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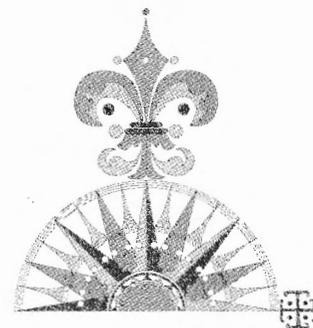
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MUSIC IN PORTUGUESE INDIA AND RENAISSANCE MUSIC HISTORIES

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Whether it is the domination of Renaissance Italy by musicians and styles from northern France, the widespread cultivation of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms in modern-day Hong Kong, Korea, and Singapore, or the revival of Mississippi Blues in England during the 1960s, the transmission of music across unlike cultures is linked to larger patterns of politics, identity, cultural conflict, and individual sanctuary. The arrival of European music in India following the landing of Vasco da Gama in 1498, and its subsequent institutionalization in Goa by the Portuguese and Jesuit communities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, offers a case in point. In recent articles I have described how the Portuguese used music to shape culture, politics, and identity in sixteenth-century Goa.¹ Specifically, I have argued that the manner in which music was used in the service of missionary activity and as part of the colonial imperatives of Portuguese explorers raises important issues about the cross-cultural transmission of Renaissance repertoires and the methodologies for studying them.² For the cultivation of European music in India not only informs about the functional role of music within Portuguese India, but can offer relevant commentary on the modes and meanings of cultural export, on the process of how colonialism is assimilated, and on the role of the arts to perform the work of culture and politics.³ My purpose here is to explore this quartet of perspectives in the following manner: first, I will give a chronological summary of music in Goa under Portuguese rule and show how the available sources have both enabled and restricted our perspectives of this topic; second, I shall provide a critical synthesis of Indo-Portuguese musical historiography, and assess the contribution of subaltern studies to this field; finally, I will suggest how this material can be integrated into our larger narratives of music history. For reasons of my own expertise (and limitations), I shall concentrate mainly on the city of Goa from the period following Vasco's arrival in 1498 to the end of the seventeenth century, which remains the least understood (though most copiously documented) period of Indo-Portuguese music history. Nevertheless, my discussion will take into account the last 200 years of music history in Goa as a model of how Goan identity is informed by its musical traditions.

I should add at this point that it remains impossible to identify the precise repertory that was sung in early Portuguese Goa, since not a single musical source of Goan provenance dating from the sixteenth to the late seventeenth century has come to light. The earliest, and so far only, extant sources consist of several books of motets, *villancicos*, and *cantigas* from the Convent of Santa Monica in Goa, dating mostly from the early eighteenth century.⁴ Other sources are said to exist in private collections and archives in Goa,⁵ but since neither the Archbishop's Palace nor private collectors have permitted widespread access to these sources – there is as yet no census catalogue either – one is forced to await a more cooperative climate. In any case, there is no indication that any codices from an earlier period are extant, and one is perhaps more likely to find sources (or at least, information about their transmission) in Portuguese archives. Fortunately, there exists a voluminous amount of archival evidence and eyewitness accounts with which one can piece together a documentary history of music in Goa from when the city came under Portuguese rule in 1510 to around the late seventeenth century. Since I have dealt with these documents in some detail elsewhere,⁶ I will provide only a summary here as a prelude to the main points I wish to address later concerning the relationship between Indo-Portuguese history and Renaissance music histories.

Music in Portuguese Goa: functional music

The diversity of musical traditions cultivated in Goa by the Portuguese can be grouped into three basic categories according to function and, to a large degree, chronology: 1) functional music; 2) ritualistic music; and 3) didactic music. I should add that these classifications are by no means exclusive to Portuguese music: all are standard components of the musical infrastructure of most European cities or court cultures of the Renaissance. But in Goa, these categories were formed outside the courtly and civic function in which they were used in Renaissance Europe. It is important to remember that Portuguese music was not formally brought to Goa by court musicians in the way of books or manuscripts, or through the important musico-poetic tradition of the troubadour. There was no ready-made *context* for European music in early Portuguese Goa outside that of dutiful and ritualistic prayer, which did not require professionally trained musicians, at least at first. It was not until the 1540s that choirmasters came to India to teach, and over a century after that before music was domesticized. Until the suppression of the Jesuits in 1759, music in Goa was concentrated largely in the hands of institutions. Where sixteenth-century Europe witnessed music printing and the subsequent creation of a consumer culture in which music circulated, music in Portuguese Goa was largely divorced from general public consumption until the creation of a Goan elite in the eighteenth century – arguably, the time of Goa’s true “renaissance” – and the rise of the *Mandó*.⁷ We still know very little about Portuguese noble life in sixteenth-century Goa, but it is clear that the court was less a locus for artistic patronage and a seat of cultural strength, than it was a symbol of privilege, and later, corruption. One did not associate artistic patronage with the economic, missionary, and military aims of Portuguese nobility in India at this time. The arts were not used in Goa for what they could offer in the way of symbolism, representation, magnificence, pedagogy, humanism, or even self-aggrandizement, nor did Portuguese noblemen of this period show interest in Indian art as collectors or scholars.⁸ Documentary testimony is almost non-existent about music as a source of purely aesthetic or auditory pleasure in sixteenth-century Goa. Since it was managed mainly by missionaries, diplomats, merchants, and soldiers in the service of Christianity and nation, music cannot be thought of as “culture” but, rather, as a tool that was used in order to perform the work of the Portuguese.

With this as a conceptual background, let us return now to the categories of music themselves. The first, *functional* music, clearly served varied purposes in the expeditions of Vasco da Gama and his followers. It denotes unwritten music used for signaling, warning, marching, announcing, diplomacy (which is sometimes associated with gift-giving), and even as a type of weaponry by proving strength through sonic clamor, as noted in the diary entries of Fernão Mendes Pinto.⁹ Vasco’s boats included “loud” outdoor instruments, such as trumpets and drums,¹⁰ which continued a practice of ambassadorial protocol established during the expeditions to Africa by his predecessors, as we know from Ramusio.¹¹ According to an entry in the journal of Vasco da Gama, after being greeted by natives playing flutes, Vasco ordered his own trumpeters (perhaps as many as four) to play and dancing ensued between both groups.¹² As an instrument associated with the military, the use of the trumpet during introductions is particularly revealing of Portuguese identity as it was impressed upon natives during their initial encounter. Not surprisingly, Vasco’s journal records trumpets (along with flags) being taken ashore during the arrival in Calicut.¹³

Another aspect of functional music is the custom of giving instruments as gifts. Continuing, once again, a well-established convention used by explorers, Portuguese boats of the sixteenth century routinely bartered with native leaders using portable organs, which they presented to them as wonders of European technology. The first organ probably arrived in India in 1500 in this manner, and both organs and harpsichords were carried as gifts on Portuguese expeditions from Goa to Ethiopia.¹⁴ Intended initially as a traditional diplomatic overture, the gift-giving of instruments planted the seed for entirely new musical developments. The use of the harmonium

in Hindu music, for example, is an outgrowth of the introduction of organs from this period. On Francis Xavier's missionary travels, his gifts included vihuelas and a clavichord, and some of these instruments were later represented in Goan and Japanese art.¹⁵

Portuguese ritual: chant and polyphony

The second and largest category of music, *ritualistic*, comprises both memorized and notated music intended for Catholic services in the new churches (for mass and the offices) of Portuguese India, as well as for private worship, confraternal ritual among ecclesiastical orders, the observance of special feast days, processions, ceremonies, baptism, and evangelization. Archival documents almost never identify the composer or particular piece being sung;¹⁶ fortunately, they are often clearer about general musical style, specifying the use of either *canto-chão* (chant), characteristic of the period before 1540, or *canto d'orgão* (polyphony, sometimes with organ), which was being practised in Goa by 1545.¹⁷ This distinction seems to have been particularly important to note by the correspondents of this period.

The earliest Portuguese ships that arrived in India most probably carried small books of chant to use for informal prayer and onboard celebrations of the mass. When church construction was initiated in Goa and elsewhere in Portuguese India, it became necessary to augment this portable repertory with larger books for the observation of the mass and daily offices. During the first two decades of the sixteenth century, documents record the requests for large books of chant for the new Goan church of St. Catherine as well as for churches in Cochin and Cananor. Regarding performance, a letter to the King of Portugal in 1514 mentions that ten clerks sang masses from these books "in the best manner that they could," which suggests that few, if any, of them were trained singers – a problem that was rectified when polyphony was introduced in Goa during the 1540s and formal training for young singers was established. On the order of King João III, parish schools were founded in Goa and her neighboring villages in 1545, which contributed to a fairly homogeneous musical training by the middle of the seventeenth century, and in 1548 the King sent nine young musicians to Goa, where they were among the first choir directors.¹⁸ Through the efforts of Gaspar Barzeu, a Dutchman who became the Rector of St. Paul's College, mid-sixteenth century Goa boasted a strong tradition of sung masses with organ, whose stylistic orientation was dictated initially by Portuguese tastes, but was inevitably adapted to Indian circumstances of vocal ranges and ability. In smaller cities like Bassein and Cochin, the singing of polyphony remained problematic due to the lack of choirmasters, the difficulty of training native singers, and the subsequent cost of importing singers from elsewhere. Chant continued to be used for most occasions, with polyphony used for Mass on Sundays and particular feast days, occasionally with instruments.¹⁹ Many of these feasts involved elaborate processions, which called for more opulent forms of music, and on certain occasions texts were sung in one of the local languages. Given the problem of finding qualified singers, the frequent mention of wind instruments suggests that they were used to reinforce weak lower voices, which is, in fact, one of the roles played by recorders in New World polyphony. Documents are scarce for information about private worship and confraternal music, excluding that cultivated by the Jesuits, to which we will now turn our attention.²⁰

Music and its 'mission': the case of St. Paul's College, Goa

Our final subdivision is *didactic* music, a category that comes into existence with the founding of the Goan Jesuit College of St. Paul shortly after the arrival of Francis Xavier in Goa in 1542. Modelled after the Roman College, St. Paul's was the important institutional arm of the Jesuit operation in India, dedicated to training newly-converted boys of all races towards the formation

of a native clergy. The decisive and immediate influence of the Jesuits in Goa also led to the building of the two most important churches in the city, the Sé Cathedral (1562-1620), and the church of Bom Jesus (1594-1605), the latter emerging as the central musical institution in Goa by the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Jesuits played an important role in the development of polyphony in Goa through the comprehensive musical training that was offered at their college. The significant expense the Jesuits undertook to support music was justified by their reasoning that polyphonic masses could be more effective than spoken ones in attracting new converts to Christianity. For the same reason, masses at the College often included the participation of Indian instruments, a practice that conformed to one of the more successful Jesuit methods of adopting local customs, language, and dress to their missionary techniques. Documents of events at St. Paul's frequently mention the use of harpsichords, shawms, and organs, along with Indian instruments.²¹ Thus, it was in the house of the Jesuits – those obedient church soldiers determined to convert the “heathen” – that Indian and Portuguese cultures crossed paths through syncretic music-making.

Tridentine reforms swept through Goa in the 1570s, resulting in an attempt to expunge the secular and indigenous elements that had crept into the services, and arrest the considerable expenditures for musical training. The main arguments for banishing music were that, 1) a proper musical program required skilled choirmasters, but these were too expensive and difficult to find; 2) in theory while the main purpose for singing was its role in attracting new Christians, in practice it was not successful, and 3) singing was attracting undesirable people to the church. Jesuit authorities were themselves divided as to how far the reforms should go, offering proposals that ranged from abolishing singing to preserving the *status quo*. By the 1590s descriptions of singing and instrumental music at the College are indeed scarce, suggesting that some of the more conservative initiatives were adopted. By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the anti-music winds had shifted favorably in the other direction. In Sebastiani's description of a concert at the Jesuit church of Bom Jesus, he compared the performance of a work by Carissimi by seven choirs to concerts he had heard in Rome.²² He is astonished at the high musical proficiency of Goans, which testifies to a strong pedagogical program, and further mentions that every village contains a good choir, supplemented by organ, viola, and harp. In short, we know that by the middle of the seventeenth century the musical forces in Goa were capable of performing large works of the Italian Baroque for soloists, choir, and instruments. Moreover, the archives of St. Paul's College list regular expenses for a harpist, viol player, and organist into the first decade of the eighteenth century, confirming the presence of a basic music personnel common to most Spanish and Portuguese courts. Musical training in Goan music schools continues throughout the eighteenth century, even after the departure of the Jesuits.

Closed doors and open roads

Due to the absence of extant sources, it is impossible to be more precise about the style of polyphony used in Goa during the period I have just covered. Documents often mention the mixture of voices and instruments, the participation of native instruments, and the singing of *cantigas*,²³ which suggest a locally-bred style of polyphony²⁴ rather than an imported European repertory, as we know was used in some colonial outposts in the New World, such as Guatemala.²⁵ On the other hand, the references to motets and polychoral music invite at least a stylistic comparison with current European genres, which can be supported by Sebastiani's valuable description.

The historiographical ramifications of writing about a musical tradition *without* extant music – and one which is too distant from us for oral traditions to be of much analytical use – would appear to close the door to an assessment of Indo-Portuguese music of this period. To be sure, a representative sampling of musical sources could allow us to gauge the strength of Portuguese

traditions brought to India as well as the syncretic styles that are alluded to by the documents. As documents of performance, extant scores would illuminate issues of cross-cultural influence, musical skill, compositional style, liturgical practice, and even domestic traditions; as modern editions of performance, they would be some of our most interesting sources of music history, offering valuable insights into the history of colonial patronage. On the other hand, the surviving documents allow for an assessment of the political role played by music. Goan archival records – consisting of travelogues, eyewitness accounts, the voluminous, highly propagandist, but fascinating Jesuit documentation,²⁶ and the annual letters of the Province of India – often reveal issues that strictly musical sources cannot. When discourse about music is channeled through the filters of Portuguese priests, viceroys, missionaries and diplomats, a door opens into the political and cultural priorities of music in the service of the Portuguese nation. In many ways, Goa is richer in documentation of this kind than most European traditions. In every category of music-making that I have described above, music is empowered to perform the role of politics: functional music is linked to acts of diplomacy and power; ritualistic music is augmented by polyphony when it proves successful in attracting new converts; and at the Jesuit College, didactic music is initially integrated – stylistically and culturally – as a way to train a native clergy, but it inevitably needs to be “cleansed” through reforms as the Jesuit order assumes a more militant and nationalistic dimension. In other words, the *absence* of Goan sources actually allows for a different reflection of the way our Renaissance histories are managed.

The tradition of source studies as it continues to exist in Renaissance musicology has been largely unconcerned with contextual matters and issues of function. This is because, until recently, the history of Western music has been traditionally narrated (and continues to be largely taught) by musicologists in somewhat Darwinian terms, in which music develops along predictable organic and evolutionary lines, one style superseding another through its inherent progress. The concept of Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, and Romantic music following one another has been primarily shaped by the notion that its chapters are determined, that the arc of its historical trajectory is aimed, fulfilled and inevitable. (One wonders how differently the Renaissance would be studied if the “Baroque” did not have to “follow” it.) Within this formulation the larger contextual questions of *who* used music and *why* have aroused surprisingly little interest among musicologists (though they are central questions in the more anthropologically-oriented field of ethnomusicology). Studies of primary sources were dedicated mostly to ownership, philological issues, repertory, and the arbitration of related sources towards preparing the “authoritative score.” In short, even if sources from sixteenth-century Goa were extant (and available), their significance might be undermined by the disciplines and analytical priorities of how such sources are interpreted by Western musicology.

This problem, studied on a larger historiographical scale by Chakrabarty, produces a situation in which even with a concerted effort to amplify the voices of subaltern others, in the end it is our vision of *Europe* that changes: “The dominance of ‘Europe’ as the subject of all histories is a part of a much more profound theoretical condition under which historical knowledge is produced in the third world.”²⁷ It is, of course, encouraging to see musicology’s more frequent engagement with issues of colonial and post-colonial histories,²⁸ and that these fields have been “legitimized” as of late.²⁹ Still, the musicological voice is predominantly European-trained, and for the most part, dismissive (or ignorant) of the musical historiography as it has been written by native scholars. This is a lacuna that movements like the Subaltern Collective have attempted to fill in its validation of the Indian peasant voice. According to Chakrabarty:

That Europe works as a silent referent in historical knowledge itself becomes obvious in a highly ordinary way. There are at least two everyday symptoms of the subalternity of non-Western, third-world histories. Third world historians feel a need to refer to works

in European history; historians of Europe do not feel any need to reciprocate. Whether it is an Edward Thompson, a Le Roy Ladurie, a George Duby, a Carlo Ginzburg, a Lawrence Stone, a Robert Darnton, or a Natalie Davis – to take but a few names at random from our contemporary world – the “greats” and the models of the historian’s enterprise are always at least culturally “European.” “They” produce their work in relative ignorance of non-Western histories, and this does not seem to affect the quality of their work. This is a gesture, however, that “we” cannot return. We cannot afford an equality or symmetry of ignorance at this level without taking the risk of appearing “old-fashioned” or “outdated.”³⁰

Speaking for a Goan past: Indo-Portuguese perspectives

How, then, is Portuguese music in Goa seen from within? So far we have narrated a history from Portuguese documentary sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and I have proposed these as valuable, and at times extraordinary, evidence of the political uses to which music served the Portuguese in India. My reading of these documents pulls at the threads of music’s role in preparing India for cultural and religious conquest, and its didactic function within the politics of religion. Seen from the eyes of Indo-Portuguese scholars, however, many of them Goan, this period can be interpreted differently. Their narrative recognizes above all assimilation (not conquest) through education, ceremony, and language on the one hand, and points to the strength of indigenous folk traditions on the other. It should be pointed out that neither systematic documentary evidence nor musical sources are the basis for this history, though neither is excluded. Rather, a Goan music history grounds the tension between conquest and evangelization at a location that Goans feel privileged to occupy: namely, at the crossroads between Hindu and Catholic, whose paths inevitably lead back to Sanskrit and Latin, respectively, and further back to Indian classical music and Gregorian chant. Goan music thus has a lineage that begins before the period of the discoveries, and the Portuguese presence in Goa has been understood by its music historians as contributing to an accumulation of traditions, not as a deracination of previous ones.³¹

But, like Western musical historiography, it is a history that is still pretty much formed around a Goan elite – though certainly not an aristocracy – with educated, privileged experiences, and for whom Portuguese lineage, or Portuguese adoption, was beneficial to some degree. Thus, it resembles the methodology noted by Chakrabarty: a joining together of colonial, personal, and indigenous, in which Indo-Portuguese music history imitates the Western model, allowing it to participate in the *genre* of music history. Nevertheless, the process of assimilation that is accepted aprioristically by Goan writers is convincing, and in this fashion Goan music history – that is, studies written by Goans, often for Goans – has shown the capability of bending far enough to accommodate new interests while remaining sufficiently rigid to underlie the basis of their musical identity. History is thus an active, kinetic, and above all, communal project, untroubled by its brief historiography, and accepting of its innate plurality, in which *Mandó*, Renaissance motets, and the large repertory of songs in Konkani (those different from the *Mandó*) are part of the same history.

The idea of a *communal* music history requires some comment, for it is a concept that is unusual in the western musicological lexicon. The closest parallel today would be the recent interest in “urban cultures,” which denotes a less hegemonic, “uncourtly” history where attention is focused on popular manifestations of high culture, and on the importance of public ritual, print culture, and audience. For musicologists, it is the closest we have come to a social history of music in the Renaissance, though there is still much that we do not know about domestic settings and local repertoires. Goan accounts of their music history have traditionally stressed communal genres of music-making such as choral singing, processions, church feasts,

and social genres like the *Mandó*. Thus, church ritual and public expressions are assimilated as a unified, *communal* history.

The idea of a communal history is supported by Goan musicologist Micael Martins, who summarizes the evolution of music in Goa as the result of the following three factors: 1) the activities of choirmasters and teachers, first trained in Goa in 1545, and their role in eventually establishing an indigenous repertory of sacred and secular music by the nineteenth century; 2) the impact of local instrument-making and imports of instruments; and 3) the establishment of a local printing press for music. All three of Martins' categories place primacy on public rather than on private patronage, and identify public forums – not private circulation – for the dissemination of music. Implicit in his first category is the historical importance of musical pedagogy in parish schools and its institutional infrastructure, thereby validating the Portuguese imposition of parish schools in 1545 as part of their missionary project. European traditions are seen as a necessary pedagogical basis for the existence of an indigenous repertory of newly-composed polyphony. In the cultivation of secular music, a Goan musical élite in the nineteenth century formed an audience for dance bands and orchestral groups in the 1890s, which replaced the military bands that had been in use until the disbanding of the military battalions in 1871. Incubated by an élite already exposed to the popular European dances from the 1830s (such as the Polka, Quadrille and Waltz), secular music flourished within Goan communities and provided a basis for an identity of assimilation. Some genres like the *Mandó* even acted as sanctuaries for the cultivation of an Indo-Portuguese identity.

With his second category, instrument-making, Martins touches on one of the most important means of musical democratization. The presence of instrument-makers and importers testifies to the rise in the domestic use of music, which is an important context for the expression of personal identity and assimilation in the home. Instrument-makers succeed in homogenizing culture to a significant degree. The enormous importation and production of violins in India during the early twentieth century, for example, led to a more active relationship with European classical music among Indians – itself one of the most important sources of identity among English-speaking Indians after the first World War;³² but at the same time the violin was appropriated by Indian classical musicians, and was used as well in folk and village music. Finally, Martins' third category, the local printing-press, performs the most important role in promoting Goan assimilation and cultural identity through its dissemination of a local repertory written in Portuguese, Konkani, and Latin, aimed at Goa's colonial, indigenous, and Christian communities. In short, Goa's music history is neatly articulated in these three categories. It is a culturally inclusive, temporally homogeneous, "public" history with diverse community traditions at its base.³³

Portugal, Goa, and Renaissance Histories

In this paper, I have presented two views of Goan music history. The first relies exclusively on documentary evidence written mostly by Portuguese informants, all of whom administered the institutionalization and certain controls on the practice of music in the colony, such as limitations placed on the practice of indigenous styles. It reads as a chronicle of how music was used functionally by the Portuguese during their colonization of Goa, and how it operated within the Portuguese and Jesuit missionary program. As a product of Western historical dynamics, musical styles are rendered obsolete when they can no longer function within their prescribed role – at least, this is how a documentary history would conclude.

The second history shows how music historiography in Goa has positioned itself as an assimilator of cultures and communities. Written by informants involved in the practice and administration of music in Goa, Portuguese history is presented as a chapter of a longer narrative,

in which styles can coexist and continue. The main emphasis here is on a communal history in which musical styles are not prescribed by historical time and place nor limited to specific function, but are arbitrated by experience. How can these two views be reconciled, and what can they offer to the study of Renaissance music history? One view presents music in the service of politics, the other presents music history as communal, assimilative, and a source of identity.

These two histories dramatize the conflicts of present-day music history. Reacting to the former history, informed solely by the voice of the empowered colonizer, the modern scholar is pushed to dismantle the structure of history altogether, citing the monological voice of the Portuguese informants and the way they speak “for” India as an unacceptable collusion with imperialist scholarship. In the second history, the voice has switched to the side of the other, but now the assimilationist stance is too facile, the employment of Portuguese styles too complacent. This history, too, could be interpreted as a product from the pen, if not the hand, of the Western historian. Consequently, in the Indian scholar’s attempt to narrate a history of assimilation, he is in peril of losing his membership to the club of the Other.

It is perhaps more fruitful to accept the second account as an example of a mixed-genre history, one that employs the subjectivity of a memoir with selected, landmark, documentary “facts” that represent important historical junctures. Thus, the Indian writings are in many ways like Renaissance treatises: they present a non-consecutive view of past events while seeking historical reasons for the tangible products of their own culture. It is a selective, not a comprehensive, history – for Goan music history is not based solely on documentary evidence – but it is a selection that is guided by the need to identify with the inheritance of the past. Thus, the Indian writings provide a history that helps divert the flow of information from the exclusive lines of Portuguese officials and route it towards the public manifestations of the same culture – a moving beyond the mutually exclusive categories of the sacred and secular, towards a mixed-genre vernacular. While it is impossible to write a history without historical sources, a history of music in Portuguese India cannot be narrated simply by documents, which are far from an organic chronicle of events. Rather, documents operate as a source for other music histories written by those who are responding to the ongoing and *changing* need for identity and re-identification with their Portuguese past.

NOTES

- 1 See Victor Anand Coelho, "Cross-Cultural Repertoires and the Politics of Music in Renaissance Goa" in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow*, ed. D. Crawford (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1999); V. Coelho, "Connecting Histories: Portuguese Music in Renaissance Goa," in *Goa and Portugal: their Cultural Links*, ed. C. Borges, S. J. and Helmut Feldmann. Xavier Centre of Historical Research Series No. 7 (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1997), pp. 131-47; for a study of how India is represented and gendered in the Jesuit-patronized music theatre, see Victor Anand Coelho, "Kapsberger's *Apotheosis...* of Francis Xavier (1622) and the Conquering of India," in *The Work of Opera: Genre, Nationhood, and Sexual Difference*, ed. R. Dellamora & D. Fischlin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 27-47.
- 2 On the absence and presence of cross-cultural approaches in musicology, see Dieter Christiansen, "Cross-Cultural Processes in Music: Directions of Research," in Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, ed., *Portugal e o Mundo: O Encontro de Culturas na Música [Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music]* (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1997), pp. 53-59; see also, *ibid.*, Paulo Ferreira de Castro's article, "Musical Nationalism, or the Ambiguities of Portugueseness," pp. 163-70.
- 3 Gerard Béhague has formed a similar *problématique* in his discussion of Portuguese colonialism in "The Global Impact of Portuguese Music and Musical Institutions: A Preliminary Sketch," in *Portugal e o Mundo*, p. 74.
- 4 Manuel Morais is currently preparing a study of these works. The manuscripts are housed in the Archbishop's Palace in Panaji, Goa.
- 5 See Mira Mascarenhas, "Impact of the West on Goan Music," in *Goa: Cultural Trends*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji: Casa Packmaster, 1988), pp. 189-204.
- 6 See note 1.
- 7 An excellent study of the cultural, historical, and sociological background of the *Mandó* is in Susana Sardo, "The Reception of European Music in Asia: The Case of *Mandó* in Goa," *Review of Culture* [Instituto de Cultura de Macau] 26 (1995), pp. 48-52.
- 8 It is interesting to compare the appreciation of Indian art demonstrated by the early sixteenth-century Florentine merchant Andrea Corsali with the general Portuguese ignorance or rejection of it: see Marco Spallanzani, *Mercanti Fiorentini nell' Asia Portoghese* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1997), p. 30.
- 9 See *The Travels of Fernão Mendes Pinto*, ed. and trans. by Rebecca D. Catz (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 14; for other examples of functional music drawn from different sources, see Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Sounds from the Discoveries: Musical Aspects of the Portuguese Expansion," *Review of Culture* [Instituto de Cultura de Macau] 26 (1995), pp. 5-22. For a list of "sonic" references in Pinto's diary, see Maria de S. José Corte-Real, "Music in Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*," in *Portugal e o Mundo*, pp. 185-200.
- 10 The normal Renaissance differentiation between "haut" and "bas" instruments applies here, the former including reed and loud wind instruments, along with percussion, the latter designating plucked-string and soft keyboard instruments.
- 11 See Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), p. 96.
- 12 This event is recorded as having taken place in the bay of Sam Brás, east of the Cape of Good Hope. It is possible, too, that the entry is an example of the art of "textual" diplomacy through exaggeration. For the entire passage, see *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499*, ed. and trans. E. G. Ravenstein (London: Hakluyt Society, 1898), p. 11; on the number of trumpeters on board, see *ibid.*, p. 174.
- 13 *ibid.*, p. 51.
- 14 See Woodfield, *English Musicians*, p. 96. On the example of organs as technology, see Coelho, "Cross-Cultural Repertoires."
- 15 See the reproduction of a nanban screen showing a Japanese female musician playing a vihuela (not a lute, as stated in the catalogue), in Michael Cooper, S. J., et al, *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo & Palo Alto, CA: Kodansha International, Ltd., 1971), p. 166.
- 16 An exception is the extraordinary account of Giuseppe Sebastiani [Joseph de Santa Maria], an emissary of Pope Alexander VII, describing polychoral music by Carissimi he heard in Goa; for a transcription, see Coelho, "Kapsberger's *Apotheosis...* of Francis Xavier," p. 43.
- 17 See Coelho, "Cross-Cultural Repertoires."
- 18 See Francisco Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da companhia de Jesus da Provincia da Goa* (Bombaim: Typografia Examiner, 1890), I, p. 47, cited in Pia de Menezes Rodrigues, "Music Education in Goa," in *Winds of Fire: The Music and Musicians of Goa*, [ed.] Marió Cabral e Sá (New Delhi: Promilha, 1997), p. 318. For another account of music in Goa written to some degree through first-hand experience, see Micael Martins, "Musica Sacra and its Impact on Goa," in *Winds of Fire*, pp. 238-46, which I discuss at some length later in this article.
- 19 The principal feasts cited in the documents are the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), Corpus Christi (29 May), the Feast of the Circumcision (1 January), the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January), Holy Week, and the Feast of 11,000 Virgins or the Feast of St. Ursula (21 October), which was the main feast of the College of St. Paul.
- 20 For one document, perhaps representative, about private chapels, see Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Sounds from the Discoveries," pp. 14-15.
- 21 These are usually described only as "instruments of the land," but probably included bamboo flutes and percussion instruments, such as the Goan drum, *gumott*.
- 22 See note 16, above.
- 23 Kenneth David Jackson has studied the Portuguese *cantigas* repertory as a product of Indo-Portuguese assimilation whose roots are found in the sixteenth century; see his "The Indo-Portuguese Folklore Text: The *Cantigas*," *Review of Culture* [Instituto de Cultura de Macau] 26 (1995), pp. 59-71.
- 24 Goan motets, for example, were sung only at Lent and employed instruments. See Mascarenhas, "Impact of the West on Goan Music," p. 193.
- 25 See Paul Borg, "The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1985); Robert Snow, "Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala," *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicologia* 3 (1987), pp. 153-202; Robert Stevenson, "Guatemala Cathedral to 1803," *Inter-American Music Review* 2 (1980), pp. 27-71; and Robert Stevenson,

- “Pedro de Escobar: Earliest Portuguese Composer in New World Colonial Music Manuscripts”, *Inter-American Music Review* 11 (1990), pp. 1-22. For a splendid edition of one of the Guatemala manuscripts, see Robert Snow, ed., *A New World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- 26 Many of these documents have been published in the following: *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado Português do Oriente*. Ed. António da Silva Rego. 12 vols. (Lisbon: Pela Atica, SARL, 1947); and *Documenta Indica: Missiones Orientales*, ed. Joseph Wicki, 13 vols. (Rome: 1948). For a short but valuable critical description of Portuguese source materials relative to the history of the Jesuits, see the bibliographical note in Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 683-89.
- 27 Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for ‘Indian’ Pasts?” *Representations* 37 (1992), p. 2.
- 28 At the 63rd Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, three sessions were devoted to issues such as “New World Institutions and Practices,” “New World and the Postcolony,” and “East Meets West.”
- 29 See Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- 30 “Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History,” p. 2.
- 31 For a study of one of many Goan musical forms that retains its pre-Christian traditions, see Pramod Kale, “Essentialist and Epochalist Elements in Goan Popular Culture: A Case Study of *Tiatr*,” in *Winds of Fire*, pp. 247-86.
- 32 An excellent example of tension between this cultivated European identity among Indians and traditional values is the passage Chakrabarty (“Postcoloniality,” pp.9-10) quotes from Nirad Chaudhuri’s autobiography when the author remembers the experience on his nuptial bed with his arranged wife. Paralyzed by fear that she would not reciprocate his love for European classical music (nor appreciate his spending habits on long-playing records of the same), the consummation of his marriage becomes a tortured defense of his identity, linked through the situation to his manhood: “... she came up and sat by my side on the edge of the bed... She took up one of my arms, felt it and said: “You are so thin, I shall take good care of you.” I did not thank her, and I do not remember that beyond noting the words I even felt touched. The horrible suspense about [her opinion of] European music had reawakened in my mind, and I decided to make a clean breast [!] of it at once and look the sacrifice, if it was called for, straight in the face and begin romance on such terms as were offered to me. I asked her timidly after a while: “Have you listened to any European music?” She shook her head to say “No.” Nonetheless, I took another chance and this time asked: “Have you heard the name of a man called Beethoven?” She nodded and signified “Yes.” I was reassured, but not wholly satisfied. So I asked yet again: “Can you spell the name?” She said slowly: “B, E, E, T, H, O, V, E, N.” I felt very encouraged... and dozed off.”
- 33 On the life of Martins, see José Pereira, “Major Musical Achievements of Micael Martins,” in *Comemoration Volume* [80th Birthday] (Saleete, 1994) pp. 27-33.