) Birth of a Prince |
| Ten to sixteen | Nine | Funeral (2) |

As we can see in Table 6, five or nine singers were most frequently used for special services. In the Mass in E-flat, the *solo*, *duo* and *tutti* indications in the manuscripts suggest that the vocal ensemble was larger than five singers. Indeed, having more than one singer on each part would explain Lobo de Mesquita’s need to indicate vocal solos, as he did frequently in the work (see Example 5). Clearly his intent at moments like this is to have just one member of a larger choir section (e.g., one of two altos) sing that part of the mass. If there were only five singers, there would be no need for these indications. It appears, therefore, that the work was intended for nine singers:

⁶⁸ Ibid., 61, 62, 66, and 125.

five in a *ripieno* group and four soloists in a *concertino* group (this group would, of course, sing with the *ripieno* group in all of the *tutti* sections).

Example 5. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Kyrie, mm. 13-30, with alto solo mark at m. 17.



In a performance situation, it is likely that perhaps more than one singers read from the same part, and the markings for *solo*, *duo* or *tutti* were necessary to indicate how many singers should perform that passage. This notion is reinforced by the fact that multiple copies of the parts cannot be found in the historical archives.

The best evidence suggests that the Mass was originally performed at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, the church where Lobo de Mesquita was a long-time organist. As such, the space of the choir loft might shed additional light on the number of singers who performed the work. Given that the size of the choir loft at the Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church is only 273 square feet, the number of singers must have been relatively small to accommodate the need for both singers and players in the same space. Given the evidence of the *solo*, *duo*, and *tutti* markings in the score, the historical records which help clarify the number of singers who performed for special celebrations, and the available space at the Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, nine singers must have been

the most able to perform the Mass in E-flat at its performances. As such, this number is recommended for a historically accurate rendition.

For a performance that may not precisely reflect the original historical context, such as one that features women for the upper voice parts, a conductor should use two quartets with four singers each (i.e., no doubling) because there is no need for doubling women sopranos in this context of balance. This option would not compromise the integrity of the work and, as stated earlier, would provide valuable opportunities for the work to be performed.

3. What type of singers should perform the vocal solos?

There are two significant solos in the Mass in E-flat, one for a soprano in the “Quoniam to solo sanctus,” and the other for a tenor in the “Qui tollis.” There is also a duet for soprano and alto in the “Laudamus te,” and a trio for soprano, alto and bass in the “Domine Deus.” Because the names of soloists are never mentioned in the records of the brotherhoods, we do not know specifically who sang these solos.

Because boy choirs were part of European sacred music practice (and therefore those in Minas Gerais), there were boys in the chorus; and since women were not permitted to sing in church, it is likely that a well-trained choirboy sang the soprano solos.⁶⁹ For a historically informed performance, this is the best option. The “Quoniam” solo is not overly demanding and is well within the normal range for a boy soprano. It has a slow tempo with short melodic phrases, thereby allowing a boy soprano with good breath-management to control the part easily (see Example 6).

⁶⁹ Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 258.

Example 6. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Quoniam, mm. 1-37.

Andante espressivo

Soprano

18 *f* Quo - ni - am tu so - lus tu so - lus san - ctus, tu

24 *f* so - lus, so - lus Do - mi - nus, tu so - lus Al - tis - si - mus, Je - su, Je - su Chri - ste, tu so -

31 *p* *f* *p* lus, tu so - lus Al - tis - si - mus, tu so - lus Al - tis - si - mus, Al - tis - si - mus, Je - - - su

While the tessitura of the solo is appropriate for a well-trained boy soprano, it is important to recognize that a boy soprano in Lobo de Mesquita’s time could have been as old as sixteen or seventeen, the time when most experts agree that voices changed in the eighteenth century (as opposed to changing at twelve or thirteen as it does today, a result of improved nutrition).⁷⁰ As such, for a contemporary performance, it is recommended that music directors seek out a highly talented young singer for the part, to help compensate for the greater experience and vocal maturity that Lobo de Mesquita might have expected for the “Quoniam.”

The solo sections are almost always accompanied by strings alone, which results in a thinner accompaniment texture. A boy’s voice will add a historically consistent color, quality, and brilliance to the upper vocal register, thereby enhancing the “Quoniam” text “For You are the only Holy One, the only Lord, the only Most High.” In addition, a conductor should also note that the *da capo* section of the “Quoniam” requires

⁷⁰ Julia Davids and Stephen A. LaTour, *Vocal Technique: A Guide for Conductors, Teachers, and Singers* (Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press, 2012), 202-03.

a strong singer because the string writing, especially in the first violin part, is not completely *colla parte* with the voice. The relationship between the solo line and the first violin line is more heterophonic in that the voice embellishes the melody played by the violin (see Example 7). The ornamentation in the “Quoniam” is written into the actual part by the composer. All other ornaments in the piece such as appoggiaturas and trills may be realized according to the treatises of Pier Francesco Tosi written in (1723) and of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach written in (1753). While there is no evidence that these treatises were used in Brazil, their guidelines are consistent with the Iberian-Italian traditions that were brought to Brazil.

Example 7. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Quoniam, soprano solo part, mm. 82-93.

The image shows a musical score for Soprano and Violin I. The Soprano part is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (E-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It begins with a *mf* dynamic. The lyrics are: "Qui - ni - am tu so - lus tu so - lus san - ctus tu so - lus". The Violin I part is in treble clef with the same key signature and time signature. It begins with a *p* dynamic and features a complex, rhythmic accompaniment. The lyrics continue: "Du - mi - nus tu so - lus al - tis - simus al - tis - si - mus al - tis - simus Je - su Je - su Chri -". The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

For the duet “Laudamus te,” combining a boy soprano with a countertenor will result in the best and most historically consistent sound. With several passages that are sung in thirds, these voices should be able to blend and tune well with one another (see Example 8).

Example 8. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Laudamus te, mm. 82-95.

The musical score consists of two systems of vocal parts. The first system has Soprano (S) and Contralto (C) parts. The second system also has Soprano (S) and Contralto (C) parts. The lyrics are: 'a - do - ra - mus te. glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. a - do - ra - mus te. be - ne - di - ci - mus te. a - do - ra - mus te. glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. a - do - ra - mus te. be - ne - di - ci - mus te.' The score includes dynamic markings 'p' and 'f'.

*The letter “C” in the part stands for contralto, which is used in Portuguese.

4. How should the passages marked *solo*, *duo*, and *tutti* be performed?

Given the discrepancies in the manuscripts, a historically informed performance requires clarification about the use of the words *solo*, *duo*, and *tutti* in the vocal parts of the mass and how the singers should be divided into *concertino* and *ripieno* sections. The best evidence suggests that the *concertino* would consist of four singers and *ripieno* would consist of five singers (including two boy sopranos).⁷¹ Some sections in the manuscripts have clear indications of solo or duet passages. Elsewhere the solo is indicated in but there is no indication as to where the solo ends. In still others, the word solo is never written.

Based on an analysis of the manuscripts of the Mass, the following guidelines are provided to assist in solving the discrepancies in the *solo*, *duo*, and *tutti* in the score parts for a historically informed performance of the Mass. The trend that can be seen in Lobo de Mesquita’s solo and duet designations that are clearly marked in the scores is that they have usually more elaborate melodies compared to the surrounding material, whereas the

⁷¹ Lange, *La Musica en Villa Rica*, 74.

tutti sections tend to have simple melodies. For the elaborate melodies, Lobo de Mesquita uses larger steps and range, melismas, and more complex rhythms. The simple melodies have small steps and more chordal motion. This can be observed in the alto manuscript as seen in Example 9.

Example 9. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Gloria, mm. 19-52, with alto duo, solo, and *tutti* mark at mm. 24, 38, and 46.



Lobo de Mesquita was not always so clear, however. There are many instances where a solo is marked, but a *tutti* return is not. An example of this may be seen in the Kyrie, m. 30. Here the soprano and alto solos are clearly marked (see Example 10a and 10b), but mm. 30 and 33 should be performed as a *tutti* because of the homophonic texture in the other voices that enter here. Unfortunately there is no indication for the *tutti* in the parts. As a result, the only way one might even know the solo passage was over would be to examine the other parts and draw a musically informed conclusion from the fact that the tenor, bass, and the woodwinds enter in at measures 30 and 33.

Example 10a. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Kyrie, mm. 27-37, with soprano solo without *tutti* mark at m. 33.



Example 10b. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Kyrie, full score mm. 30-33.

The solos and duets also tend to be demarcated by homophonic sections, a typical compositional technique by the composer to vary texture. These concepts can, therefore, be applied to textural variety for the *concertino* and *ripieno* section in the Mass in E-flat; both between larger sections as well as small solo interjections between homophonic statements. The latter of these techniques are prominent in both the Kyrie and “Et in terra

pax” sections. Example 11 shows the soprano and alto solo/duet parts in the “Et in terra pax,” again with no indication of *tutti* in the small homophonic interjection sections.

Example 11. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Et in terra pax, mm. 75-88.

Chorus

et in ter - ra pax ho-mi - ni - bus. pax. pax. bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis. pax. pax. bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis. pax. pax in

A similar examination of Lobo de Mesquita’s other works (specifically the Mass of Palm Sunday, Regina coeli laetare, Diffusa est gratia, and Te Deum) demonstrate that where the composer did use the terms *solo*, *duo*, and *tutti*, he used them in consistent ways — ways that can also be applied to the sections that are not clearly marked in the Mass in E-flat.⁷² For instance, the Diffusa est gratia (“Tercio”) also shows solos and duets featuring more elaborate or virtuosic melodies and *tutti* sections that are almost exclusively homophonic (see Example 12).

⁷² The Regina coeli laetare and Diffusa est gratia autographs are housed at the Mariana Music Museum (BR-MMma) under “MMM CDO.01.098,” and “MMM CDO.01.272.” The Mass of Palm Sunday is part of Guimaraes’ dissertation “L’oeuvre,” 441-549, and the Te Deum is part of Pires’ dissertation “Source, Style and Context,” 92-220.

Example 12. Lobo de Mesquita, Diffusa est gratia, mm. 13-26, with *solo*, *duo*, and *tutti* mark at mm. 13, 17, and 25. Edited by Paulo Castagna (BR-Mamm MMM CDO.01.272).

13

S I *poco f Duo* *f* *poco f*
as - sim na ter - ra, as - sim na

S II *Solo* *poco f Duo* *f* *poco f*
se - ja fei - ta a Vos - sa von - ta - de, as - sim na ter - ra, as - sim na

A

B

Vln I *pp* *poco f* *f* *poco f*

Vln II *pp* *poco f* *f* *poco f*

Bx *pp* *f*

20

S I *f* *f Tutti*
ter - ra, as - sim na ter - ra co - mo no céu. O pão nos - so de

S II *f* *f Tutti*
ter - ra, as - sim na ter - ra co - mo no céu. O pão nos - so de

A *f*
O pão nos - so de

B *f*
O pão nos - so de

Vln I *f*

Vln II *f*

Bx *f*

Despite inconsistencies that can be found in the manuscripts, these are places in the Mass in E-flat with clearly marked solo passages that begin with a *solo* or *duo* marking and end with a *tutti* (see Table 7).

Table 7. Marked solo and duo passages in the manuscripts of the Mass in E-flat.

| Movement | Solo | | Duet | | Tutti |
|---------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Voice | Measures | Voice | Measures | Measures |
| Kyrie | Bass | 34-35, 51, 68 | Alto/Bass | 17-21 | 21, 30, 42 |
| | Alto | 41-42 | Alto/Tenor | 27-29 | |
| | Soprano | 43-44 | Sop/Alto | 31-32 | |
| | Bass | 68-69, 71-72 | Sop/Bass | 51-55 | |
| Gloria | Alto | 38-45 | Alto/Tenor | 24-25 | 104 |
| | Soprano | 96-103 | Sop | 28-29 | |
| | | | Sop/Alto | 81-82, 85-86 | |
| Laudamus te | | | Sop/Alto | 1-106 | |
| Qui tollis | Tenor | 1-18, 62-75 | | | 21-55, 78-123 |
| Quoniam | Soprano | 1-110 | | | |
| Cum sancto spiritu | | | | | 1-160 |

In addition to the melodic virtuosity that sets off solos for *tutti* sections, this same examination reveals that in his other works, Lobo de Mesquita accompanies solos and duets almost exclusively with strings alone, whereas *tutti* sections often add additional instruments (e.g., winds, brass). These features allow us to locate solos within the Mass that have been left unmarked. One example of a solo part that is not marked but, based on Lobo de Mesquita's consistent application of these ideas, should be so performed is in the Kyrie at mm. 17-20 (see Example 13). In this passage, it is recommended that the alto and the bass *concertino* perform these measures. This is based not solely on the more elaborate melody, but also on the thinner instrumental texture. At the *tutti* (m. 21), all the

singers should sing both to reinforce the simpler melody and to join with the additional instruments.

Example 13. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, alto and bass solo, Kyrie, mm. 17-21.

The musical score for Example 13 consists of eight staves. From top to bottom, they are: Flute, Oboe, Horn in F, Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Strings. The Flute, Oboe, and Horn in F parts are mostly silent, with a few notes in the final measure. The Soprano part has a [Tutti] marking in the final measure. The Alto part has a [solo] marking at the beginning and a [Tutti] marking at the end. The Tenor part has a [Tutti] marking at the end. The Bass part has a [solo] marking at the beginning and a [Tutti] marking at the end. The lyrics are: Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son. e - le - i - son. Ky - ri e - le - i - son. e - le - i - son. Ky - ri. The strings play a rhythmic accompaniment throughout.

Just as there are unmarked solo and duo passages, there are *tutti* passages that are missing proper designation (a.k.a. solo/duo passages whose endings are not indicated).

An example can be found in the “Gloria,” at mm. 36-46 (see Example 14). In this passage, the virtuosic alto line is accompanied by strings only, versus the simpler melody (and homophonic texture) accompanied by not only strings but also woodwinds and horns, at m. 46, where all the voices enter. Based on Lobo de Mesquita’s other works, it

is clear that he intended to distinguish between the *concertino* and *ripieno* textures, a practice consistent with the Iberian-Italian practice in the Portuguese royal chapel.⁷³

Example 14. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, alto solo, Gloria, mm. 36-45.

The musical score for Example 14 consists of two systems. The first system (mm. 36-45) features four vocal parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Soprano and Tenor parts sing "pax, pax," while the Alto part has a solo section with the lyrics "pax, pax, bo - nae, bo - nae, bo - nae - vo - lun - ta - tis." The Bass part also sings "pax, pax." The instrumental parts include Strings, Flutes, Oboes, and Horns. The strings play a rhythmic accompaniment with a *p* dynamic. The woodwinds enter in the second system (mm. 42-45) with a *(Tutti) f* dynamic. The lyrics for the woodwinds are "bo - nae, bo - nae, vo - lun - ta - tis." The strings continue with a *cresc.* dynamic.

⁷³ Fernandes, "La Fortuna Del 'Coro dos Italianos' Della Cappella Reale," 238.

There are several other places where these indications in the manuscripts are not present, and it is recommended that they be treated in the same way (see Table 8). In each case, the suggested markings are based on creating instrumental and vocal contrast between more virtuosic solo vocal passages with thinner textures for the *concertino* and the more homophonic passages with denser *tutti* textures in the *ripieno*.

Table 8. Solo, duet, *tutti* not marked in the manuscripts of the Mass in E-flat.

| Movement | Solo | | Tutti |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Voice | Measures | Measures |
| Kyrie | Bass | 34, 71 | 33, 55, 35, 44, 72 |
| Gloria (Et in terra pax) | Alto | 28-29 38-45 | 17, 30, 46, 75, 83, 87 |
| Gratias | | | 1-12 |
| Domine Deus | Soprano Alto Bass | 1-134 (should be a trio) | |
| Qui sedes | | | 78-123 |

5. How many instrumentalists were used for the performance and was there an organ continuo?

With regard to instrumental forces, the brotherhoods' records indicate that the basic instrumental group for standard performances consisted of horns, violins, viola, cello, bass, and organ. Two oboes and two flutes could be added depending on availability or the occasion.⁷⁴ As such, the specific number of instruments often varied according to the needs of a particular event. For example, a record from a local wedding

⁷⁴ Guimaraes, "L'oeuvre," 70.

in 1786 shows eight *rabecas* (“violins and violas”), four *rabeco*s (“cello and basses”), two horns, two flutes, two oboes, and organ. Another record from 1787 details a celebration where there were four *rabecas*, two *rabeco*s, two horns, two oboes, two flutes, and one bassoon.⁷⁵ An Annual Feast in 1787 featured five *rabecas*, two *rabeco*s, two horns, and harpsichord. Lastly, performances from 1781 and 1782 detailed forces consisting of five *rabecas*, two *rabeco*s, two horns and organ.⁷⁶ Since there are no specific records on the number of strings used in the Mass in E-flat, the information from Lange’s research will be the starting point for a decision on a number of instrumentalists consistent with the performances of the time.

When examining the Lange’s records, one can see that instrumentation was not determined by any kind of ratio of instruments to singers (see Table 6 above). More likely, the determining factor would have been dictated by the needs of the performance and the availability of performers. While there is no consistency from performance to performance, there are some general trends in terms of overall balance. From these trends and given the nine person vocal ensemble, one can conclude that the total number of instruments would have likely been between ten and eighteen.

Within this fairly large range, one can then factor in the size of the choir loft at the church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Given only 273 square feet, and Lange’s records of payments to musicians, a smaller instrumental group would appear to be in order. With that in mind, an instrumental ensemble consisting of two violin I, two violin II, one viola, one cello, one bass, organ, two horns, two oboes, and two flutes would be not only

⁷⁵ Francisco Curt Lange, “A Musica Barroca,” in *Historia Geral da Civilização Brasileira*, vol. 2, ed. Sergio Buarque de Holanda (São Paulo: Difel, 1985), 129-130.

⁷⁶ Lange, *La Musica en Villa Rica*, 62, 70, and 71.

appropriate for the performance of the Mass in E-flat but probably fairly consistent with history. This would also be consistent with the numbers mentioned on the records for special celebrations of 1781, 1782, and 1787 in Minas Gerais where more than five singers were used.⁷⁷ When using modern instruments for a performance, a conductor should consider the number of instruments suggested above as a maximum. This will help to keep the necessary balance between voices and instruments.

When considering pitch, there are no records to indicate any standard pitch for performance in colonial Minas Gerais. Surviving organs of the period were restored with parts that were not authentic, therefore we cannot know the actual pitch that was used. The international standard pitch of $a = 440$ will serve well for the performances of the Mass in E-flat because it provides a comfortable range for both voices and instruments.

Despite the fact that Lobo de Mesquita was an organist, there is no surviving manuscript of a *basso continuo* part for the Mass in E-flat. As a result, conductors in Brazil have made what they felt was a historically informed decision to record and perform the mass without organ continuo, despite the fact that organ continuo was a consistent practice in European sacred music at the time.⁷⁸ The key question is: did Lobo de Mesquita maintain the organ continuo tradition in his own sacred music?

One could argue that continuo is not needed because the harmony could complete in the instrumental parts, citing both the relative independence of the viola part and the harmonic support provided by the woodwinds and horns. However, this argument for the elimination of the *basso continuo* in the performance of the mass can be challenged

⁷⁷ Lange, *La Musica en Villa Rica*, 125.

⁷⁸ Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 80.

because 1) the *basso continuo* is consistently used in surviving autographs of all of Lobo de Mesquita's masses and in the works of both his Portuguese and Brazilian contemporaries (including Davide Perez, Marcos Portugal, Ignacio Parreras and Francisco Gomes da Rocha);⁷⁹ 2) the function of organ continuo was primarily accompanimental; 3) organ continuo may have been necessary to help keep the ensemble together; and, 4) the harmony is not always complete in the instrumental parts.

The practice of writing continuo accompaniment was part of the sacred music tradition not only among Brazilian composers but also among their Portuguese contemporaries. Musicologist Cristina Fernandes, in her research on *basso continuo* practices in Portugal, has stated that the practice was considered *pro forma* for many secular works and required for sacred music in order to accommodate the needs and ability level of the performers. Fernandes contends that there are hundreds of works in Portuguese archives, the majority of them sacred and from both Lobo de Mesquita's time and later, for which *basso continuo* provides as the fundamental harmonic support.⁸⁰ Because organ continuo was essential in Portuguese sacred music, it was, as we have seen, just as important in colonial Brazil. This fact is borne out in many sacred works by colonial composers, including those of Manuel Dias de Oliveira (c.1735-1813), Francisco Gomes da Rocha (1746-1808), and Ignacio Parreiras (1736-1790).⁸¹ In colonial Brazil,

⁷⁹ See, for example, European Music Manuscripts Before 1820 in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Section A: Music before 1740 and Sacred Music, Unit Two: Manuscripts Catalogue No. 2261-2268, 2506-2528, and Duprat, *Acervo de Manuscritos Musicais*, 58-72.

⁸⁰ Cristina Fernandes, *Devoção e Teatralidade: As Vésperas de João de Sousa Vasconcelos e a Prática Litúrgico-Musical no Portugal Pombalino* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2005), 192-95.

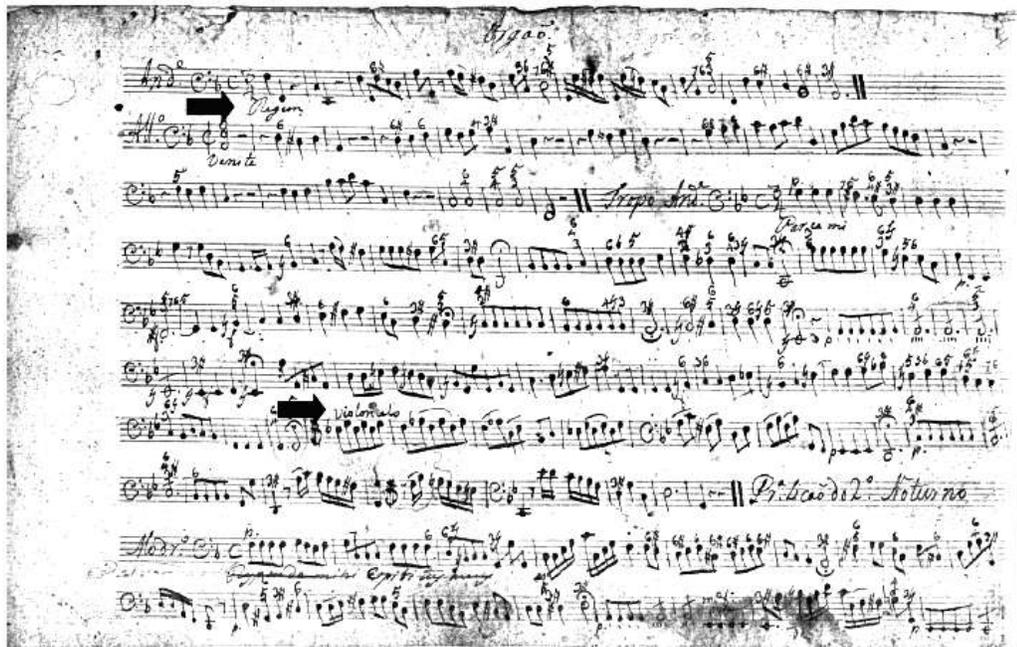
⁸¹ Gerard Béhague, *Música Mineira Colonial à Luz de Novos Manuscritos* (Salvador, Brasil: [s.n.], 1971), 2.

the Portuguese *basso continuo* treatise *Regras de Acompanhamento no Cravo, ou Orgão e ainda Tambem Para Qualquer Outro Instrumento de Vozes* (“Rules for Accompanying on Harpsichord or Organ or on Another Instrument with Voices”), written by Alberto Joseph Gomes da Silva in 1758, was one of the important treatises consistently used by Brazilian musicians.⁸² Therefore, a composer of Lobo de Mesquita’s caliber would almost certainly have maintained this tradition in all of his works, including the Mass in E-flat.

Since no figured bass manuscript for the Mass is currently known, *basso continuo* was never included in the modern editions of the work. As a result, conductors have recorded and performed the piece without organ continuo. While proof of its use has not survived, the absence of such proof does not constitute reasonable evidence that such a part was never written. That such a manuscript existed at one time is supported by a continuo part for the *Mass for Four Voices for Ash Wednesday* (1778 and his oldest known autograph), the *Regina Coeli Laetare* (1779), the *Tercio* (1783) and the *Office of the Dead* (1789), by Lobo de Mesquita all of which have survived in autograph form. In the continuo part of the *Office of the Dead*, Lobo de Mesquita specifies exactly where the organ should play and where the violoncello should play (see Example 15). In Lobo de Mesquita’s full score autograph of the *Tercio* (see Example 16), he clearly writes his figures in the bass part — a part he most likely performed himself.

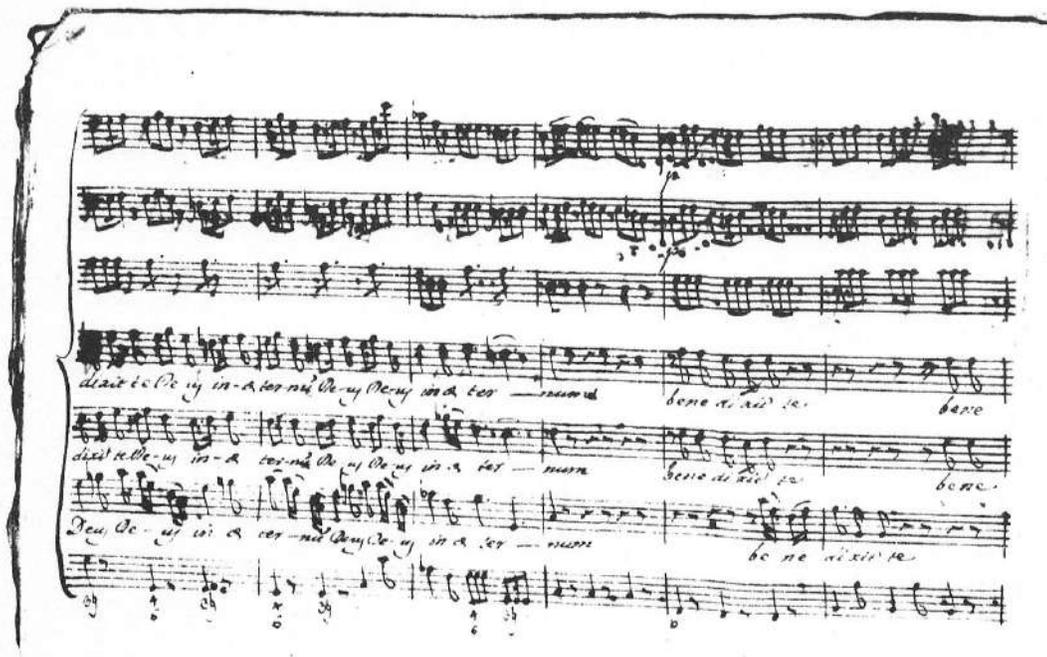
⁸² Marcelo Fagerland, “O Baixo Continuo no Brasil: A Construção dos Tratados em Língua Portuguesa” (PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2002), 221.

Example 15. Lobo de Mesquita, *Office of the Dead*, organ score with figured bass, movt. I. Scanned autograph from 1787, in the Historical Ecclesiastic Archives of the Church of Our Lady of Pilar, Ouro Preto (BR-OPmi/CP 05-06).



➡ Specific alternations between organ and cello in the continuo part.

Example 16. Lobo de Mesquita, *Tercio*, full score with figured bass, autograph from 1783, in the Mariana Music Museum (MMM CDO.01.272).



Historically, organs have been known both for accompanying large-scale church music and as the main instrument of Baroque continuo.⁸³ This was also the case for composers in colonial Minas Gerais, who used organ continuo primary for its accompanimental function, which included both supporting larger works and in a solo context for smaller daily services.⁸⁴ One of the colonial organs that has survived from Lobo de Mesquita's time is at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church in Diamantina, an instrument that Lobo de Mesquita himself played. This organ was ideally suited as an accompaniment instrument because of its reduced registrations. Therefore, it is likely that Lobo de Mesquita used it also as a continuo instrument for his sacred works.⁸⁵ According to Guimarães' thematic catalog, there are no records of organ music composed by Lobo de Mesquita.⁸⁶

Musicologist Mauricio Monteiro reinforces the notion that colonial organs were used primarily for accompaniment by confirming that, in addition to playing *basso continuo*, most instruments in colonial Minas Gerais accompanied the choir and cantor in daily religious services, one of its most important functions.⁸⁷ Today, a portative would also be suitable to accompany the Mass, blending well both with other instruments as well as voices. Indeed, the scoring and texture of the Mass allows for the use of a smaller organ. However, if a large pipe organ is the only instrument available, the conductor and

⁸³ Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (New York: Norton, 1989), 586.

⁸⁴ Handel Cecilio, interview by the author, March 11, 2012.

⁸⁵ Handel Cecilio, "O Setecentista da Igreja do Carmo de Diamantina," 48-60.

⁸⁶ Lobo de Mesquita thematic catalog by Guimarães in her dissertation "L'oeuvre de Lobo de Mesquita," 287-421.

⁸⁷ Mauricio Monteiro, "A Confraria de Santa Cecilia no Seculo XIX, *Revista do VII Festival Internacional de Musica Colonial Brasileira e Musica Antiga of Juiz de Fora* (July 1996):98.

the organist should work together to find registrations that suit the Baroque sound as well as balance with the ensemble. The accompanimental function of an organ also helps provide fuller harmony, for the *tutti* passages. This will enhance and vary the texture in different movements, an important factor in a good continuo.⁸⁸

Another reason Lobo de Mesquita almost certainly used organ continuo in performances of the Mass is that the organ was necessary, given the physical layout of the church in which the Mass was likely performed. The organ at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Diamantina, where Lobo de Mesquita regularly performed, was built at the edge and in the middle of the choir loft, with the back of the instrument facing the altar. In order for the organist to see the altar, he looked through a peephole that was built into the organ console as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Picture of the peephole in the organ of Our Lady of Mount Carmel choir loft, photos by Handel Cecilio.



⁸⁸ Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, 322.

The peephole was the only means by which Lobo de Mesquita could see the altar and control the music during the service. This position of the organ would also have made it difficult for Lobo de Mesquita to keep the musicians playing together had he not been playing continuo, since the ensemble would have been split in two, on either side of the organ. Even though music directors were responsible for “conducting” the music to keep the ensemble together, there was no baton technique at that time.⁸⁹

Having the ensemble divided in both sides, Lobo de Mesquita had to “conduct” the musicians from the center, thereby supporting the theory that he “conducted” from the *maestro al cembalo* position. This practice of conducting from the organ is still used by church musicians today. Even though, historically, an ensemble could be conducted from the keyboard, conducting from a podium would be desirable for a modern performance of the Mass in E-flat because of the number of singers and players involved.

As noted earlier, there are no records about the performance of the Mass; in fact, no records at all survive about the position of musicians in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais performances. Therefore, we do not know how singers and players were placed in the choir loft at the church. But if we take into consideration the position of the musicians in the ceiling fresco at the Saint Francis Church (Figure 3 in Chapter 2), however, it is possible to say that singers and upper strings would have been on the left side of the organist, woodwinds and horns on the right side, and the bass (playing continuo) near the organ. However, there is no proof of that positioning for the performance of the Mass in E-flat.

⁸⁹ It was Ludwig Spohr who claimed to have introduced the baton conducting in 1820.

The argument that an organ continuo part does not exist because the harmony is already complete in the instrumental parts does not apply to the Mass in E-flat. Despite the fact that Haydn's fully harmonized music still used continuo,⁹⁰ Lobo de Mesquita's harmony is not always complete in the Mass in E-flat. In the Kyrie at m.31, the chord is incomplete without the third, which is the leading tone, in this case a B-natural, an omission that would not be acceptable according to eighteenth-century voice leading rules, (see Example 17).

Example 17. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, Kyrie, m. 31, an example of incomplete harmony in the instrumental parts.

The image shows a musical score for measures 31-33 of the Kyrie in the Mass in E-flat by Lobo de Mesquita. It features two staves: Chorus and Strings. The Chorus part is in the soprano voice, with lyrics: "le - - - - - son. e - - - - - I - - - - - son. Ky - - - - - ri - - - - - e". The lyrics are written below the notes. The Chorus part starts with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The Strings part is in the bass clef and consists of a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The strings are marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic in measure 31 and a forte (*f*) dynamic in measure 33. The score is numbered 31 at the beginning of the first measure.

Several other places can be found where essential notes are missing from the chord including omitted thirds in the “Kyrie” at mm. 9 and 18; in the “Gloria” at mm. 28 and 86; and in the “Laudamus te” at mm. 77 and 90 (see Example 18).

⁹⁰ Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, 586.

Example 18. Lobo de Mesquita, Mass in E-flat, example of incomplete harmony in the instrumental parts, Laudamus te, m. 90.

The image displays a musical score for the 'Laudamus te' section of the Mass in E-flat by Lobo de Mesquita, specifically measure 90. The score is arranged in three systems. The top system is for the Soprano (S) voice, the middle for the Alto (C) voice, and the bottom for the Strings. The vocal parts are in a soprano and alto clef, respectively, and the strings are in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics 'te. gle - ri - fi - ca - - - - mus' are written below the vocal staves. The instrumental parts for the strings show a complex harmonic texture with various chords and melodic lines. Dashed lines in the string parts indicate specific harmonic elements or phrasing. The overall style is characteristic of 17th-century Baroque music.

An organ continuo part in the Mass In E-flat is therefore necessary not only as an element of historically informed performance practice, but also to fill in the harmonies where the notes of a given chord cannot be found among the instrumental or vocal parts.

Given these compelling arguments that Lobo de Mesquita used organ continuo for the Mass in E-flat, a twenty-first-century conductor preparing a historically informed performance of the work should maintain the tradition of organ accompaniment. Since there is no surviving organ continuo part for the Mass, a conductor should create a continuo realization based on the full score. Example 19 provides an example of a continuo realization for the first Kyrie.

Example 19. Lobo de Mesquita, *Mass in E-flat*, sample of continuo realization.

Mass in E-flat (Missa em Mi Bemol)

I. Kyrie

Basso Continuo

José Joaquim Emerico Lobo de Mesquita (1746(?)–1805)

Figured and Realized by Paulo Gomes

Largo

orchestra

6 4 5 3 7 $\flat 6$ 5

p

5 $\flat 6$ 4 5 3 $\flat 6$ 4 $\flat 7$ chorus

p

9 7 $\flat 6$ 5 7 7

13 **Allegro** chorus soloists $\flat 7$

f *p*

17 chorus 6 4 6 $\flat 6$ 7 $\flat 6$ 4 5 3 $\flat 6$ 4 7 7

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Example 19, continued.

2
Mass in E-flat
I. Kyrie

25
soloists
5 6 5
3 4 3
chorus
f p f

31
soloists
7 - 6 7
- 4 7
orchestra
soloists
6 b5 6
5
7 6
4 4
p f p

37
chorus
6
6
6
soloists
chorus
f p

43
soloists
chorus
tasto solo
p f

49
soloists
p

55
chorus
7 b6
- 4 4
5 7
5 6
p

Example 19, continued.

Mass in E-flat
I. Kyrie

3

61

orchestra chorus orchestra

f p f p

67

chorus soloists *tasto solo* chorus soloists chorus

f f f

73

orchestra

Detailed description: This musical score is for piano accompaniment, spanning measures 61 to 73. It is written in E-flat major (two flats) and 4/4 time. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 61-66) features a piano accompaniment with chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. Dynamics alternate between *f* and *p*. Labels 'orchestra' and 'chorus' are placed above the staff to indicate which part is playing. Fingerings are indicated with numbers 4, 5, 6, and 7. The second system (measures 67-72) continues the accompaniment. It includes a section for 'soloists *tasto solo*' in measure 68. Dynamics remain *f* and *p*. Labels 'chorus' and 'soloists' are used. The third system (measures 73-76) shows the piano accompaniment concluding with a fermata. The label 'orchestra' is present. The score ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

CONCLUSION

Lobo de Mesquita's Mass in E-flat is a historically important work that deserves broader recognition in the choral world. Its importance lies not only in its charming musical qualities and its success as a sacred work, but also in its reflection of the various musical and political conditions that influenced its creation. While, on one hand, it reflects the Catholic musical practices that came to Brazil through Portuguese missionaries, it is also a product of the burgeoning middle class in Minas Gerais and the brotherhoods that sought to shape (and were shaped by) the growing political, social, economic and cultural life of the colony. As such, a conductor who wishes to perform Lobo de Mesquita's repertoire must consider the cultural context of the specific region that will allow him/her to have informed musical decisions when studying, rehearsing and performing this colonial masterwork. Based on the work of musicologists over the last thirty years, information on performance practice is more available due to primary sources that have been discovered. This information is an essential foundation for good artistic decision-making to create a historically informed performance of the Mass in E-flat.

In order to realize a performance of the Mass in E-flat, whether authentic or contemporary, a conductor will have to make musical decisions that will best reflect the practices in use at the time the work was composed. It is hoped that, in the near future, through the continued work of Brazilian musicologists including Mary Angela Biason, Paulo Castagna, Maria Ines Guimarães, and André Cotta, Lobo de Mesquita's music will become available to larger audiences around the world.

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