

Brazilian Identities and Musical Performances

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... our faults do not allow our qualities to show themselves to best effect. That is why, at the moment, Brazilians are a people of intermittent qualities and permanent faults.

Mário de Andrade, *Essai sur la musique brésilienne*, 1928

This paper¹ sets out to discuss the use and power of music in representing social identities, concentrating on the more specific case of the Brazilian nation, which has made itself a complex and all-embracing socio-political unit in spite of the great diversity and the great inequalities to be found within its borders. It is well known that what appears to be its most uniform feature, the use of a dominant language, is actually quite fragmented, due to the influence of various co-existing systems of production, cultural models and social hierarchies, which change on a daily basis. Although this diversity seems to be underwritten by daily practice and independent of debate and official encouragement, the same cannot be said of the search for national unity. It is obvious in the case of most of the action undertaken with this end in mind, that questions such as exclusion and the imbalance and arbitrariness of power have been eliminated. Besides, certain alert individuals are wary of this insistence on the construction of a nation, since the role of the old national states throughout the world seems to be disintegrating in the face of the proliferation and growing importance of social, economic and cultural relations at a supranational level. It is therefore hardly surprising that the twentieth century is considered to be a milestone in both the rise and fall of efforts to achieve Brazilian national unity. Amongst these efforts, music has played a prominent role, as I shall endeavour to show.

Of course, I do not claim to give an exhaustive reply here to the complex questions posed above, but I take them as a backdrop to my approach to the various, even contradictory, methods by which music is used to represent Brazilian identity, or, in short, *brasileidade* (Brazilianness). Thus my starting point will be a theoretical reflection on the terms linked to the title of this paper which – intentionally – appear as ‘hot’ topics in human sciences as a whole and in academic studies of music in particular. I will try to highlight important aspects of the necessary connection between what certain authors call symbolic production and the existence of a market.

Finally, I will deal with what I consider to be significant examples of the use of music as a tool in constructing Brazilian national identity and examine some of the questions they provoke. In this final section I shall also query the autonomy of symbolic production² and the determinism of certain authors who see music as a reflection of a particular aspect of social life; in other words, I will try to show that musical representations of social identity are more effective when they are ambiguous, and can even surprise those who seek to manipulate them.

Primarily, a conceptual samba

Since nationality is an abstract idea seeking to base itself in reality, which in turn embraces the production of ideas, it is not always possible to identify reciprocal movements of determination between ideas and social practices, although the connections between them are almost always significant. Since I do not impose an order of precedence on any of the terms suggested – i.e. identity, representation, ideology, music and nationality – I have opted for a form of free association between the definitions which I shall propose for each of them. Thus, I understand the term ‘ideology’ as referring to the power to formulate and control a social action. Not having the pretentiousness (or the skill) to give an exhaustive review of the conceptual controversies on the significance of the term in the human sciences, I shall deal first with the impulse which large collective enterprises feel necessary to gloss over the most polemical aspects, or even the difficulties, of social training. The concept of concealment implies closely connected concepts such as manipulation (of the consciousness of a social class, according to Marx), consent (a strategy of alliances for a revolutionary class, according to Gramsci) and *euphemization* (sublimation of internal tensions observed in the daily ritual practices of a social group, according to Bourdieu). Thus, in an effort to get the urban masses to keep to the political project of *Estado Novo*,³ it seemed logical that groups of people, such as samba schools, should be encouraged to prove their musicality, in an orderly and amicable way, through the official competitions sponsored by the State, in the same way, relatively speaking, as was the custom with the popular choirs⁴ at the large official meetings organized at the time by Villa-Lobos. Despite the obvious imbalance in the power of these two social groups, no-one ever questioned the possibility of harmonious cooperation between them since each of them “knew their place”.

The term ‘identity’ itself refers back to a collection of values attributed to a community or a society. It evokes concepts relating to shared memory and culture whose Latin roots, as Bosi [1992] points out, indicate the memory of work achieved through mutual cooperation. And yet the practice of concealment outlined above is one of the key elements in the formation of identity, precisely because it sidelines or conceals possible dissensions and facilitates the search for the ‘common factor’. By way of illustration, one could cite here the case of the panpipe groups at Conima in the Peruvian Andes, studied by Turino [1993]. At a musical event, expert musicians never criticise or make fun of any lack of skill shown by *ad hoc* participants in public, whether they are members of their own community or visitors. Non-participation by *ad hoc* musicians would be interpreted by the experts as a negative sign. This study offers an example of the concealment and temporary compromise of a number of tensions in order to encourage general participation by members of the community and to confirm the identity of the Aymara people. This is considered to be much more important than an excellent or even competent musical performance.

So far, I have restricted myself to envisaging a process of formulation and manipulation of values current in a community which, for one reason or another, sees itself or is seen as a homogeneous entity, that is, a group of people marked out from others by significant differences. These differences are indicated by a series of signs, ranging from language to economics, religion to music. Wherever they happen to be, those bearing such signs are considered to replace the existence of entities such as the tribe (the Shona, natives of

Zimbabwe), the group (punks), the street (52nd Street, birthplace of bebop in New York), the quarter (the Candeal in Salvador, Bahia, fundamental reference of the Brazilian musician Carlinhos Brown) or the nation. This auxiliary existence, 'in the place of', leads me to the verb *representare* (Lat.), 'to present', which very often means to place before the eyes (and ears), to present an image (visible or audible), a likeness or even a portrait. From here I come to *representatio*, payment using money, and am inevitably taken back to the marketplace, in other words to where goods are displayed which must be paid for in money, which represents the value attributed to a specific product. As the generic product in question is the idea of *brasilidade* delivered through music, I note that its content has varied considerably according to factors such as the personal experiences of its producers, and the special historical and contextual features of the markets supplied with this product. In this way the musical ideas and practices that I am considering here in broad outline seek to illustrate the dynamics of representation of Brazilian nationality through music.

Brasilidades: fundamental stories, musical performances/representations

Discussions on the definition of features which could have had an impact on the characterization of Brazilian nationality intensified greatly during the emergence of the republican regime at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century through the efforts of numerous intellectuals. Some of them, strongly influenced by positivist thinking and its corollary, which has been called social evolutionism, have undertaken, in true pioneering spirit, a systematic study of culture in the widest sense of the word [see, for example, Mattos 1994]. Since then we have had a series of formulations concerning the national character, several of which have been catalogued and analysed in an excellent critical summary by Dante Moreira Leite [1992]. According to him, we can detect in the course of these efforts a gradual improvement from deep pessimism (as shown, for example, by one of the pioneers of folklore study in Brazil, Silvio Romero) to the optimism illustrated by the work of the sociologist Gilberto Freyre, author of the classic *Casa Grande Senzala*. More recently, a certain equilibrium has been found between these two extremes in the work of authors, mostly university researchers, who have adopted and adapted the characteristic methods of the social sciences (see the work of the sociologist Florestan Fernandes) and in particular the theories analysing social dynamics inspired by Marx (see the work of Caio Prado Jnr. who writes about Brazilian economic policy). There will be no thorough examination here of current ways of thinking, only an indication of their impact on discussions concerning the national character of Brazilian music. It is important to point out here the intrinsic links between these studies and the unusual character of Brazilian industrialization, which at first was both timid and uncertain about its political role when faced with the agrarian and patriarchal heritage which still dominated the centres of power.

Guilherme de Melo, author of the first history of Brazilian music, published in 1908, was already showing signs of a certain resistance to pessimism, underlining his "burning desire to show . . . by means of vivid proof that we are not a people devoid of art and literature, as is generally said, and that *at least* [author's italics] the music of Brazil has a

unique and completely national character" [Melo 1942: 5]. Inspired by the theories of the French positivist thinker Edmond Scherer, Melo claimed that he had wanted to find "the ethnic laws which governed the formation of the genius, spirit and character of the Brazilian people and their music, and of their ethnology; that is, how the Portuguese people changed under the influence of the American climate and contact with Indians and Africans, resulting in the crossbreed or, to be more precise, the Brazilian" [*idem*: 6]. The organization of the chapters is significant: indigenous influence as shown by a compilation of the historical accounts of travellers; the influence of the Jesuits through *autos* (one-act plays); Portuguese, African and Spanish influences, such as those observed in popular customs; the influence of the aristocratic Portuguese salons, with a detailed study of the *modinha* (popular song); a chapter on the 'period of degradation', in which the lack of prestige in the practice and teaching of 'highbrow music' and the proliferation of musical shows of 'dubious taste' are analysed. His conclusion, in a section entitled 'Nativism', is an appreciation of highbrow musical life in Rio de Janeiro and the great Brazilian composers, in particular Carlos Gomes⁵ and the success of his operatic works in Europe. The book ends with a note on popular songs (*modinhas*) by the same composer.

In the work *A música no Brasil* ('The music of Brazil') we find at least two trends which had a lasting influence on the literature on Brazilian culture (including music). The first deals with the myth that three races formed the Brazilian national character. According to the expression coined by the Parnassian poet Olavo Bilac in his poem *Música Popular* ('Popular Music'), popular music was the "amorous flower of the three sad races". Portuguese influence is highlighted as transforming and reorganizing the other two influences. The second trend, accepted uncritically, refers to suspicion of the role of popular urban customs (which include the creation of polkas, waltzes, tangos, *maxixes*, mazurkas, *schottisches*, etc.) in the process of nationalizing Brazilian music. The omission of the work of composers such as Joaquim Antonio Calado, Chiquinha Gonzaga and Ernesto Nazareth, who all composed music on the boundary between sounds of the streets and those of the concert halls, in a way reflected the lack of recognition of the fact that these composers had already built solid bridges between ethnic and social differences in their music, before those who were referred to as highbrow artists. In Guilherme de Melo's work, however, highbrow songs in the vernacular, especially opera, musical folklore, apparently known by the composer from his native Bahia, and Indian chamber music, were evaluated positively in the definition of Brazil's uniqueness. In highbrow circles, the most significant composers at the turn of the nineteenth century were also hailed by Melo as the founders of a national art in the strictest sense of the word, the basic criterion being the link with Brazilian literary themes and with a vague, equally national, 'musical subject'. For example, in considering Francisco Braga's symphonic poem *Marabú*, a work which is musically evocative of Wagner, Guilherme de Melo calls it "the masterpiece of Brazilian art" for the "original perfume which it exudes at every moment; the murmuring streams are ours; the tree trunks which creak with the buffeting of the winds are the majestic, leafy trunks of our trees . . ." [Melo 1942: 307].

In the light of *A música no Brasil*, a retrospective look at the work of Heitor Villa-Lobos reveals interesting aspects, such as support for an intuitive rather than rational link, not just as far as the Indian content is concerned – dismissed by several authors [for example, Andrade 1928, Wisnik 1977, Béhague 1994] as purely imaginary, although it was contem-

poraneous with sources for a more systematic use of elements of indigenous music – but also with regard to what is referred to as musical folklore, from which tunes and percussion rhythms had already been borrowed. Besides, as far as the use of folklore is concerned, we must remember that one of the most remarkable precursors of Villa-Lobos, Alberto Nepomuceno, had already used it without actually being given credit for this by Guilherme de Melo.

Another point to consider, since it blatantly contradicts Melo's omission, is the systematic use of urban music by Villa-Lobos himself in works such as *Suite Popular Brasileira* ('Popular Brazilian Suite') (1908–1912) for solo violin, and notably in the series of *Choros* (works written for different combinations, solo instruments and large orchestra, between 1921 and 1926). The recording of *Choros* No.1 for solo guitar (LP "Villa-Lobos: *L'interprète*; Musée Villa-Lobos 002), made by the composer himself, confirms the subtlety in the construction of multiple interpretive nuances which could be produced only by a performer who was completely at home with that particular idiom. The introduction of this element of 'novelty' in concert music coincides with the expansion of industrial activity in Brazil – and, in particular, the production of commercial records of popular urban music.

If the impact of popular urban culture is apparent in the musical training of Villa-Lobos himself, it is no less visible in the intellectual life of Brazil [see Vianna 1995] and, particularly, in Brazilian musicology. I will mention here only two outstanding examples, Mário de Andrade and Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo who, under the multifaceted influence of musicological and anthropological trends and in spite of their obvious reluctance with regard to urban music, were already emphasizing the originality of composers like Nazareth and Chiquinha Gonzaga. Mário, as Wisnik remarked, still believed – this harks back to the German pre-Romantics of *Sturm und Drang* – that only the systematic study of folklore could provide the methodological foundations⁶ for an art which is both particular (because it is national) and universal. For such an objective goal the contribution of popular music would be minimal, all the more so because it is subject to the dictates of the western market (binary and compound metres, major/minor diatonic scales, tempered scales, etc.).

In his turn, Luiz Heitor expresses again and again his confusion and disapproval when he saw, in the 1940s, that the successful radio programmes coming from Rio de Janeiro, then District Fédéral, were presented "in servile imitation" [see Azevedo 1943: 4] by guitar players (players of the viol, a string instrument similar to the guitar, used in various Brazilian oral traditions), by *rabequeiros* (players of a bowed string instrument, between a violin and a viola in size, used in oral traditions) and by other popular musicians throughout the four states (Goiás, Minas Gerais, Ceará and Rio Grande do Sul) where he was working on sound documentation. In the 'Preamble' to his *Relação dos Discos Gravados no Estado de Goiás* ('Report on records made in the State of Goiás'), the musicologist informed the reader:

All the documents which we have gathered together are not of the same value from the point of view of folklore. Broadcasting of sambas and carnival *marchinhas* by the big radio stations has caught the poetic and musical imagination of certain bards in the region who think that their art will be more sophisticated if it allows itself to be inspired by the most cultured models coming from Rio or São Paulo [Azevedo 1950: 3–4].

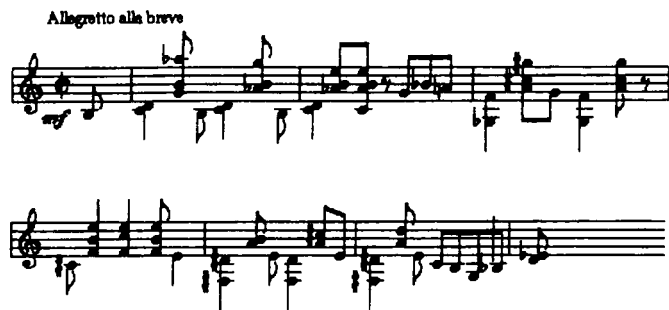


FIG. 1. *Choro* from the Suite for guitar (1946) by Guerra-Peixe (bars 1–7).

One possible reading of these two musicologies, fundamental to the understanding of the debates on the portrayal of *brasilidade*, is perhaps that before possessing a recognizable face, Brazil very quickly moved towards a cultural disfigurement, as a function of mass culture.

However, if we turn to the musical scene in the 1940s, we will also find the emergence of expressions of identity which put a check on the endogenous concepts of nationalism. As far as highbrow music was concerned, a deep split had appeared between the disciples of twelve-tone music, associated with the emergence of supranational culture, and the defenders of Mário de Andrade's utopian ideal. At best, both had only glimpsed the far-off possibilities of compromise. The composer César Guerra-Peixe's short-lived attempt at reconciliation between atonalism and popular urban music belongs to this trend, occurring in works such as his 'Suite for guitar' (1946). In the third movement (see Figure 1.), for example, there is a non-series atonalism mixed with certain rhythmic constants which refer back to the world of the *choro*, although they are reworked by the composer to avoid obvious repetition of exactly the same elements.

Allegretto alla breve

On the other hand, Carmen Miranda's fantastic international success in Hollywood (from 1939 onwards, one of the by-products of the Good Neighbor Policy of the State Department of the United States), once more radically called into question Brazil's cultural identity. From then on any idea of *brasilidade* would conflict with the potential of a commercial image which was both stimulating (at least compared with the most Puritan models) and naïve, true and false, submissive and liberating, a success and a failure. Between the café of the agrarian past and, a little later, cannibalistic football,⁷ the urban samba of Rio de Janeiro which had been exiled to the interior by populism became a symbol of the motherland on the international market and a vehicle for syntheses and formulations no less cannibalistic than the *brasilidade*, as can be seen from the text of a historic samba by Djalma Sabiá of the Salgueiro samba school:

Brazil, source of the arts (1954)
(Djalma Sabiá)

Brazil, source of the arts
Cradle of a thousand riches
and our savages
Already got themselves noticed
Then civilization came
And the academies gave a different format
to rudimentary philosophy

We have works of great talent
Which go back to the far-off eras
We have works ancient and modern

By way of an example which has parallels in the formation of other nations [see Hobsbawm 1998], one could quote the often ironic reading of school textbooks, in which the history of the country is mythicized and reinvented, by composers of sambas for the mournful citizens of Rio. It leads samba aficionados to create a new poetic and musical form, the *samba-enredo*, a musical work which characterizes a samba school during the carnival procession, and which mixes elements of popular tradition with the needs of a socio-political complex in transition, as well as new links between Brazil and the rest of the world.

Fifty years in five?⁸ Music and the craze for Modernization

From the 1950s to the beginning of the 1960s, Brazil was torn between appeals for industrial modernization and pressure from the left for reforms to eliminate exploitation and poverty. Highbrow music made fewer and fewer claims to be the symbol of nationality, though that did not in any way mean it totally rejected the possibility of influences involving national elements. In spite of this, only a very few composers showed any interest in the fundamental links between systematic research into musical folklore and artistic creation, as proposed by Mário de Andrade, the writer and musicologist from São Paulo. One of these exceptions was the composer César Guerra-Peixe referred to above who, as he himself said, was more and more isolated as the heir of Andrade.

However, the process of consolidating the Rio samba as a national symbol went on. In addition, it had already absorbed a large part of its Hollywood version, which raised its profile by, for example, integrating itself more and more into show business (see the pioneer music-hall shows presenting mulatto dancers which took place in the South Zone of Rio, i.e. the wealthy quarters of Rio) and the appearance of the first recordings, performed by members of the samba schools, some of which were made on the initiative of foreign producers visiting Brazil.

The impact of the samba was still considerable, thanks to the transformation of some of its elements, at the end of the 1950s, in the work of musicians linked to what would later be called the Bossa nova. *Chega de saudade* ('Enough of nostalgia'), the title of one of the best known songs by Antonio Carlos Jobim and Vinicius de Loraes, was to be not just

the catalyst but also the slogan of the musical movement which grew up around the nightclubs and the upper middle class homes of the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro. The international success of the Bossa nova, following the example of “the Carmen Marina case” analysed above, created stereotypes of a new Brazil which henceforward incorporated models of unprecedented ‘modernization’ and of ‘refinement’. In a symbolic recording made in 1963 (Getz/Gilberto, LP Verve, 810048–2) the song *Garota de Ipanema* (‘Girl from Ipanema’) – characterized by the intermingling of the polyrhythmic voice and guitar of João Gilberto with the subtle piano of Antonio Carlos Jobim – reached the whole world as the *Girl from Ipanema* – through the rhythmic accommodations demanded by the English version sung by Astrid Gilbert and the timid ‘cool’ improvisation in which Stan Getz did not venture very far from the theme.

The work of this new movement turned out to be the basis of a debate, no longer through the exclusive means of literary creation [for a representative example of this, see Campos 1968], but, essentially, through the emergence of militant press criticism (Tinhorão, Sérgio Cabral and, during the 1960s, Muniz Sodré). The central theme of this debate was the concept of authenticity, identified by Tinhorão [1974] in Brazilian music and dance customs such as the samba, the *frevo* and the *baião*, which would be pitted against the alleged pastiche of North American jazz as presented by those performing the bossa nova [Tinhorão 1966, 1968].

However, during the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s the dualism in the definition of musical performances of Brazilian nationality was to be the target of an intellectual movement which gave a wider definition to the concept of Brazil, and reflected cannibalistically on the question of identity. Drawing on Oswald de Andrade much more than on Mário de Andrade, and rebelling against the propriety and good behaviour of both sides of the exhausting debate, the *Tropicália* started to include legacies which until then had been forbidden or unthinkable for the defenders of national identity, such as the highbrow music of the avant-garde, Anglo-Saxon music (blues, rock, etc.), sentimental romantic music (boleros, samba-songs) and, worst of all, *ye-ye-ye* (the Brazilian version of North American rock). Such an attitude brought to a public which was often university educated, considered itself refined and was in search of something daring, Caetano Veloso’s version of Vicente Celestino’s *Coração Materno* (‘The heart of a mother’). But this singer-composer, whose style of performance was inspired by lyrical songs, was seen by this same public as one of the symbols of exaggerated romanticism and bad taste. In Caetano’s recording (LP *Tropicália*), produced at the end of the 1960s, this negativity is reversed. The orchestration is inspired by that notorious avant-garde trend, concrete music, which transformed a song, which would probably have been rejected by the same public in its original form, into art by using gunfire and other sounds to evoke a feeling of the everyday. As a typical announcer on the radio in the 1950s ironically remarked: “This is Brazil!”⁹

Brazilian identities today: prospects and dead ends

A large number of observers have suggested that, in an era of globalization, cloning and virtual reality, the trend which appears to characterize the final years of the century since

the 1980s, is one of growing dissociation between musical customs and projects seeking to define Brazilian national identity. However, the possibility of future connections of this kind have not been absolutely ruled out. So in conclusion I should like to suggest two arguments which highlight future questions for the central theme of this debate. The first might concern the representativeness and importance of numerous markets for broadcasting music in Brazil and the predominance of the national, rather than the imported, product in them. Research into the characteristics and ideologies of the wider market and its various segments [see, for example, Araújo 1987] could be one way forward for the study of the ongoing process of redefining nationality at the end of the twentieth century. It would then be necessary to understand the extremely complex and paradoxical methods of production which can be seen, for example, in the texts of songs by one of the great stars of the Brazilian record industry, the romantic singer Amado Batista, in particular in the symbolic *Desisto* ('I renounce') ("Those are things which I/Just cannot forget/But I claim to abandon").

Another question, inextricably linked with the first, concerns the increase in the visibility, importance and independence of markets which in the past were dependent on the axis formed by the most densely populated towns, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. This is what is already being seen in the capitals of states such as Amazonas, Pará, Bahia, Pernambuco, Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul. From the *Noite da Bahia* ('Night of Bahia') at the Montreux Festival and the performance of Brazilian reggae groups in the Sunsplash Festival in Kingston, Jamaica, to the presentation of a spectacular nightclub show from Amazonia on the French cable channel TV5, which left another Brazilian guest (the Brazilian singer-composer Chico Buarque) visibly taken aback, and a heavy metal concert with the internationally known band *Sepultura*, whose members, from Minas Gerais, sing on any stage in any location and are considered to be symbols on a par with the Brazilian flag or the Brazilian football team shirt: these will point out the links, sometimes strong and sometimes tenuous, with a constantly changing *brasilidade*.

Musical performances of every kind, freed from the all-embracing ideologies of nationality formulated in the large centres of power in the country, are now staged without having to pass through the intermediary of the hegemonic production centres of thought and meaning which reformulate the question of identity in terms calculated to disconcert the most idealistic. However, that does not ensure a completely positive interpretation of the current process of decentralization, for nothing appears to guarantee the producers' control over their different methods of musical expression. Once again, the axes of decision are moved to the local level, that is to say to the authorities of the non-hegemonic national centres representing the more restricted political forces and regionally-based economic interests, except where this displacement is aimed directly at the international scene, where the degree of control is reduced even more drastically. On the other hand, global traffic in cultural goods, including musical events, has never been so intense. This makes it possible, at least in principle, to diversify an individual's perception of their place in the world, their perceptions and the value systems which legitimize them.

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Notes

1. Revised and enlarged version of a paper initially presented at a round table 'A Música como representação do século XX', at the 21st Meeting of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology, at Vitoria, Espírito Santo, April 1998. The author is grateful for the comments of Rafael José de Menezes Bastos, Maria Elizabeth Lucas, Anthony Seeger and Tiago de Oliveira Pinto.
2. Without, however, wishing to reply to the question once posed by Ary Barrosos, author of the internationally successful *Aquarela do Brasil*, to a town councillor in Rio de Janeiro: "Is Your Excellency suggesting that there is a certain link between popular music and party doctrine?" (*apud* Cabral 1997).
3. A dictatorial regime with populist tendencies established by President Getulio Vargas between 1937 and 1945.
4. The custom of popular singing in schools, according to the method elaborated by the eminent composer Heitor Villa-Lobos, culminating in public concerts in the open air on public holidays, by choirs of thousands of young people.
5. Carlos Gomes (1836–1896) is, after Villa-Lobos, the most famous Brazilian composer. His operas, with a marked Italian atmosphere, struck a chord in Europe, especially in Milan, with premières and performances at La Scala.
6. However, it is important to notice that in several instances in his work Mário de Andrade recognises the possibility of a particular and universal art without direct or indirect resonance, with national elements. According to him, it was the result of talents coming from the ordinary. Thus his defence of folklore studies applies to the utopia of a school capable of rationally assimilating particular musical processes and transforming them into universal forms of expression.
7. I refer here to the concept of cultural cannibalism proposed by the Brazilian modernist writer Oswald de Andrade. Briefly, to the ability to assimilate and transform different cultural matrices, seen as a unique feature of the Brazilian people.

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8. Slogan of President Juscelino Kubitscheck's government (1955–1960).
9. During the live recording of one of his most controversial songs, *It is forbidden to forbid* (1968), Caetano Veloso interrupted the song and made a speech criticising the politics of both right and left for their respective intransigent attitudes, while the audience heckled. This happened during the military dictatorship (1964–1985), a period of extreme harshness and political violence.