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CONNECTING HISTORIES

Portuguese Music in Renaissance Goa

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In that city [of Goa] I enjoyed many times listening to very beautiful music for the feast days, especially that of St. Ignatius Loyola, which was celebrated with seven choirs and the sweetest *sinfonie* [instrumental pieces or sections] in the Professed House of the Fathers of the Society, where lies the body of St. Francis Xavier; and when I said that it was like being in Rome, I was told that I was not mistaken, because the composition was that of the famous Carissimi that was brought to that place. I cannot believe how musically proficient are the Canarini, and with what ease they perform.

There is no town or village of the Christians which does not have in its church an organ, harp, and a viola, and a good choir of musicians who sing for festivities, and for holy days, Vespers, masses and litanies, and with much cooperation and devotion. . .¹

The influence of Portuguese artistic and cultural traditions in Goa between the landing of Vasco da Gama and the middle of the 17th century has been studied chiefly in terms of the craft, architectural and painting industries.² This has been valuable (though incomprehensive) in tracing some of the cross-cultural exports of Portuguese cultures and aesthetic tastes to India, identifying systems of patronage, and following certain Portuguese cultural traditions as they evolved through contacts with indigenous Goan culture, like the mando. The spread of Portuguese courtly and liturgical musical traditions to Goa have, on the other hand, never been examined, despite the richness of Portuguese polyphony as represented by the Coimbra and Evora schools from about the middle

of the 16th century,³ and what would appear to have been an essential need for music, singers, and other musicians for use in the cathedrals, churches and secular events of Renaissance Goa. To expect the presence, then, of a Portuguese, or at least European, musical tradition in Goa between 1550 and 1650 is entirely justified within the context of the intensity of Portuguese religious activities and ceremonies in Goa, the rapid and systematic construction of churches and convents, the cultural impact of Portuguese nobility and *Padroado* during the Goan Renaissance and early Goan Baroque and Portugal's emergence during the 16th century as an active, if peripheral, centre of music.

Musicological neglect of this area until now is not difficult to understand. Despite the richness of Portuguese and Spanish Renaissance music, scholars of Iberian music have worked in a vacuum for years due to the general Anglo-Franco and Italo-centric canons that have persisted in musicology. Portuguese musicology has not instigated this kind of work until recently, and Indian music historians have generally not focussed their attention to music outside the Indian classical tradition; western music history in India is still largely dependent on the academic work of the British. But a study of Renaissance music in Goa faces even more daunting obstacles than simply historiographical ones. Reconstructing the musical tradition of a city as well documented as Renaissance Ferrara is already difficult, let alone researching the culture of a city whose Renaissance culture was virtually abandoned when the capital was moved to Panaji. More importantly, there has been no discovery yet of any primary 16th or 17th century musical sources whose provenance or repertory can be traced specifically to Goa.⁴ That manuscripts and printed books of music were used in Goa is clear, but if they were prepared in Portugal and then brought over by the Portuguese fleet, there is unfortunately no trace of them anymore in Goa. If this music was returned to Portugal, as is very possible, much of it may have perished in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 which destroyed most of the contents of King João IV's library⁵. It is certain that not all music sung in Goan churches or colleges was imported from Portugal; some of it must have been copied and composed in Goa, as it was in other colonial outposts in the New World. But we are still in the dark about music scriptoria and scribes in 16th century Goa, and there is no evidence of any music published in Goa during this period either. In short, until actual

sources of music are discovered the task of studying this musical culture is like trying to reconstruct the ground plan, size, architecture, influences, and decorations of a church that was razed to the ground, and on whose site has seen some four centuries of subsequent buildings.

The reconstruction of the Portuguese Renaissance musical culture as it took hold on Goan soil must therefore rely at this stage on archival work and other documentary evidence taken from the usual sources we are familiar with in this field: 16th and 17th century travelogues; eyewitness accounts by travelers and other observers; dispatches from viceroys and other diplomatic correspondence; the voluminous Jesuit documentation; and the annual letters of the Province of India. Fortunately, this information is abundant and revealing enough to make this a worthwhile occasion for me to present some of the findings I have made with this material over the past few years, and form some tentative conclusions. In this contribution I shall provide a sketch of Portuguese music in Goa until about the end of the 16th century as revealed by documentary evidence, as well as discuss why this material is important and how it can be enhanced through its relationship with the parallel fields of cultural and political history, liturgical history, patronage, and the newer modes of discourse in the area of post-colonialism.

Although archival work had traditionally served as the foundation for studies on Renaissance musical cultures, as recently as a decade ago it was limited to the major cities and composers of the European tradition. Musical traditions beyond this perimeter, such as in Asia, the ancient New World, and even parts of Eastern Europe, were considered to be the territory of ethno-musicologists—oral traditions that are, for the most part, still alive. But the gradual erosion of the western canon that has been taking place in western scholarship has exposed both a strong interest in the cultures of so-called “others”, and a global awareness of how the European cultural hegemony is tied up with its colonial strategies. The Columbus anniversary, too, focused attention on those cultures that evolved in confrontation and assimilation with the manifest destiny of European discoverers.

Consequently, several scholars in recent years have embarked on or completed projects similar to mine, which show the extent to which Renaissance European musical traditions were transmitted thousands of miles away along the routes of exploration. Alfred

Lemmon, drawing on Jesuit correspondence and New World documents, has examined the use of music among the Aztecs following the Jesuit arrival there in 1572,⁶ though one must be careful about accepting his statements about how willfully the Aztecs accepted the music brought from Europe. Robert Snow and Paul Borg have found a large cache of manuscripts copied in Guatemala containing mainstream Renaissance polyphony by such composers as the Spanish Morales, the Portuguese Pedro Escobar and Gaspar Fernandes, as well as works by Josquin des Prés, Jean Mouton and others.⁷ It is extraordinary to think that the same music might have been sung simultaneously in Evora, Guatemala Cathedral and the Sé in Goa, but this could have been the case. Fernandes, who was the composer at Evora Cathedral, emigrated like other Spanish and Portuguese composers, to the New World sometime in the 1590s, which suggests that it is also likely that Portuguese composers themselves may have ended up in Goa, not just their music. It should be remembered that it is due to the existence of musical sources that the extent of Guatemala's importance as a musical centre can be so precisely documented. This is not the case with Ian Woodfield's recent study of music and musicians on the English maritime campaigns.⁸ Woodfield focuses not on sources of music (since the English were not missionaries, their musical needs were different from the Portuguese) but on more sociological topics that include the role of music aboard ships, the use of musicians as ambassadors, the presentation of instruments as gifts of goodwill to indigenous peoples, and the functional musical repertoires—signaling, cadences, the changing of a watch on a ship—that were used for essential activities. In many ways, these roles run parallel to the use of music by the earliest Portuguese explorers in India, and the categories of music-making he describes are applicable to other cultures, like Goa, in which musical sources themselves are lacking. In summarizing the Portuguese musical culture in Goa before 1650, three categories of music-making emerge that will be useful for which to organize the information that survives:

1. *Functional music*: Largely improvised and probably standardized music used for processions, marching, signaling, ceremonies and occasionally dancing. In general this music was played by loud instruments (Renaissance instruments were usually divided into two categories,

“loud” [reeds, brass, percussion] and “soft” [strings, keyboard]). References to this sort of music appear in documents throughout the period here being studied. This music generally would have been played from memory, rather than from written sources.

2. *Sacred music*: Music used for church services, the celebration of feast days and for the daily office. Two types of music are cited: (1) *Canto-Chão*, or chant (monophony), which is cited regularly in documents before around 1540, and (2) *Canto d'orgão* (polyphony), cited more frequently after about 1540. This music was sung and played from either manuscripts or prints, and books containing both plain chant and polyphony are mentioned often in the documents.
3. *The musical activities at the College of St. Paul*: This must be regarded as a tentative third category, since the music taught and performed here was not patronized specifically by the Portuguese but the Society of Jesus, which had its own aesthetic and pedagogical programme involving music. Nevertheless, the college was supported by Portuguese funding, and as such can be considered as a direct beneficiary of the Portuguese presence in Goa. The music at the college consisted of occasional music for specific events, as well as more elaborate music to accompany plays and ceremonies.

As on the English ships of almost a century later, Vasco da Gama's boats included trumpeters for signaling duties, marches and certain ceremonies. This continues a practice that was already used by the Portuguese explorers in Africa in the mid-fifteenth century, as we know from Ramusio's account of these voyages.⁹ He describes one of Alvise da Cadomosto's soldiers playing the bagpipe for Senegalese natives in 1455, which they apparently found enchanting. Consequently, on da Gama's trip around the Cape of Good Hope on his way to India forty years later, the practice of playing music for the newly encountered natives was apparently quite well known. Greeted by the natives playing flutes, da Gama instructed his own trumpeters to participate, and dancing ensued between the natives and the Portuguese.¹⁰ Such musical practices fall into the category of ambassadorial protocol and gift-giving. Da Gama's boats also

included an organist, Frei Maffrue and a singer Frei Neto.¹¹ Related to this are instances of an actual exchange of goods which was well-known practice of Portuguese diplomacy. During de Souza's expedition to the Congo in 1490, the missionaries in his entourage carried portable organs, which were often used as presentation gifts, and the first organ in India probably arrived around 1500 as a result of this practice.¹² Organs seem to have been the gift of choice. They represent, after all a brilliant example of Western science and engineering which is a symbol of power. The practice of Renaissance Europeans in the age of Leonardo giving portable organs to the "natives" of places like Mozambique is no different than Westerners who come to India wearing pocket calculators and beeping quartz watches to give as gifts. Technological superiority has always been used as a weapon of cultural dominance — a point that was not lost on the Communists during the recent elections in India.

During the expedition of 1520 from Goa to Vijayanagar made by the Portuguese ambassador Cristovão de Figueiredo he bore a number of gifts including an organ and both organs and harpsichords were taken on Portuguese expeditions from Goa to Ethiopia as well. In 1550 Francis Xavier brought musical instruments as gifts to Japan which has been variously described as a *monacordio*, *vihuelas de arco* and a *clavicordio*.¹³ Organs, then, can be considered the most common instruments during the early settlements and they were used in the new churches in the service of the liturgy. This is confirmed by a letter from Albuquerque to the king of Portugal in 1512 in which he specifically mentions that in his opinion organs should be placed in the Indian churches.¹⁴

The earliest references to a specific type of music begin appearing around 1512 though not all of the references are from Goa. While instruments and books were brought over on the ships many essential music books had to be ordered. The purchase of "three large books of chant" in Cochin in 1512 and the *livro grande de canto* for the early Goan church of St. Catherine refers specifically to the very large book of chants that were commonly used in churches in Europe so that one book could serve for a small choir.¹⁵ The acquisition of the necessary liturgical books for the celebrations of the church calendar was an obvious priority according to the documents of the first two decades of the 16th century.¹⁶ Da Gama's brother D. Ayres da Gama mentions specifically in connection with a

church in Cannanore that while the building is beautifully decorated “it is necessary to have the books to sing the offices” of which there were none.¹⁷ This music would have been for the use of priests and clergy for the celebration of the daily office as well as for the mass, possibly accompanied by organs. A letter from Fr. Domingo de Souza to the king in December 1514, mentions specifically that ten clerks were used to sing masses and the office from the books “in the best manner as they could”¹⁸ which does suggest that the essential celebration of the mass and office was not compromised but that the clerks were unaccustomed to singing them. Large books for singing psalms are also documented.¹⁹ Thus in Goa as well as in Cochin and in Cannanore an infrastructure was established very early of celebrating the office and mass in chant. Unfortunately these chant books have not survived; the chant books at the Sé and elsewhere in Goa date mostly from the 18th century. This is unfortunate since chant books are essential sources for which to determine the liturgy in use in Goa during the early 16th century which would have governed the celebration of feast days as well as the organization of the yearly liturgical calendar.

Documents in general about the training of musicians and musical practice in Goa are rather scarce in the early 1540s, perhaps due to the outbreak of plague, but by 1546, musical practice in the Goan churches is once again a topic of some interest. At the end of a long letter from António Criminalis to Ignatius of Loyola of 1545, there is a discussion regarding the appropriateness of either chanting or intoning the parts (as in psalms) of the mass or the office. Since the language used is both archaic and unconventional for speaking about music, it is possible that the distinction is not between singing and speaking (or intoning), but rather between the use of chant (which is more like intoning — *entoar*) and the employment of polyphony.²⁰ At any rate, by the 1540s, the practice of polyphony was being cultivated in Goan churches, though by which composers and in what style remains impossible to know for sure. The emotional and spiritual benefits of having a sung mass rather than a spoken one is emphasized in a revealing letter written by Father Master Belchior from Cochin in 1561. He writes that people were satisfied only with sung masses which became necessary for the increased devotion of the Portuguese as well as the native population (*gente da terra*) and for the veneration of the divine mysteries. For the same reason, he concludes, the Feast of

the Nativity is celebrated with many instruments, as well as many *prosas e jubilos*.²¹ This is the same theme that is emphasized in Barreto's letter to Ignatius Loyola regarding the celebration of the divine office in Japan: that both chant and polyphony should be used for the principal feasts *porque la jente con estros exteriores se mueve en gran manera*.²²

The use of polyphony in Goan churches and colleges was an extremely important development, but it required an intensive musical training for the boys, demanding increased time to learn counterpoint and to read measured music. Valignano, who is perhaps the most articulate commentator about music among the Jesuit correspondents, describes the difficulty of teaching "foreigners", and especially children to sing because of the amount of assistance and personnel that is needed — not so much in Goa, but in Cochin and Bassein.²³ The music-making at Goa earns high praise from Valignano, who mentions that every Sunday and feast day features Mass said by the priest, deacon and sub-deacon and the voices are sung by the boys who live at the College, assisted by some foreigners.²⁴ In Bassein, however, even though polyphony is used, it is done so with great labour and inconvenience because "the foreigners do not have the ability of the Portuguese boys in Goa". Valignano continues,

"and because India had neither choirmasters nor singing teachers, but only those who learned their art in Portugal, to keep up this type of singing here it is always necessary to beg this or that Portuguese [teacher] to come, and flatter him a thousand times, as well as give to him a meal at the College".²⁵

Much of this training was supplied at the new College of St. Paul from its inception in 1542. Given the opulence and frequency of musical events there over the next few decades, it appears that the high reputation the college gained throughout the East is entirely justified. As a Jesuit school, the education was rigorous and modeled on the curriculum in the Jesuit schools in Rome. Many of the feast days were celebrated at the college with unusual extravagance, involving not only singing, but plays, processions and the playing of the instruments. This *Spielfreude* encouraged at the college, however, became increasingly subject to some criticism, as occurs whenever music is taught within a varied curriculum

particularly a scholastic one as in the Jesuit colleges. In Goa, both chant (*canto llano*) and polyphony (*canto d'organo*) were taught along with grammar, arts and theology towards instilling in the students a character of virtue and morality. Musical training was also seen as effective in evangelization. But musical practice can quickly lead to subversion, as it has in virtually all periods, and by the late 1570s, following a few decades of a rapidly developing musical culture, the Tridentine reforms began to reach Goa and musical practice became subject to various reforms, to which I will return later on.

Polyphony in Goa was not an everyday practice but used for the mass on Sundays and particular feast days (*todos os domingos e festas ... se fere missa cantada*²⁶) often with instruments; chant was used otherwise.²⁷ The feast days cited most frequently in the documents are the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), Corpus Christi (29 May), the feast of the Circumcision (1 January) — sometimes known as the “Feast of Fools” or the traditional “boys’ night out” in Medieval Europe), 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 called for the most elaborate music and decorations of any of the feasts. In one of the many descriptions of this particular feast, António da Costa writes in 1558 that there were many processions, along with the participation at Mass of instruments such as shawms, trumpets, flutes, viols and harpsichord;²⁸ a few years later a document describing the same feast day mentions the presence of *muitos instrumentos de musica como trombetas e charamelas, frautas e violas d'arcos, etc.*²⁹ Instruments were used for other religious ceremonies as well. For a baptism in 1567 Fr. Gomes Vaz mentions “trumpets and other instruments with a gathering outside of a procession of singers.”³⁰

The genres of polyphony specified in the documents give us little clue to their style or composers. Music for the Mass is often mentioned though never specified. Such pieces might have been drawn from works by Portuguese composers which would have been readily available from when music printing began in Portugal in 1535. The excellent Coimbra school of composers might also have furnished works for use in Goa. As for other genres, Sebastian Fernandes (1569) among others, mentions motets which used sacred, though not always scriptural texts, and could have been sung at Mass, and *cantigas*, which were probably strophic songs with a

sacred theme, more popular in origin.³¹ Some of the performances employed double choirs, probably spaced on different sides of the church, which was a trend developing in Venice already by the middle of the 16th century. Or, this could represent an older *alternatim* style of practice common during the 15th century, in which, odd-verses of a strophic chant (as in a hymn text) alternate with even-verses of polyphony or vice-versa. The singing of the twilight office of Vespers is always mentioned in the documents, the requirements of which involved five psalms, the *Magnificat* and the *Benedicamus Domino*. For this office, one might expect a conservative style of polyphony for the setting of the psalms — homophonic, rather than contrapuntal — with greater complexity given to the *Magnificat*. Frequently, Indian instruments were used along with the voices and organ. The political and evangelical subtext — indeed, purpose, of such extravagant and pluralistic music is made very clear in the documents. Pasio writes from Goa in 1578 that:

“the divine office is celebrated in this church (of the college of St. Paul) with as much solemnity and perfection as there can be, because to make the gentiles dismiss their own ceremonies and to make them seize the important meaning and affection of our Christianity and divine cult, the Fathers celebrate the offices very solemnly, singing the mass of the principal feasts with a deacon and sub deacon, and vespers with five Fathers with copes, employing very good music (performed by) orphans and new converts, who remain in one part of the college, and number a little less than one hundred and playing the organ and other instruments of the land”.³²

Despite the empowerment given to the missionary campaign by polyphony, multi-choral performance, and the participation of instruments, the cold climate of the Tridentine reforms began to blow through Goa in the early 1570s. Among the abuses cited by the Council of Trent in their discussions about music were the participation of instruments in church (besides the organ), the incomprehensibility of the Latin text when set within a dense contrapuntal framework, the use of secular techniques (such as virtuosic rapid notes, or word painting) in sacred composition, and the incorrect setting of Latin text. Although we have retained only

the descriptions of Goan polyphony and not the actual music, it is clear that the Council could surely have found much to reform in Goa. The important tradition of processions and celebrations that is mentioned by every visitor to 16th century Goa began to have an impact on sacred music. The increasing use of "loud" wind instruments, along with flutes, trumpets, indigenous instruments, and drums were eventually thought of as being distracting and disrespectful to the Mass or other services. In Travancore for the feast of the Assumption in 1577, dances such as the *folias* were performed, which had erotic connotations in Spain.³³ A Counter-Reformation austerity was encouraged for music in the churches, though such radical reforms, were met with some resistance.

But there is another reason for the musical reforms that were suggested in Goa after 1570. By this time it had become clear to the Jesuits that the successes they had hoped for in converting Indians to Christianity were falling short of their goal. Where music was traditionally used by missionaries as an evangelical technique — the students at St. Paul's would frequently walk through the streets singing the Credo — the extravagance of music at the Jesuit College was becoming a profession into itself, rather than being an activity in the service of missionary training. Implicit in the reforms, then, was the conviction that music was becoming subversive. This was, and would not be, an original thought. Throughout history, music has always been seen as a double-edged sword, as a source of edification as well as contributing to the ills of youth. Now, mounting financial debts and sustained disappointments in the missionary campaigns made music the scapegoat. In assessing this period purely from a documentary standpoint, three figures emerge as the most outspoken concerning the issue of music at the college. Francisco Cabral and Claudio Acquaviva, the Provincial and the General of the Society, respectively, were strongly convinced that reforms were needed and that many facets of music-making should be discontinued. On the other hand, there is Alessandro Valignano, who was supportive of the need for musical training, and persuasive in his attempts to keep music alive for the sake of proper education. He saw musical training as one of the most valuable activities of the colleges, and he was convinced of the power of music, to aid in the Christianization of India, and particularly Japan, the country that held his strongest interest. Given the difficulty in training native boys, to sing measured music in Latin, he admitted Portuguese boys

to the part of St. Paul's that was for natives only, for the reason of helping out with the choir. This was challenged by Acquaviva, who included music among his general reforms of abuses at the College and wanted to reduce the number of boys who were contracted to furnish liturgical music, with the eventual aim to abolish completely the practice. Wicki felt that this was "a wise decision".³⁴ Valignano insisted that liturgical music could not be suppressed in an area like India, in which music had a very strong effect; therefore the number of boys at the College could not be reduced. In support of the reforms, the lack of finances was often cited. Francisco Fernandez wrote to Acquaviva in 1589 that it was unnecessary to have so many *ministriles* — a word that suggests the playing of secular songs rather than singing liturgical polyphony — at the college, as well as *moços* or servants. The grouping of young musicians and servants in the same breath as elements to be purged from the college reveals much about Fernandez's cultural and aesthetic orientation and the inferiority he felt existed among the music played by the boys, probably heavily influenced by "local" musical traditions and the native population.

Acquaviva himself did not permit even organ music in the new Professed House, but more often he was on the receiving end of complaints. Fr. Nuno Rodrigues wrote to him in 1591 about the "scandal" that occurred when instrumental music and *cantigas* (probably Portuguese secular songs) were performed at the 5.00 am Saturday service at the College. Also included "were other vulgarities, which in Portuguese is called *chacota*, and instruments appropriate to these, such as guitars, citterns and the like. This was not for any absence of organs, because in our choir there are many good ones".³⁵ For all of his displeasure at what he heard, Rodrigues succeeded in leaving us with one of the most revealing documents we have in all of the Jesuit correspondence. For a conservative priest like him, this was all that he needed to see to suggest the imposition of strict musical reforms; but for a musicologist like myself, the "scandal" offers a tantalizing view of cross-cultural music-making, and the strong influence of Portuguese popular culture in India and on Indian youth in the 16th century.

Wicki writes that by the 1590s, "singing and instrumental music were not in favour in the Society of Jesus at this time".³⁶ If the letters Acquaviva received from Fernandez and Rodrigues were not enough, he was no doubt pushed to take action following his correspondence

with Francisco Cabral, a veritable crusader against excesses in the church and something of a racist who opposed the admission of Japanese to the Society and, by extension, even the use of silk for the Jesuit robes.³⁷ Before Cabral was thankfully kicked out from office he strongly urged Acquaviva in a letter 1594 to end the practice of singing mass and the office in the college for three reasons: (1) that in order to sustain the tradition, a Father or a brother of the Society is always needed as choirmaster and to teach singing, but these are not always dependable or available, nor is it economical; (2) while singing was originally permitted and cultivated in order to assist in conversion by singing the office, the end result is that few new-converts actually come to church, and therefore the singing of the office might not have the impact for which it was intended; and (3) singing was originally introduced to attract faithful and honourable people to church, but this has not been the case.

What Cabral points out has little to do, of course, with music *per se*. By using music in such a specific context of missionary interests, it was inevitable that it would be blamed for the larger problems that occurred in the missionary campaigns and successes. What is interesting about the letter is that in having to justify the specific use and expense of music, Cabral reveals information about the Society's mission that is often not said as explicitly. Here, the value of documents about music is quite clear, for it allows the sounding of a different voice, a multi-vocality, to emerge from the author.

These reforms were only temporary. Even as the Portuguese empire in India began to collapse, St. Paul's became increasingly active in its use of the arts as a powerful source of identity and self-aggrandizement, commensurate with the close relationships, the Jesuits were forging with the popes in Rome. The weeks of festivities in Rome following the canonization of St. Francis Xavier and Ignatius Loyola in 1622 (which included a Jesuit "opera" by Kapsberger in which India is one of the characters)³⁸ were echoed a few years later in Goa, which Pietro della Valle describes in detail.³⁹ From his description of chariots, music, processions and drama, it is clear that the musical austerity envisaged by Cabral and others was very much a passing phenomenon. The archives in Goa (*Jesuitas*) show regular payments for viol and harp strings, as well as an organist and this combination forms the basis for any of the mainstream genres current in Europe in the early 17th century such

as cantata, accompanied song, villancico and even opera. Sebastiani's letter of 1663 (published in 1683) quoted at the beginning of this essay leaves no doubt as to the musical proficiency in Goa by the end of the 17th century and of the mainstream music that was being performed there.

Of what significance are these documents and in a larger sense what can the history of Portuguese music in Goa tell us about the Portuguese in India? Despite our lack of the actual sources of this music it is clear that a strong musical infrastructure similar to that of a small city in Europe was established in Goa within a few years of the Portuguese settlements in the early 16th century. This included the use of music for signaling and ceremonial purposes, the employment of liturgical chant for celebration of the Mass, the daily office and the feast days and music for processions and other civic events. Organs, trumpets and shawms were brought over on the first ships and occasionally these instruments were supplemented with indigenous instruments. Large books of chant also came over on the ships.

The introduction of polyphony after about 1540 required more intensive training for the singers and greater expense all around for teachers, books and maintaining of a choir. Since music had already been used successfully by the Portuguese as a way to find a common ground with native people, the added expense and training required could be justified. It proved to be an effective evangelical tool despite the difficulties in training native singers, and polyphony added special significance to the major feast days and ceremonies during the year. Consequently music ceased to be seen as purely functional and the documents now raise questions about the aesthetics, purpose and finances. But the Portuguese, concerned mainly with building an empire, proved to be poor patrons of music. Their interests were directed not on developing the choirs and repertory of the musical institutions, but on the more public displays of processions and celebrations.

With the Jesuits becoming the major patrons of music after the 1550s music was placed under the microscope. Discussions about music from this time on invariably focus on the Aristotelian concerns of music's function, the appropriateness of its use within the education of youths, and its moral value. One would be hard-pressed to find letters that confront issues of sense, style, or aesthetics. There is no document from this period that even remotely

touches on the auditory experience of the listener. The very strictly defined roles for music as seen by the Jesuits resulted in various reforms that took place in the 1580s and 1590s, the discussions of which are some of the most interesting documents in the entire corpus of letters. In debating the purpose of music within Jesuit education, the cultural and missionary imperatives implicit in musical training come into focus. Music in the eyes of the Jesuits is very much linked up with the Platonic concept of Republic, as well as a concept of Nation. Music is thus both a cultural product as well as a political vocabulary, and the nature of the reforms the Jesuits pressed for tell us much about colonialist and missionary strategies. Their discussions about music open up a new vocality in Jesuit (and Portuguese) discourse, revealing information about cultural priorities, nationalism and the success of the missions. They also reveal their own cultural biases in their reactions to Indian music. While a strictly analytical perspective on music in Portuguese Goa cannot be offered at this time because of the lack of sources, and the fact that itemized account books do not exist for religious institutions prior to the 17th century, it is along the lines of seeing how cultural and nationalistic policies are embedded within the discourse of discussing music that seems to be the main direction this research could take. Music was seen as a powerful political medium in Renaissance Goa, and it was very much part of the cultural and political imperatives of both the Portuguese and the Jesuits. Because this music was imposed on a culture which had its own much older traditions and because it was used as both an ambassadorial and evangelical tool, Goa is one of the most interesting laboratories for studying the political role of the arts, and how hierarchies of culture and cultural exclusion are formed. I am sure that many would agree that this could represent a promising line of inquiry in Indo-Portuguese historiography.⁴⁰

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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3. Owen Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal, c.1530-c.1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz*, Coimbra, New York, Garland, 1995.
 4. Mira Mascarenhas, citing Pereira writes that "Private collectors and Goan churches possess a host of masses, *motets*, litanies and hymns composed by Goan masters", though no further details are given. "Impact of the West on Goan Music" in *Goa: Cultural Trends*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar, Panaji, Casa Packmaster, 1988, pp. 189-204. My own search through the Sé archives produced nothing from before the 18th century.
 5. A study of the contents of this library is in Rui Vieira Nery, "The Music Manuscripts in the Library of King D. João IV of Portugal (1604-1656): A Study of Iberian Music in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", Ph. D. diss. Univ. of Texas, Austin, 1990.
 6. Alfred E. Lemmon, "Jesuits and Music in Mexico", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 46, 1977, pp. 191-198.
 7. Robert Snow, *Gaspar Fernandes: Obras Sacras. Portugaliae Musica 49*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1990; Paul Borg, "The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library", Ph.D. diss., Indiana Univ., 1985; Robert Snow, "Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala", *Nassarre Revista Aragonesa de Musicologia 3*, 1987, pp. 153-202.
 8. Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, Stuyvesant, Pendragon Press, 1995.
 9. G. B. Ramusio, *Della navigazione e viaggi*, Venice, 1550, quoted in Woodfield, p. 96.
 10. Woodfield, p. 96.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.
 14. *Documentação para a historia das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, ed. António da Silva Rego, 12. vols., Lisbon, Atica, SARL, 1947, (hereinafter *DMP*), I, p. 149.
 15. *DMP* I, pp. 127, 431.
 16. *DMP* I, pp. 395, 411.
 17. *DMP* I, p. 371.
 18. *DMP* I, p. 250.
 19. *DMP* I, p. 336.
 20. *Documenta Indica: Missiones Orientales*, ed. Josef Wicki, Rome, 1948-, I, p. 20 (hereinafter *DI*).
 21. *DMP* 8, pp. 464-465.
 22. *DI* 3, pp. 125-126.
 23. *DI* 10, p. 622.
 24. *DI* 13, p. 17.
 25. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
 26. *DI* 8, p. 432.
 27. Belchior's letter of 1561 from Cochin in *DMP* 8, pp. 464-465.

28. *DI* 3, p. 189.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 735.
30. *DI* 7, document no. 90.
31. *DI* 8, pp. 87-89.
32. *DI* 11, pp. 358-359.
33. *DMP* 12, p. 390.
34. *DMP* 15, p. 25.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 721-722.
36. *DI* 16, p. 7.
37. David Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History*, New York, Franklins Watts, 1981, p. 145.
38. Victor Coelho, "The Apotheosis ... of Francis Xavier and the conquering of India" in *The Work of Opera: Gender, Nation, Genre* (forthcoming). Also Victor Coelho, "Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. S. Sadie, London, MacMillan, 1992, ii, pp. 949-950.
39. *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, 2 vols., ed. Edward Grey. London: Hakluyt Society, 1892/rpt. New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1991, II, pp. 402-413.
40. I follow Teotónio de Souza in his attempts to move documentary work into the areas of critical historiography. See his "The Voiceless in Goan Historiography: A Case for the source value of Church Records in Goa", in *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, ed. John Correia-Afonso, Mumbai, OUP, 1981, pp. 114-131.