Brazil is Samba: Rhythm, Percussion, and *Samba* in the Formation of Brazilian National Identity (1902-1958)

by

Lindsay Walsh Class of 2010

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Introduction

Samba. The word itself is musical, percussive. Samba is often depicted as the most Brazilian of musical forms. By 1950 it was such an integral part of Brazilian musical and national identity that one radio announcer, when introducing Brazil's musical traditions, simply stated, "Brazil is samba." Yet it was not always so. Entering the 20th century, samba began its emergence as the most popular musical form of Rio de Janeiro, displacing previous forms such as maxixe and choro. Over time, as the music increasingly emphasized African derived rhythm and percussion in combination with European harmonic and melodic traditions, the music took on deep cultural significance. Samba, a music born of miscegenation that is uniquely and unmistakably Brazilian, became closely linked to evolving perceptions of "racial democracy" and competing definitions of the true, authentic national identity.

Popular definitions of *samba* abound. According to Wikipedia, the music is:

"... a Brazilian dance and musical genre originating in African roots. It is recognized around the world as a symbol of Brazil and the Brazilian Carnival. Considered one of the most popular Brazilian cultural expressions, the samba has become an icon of Brazilian national identity... The modern samba that emerged from the beginning of the century rate is basically 2/4 tempo and varied, with conscious use of the possibilities of chorus sung to the sound of palms and batucada rhythm, and which would add one or more parts, or offices of declamatory verses. Traditionally, the samba is played by strings

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¹ Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Duke University Press, 2004), 23.

(cavaquinho and various types of guitar) and various percussion instruments such as tambourine."²

The World Glossary defines samba as being "...in 2/4 time with a high bass drum beat on the first and third beats, and the lower foundation beat on the second and forth beats." These definitions, like those put forth by countless scholars and academics, emphasize percussion and rhythm. Writing for Grove Music, Gerard Béhauge describes samba as "...mostly in binary meter, samba melodies and accompaniments are highly syncopated." Bryan McCann defines samba as "...a 2/4 rhythm and eight-bar melodic phrases, performed either by solo piano or guitar, cavaquinho, mandolin, and percussion." McGowan and Pessanha, authors of one of the most prolific encyclopedic surveys of Brazilian popular music define samba as: "...the most famous Brazilian song and dance, musically characterized by 2/4 meter and interlocking, syncopated lines in melody and accompaniment."6 One of the more widely utilized academic definition of samba classifies it as a "...sung dance, of African origin, in binary rhythm with obligatory syncopated accompaniment." Each of these definitions strongly relies on rhythmic characteristics (syncopation and percussion) as major defining aspects of samba.

² "Samba," Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samba

³ Appalachian State University, "Samba," World Samba Glossary, http://www.worldsamba.org/home/
⁴ Gerard Béhauge, "Samba," Grove Music Online,

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24449

⁵ McCann, 23.

⁶ Chris McGowan and Ricardo Pessanha, *The Brazilian Sound: Samba, Bossa Nova, and the Popular Music of Brazil*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009)

⁷ Lúcio Rangel, Sambistas e chorões: aspectos e figuras da música popular brasileira, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Francisco Alves), 54. As quoted in David P. Appleby, *The Music of Brazil*, (Austin; University of Texas Press), 112.

These modern, percussion focused definitions of *samba* are widely accepted as the established understanding of *samba*, in both intellectual and popular circles, and are rarely questioned.

But while rhythm and percussion are assumed to be natural, even eternal characteristics of samba, a close listening reveals a different story. The use of batucada⁸-based percussion that would eventually come to define samba and play a strong part in the representation of samba as a synthesis of European and Afro-Brazilian traditions is conspicuously absent in the early output of the genre. The majority of early sambas (1917-1929), as well as a great number of Golden Age (1929-1945) sambas, lacked any form of percussion at all. They instead utilize guitar or brass (most often tuba or trombone) to create rhythmic differentiation and movement. The presence, or lack thereof, of this percussion reflects strongly upon the implied cultural importance of the conception of samba as a musical representation of the rhetoric of racial democracy that would gain traction in the mid-20th century. How did percussion and rhythm come to be so closely tied to the popular conception of samba? How did social theory and race relations affect the incorporation of percussion into the recorded output of musicians? In this project, I seek to augment the sociological and historical scholarship that has already been conducted with my own musical analysis. A close analysis of the use

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⁸ Samba drumming or percussion-playing involving different instruments, including drums, rattles, and bells

⁹ A cultural anthropology theory first presented by Gilberto Freyre in 1933 that promulgated the conception of Brazilian society post-abolition as a patriarchal and equal society that lacked an "inferior race" due to the presence of miscegenation.

of percussion in *samba*, from the inception of the term in 1917 to the Golden Age and beyond, provides insight into the ever-shifting conception of *samba* music, as well as its perceived cultural importance.

This thesis addresses the creation of the modern conception of Brazilian samba music and its intricate connection to the formation of Brazilian national identity through the use of percussion. I track major musical changes that occurred in recorded samba music, with a particular emphasis on how, why, and when percussion and syncopated rhythm became such an integral part of the music. Samba began as an ill-defined musical genre based on instrumentation and structures from European traditions. Over time, the blending within samba of European instrumentation with increasingly pronounced percussion and rhythmic systems generally associated with Afro-Brazilian traditions was perceived, both internally and internationally, as representative of the ideal of racial democracy within Brazil. Following broad popular acceptance of percussion-driven samba as representative of the miscegenetic national identity of Brazil, samba evolved into a unique vehicle that was able to both extol the virtues of the nation as well as voice controversial issues of authenticity and racial inequality. Despite modern day popular and academic constructions of samba as a music that has always been heavily based in Afro-Brazilian percussion systems, my research and analysis of original sound recordings indicates that this heavy emphasis on batucda percussion was, in fact, a relatively slow development that did not occur until the

1930s and 1940s. The steady incorporation of heavier and more prominent percussion in recorded sambas occurred just as Brazil was attempting to define itself as a racial democracy in opposition to the United States, a nation rife with racial tension.

Readers will find that my analysis focuses almost exclusively on music and artists from Rio de Janeiro, to the exclusion of many prolific and noteworthy musicians and compositions from other areas of Brazil. As the capital city, Rio was the seat of the political and cultural happenings in the first half of the 20th century, the source of the majority of record labels and radio stations. By using the music produced by the artists and record labels of Rio I seek to re-examine and re-contextualize the conceptualization of percussion as utilized in *samba*, as well as investigate how the use of percussion was crucial in the formation of the association of *samba* with Brazilian national identity. The study begins in 1902 with the introduction of recording equipment to Brazil and progresses up to 1958, when the introduction of new forms of music such as *Bossa Nova* splintered the national audience and augured the decline of *samba* as the sole musical representative of the country.

Project Overview

The history of Brazilian recorded popular music begins in 1902, with the introduction of recording technology in Brazil. At the outset, a variety of musical

genres were recorded, and no single genre dominated the efforts of the recording studios as *samba* eventually would. The majority of popular music at the time was based in imported forms, such as polka and waltz, and genres were ambiguous. *Maxixe, choro*, and *lundu* were the only popular genres of the time that were perceived as having distinct connections to Brazil, and an analysis of the rhythmic and percussive patterns heard in recorded *maxixe* and *choro* of the time sets up the framework for analysis of songs later released as *samba*.¹⁰

The musician Donga first introduced the term samba into the recorded music sphere in 1917 with the registration, recording, and release of "Pelo telefone". Yet despite the introduction of a new term, the recorded music that was released and termed *samba* was not musically distinct from the *maxixe* and *choro* recordings that had preceded it. In the 1920s, musical groups who sought to tap into a new and unfamiliar commercial opportunity spread the term, despite the fact that many of the songs released with the genre designation *samba* could musically be considered *maxixe* or *choro*. The term *samba* was first popularized on a broad international scale through the musical ensemble the Oito Batutas, who, in an attempt to distinguish themselves to audiences abroad, began the practice of

¹⁰ For further reading on *choro, maxixe*, and other early forms of Brazilian popular music, see Claus Schreiner, *Música Popular Brasileira: A History of Popular Music and the People of Brazil*, (Marion Boyars Publishing, 1993); Gerard Béhague, "Popular Musical Currents in the Art Music of the Early Nationalistic Period in Brazil, Circa 1870-1920", PhD, (Tulane, 1966); Thomas G. Garcia, "The *Choro*, the Guitar and Villa-Lobos," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34, no. 1 (1997); Marc Hertzman, "Surveillance and Difference: The Making of *Samba*, Race, and Nation in Brazil (1880s-1970s)", PhD, (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008).

incorporating percussion instruments into their recorded songs in order to appeal to the Afro-Brazilian heritage of Brazil.¹¹

It wasn't until 1928 that the distinctive syncopation that is now so inherently connected to samba began to be featured in recordings. The rise of the Estácio sound, a heavily syncopated style of playing samba that arose from the Estácio neighborhood, led to the incorporation of heavily syncopated rhythmic patterns. The 1930s saw the release of songs that incorporated these rhythmic patterns as well as the percussion instruments that were more often heard in the favelas rather than the recording studio and extended the association of samba and percussion. The rise of radio allowed these songs to spread beyond the confines of Rio. The ascent of the rhetoric of racial democracy allowed and even encouraged the presence of percussion rooted in African traditions in popular recorded sambas. Percussion and rhythmic syncopation began to become not only associated with samba music but also with the ongoing construction of Brazilian national identity. The two characteristics soon became markers of perceived authenticity, as demonstrated in the musical polemic that developed between the musicians Noel Rosa and Wilson Batista.

This association of percussion and syncopation with authenticity and Brazilian national identity was further manifested in the 1940s with the rise of

¹¹ See Hertzman, "Surveillance and Difference"; Sérgio Cabral, *Pixinguinha: Vida e Obra*, (Rio de Janeiro: Lumiar Editora, 1997); Rafael José De Menezes Bastos. "Brazil in France, 1922: An Anthropological Study of the Congenital International Nexus of Popular Music." <u>Latin American Music Review</u> 29.1 (2008).

samba-exaltação and Ari Barroso and the exportation of samba music abroad through the success of Carmen Miranda. As the rhetoric of racial democracy became more entrenched in Brazilian popular thought, percussion became more and more heavily emphasized in recorded samba music. Brazil sought to further establish the concept that it was a society based upon racial equality by distinguishing itself from the racial discord that was present in the United States in the 1940s. This attempt to distinguish Brazil from the United States was reflected in the massive increase of Afro-Brazilian percussion in the recordings of the era, particularly in those that were included on records and films intended for consumption abroad. As the cultural producers in Brazil sought to convince the consumers in the United States that samba was a music based in racial and ethnic mixture, more and more songs were recorded that featured heavy percussion sections that had not existed in the recorded music released twenty years earlier.

By the 1950s, *samba* had become profoundly connected to the conception of Brazilian national identity. And percussion had become inextricably tied to the conception of *samba*. Heavy, *batucada* based percussion sections became the norm rather than the exception. The time period between 1945 and 1958 saw the emergence of a new, more critical form of *samba* music, pioneered by Afro-Brazilian musicians Wilson Batista and Geraldo Pereira, each of whom sought to reclaim the percussive sounds of the Afro-Brazilian tradition as a powerful method of subverting the rhetoric of racial democracy that still held sway. By that

time, *samba* had become so intrinsically tied to Brazilian national identity that it became one of the few ways that Afro-Brazilian artists could criticize the social and economic conditions present in Brazil; anything presented in the context of *samba* was automatically accepted as inherently Brazilian. Complaints about inequality made by musicians in the context of economic disputes or discrimination were brushed aside as tiresome and 'un-Brazilian', but in the context of *samba* lyrics, these complaints became top selling *Carnival* hits. For several decades percussion had been incorporated into recorded *samba* music seemingly in support of the rhetoric of racial democracy. By the 1950s that same percussion was utilized in order to demonstrate that the racial equality underlying the rhetoric was a myth.

Project Outline and Argument Summary

Samba has often been constructed as the music that is the most Brazilian, the cultural form that best combines Brazil's Portuguese and African heritages, and an expression of its so-called "racial democracy." It is perceived as a music born of miscegenation that is uniquely and unmistakably Brazilian. This perception is based upon the construction of samba music as a combination of European

¹² For further reading on racial democracy see Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala*, (Rio de Janeiro, 1933); Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); Florestan Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Emilia Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Antonio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães, "Racial Democracy", Department of Sociology, University of São Paolo.

harmonic and melodic traditions with African derived rhythmic and percussion traditions, a musical tradition that has been constructed by many generations of Africans, Europeans, and Brazilians. Yet despite the massive popularity of this description, it is not applicable to much of the recorded *samba* music that was released prior to the 1940s. It wasn't until the introduction in 1927 of advanced recording technologies capable of fully capturing the sounds of percussion and the rise of the *Estácio* sound in 1928, that the now characteristic syncopation was introduced. But it wasn't until the late 1930s that percussion began to be regularly included in recorded *sambas*.

The work represented in this thesis draws heavily upon the sociological and historical work produced by, among others, Bryan McCann, Hermano Vianna, Carlos Sandroni, and Lisa Shaw. Using their works as a starting point, I sought to contribute additional insight by utilizing the actual recordings produced during the time periods discussed. Through close listening and analysis of the recordings, I attempt to use the music to augment and occasionally challenge popular conceptions surrounding the music. Original recordings spanning from 1902-1958 served as the principal primary sources for this intellectual endeavor. Although my analysis is drawn from a relatively small sample size in the vast expanse of

¹³ Brian McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil*; Hermano Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music and National Identity in Brazil*, trans. John Charles Chasteen (University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Carlos Sandroni, *Feitiço decente: Transformaçoes do samba no Rio de Janeiro (1917-1933)*, (Rio de Janeiro, 2001). The majority of Portuguese-to-English translations present in this work have been taken from other sources and acknowledged. When a translator is not acknowledged, the translation is my own.

recorded *sambas*, I chose to focus on a few of the most prominent *samba* composers and artists of the time period. This was primarily due to time constraints as well as availability of resources. Focusing on the more prominent musical figures allowed me to draw upon previous scholarship that concentrated on these figures. Additionally, it was my belief that focusing on artists who achieved high levels of popularity would more clearly represent the popular trends of their era, as heard in their recordings. The majority of original recordings used in this text were drawn from the online archives of the Instituto Moreira Salles, a non-profit organization dedicated to the promotion of Brazilian culture. Through the digitization efforts of the Institute, I was able to access an extensive number of original recordings, approximately 220 of which were used in my research. For a full list of all sound recordings used, see the discography.

The conclusions that I have drawn represent an interesting postulation concerning musical aesthetic, authenticity, and identity that could be indicative of broader trends, and could surely benefit from further research. Rather than seeking to impart definitive analysis and answers to these complex issues, I hope to present some of my provisional interpretations and hope that these concepts will be further discussed and investigated in future research.

CHAPTER 1

THE PREDECESSORS OF SAMBA: CHORO, MAXIXE, AND LUNDU (1902-1917)

At the turn of the century, a variety of musical genres ruled in the popular musical consciousness as well as in the recording studios of Brazil. An array of genres gained extensive popularity throughout Brazil, including foreign as well as synthesized music that fused together multiple traditions, and no single genre dominated Brazilian popular music as *samba* eventually would. The fascination with European culture, traditions, and musical forms that had become popular in Brazil during the mid-to late- 19th century continued into the 20th century, and genres such as polka, waltz, schottische, and mazurka joined the already popular folkgenres of *lundu* and *modinha*, and dominated the musical consciousness of Rio de Janeiro, in particular the salons and homes of the bourgeoisie. Each of these new European forms was associated with an accompanying dance, and as the dance increased in popularity, the accompanying music did as well.

Of these European based genres, polka had the most widespread popularity, gaining acceptance in almost all strata of the Carioca populace, as well as around the rest of the world. The polka, a lively couple-dance developed in Bohemia in the early 19th century, is characterized by a quick and lively tempo and is in 2/4 duple meter.¹ After its introduction to Brazil in 1845, it promptly gained

¹ 2/4 meter is characterized by two beats per measure.

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widespread acceptance in Brazilian music and dance culture and was adopted and adapted becoming the *polca* of Brazil rather than the polka of Bohemia.² The word *polcar* even came to be a term used to describe a "new easygoing, carefree lifestyle in the salons and on the streets".³

One of the most defining aspects of Brazilian *polca* that would come to influence almost all forms of Carioca popular music was the *tresillo* rhythmic paradigm. The *tresillo* rhythmic structure is defined by the grouping of eighth note patterns within duple meter into groupings of 3+3+2, most often written as such⁴:



This *tresillo* rhythmic structure would quickly become the foundation for a variety of popular Brazilian musical forms, including *polcas*, *habaneras*, and both Argentine and Brazilian *tangos*. This ubiquitous rhythmic pattern would also come to be associated with the hybrid musical forms that would later emerge as a result of the combination of *polca* with various folkgenres such as *lundus* and *modinhas*.

³ Klaus Schreiner, *Música Popular Brasileira: A History of Popular Music and the People of Brazil*, (Marion Boyars Publishing, 1993), 87.

² In this work, *polca* as spelled with a C refers to the Brazilian form and polka as spelled with a K to the European form.

The term *tresillo*, originally utilized by Cuban musicians and scholars, actually means triplet in Spanish, and is technically a misnomer for this syncopated, asymmetrical rhythmic pattern. The term was first adapted to Brazilian popular musics by Carlos Sandroni, and although a misnomer, it stuck.

Musical Synthesis: Joaquim Antônio da Silva Calado, Ernesto Nazareth, and Maxixe

One of these resulting forms was the *maxixe* (pronounced mah-she-she), a hybrid form that combined the individually popular *polca*, *lundu*, and *habanera* forms into a synthesized form.⁵ It is likely that the *maxixe* was born from the innovation of the lower-class musicians of the *Cidade Nova* section of Rio who were hired to play the European dance forms in the concert halls and the salons of the upper classes, and it was these musicians who would retrace their steps and bring *maxixe* back into the salons after it gained popularity.

In its earliest form, the term *maxixe* referred to a sensuous couples dance, evolved from the *polca* as well as the *lundu*. The dance involved very close contact between the dancing partners, as well as swift, often sensual hip movements that were referred to as *requebradas*. The dance was strongly frowned upon by the upper classes of Rio, who found the dance to be vulgar, inappropriate, and morally degrading. But the dance flourished in the city's red light districts. The white, middle class men who came to dance *maxixe* with the neighborhood women—many of whom were black or mixed-race, as well as the musicians who played it, assisted in spreading the dance into the south-side neighborhoods.

⁵ Schreiner, 88. Also see Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, (Duke University Press, 2009).

⁶ The lundu is considered by many people to be Brazil's "first" national music. See Hertzman for further details.

Eventually, the term *maxixe* would musically become it's own ambiguous genre, a genre closely related to the Brazilian *polca* as well as Brazilian *tango*. The two composers most responsible for the creation and dissemination of *maxixe* were Joaquim Antônio da Silva Calado and Ernesto Nazareth. Through their works these two composers and musicians, one a flute player and the other a *pianeiro*, would come to systematize and establish the rhythmic and melodic tropes that would eventually define the *maxixe*.

Joaquim Antônio da Silva Calado, born in 1848, was a flute virtuoso and a well-known composer of Brazilian popular music. He was musically involved in all of the European popular genres of his time, but was most renowned for his polkas. He is credited with incorporating "into the European polka all the local elements that eventually transformed it into the authentic Brazilian popular species known as the *maxixe*." According to Béhauge's account, *maxixe* represented the first truly Brazilian musical form, and one of the defining aspects of this "Brazilian-ness" was the use of syncopated rhythmic structures in order to provide a sense of rhythmic displacement, a characteristic often attributed to African influence. This syncopated displacement was most often found in the

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⁷ Gerard Béhague. "Maxixe." In Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18147 (accessed January 4, 2010).

⁸ Gerard Béhague. "Calado, Joaquim Antônio da Silva." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04569 (accessed January 5, 2010).

⁹ Recent scholarship has begun to question the previously accepted equation of syncopation=African. See Kofi Agawu, "The Invention of 'African Rhythm'", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48, no. 3 (1995); Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, and Positions*, (Routledge, 2003).

bass accompaniment of the *maxixes*, and was initially based in the *tresillo* paradigm.

The tresillo pattern can be heard in "Cruzes! Minha prima", one of Calado's most famous compositions and one of the first maxixes. The song was recorded in 1912 for Casa Edison, one of the first Brazilian recording studios, and is actually categorized as a "polca da flauta" in the spoken introduction that precedes the recorded song. 10 The song has also been termed a maxixe, a polca, and a *choro*. 11 The song is actually performed by an ensemble more typically associated with *choros*, another type of urban popular music, yet exhibits musical characteristics congruent with *maxixe*. The ensemble consists of a flute that carries the melodic line, a piano that provides a chordal and harmonic foundation (in most choro this position is in fact filled by a cavaquinho), and a guitar that provides a steadily moving bass line. It is in this bass line that the tresillo pattern is most clearly heard. The guitar maintains the syncopated tresillo pattern while the flute line dances above, evoking the quickly moving dance steps traditionally associated with the *polca* and then the *maxixe*. This syncopation would remain crucial as a defining characteristic in the formation of samba as a genre after 1917, and distinctive syncopation would remain inherent to the genre of samba. The tresillo

¹⁰ Joaquim Antônio da Silva Calado, "Cruzes! Minha prima," original recording by Agenor Bens and Artur Camilo, Odeon, 1914.

As classified by the archives of the Instituto Moreira Salles (IMS).

paradigm would continue until the introduction and subsequent canonization of the rhythmic patterns of the *Estácio* sound in the 1920s.

Another composer responsible for the introduction of *maxixe* into Carioca popular culture was Ernesto Nazareth. Nazareth, an accomplished piano player, was prolific in his output, having composed and released at least 220 compositions for piano at the time of his death. His compositions covered the gamut of popular genres, including *polcas* and waltzes, although the most common genre applied to Nazareth's piano music was tango or tango brasileiro. 12 Yet despite these genre designations, Béhauge maintains that "Nazareth's tangos can be considered authentic maxixes", due in most part to their rhythmic syncopation. 13 Yet because maxixe was considered to be a "vulgar dance" by Nazareth and other members of the upper classes, the songs retained the genre markings of tango, a designation that was more immediately acceptable in the salons and dance halls of Carioca high society. ¹⁴ His song "Brejeiro", recorded by the Banda do Corpo de Bombeiros for Casa Edison in 1904, was given a variety of different genre designations.¹⁵ In the spoken introduction of the recording the song is declared a tango, yet it was subsequently also designated as maxixe as well as

¹² David P. Appleby, *The Music of Brazil*, (University of Texas Press, 1983), 81.

¹³ Gerard Béhague, "Popular Musical Currents in the Art Music of the Early Nationalistic Period in Brazil, Circa 1870-1920", PhD, (Tulane, 1966), 160.

Mozart de Araújo, "Ernesto Nazareth," *Revista Brasileira de Cultura* 4, no. 12 (April-June 1972),
 As quoted in Appleby.
 Ernesto Nazareth, "Brejeiro," original recording by Banda do Corpo de Bombeiros, Odeon, 1904.

choro. 16 The reason behind these varying genre designations is unclear, although it is possible that as nationalism began to integrate itself into Carioca musical tastes, these songs were given new genre designations that aligned the songs more closely with new genres that were perceived to be more "authentically Brazilian".

This search for an "authentic Brazilian" music, one that truly embodied "Brazilian-ness", would be a crucial factor both in the creation of samba music, as well as its eventual domination of the musical market and the popular consciousness. The multiple genre designations of "Brejeiro" indicate the fluid parameters of the majority of Brazilian popular music at the time, illustrating that a song that is considered one genre, in this case tango, can also fall into other genre categories. This was also true of the music of Calado, as many of his compositions were given a variety of different genre designations, including the previously mentioned "Cruzes! minha prima". It is fairly clear that although certain generalities can be attributed to each of these genres, for the most part these genre designations are vague and imprecise.

One aspect of *maxixe* that is present in both these songs is that it was a music meant for dancing (although primarily outside of the bourgeois salons). The music was characterized by a "forced, lightly syncopated rhythm", as stated previously, and was accompanied by lively improvised steps. The quickly moving dance associated with *maxixe* is easy to imagine when listening to the brisk musical

As designated by IMS.Schreiner, 88.

movement of the recorded maxixe "Fandanguaçu". The song, recorded by Banda da Casa Edison (the recordings label's house band) in 1902, has an upbeat tempo and moves briskly. 18 The instrumentation is quite different from that of "Cruzes! minha prima", retaining the flute but replacing the guitar with a tuba, the piano and cavaquinho with trumpets and other brass horns, and adding background percussion. This instrumentation was more appropriately designed for the dancehalls and celebrations where the ensemble would need to be heard by many people in a more raucous environment. The percussion provides a quick and steady rhythmic background over which the brass instruments provide melodic and harmonic embellishments. As the song begins, the lower brass, including tuba and trumpets, provide the initial melodic lines, while a flute provides syncopated upbeat accentuations and occasional step-wise melodic runs. The song then shifts into the second (B) section in which the instruments trade musical roles, with the trumpets now joining the flute to provide the melodic line and the tuba maintaining the harmonic and rhythmic support on the upbeats. The two factions of the brass instruments continue to trade off as the song progresses, maintaining the listener's interest throughout the song. The duple meter of the song lends itself to the same lilting feel as a polka has, and one can imagine the swift dance that would accompany the music.

¹⁸ "Fandanguaçu," original recording by Banda da Casa Edison, Odeon, 1902.

Another example of a *maxixe* recorded by the same artist as "Fandanguaçu" contains both similar elements as well as very different ones. In the song, "Será possível?" the tempo is slowed down dramatically, giving a much more stately, almost waltz like quality to the song, even though it is still planted firmly in a 2/4 time signature. Additionally, the absence of percussion in the majority of the song removes the driving feeling present in "Fandanguaçu". The instrumentation remains generally similar, with the ensemble consisting almost exclusively of brass instruments, but with a guitar providing a consistent bass line rather than a tuba and a trombone taking on the lead melodic role. Additionally, the upbeat accents remain, and the trade-off of melodic lines and rhythmic and harmonic emphasis between instrument groupings remains, providing an aural shift that allows the song to remain interesting and engaging throughout.

Musical Synthesis: Choro

In addition to the *maxixe* another popular genre emerged as a "typically Brazilian" musical form. The term *choro* has a variety of divergent meanings; it can refer to the instrumental ensemble itself, the instrumental music performed, or the dance that is meant to accompany the music. There are many varying hypotheses as to the origin of the term *choro*, with Appleby drawing a connection between the genre name *choro* and the Portuguese verb *chorar*, meaning to cry or to weep.

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¹⁹ "Será possível," original recording by Banda da Casa Edison, Odeon, 1902.

Béhague links the term *choro* to *xolo*, Afro-Brazilian dances that were only performed on certain days of the week. But scholars such as Thomas Garcia argue in favor of the interpretation presented by Ary Vasconcelos arguing that the term descended from *Choromeleiros*, the name of a colonial era musical fraternity.²⁰

It is particularly difficult to trace the origin of the term *choro* because of the massive quantity of music that the term can cover. Ary Vasconcelos writes:

When I refer to the choro, I use it in the broad sense of the instrumental music which formed, basically, the repertoire of the choroes: polkas, tangos brasileiros, valsas, mazurcas, maxixes, xotes,... In principal, all Brazilian instrumental music, which contain at least some elements of Brazilian character, may be considered the choro.²¹

The most consistent aspect of the genre lies within the typical instrumentation, which includes a wind instrument (most typically flute), *cavaquinho*, and sevenstring guitar. This ensemble was descended from the already popular *barbeiro* ensembles, small groups of barber-musicians that employed these instruments. Even when other instruments were added, a wind instrument, *cavaquinho*, and guitar remained the core of the *choro* ensemble. Musically, *choro* was loosely categorized by the different roles of the various instruments of the ensemble. As Garcia writes:

The flute played the melody, the guitar the bass, and cavaquinho provided the rhythmic base in the middle register... A choro

²⁰ Thomas G. Garcia, "The *Choro*, the Guitar and Villa-Lobos," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34, no. 1 (1997): 57-66; Appelby, *The Music of Brazil*; Béhague, "Popular Musical Currents"; Ary Vasconcelos, *Carinhoso, Etc.* (Rio: Grafico Editora, 1984),

²¹ Vasconcelos, 10.

ensemble piece usually featured a soloist playing a highly ornamented version of a familiar melody (usually on a wind instrument or mandolin), while the supporting instruments improvised counterpoint. Bass and harmony were provided by the guitar, seven-string guitar and cavaquinho (which at times also had a solo or contrapuntal function)... The genre, initially improvised, was later notated, but it was expected that the players would maintain an improvisatory approach in their performances.²²

The music was entirely instrumental, which provided extensive opportunity for improvisational stylings. Rhythmically, the *choro* employed the same syncopated binary rhythmic figures as maxixe, and eventually, samba. In fact, the two composers known for shaping and popularizing maxixe, Calado and Nazareth, have also been credited with shaping and popularizing *choro*. Some of the most famous songs written by the two men were classified as choro; "A flor amorosa", written by Calado, is often considered to be the first choro ever written, and Nazareth's "Brejeiro" has the distinction of being tied for the position of most recorded.²³ Many of the most famous songs written by the two men were classified as *choro*. Yet, once again, one must consider the nebulous definitions of each musical genre, as both "A flor amorosa" and "Brejeiro" have also been classified as maxixes and tangos.²⁴

Many of the first *choros* had relatively slow tempos and a generally melancholy feel to them, possibly contributing to the connection between the

²² Garcia, 60.

²³ Joaquim Antônio da Silva Calado, "A flor amoroso," original recording by Irmãos Eymard, Odeon,

²⁴ As classified by IMS.

genre's name and the Portuguese verb *chorar*, meaning to cry or weep. This melancholy feeling can be heard in "Só para moer", a *choro* recorded in 1904 by Patápio Silva for Casa Edison.²⁵ In this song the instrumentation consists solely of piano (replacing the *cavaquinho*) providing a chordal foundation and a flute playing the melancholy melody line. The extensive use of chromaticism in the melody line creates a mournful feeling, musically embodying the word *chorar*.

This melancholy feeling is again present in "Candinho dê suas ordens", a song recorded by the *Banda da Casa Edison* three years after "Só para moer". The lugubrious sentiment is still present, although this time it is played by brass, including trumpets, tuba, and trombone.²⁶ The variance of the instruments detracts moderately from the lugubrious aura of the song as the use of a myriad collection of brass instruments gives the song more of a feeling of being performed by a marching band, particularly the cymbal crashes that occur throughout the song at the end of the eight-bar phrases. This marching band quality is also present in "Zezé", a *choro* recorded in 1910 that was also considered a *polca*.²⁷

The genre further lost its connection to the melancholy as time progressed, moving away from the *chorar* aspect of the *choros*. Although melancholy *choros* were still recorded (with names like "Sofres porque queres" translated to "You Suffer Because You Want To"), upbeat, energetic, and lively *choros* were also

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Viriato Figueira da Silva, "Só para moer," original recording by Patápio Silva, Odeon, 1904
 "Candinho dê suas ordens," original recording by Banda da Casa Edison, Odeon, 1907.

²⁷ João Antônio, "Zezé," original recording by João Antônio, Favorite Record, 1910,

recorded, such as Casemiro Rocha's "Rato rato". 28 The song, proclaimed a polca in the recorded verbal introduction, also falls within the realm of a choro. The ensemble consists of guitar providing the bass line, cavaquinho on rhythmic and harmonic background, and trumpet providing the quickly moving melody line. There are elements of syncopation in both the bass line as well as the melody line, with the guitar occasionally falling back into the *tresillo* paradigm. Yet unlike with previous songs where the tresillo pattern created the foundation of the song, in this case the pattern is used sparingly, rather than repeating steadily throughout. The trumpet seems almost to be calling the listener to dance as it trills throughout the song. The trumpet melody seems to engage in a sequential call-and-response with itself throughout the song, as the song employs an AABBACCAA form. And even with the inclusion of brass instruments in some songs designated choros, the main core of the ensemble, flute, cavaquinho, and guitar, still remained the instruments most typically associated with the *choro*. When *samba* was born in 1917, it would be born from this instrumentation.

Despite the conception of *maxixe* and *choro* as the "most authentically Brazilian" musical forms, they were not quick to gain the popularity in the recording studios that the music associated with Europe did. Both *choro* and *maxixe* were introduced in the late 19th century and are considered by most scholars to have been quite popular amongst the Carioca populace, particularly

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²⁸ Pixinguinha, "Sofres porque queres," original recording by Pixinguinha, Odeon, 1915; Casemiro Rocha, "Rato rato," original recording by Casemiro Rocha, Odeon, 1907.

amongst the lower classes. Yet this popularity did not translate into the recording studios and the record labels. In 1911, well past the introduction of these genres, *choros* and *maxixes* accounted for less than 3% of the record label's song purchases. (Table 1)²⁹ Instead, European based music dominated the songs purchased, with polka, waltz, and tango occupying the top three positions and accounting for more than half of the total songs purchased in the year. Additionally, not a single *choro* or *maxixe* made it into the top ten songs of the year.³⁰ It is important to recall the amorphous nature of these genres in analyzing this data, as perhaps a musical *maxixe* snuck in under the label tango. Yet even if *maxixe* songs were considered under the tango label, it remains interesting that only one song with the actually genre labeling of *maxixe* was purchased by the label, most probably reflecting the still present moral apprehension surrounding the genre.

It is probable that the record company was producing records that were the most likely to be purchased. "Polkamania" was still strong amongst the upper classes, and European based song forms such as the waltz and the schottische remained popular. In all likelihood, these upper class listeners of European based music were more likely to purchase a record than were the lower class listeners where *maxixe* was popular. The music of the people and the music considered "of

²⁹ Hertzman 221

³⁰ Arturo, "Time Machine, 1902-2002: I centenário do disco brasileiro," Hot100Brasil, http://www.hot100brasil.com/timemachinemain.html. As calculated by record and sheet music sales.

Brazil" was generally kept out of the recording studio beyond what was recorded as a tango. This would begin to change with the introduction of *samba* in 1917. *Samba*, a genre that would be born out of the dance moves of *maxixe*, the instrumentation of *choro*, and the typical rhythms of both of them, would soon come to dominate the musical consciousness of Rio de Janeiro. *Samba* would eventually replace both *maxixe* and *choro* as the most "authentically Brazilian" music (although *choro* has more recently undergone a revival), and unlike *maxixe* and *choro*, *samba* would come to dominate not only the minds of the people, but also the airwaves of the radio stations and the resources of the recording studios.

Table 1. Songs By Genre (Casa Edison, 1911)

Genre	Number (%)	Total Price	Avg. Price/Song
	n = 367	(in mil-réis)	(in mil-réis)
Polka	117 (31.9)	2:062\$900	17\$630
Waltz	97 (26.4)	1:836\$900	18\$940
Tango	41 (11.2)	1:001\$600	24\$430
Dobrado	39 (10.6)	766\$800	19\$660
Schottische	29 (7.6)	501\$500	17\$290
Mazurka	12 (3.3)	233\$800	19\$480
Miscellaneous*	9 (2.5)	347\$300	38\$590
Marcha	8 (2.2)	149\$200	18\$650
Choro	8 (2.2)	106\$800	13\$350
Quadrille	7 (1.9)	158\$500	22\$640

Source: CEST. Documentos. Direito Autoral.

*Miscellaneous = Batuque (1), Cançoneta (1), Maxixe (1), Pas de Quatre (1), Peça Característica (1), Salsa (1), n/t (3)

CHAPTER 2

"PELO TELEFONE" AND THE OITO BATUTAS (1917-1928)

"Pelo telefone" and the Introduction of Samba

In 1917, a musician named Ernesto Joaquim Maria dos Santos, more commonly known by his stage name Donga, registered the song "Pelo telefone". The genre of the song was samba. It went on to become the smash hit of the 1917 Carnival season, eventually being recorded by Baiano for the prominent Rio de Janeiro record label Casa Edison. Because of this success, "Pelo telefone" has commonly been attributed as being the "first samba" or the "first recorded samba" in Brazil. In this chapter I will cover the time-period from 1917 to 1928, during which the release of "Pelo telefone" introduced samba as a genre term into the popular music consciousness of Rio de Janeiro, although the song musically hardly differed from the *choros* and *maxixes* that preceded it. Although the genre designation samba would be applied to a variety of different songs from the period 1917-1928, musically the term was ambiguous until the creation of the Estácio sound in 1928, which would finally create the music that is today popularly conceived of as samba. Until this introduction of a musically distinct samba, the music of Brazil would continue to be represented by choros and maxixes, most distinctively through the musical output of the Oito Batutas (Eight

Aces), a musical ensemble that Donga helped form and that gained great popularity during the time.

Although "Pelo telefone" has often been referred to as the "first samba", or the "first recorded samba", these designations are not technically correct, as samba had been an amorphous term that had existed and had been applied to a variety of musical and religious practices long before 1917. It was not even the first time that Casa Edison had recorded and released songs under the genre title of samba, yet the success of Donga's samba was unprecedented. This success helped to spread the term samba amongst the urban population of Rio de Janeiro, beyond the houses of the *Tias* and into the consciousness of the middle class of Rio. As Flávio Silva writes, "[The song's] great contribution to the history of 'urban samba'..." is found primarily in that it "spread...the term 'samba' among middle-class Carnival-goers." This spread can be seen in the use of the term in the Rio press, as instances of the term *samba* increased dramatically post-1917. As Silva found, the word was used three times in the press during Carnival in 1916, twenty-two times during Carnival in 1917 (not including references to "Pelo telefone"), and thirty-seven times during Carnival in 1918.³ The term samba had exploded into the minds and musical consciousness of Rio.

This explosion of samba's popularity is particularly interesting in light of

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¹ Donga and Mauro de Almeirda, "Pelo telefone," original recording by Bahiano, Odeon, 1915.

² Flávio Silva. "Pelo telefone e a História Do Samba." *Cultura* 8, no. 28 (January-June 1978). Translated and cited in Hertzman, 234.

³ Silva, "Origines de la samba urbain à Rio de Janeiro," 235. Translated and cited in Hertzman, 235.

the fact that "Pelo telefone" as a song did not vary musically from the already established forms of the Brazilian tango, the maxixe, and the choro. In fact, "Pelo telefone" adhered strongly to the musical forms already present in the prior genres, including conforming to the *tresillo* (3+3+2) rhythmic paradigm in the patterns of the bass line and remaining within the instrumentation guidelines of both *choro* and maxixe. As Donga himself said, "...the samba was born from the maxixe, the batucada and the rancho songs, in the gatherings at Tia Ciata's." Yet more than just being born from the maxixe, early sambas such as "Pelo telefone" for all practical purposes were *maxixes*, with hardly any musical difference between the two. In a later interview, Donga recalled, "...In order to achieve the easiest penetration of the music, [I suggested that] we not stray very far from the characteristics of maxixe." Musically, "Pelo telefone" in no way differentiated samba as a separate and distinct musical genre. The biggest difference between Donga's samba and previously released maxixes was that Donga's samba featured lyrics, whereas the *maxixe* was primarily an instrumental genre. ⁶ Yet even the addition of lyrics was not a definitive characteristic of the emerging samba genre, as later songs released under the genre designation samba remained lyric-less. It would take at least a decade more for the rhythmic distinctions and syncopations

⁴ J. Muniz, *Do Batuque a Escola de Samba*, (Edições Símbolo, 1976), 40. Translated by Kimson Frank Plaut. (pg 98)

⁵ "Donga Recorda o Rancho e Vê Cossacos no Frevo." O Globo, 5 December 1966. Translated and cited by Marc Hertzman.

⁶ The lyrical tradition displayed in "Pelo telefone" can most likely be traced back to the *lundu* tradition of Brazil.

to begin to cohere into the sound that would come to define *samba*. Rather, the cultural importance of "Pelo telefone" lay primarily in the introduction for the citizens of Rio de Janeiro to the undefined term *samba*, rather than an overhaul of current musical traditions.

This is musically reinforced by the subsequent sambas that were released soon after "Pelo telefone". The song "Tia chica deixa disso", recorded in 1918 by the Grupo Moringa and released by Casa Edison, was classified as a samba upon its release. Yet the song varies distinctly from "Pelo telefone" and in fact has more in common musically with the *choro* "Rato, Rato", or the *maxixe* "Fandanguacu". Unlike "Pelo telefone", which has a stately, almost plodding feel to it (countered by the tresillo pattern in the bass), the pace of "Tia chica deixa disso" is much more frenetic, with a brisk, constant *cavaquinho* part and a quickly moving bass line that gives the song a strong feeling of moving forward. In this respect it is far more strongly tied to the upbeat maxixes and choros that had previously been recorded. Additionally, "Tia chica deixa disso" does not have lyrics, an omission that separates it from the primarily lyrical samba that would emerge on the radio. Yet at the time of its release, "Tia chica deixa disso" was distinctly classified a *samba*, despite its musical connections to *maxixe* and *choro*. This would be true for many of the songs released as sambas in the time from 1917 to 1928, including subsequent songs released by Donga, Baiano, and the

⁷ José Napolitano, "Tia chica deixa disso," original recording by Grupo Moringa, Odeon, 1918.

Grupo do Pixinguinha.

The amorphous distinctions of genres previously introduced in Chapter 1 in reference to *maxixes* and *choros* continued into the 1920s and became even less defined with the new introduction of *samba*. Rather than make musical distinctions more clear, the introduction of the term *samba* in 1917 generally just made them more ambiguous, as songs that were released could now be termed *sambas*, *maxixes*, or *choros* but sound very similar. For all intents and purposes, early *sambas* could easily have been classified as *maxixes* or *choros*, and frequently a single song was classified within a variety of genres, including "Pelo telefone", which at different times was described as *samba*, *samba-carnavalesco*, *tango*, *samba-maxixe*, *modinha*, *and canção*. *Samba* as a term now existed as a commonly used genre description, but *samba* as a music lacked distinct meaning until the introduction of the *Estácio* sound in the late 1920s.

Os Oito Batutas and the Trajectory of Brazilian Popular Music

Despite the immense success of "Pelo telefone", Donga achieved his greatest accalaim as a member of a *choro* ensemble rather than a composer. In the late 1910s Donga, along with the esteemed flautist Pixinguinha (also a regular at the homes of the *tias*), formed the musical ensemble the Oito Batutas. Donga and Pixinguinha both had long histories in the Rio music scene, including in Carnival bands, and both came from relatively privileged musical backgrounds, Pixinguinha

in particular. The group formed when Donga, Pixinguinha, Pixinguinha's brother China, and another musician, Raul Palmeiri, were granted a contract with the Cinema Palais, an esteemed, high-end theater located downtown.

The ensemble played music in the lobby of the theater, and the band soon garnered other high-end engagements and wide-spread acclaim. The first musical incarnation of the group consisted of flute, three guitars, a *cavaquinho*, mandolin, *ganzá* (a rattle or shaker), and *reco-reco* (a hollow, grooved gourd that produces a sound similar to that of the *güiro* found in salsa conjuntos).

As the group traveled to São Paulo and Northern Brazil the group of musicians from Rio "helped chart a musical map of Brazil", eventually coming to be perceived by many as an embodiment of 'authentic' Brazil. This perception of the group as an 'authentic' representation of Brazil was assisted by a transition that began to replace indigenous figures with Afro-Brazilians in the conception of the nation. Simultaneously, popular thought began to shift away from the concept of 'whitening' that had been so popular in the late 19th century and towards the concept of 'racial democracy', a theory "...which embraced the nation's diverse origins and suggested that its various peoples had mixed in a relatively benevolent manner to form a unique Brazilian race." The "mestiço paradigm" began to gain favor, as *mulatos* began to be valorized as uniquely Brazilian. This increasing acceptance extended to *samba* and allowed it to gain favor as a cultural movement.

⁹ Hertzman, 256.

¹⁰ Ibid, 258.

As China, the brother of Pixinguinha, stated in an interview with *O Jornal*:

"...the *mulato*, when he has good hair and clean skin, insists on denying his African blood. But blood runs deep, and all of far-off Africa appears in him, when he least expects it. In order to counter the illusion of whiteness that is so cherished today, allow me to refer to many *mulatos*, talented musicians. Who brought *samba* into society? It was the *mulato*." ¹¹

This movement towards the theory of racial democracy and the "mestiço" paradigm" was one of the major factors in the eventual acceptance (by many, but not all) of the Batutas and their music as a legitimate representation of Brazilian national identity both at home and abroad. The instrumentation of the group is in and of itself telling of the shift towards recognition of Afro-Brazilian cultural contributions. The inclusion of ganzá and reco-reco, percussion instruments that were not frequently found in the recorded music of the time, was one of the first instances of the inclusion of percussion as a means to lend legitimacy as a representation of national identity. Although both the musicians tasked with playing these instruments more often than not played other instruments, such as the mandolin and the guitar, the inclusion of these two light percussion instruments in the line-up foreshadowed the eventual association of percussion with authenticity. The reco-reco, with its connections to Angola, embodied the newly forged connection of popular Carioca culture to Afro-Brazilian cultural traditions.

¹¹ "Os Reis Do Choro e Do Samba: Octavio Vianna, 'o China,' Violão Seguro e Voz Afinada Dos '8 Batutas'." *O Jornal*, 29 January 1925. Translated and cited in Hertzman, 299.

Yet even though the two percussion instruments were included in the line up of the Batutas from the beginning, they emerged far more audible and distinct in the music recorded and released after the Batutas' tours abroad, and the subsequent solidification of the group's status as representatives of Brazilian musical and national identity. In the one song that the Oito Batutas had in the top 40 most popular songs prior to their trip to Paris, there is no trace of ganzá or reco-reco. The song, "Já te digo", is classified as a samba, and features Pixinguinha's distinctive, chirping flute lines, as well as a call and response vocal line. 12 Cavaquinho, mandolin, and guitar are all present, but the percussion instruments were not utilized. In contrast, the songs that the Batutas recorded for Victor after their tours abroad feature these instruments much more, in particular the reco-reco. "Lá-ré", a choro recorded by the Batutas for Victor, utilizes the reco-reco. Again, Pixinguinha's distinctive chirping flute line is present, but now, in addition to the *cavaquinho*, mandolin, and guitar heard in the previous recording there is also the rhythmic backing of the reco-reco. 13 The inclusion of the recoreco is particularly interesting in "P'ra quem é...", a maxixe recorded by the Batutas for Victor. In this song, the reco-reco balances out the use of the saxophone, an instrument introduced to Pixinguingha during his time in Paris and typically associated with American jazz bands. 14 The Batutas countered those

Pixinguinha and Otávio Viana, "Já te digo," original recording by Oito Batutas, Victor, 1923.
 Pixinguinha, "Lá-ré," original recording by Oito Batutas, Victor.

¹⁴ J Bicudo, "P'ra quem é...," original recording by Oito Batutas, Victor, 1923.

who might claim they had been Americanized and question their continuing authenticity by utilizing the *reco-reco*, an instrument at that point considered firmly grounded in Brazilian-ness.

It is also telling that the percussion is present in the *maxixes* and the *choros* recorded by the Batutas, but not in their sole song classified as a *samba*. Yet with the creation and popularization of the *Estácio* sound in 1928, the equation of percussion with authenticity would eventually transfer over to conceptions of *samba*. The use of percussion instruments in recorded *sambas* would continue to be a method of evoking a connection to Afro-Brazilian cultural heritage and proving legitimacy and authenticity in a society influenced by the theory of racial democracy. With advances in recording technology and the introduction of electromagnetic recording in 1927, the ability of recording artists to include a broader variety of percussion instruments, such as drums, in their recordings would open a whole new conception of authenticity as represented by rhythm and percussion.

The Batutas Abroad

This conception of the Batutas as representatives of national identity was further emphasized when the group was chosen to represent Brazil to foreign entities and representatives of nations, such as the king and queen of Belgium as well as the United States ambassador. But the most important of these engagements was when the Batutas were sent abroad on a six-month tour to Paris

in 1922. Sponsored by Arnaldo Guinle, a millionaire entrepreneur associated with a nationalist movement in defense of popular culture, the Oito Batutas traveled to Paris as representatives of a music that was the embodiment of "nacional brasileira" (national Brazilian). The trip inspired a great debate in newspapers and journals as to whether or not the Oito Batutas were an appropriate group to represent the nation in Paris, at the time considered to be not only a city, but also the cultural capital of the world, and a reference point for Brazilian culture. The concept of sending a group composed of mixed-race musicians to perform Brazilian popular music, in the words of one journalist "pardavascos (mulattos) playing guitars, pandeiros, and other rudimentary instruments", at the time concept of rather than a white, elite performer of the Western canon was a dramatic change in racial and cultural conception of the nation.

Yet the most important aspect of the Batutas' tour to Paris, at least in relation to this study, can be found in the types of music the Batutas played during their time there. The Batutas were a musical ensemble famous for their *choros* and their *maxixes*, their *lundus* and the music of the rural countryside. For the most part, the 'authentic' representation of Brazil that the Oito Batutas musically presented to the audience at their Paris engagements consisted of the

¹⁵ Rafael José De Menezes Bastos. "Brazil in France, 1922: An Anthropological Study of the Congenital International Nexus of Popular Music." <u>Latin American Music Review</u> 29.1 (2008): 1-28. Project MUSE. Wesleyan University Library, Middletown CT. 18 Nov. 2009 http://muse.ihu.edu/.

¹⁶ Sérgio Cabral, *Pixinguinha: Vida e Obra* (Lumiar Editora, 1997), 73. Translated and Cited by Marc Hertzman.

choros and maxixes for which the Batutas were famous in Brazil. By July 1922, the end of the Batutas' tenure in Paris, "maxixe...[was] very well known in the city."¹⁷ Even though the Batutas were advertised in French newspapers such as Le Figaro and Le Journal as "virtuosos called the kings of rhythm and of samba" 18 and proclamations were made by ex-patriot Brazilians that the Batutas were "...the initiators of samba abroad" and "specialists and introducers of our samba''²⁰, it is most likely that what was presented as samba at the shows in Paris remained firmly within the musical boundaries of the *maxixe* and the *choro*, as it did at home in Brazil. In all likelihood, the only aspect that differentiated samba from maxixe to the Parisian audience was the variance in the dance that accompanied the music, as samba amongst the Parisians was considered to be the "paradigmatic example of the of the fantaisiste type of the danses nouvelles"²¹ that had become all the rage. Musically, what was touted in Paris as samba could in fact have been termed maxixe or choro, just as the samba concurrently being released in Brazil was ambiguously classified. Rafael José De Menezes Bastos proposes an interesting and plausible explanation for this emphasis on samba, despite the term's musical ambiguity. His theory is based around the conception of the foreign 'other'; in this case with an emphasis on the Afro-Brazilian make up

¹⁷ Menezes Bastos, 9.

¹⁸ Menezes Bastos, 12. Translated by Menezes Bastos.

¹⁹ "A propósito dos Oito Batutas. In: A Noite", Centro de Referência da História Republicana Brasileira, http://www.republicaonline.org.br.

²⁰ "A Propósito Dos 'Oito Batutas'." *A Noite*, 25 September 1922. Translated by Marc Hertzman

²¹ Menezes Bastos, 10.

of the Batutas. even though as has been discussed, the term was musically meaningless. He states:

"...samba was presented as their trade-mark, constructed in direct opposition to jazz. In choosing samba as the group's characteristic sound, it is likely that the campaign was attempting to avoid any possible association of Les Batutas with Argentinean tango and its attributed whiteness, an association that would have been more likely had they opted for maxixe. Furthermore, an emphasis on samba may have been intended to emphasize the effectively nouveau spirit of the group's musicality."²²

In essence, the Oito Batutas' tenure in Paris served the same purpose abroad as "Pelo telefone" had in Brazil, introducing *samba* as a term, but one with little to no clear musical definition. Emphasis was placed on *samba*, both at home and abroad, because it was perceived as something fresh and different, a term that was relatively unused and signified something new "...not only in music, but also in terms of national identity." The greater shift towards recognition of Afro-Brazilian contributions to Brazilian national identity had begun, "...and *samba*, in all of its vague meanings, signified *something* Afro-Brazilian."

Samba was similarly emphasized during the Batutas' subsequent trip to Argentina promptly after they returned to Brazil. The Batutas gained widespread popularity in Argentina by embodying what was perceived as Afro-Latin American traditions in a country that prided itself on the suppression and elimination of Afro-Argentines providing "...a window into a world said to have

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²² Menezes Bastos, 14.

²³ Hertzman, 236.

²⁴ Ibid.

vanished from their own."²⁵ The Oito Batutas gained so much acclaim that they were granted the opportunity to record with Victor while they were in Buenos Aires. Yet it is telling that of the sixteen songs that the Oito Batutas recorded for Victor during that time, seven were termed *maxixes*, seven *choros*, one a *marcha*, and only one was labeled a *samba*.²⁶ Despite the increasing use of the term *samba* to market music, the majority of the recorded music (the songs that were perceived as most likely to be hits) were still *choros* and *maxixes*.

Yet as the 1920s progressed, the genres of *choros* and *maxixes* that had been popular for so long gradually began to lose favor, and were steadily replaced by the still relatively new and exciting term *samba*. Although there was still no musical distinction between the genres, the term *samba* began to replace *choro* and *maxixe* as the genre designation of choice. This trend is illustrated by the continuing recorded musical output of the Batutas. Although the group was steadily declining in popularity, they continued to release music until 1928, when the group dissolved for good. But despite their declining popularity, the Batutas still recorded eight songs in 1928, now for the label Odeon. In contrast to the sixteen songs recorded for Victor in 1923, of which seven were labeled *maxixe*, seven *choro*, one *marcha* and only *one* was a labeled *samba*, the Batutas' recorded output for Odeon in 1928 included eight songs, six of which were labeled *sambas* and *none* of which were labeled *choros* or *maxixes*. The domination of *samba* in

²⁵ Ibid, 261.

²⁶ Genres as designated by IMS.

the popular music marketplace was well underway. The ascension of artists such as Mario Reis and Francisco Alves, interpreters who made their names primarily performing songs designated as *sambas*, represented the transition in popular music from artists that represented *choro* and *maxixe*, such as the Oito Batutas, and those who represented *samba*.

But while the term samba had now risen to preeminence, samba continued to be only a term until the introduction of the *Estácio* sound by *sambistas* such as Ismael Silva and Nilton Bastos, and spread to the public through the recorded and radio works of Reis, Alves, and the next "king of samba", Noel Rosa. With these composers and interpreters, samba would become a separate and distinct musical entity, one that would once again be hyped and presented to the rest of the world as the musical face of Brazil. And because of the Batutas' successful tours abroad. the term samba had already been disseminated to a wide variety of listeners and cultures that would be ready to accept the new Estácio influenced samba as the authentic musical expression of Brazil. Much of that acceptance was based upon the presentation of a narrative of the music as an embodiment of the theory of racial democracy, with samba being a music that was a unique melting pot of the melodic/harmonic traditions of European and Portuguese traditions with the rhythmic traditions of Afro-Brazilians. and percussion-based

CHAPTER 3

NOEL ROSA, "NA PAVUNA" AND THE RISE OF THE ESTÁCIO SOUND (1928-1937)

Although the term *samba* was introduced as a genre title to popular music consumers in 1917 by Donga, and by the mid 1920s had gained popularity as a commonly applied musical term thanks to the efforts of musical groups such as the Oito Batutas, it took until 1928 for the term *samba* to gain any true musical meaning. The introduction of the *Estácio* sound through the music of artists such as Ismael Silva, Nilton Bastos, and Alcebíades Barcellos would completely change the way that *samba* sounded, as well as the way that it was perceived. It was through the *Estácio* influenced songs that *samba* became truly distinct musically and ascended to become the most popular music in Rio.

The Rise of Radio & The Introduction of the Estácio Sound

Despite the success of songs termed *sambas* by Donga and the Oito Batutas in the 1910s and 20s, *samba* was still distinctly a term utilized in Rio, with the songs designated as such almost exclusively played within the bars and theaters of the capital city. The term *samba* began to spread beyond the confines of Rio due primarily to the rising popular music industry within Brazil, including the introduction of new recording techniques and technologies and the ascension of a collection of popular music radio stations. Radio was first introduced in Rio in

1922, and by 1935 "... there were fourteen radio stations broadcasting in Rio, with twelve of them broadcasting primarily popular entertainment, most of live musical programming." Stations such as Rádio Nacional, Brazil's most popular station, broadcast a mixture of popular music, soap operas, and advertisements. After the 1920s, the station became focused on *samba*. In a self-reinforcing cycle, as songs given the genre designation *samba* gained popularity with the popular audience of Rio de Janeiro, Rádio Nacional played more of these songs, and as radio technology developed and broadcast distances increased the term *samba* was introduced to a whole new popular audience outside of Rio that quickly demanded more.

As the expanding popular music and radio industry began to assert more influence on taste making in Brazil, it also began to assert more control over genre regulations. As sheet music became less crucial in the dissemination of popular music, genre labels began to become more strictly defined and unified. *Samba* began to evolve into a more cohesive genre, distinguishing itself from *maxixe* and *choro*. As Bryan McCann states, "...consumers came to expect a *samba* recording to feature a 2/4 rhythm and eight-bar melodic phrases, performed either by solo piano or guitar, *cavaquinho*, mandolin, and percussion. The boundaries between *samba* and other genres became clearer."²

¹ McCann, 23.

² Ibid, 46.

Samba began to morph into the musical genre that is currently associated with the term in 1928, with the introduction of the Estácio sound. This characteristic sound was a major musical evolution that originated from a group of sambistas based in the neighborhood of Estácio. It was this Estácio sound that would become the "Carioca samba par excellence." In contrast to the sambas popularized by Donga and the Oito Batutas, which placed a strong emphasis on the downbeat (beat one) in both instrumental accompaniment and melody, and marched along in strict 2/4 rhythm, the Estácio sambistas introduced an altered, more syncopated form of rhythmic manipulation that included the addition of offbeat accents, and came to become the defining musical aspect of samba. As Chris McGowan observes in *The Brazilian Sound*, "They [Estácio sambistas] took the fledgling samba genre and clearly differentiated it from maxixe and marcha, introducing longer notes and two-bar phrasing, and making the tempo slower, in contrast to the *maxixe*-like *sambas* composed by Sinhô and Donga. The form they codified became the standard reference of samba, to which sambistas always return." In addition to the characteristics of tempo change and phrase elongation noted by McGowan and Pessanha, a major change associated with the Estácio sound was heard in the evolution of the rhythms commonly associated with samba. This rhythmic manipulation was assisted by the introduction of these new

³ Carlos Sandroni, "Transformations of the Carioca Samba in the Twentieth Century", http://www.mre.gov.br/

⁴ Chris McGowan and Ricardo Pessanha, *The Brazilian Sound: Samba, Bossa Nova, and the Popular Music of Brazil*, (Temple University Press, 1998), 25.

characteristics, as slowing down the beat and elongating the phrase allowed more rhythmic complexity to be incorporated into the phrases. Although the rhythmic parameters remained the same, with *sambas* still utilizing the simple duple 2/4 meter, the rhythmic emphasis within these parameters shifted. Ismael Silva, one of the most famous *Estácio sambistas*, verbalized this shift in an interview later in his life, "*Samba* was like this: *tan tantan tan tantan*. It wasn't any good...So, we started to play *samba* like this: *bum bum paticumbumprugurundum*." This onomatopoetic representation of the rhythmic shift in the *samba* style strongly emphasizes the movement away from the more static "*tan tantan*" rhythmic pattern of the early *sambas* that placed the emphasis heavily on the downbeat, or the first beat of the measure, and highlights the addition of rhythmic embellishment in the evolving *Estácio* sound that refocuses the emphasis on the upbeat of the meter.

It was this change in rhythmic emphasis that made the music particularly well suited to parading through the streets during Carnival. As a result, the leaders of the *Estácio* movement founded what would become the first *samba* school in order to further refine their compositions for presentation at the Carnival festivities. This school was named *Deixa Falar* (Let them speak), and represented the beginning of *samba*'s now inextricable ties to Carnival. This association with the parading of Carnival also affected the instrumentation of *samba*, as more

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⁵ Carlos Sandroni, *Feitiço decente: Transformações do samba no Rio de Janeiro (1917-1933)*, (Rio de Janeiro, 2001), 218-19. Translated and cited in McCann, 47.

percussion instruments were added to the traditional *samba* ensemble in order to make the rhythm audible to all members of the parading *samba* school corps.

The added percussion instruments included the *surdo* drum, the *cuica*, the *tamborim*, and the *pandeiro*. The *surdo*, whose name translates to deaf, is a large bass drum that was primarily used to keep the steady 1-2 beat of a 2/4 samba. The emphasis of the *surdo* is almost always on the upbeat, with a lighter hit on beat 1 and a heavier, more resounding hit on beat 2. The *cuica*, a smaller, handheld, friction drum, creates sound through the movement of a stick attached to the underside of the stretched drumskin. The *tamborim* is a small, hand-held drum that is played with a stick and produces a high-pitched sound. The *pandeiro* is similar to a tambourine, with a stretched drumhead in the center and percussive cymbals around the outer perimeter. The *cuica*, *tamborim*, and *pandeiro* were all excellent instruments for emphasizing the new, syncopated rhythms of the *Estácio* sound, and were utilized extensively in the *samba blocos* that were associated with

These percussion instruments have since come to be synonymous with modern conceptions of *samba*, both in Brazil and abroad. As Paulinho da Viola wrote in a *samba* in 1975, "Okay, Okay / I see what you say, / But don't change my *samba* so much. / The gang at my back is feeling the lack / Of *pandeiro*, *tamborim*, and *cavaco* [*cavaquinho*]" In his use of this quote in his book, Hermano Vianna explains these instrument names as "traditional *samba*

instrumentation." Yet although this instrumentation became standard in the *samba* of Carnival, little to none of the new percussive instrumentation was initially heard on the recorded versions of *samba* songs. Scholars such as McCann have argued that this divergence in development of the music was due primarily to the limitations of available recording technologies, declaring that the "...array [of percussion instruments] overwhelmed the recording capabilities...of the era, and therefore remained limited primarily to Carnival and to the *samba* schools." And prior to 1927, the lack of percussion in recorded *sambas* can in fact be explained by the limitations of the recording technology available to *samba* performers. Percussion of even the simplest sort exceeded the capabilities of the mechanical recording devices of the era, and recording artists were limited to the instrumentation that worked with the technologies. This all changed with the introduction of electromagnetic recording technologies to Brazil in 1927.

The advanced recording technology arrived in Brazil only two years after its establishment in the United States and Europe, and was imported by the multinational record label Odeon. The two other primary record labels in Brazil, Victor and Columbia, soon did the same. The introduction of the more advanced recording technologies allowed more subtle sounds to be recorded, including the opportunity for high-pitch and low-pitch sounds to be captured and reproduced on record. Instruments that formerly would be lost in the muddle of sound that

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⁶ Vianna, 89.

⁷ McCann, 59.

was reproducible with the earlier recording technologies could suddenly be included and reproduced with relatively high fidelity. This opened the possibility of recording a variety of new instruments, as well as vocal ranges, that would not previously have been able to be recorded. The most important of these new instruments was percussion. The percussion instruments such as *surdo*, *tamborim*, and *pandeiro* that would previously have inundated the earlier recordings in a wash of sound could now be utilized in the studio.

"Na Pavuna"

The introduction of the *Estácio* sound and electromagnetic recording technologies came together for the first time in "Na Pavuna" a *samba* recorded in 1929 and released a year later by the group Bando de Tangarás. It was through this ensemble of primarily white, middle-class musicians from *Vila Isabel*, including Almirante, João de Barro, and Noel Rosa, that the "sounds of the *batuques* of the blacks" were heard in the recording studio for the first time. Although the band was not formally associated with the *Estácio* neighborhood, the song is the first recorded *samba* that utilized the assorted percussion instruments of the *batucada* ensemble associated with the *Estácio sambas*. Despite Almirante's claims that the song utilized "*pandeiros, tamborins, cuícas, ganzás*,

⁸ Almirante and Homero Dornelas, "Na Pavuna," original recording by Bando de Tangarás, Odeon, 1929.

surdos, etc., that the samba schools used", the song only features a few of the percussion instruments associated with the samba school's batucadas, including the surdo and two tamborims, and possibly pandeiro. Black Brazilian musicians who were residents of the Salgueiro neighborhood, a neighborhood known for its production of samba, as well as its samba school, played both the surdo and the tamborims.

"Na Pavuna" was released in 1930 and subsequently became the spectacularly successful number one hit of the Carnival season of that same year, in no small part due to the inclusion of percussion. Despite "...the misgivings of friends who believed that these percussion instruments were unsuitable for the medium of the gramophone record..." the inclusion of percussion instruments would become the defining aspect of "Na Pavuna". In fact, the percussion was so crucial to the success of "Na Pavuna" that it led to the song often being referred to as "Na Pavuna, bum-bum", a spoken representation of the *surdo* pattern that featured prominently in the chorus. The song became a massive hit throughout Rio, "[extolling] the virtue of the *samba* performed there [in Pavuna]...perhaps the first successful composition to address what would become commonplace within the genre, in close relationship with the actual development of the *samba* schools: the exaltation of a neighborhood in terms of its value as a

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⁹ Almirante as quoted in Sérgio Cabral, *No tempo de Almirante*, (Francisco Alves, 1990), 64. As cited by Sandroni.

¹⁰ Lisa Shaw, The Social History of the Brazilian Samba, (Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1999), 93.

producer of samba." 11 Yet none of the performers were actually from Payuna, the neighborhood in question. The members of Banda de Tangarás utilized heavy percussion as a way to establish a connection to the neighborhood of Pavuna, perceived as an authentic cultural producer of samba music. The band also brought in "authentic" Afro-Brazilian musicians from the neighborhood of Salgueiro in order to lend their recording even more connection to the samba batucada tradition. In addition to employing percussion instruments played by Black musicians as a way to establish authenticity, the Bando de Tangarás also sought to demonstrate a connection to the authentic through their lyrics. Almirante used a "compendium of Brazilianisms" in the lyrics of the song, including references to samba schools, candomblé, bamba, cangerê, and macumba, to establish a connection to a broader Afro-Brazilian identity. 12

Despite the band's attempt to connect to the batucada samba tradition of the escolas de samba through the use of percussion instruments, this connection was only superficial. Notwithstanding later academic claims that "Na Pavuna represented "the authentic rhythm of the then emerging samba schools" the rhythmic syncopations of the *Estácio* sound that were so associated with the typical sound of batucada samba are not present in "Na Pavuna". In fact, the

¹¹ Carlos Sandroni, "Dois sambas de 1930 e a constituição do gênero: Na Pavuna e Vou te

abandonar", (2010), 4.

12 Mário de Andrade, "Cândido Inácio da Silva e o lundu", Revista Brasileira de Música, X

¹³ Jairo Severiano, Yes, nós temos Braguinha, (Funarte, 1987), 28. As cited in Sandroni.

rhythmic patterns of the percussion instruments featured in the song begin firmly placed within the "tresillo paradigm" that was the basis of much of the music that has already been discussed. As Sandroni observes, "...the rhythmic patterns...fit into the 'tresillo paradigm." Although the song begins firmly situated in tresillo, the pattern that is distinctly heard in the tamborims in the intro section of the song soon devolves into embellished eighth notes in one of the tamborim parts and either strict quarter beats or reinforcing the embellished eighth notes in the second. The song doesn't lie firmly within either the "tresillo paradigm" or within the Estácio sound, but rather inhabits an unremarkable middle ground. The majority of the rhythmic intrigue lies within the construction of the vocal line, as Almirante places strong emphasis on the second beat and weaves an intricate melodic line. The attraction and the novelty of the song lies in its modification of the timbre of the sambas of the time through the addition of percussion instruments, yet it doesn't take the next step in the connection to the samba batucada of the samba schools by incorporating the new syncopated rhythmic structures that would come to define the sound of samba.

The racial make-up of the musicians involved in the recording of "Na Pavuna" was also indicative of patterns that would come to define *samba*. As *samba* gained more and more popularity within Rio de Janeiro, and eventually within the entirety of Brazil, the genre would come to be conceived of as a musical

¹⁴ Sandroni, Dois sambas, 6.

embodiment of the social theory of racial democracy. *Samba* would come to be perceived as a combination of the musical elements of the two most prominent ethnic components of Brazil; white, Portuguese descended melodic and harmonic systems (chordophones, Western chord progressions, etc.) combined with Afro-Brazilian rhythmic and percussive systems (polyrhythm, syncopation, *batucadas*). This generalized conception of *samba* is still present today, reproduced in scholarly writings, popular music journals, and even Wikipedia.

The ethnic make-up of the musicians involved in the recording of "Na Pavuna" reflects this conception almost perfectly, with the white musicians responsible for the composition of the song, as well as the chordophone instruments such as guitar and *cavaquinho*. On the other hand, the Black musicians brought into the recording endeavor were responsible for playing the percussion instruments, the *surdo* and the *tamborims*, and establishing the rhythmic structure and contours of the song. Yet the two parts were not on equal footing. As Sandroni states, "... it should be noted that the [musicians from] Salgueiro were there to serve the boys of Vila Isabel." This division by race of the various musical instruments reflected what would become the popularized notion of *samba* as a combination of musical systems, white and black, an idea

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¹⁵ Indigenous populations, although present in Brazil, featured less prominently in the racial conception of Brazil than they did in other Latin American nations.

¹⁶ Sandroni, Dois sambas, 6.

that would lend itself nicely to the construction of *samba* as a musical representative of Brazilian national identity.

After the release of "Na Pavuna", percussion began to become more commonly found in subsequently released *sambas*. The success of "Na Pavuna" opened the door to the inclusion of a variety of percussion instruments in recorded *sambas* beyond the *ganzá* and *reco-reco* previously heard in the music of the Oito Batutas. Songs were released that imitated the rhythmic patterns heard in "Na Pavuna", such as "Vou te abandonar", a *samba* released later that same year. ¹⁷ The song, recorded by a group of musicians with legitimate ties to *Estácio* and the *samba* schools, mimics the three beat *surdo* pattern heard in "Na Pavuna", and in this case, the "world of *samba*" imitated the "world of popular music". ¹⁸

Sinhô and the Legacy of "Na Pavuna"

After the release of "Na Pavuna", percussion began to be incorporated into the recordings of other popular *samba* artists, such as Sinhô. With a musical career that spanned 26 years, Sinhô, known as the era's reigning "King of *Samba*", gained massive popularity due to his "jaunty melodies and his lyrics chronicling the popular transformation of the city." During his lengthy career, Sinhô released a variety of songs, including *choros, marchas,* and many *sambas*. Sinhô's *sambas*

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¹⁷ Heitor dos Prazeres, "Vou te abandonar," original recording by P Oliveira and Grupo Prazeres, Brunswick, 1930.

¹⁸ Sandroni, Dois sambas, 10.

¹⁹ McCann, 46.

remained firmly within the musical conventions of the time of their release, with his early sambas staying strictly within the realm of the maxixe, utilizing the traditional instruments associated with maxixe, including flute, cavaquinho, and guitar. Released in 1911, "Fala meu louro", one of Sinhô's most successful songs and his first samba, lies strictly within these limitations. The song has a stately feel to it, with a dramatic descending vocal line and an instrumental rhythmic structure that lies strictly within a slow and steady 2/4 meter.²⁰ The rhythmic accentuation "...placed a heavy emphasis on the downbeat, in both melodies and his piano accompaniment."21 The only rhythmically interesting aspects of the song are heard in certain passages of the flute, when the instrument provides piercing rhythmic accentuation on the upbeat of each beat, and in the vocal line, that never begins squarely on the beat, but rather on the upbeat pickup. The other musical interest of the song lies in the addition of a brass horn, an instrument that adds an interesting timbre that contrasts nicely with the flute. Sinhô occasionally incorporated brass instruments such as tubas and horns, and was strongly influenced by the American big band trend of the early 20th century. Prior to 1930, the only percussion audible in Sinhô's sambas is the occasional cymbal crash, a cross-over from the American big band. This is audible in Sinhô's song "Ora vejam so", a big band influenced samba that Sinhô released in 1925 with the Orquestra Pan American do Cassino Copacabana, a big band influenced orchestra from Rio.

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²⁰ Sinhô, "Fala, meu louro," Francisco Alves and Grupo dos Africanos, Popular, 1911.

²¹ McCann, 47.

The song utilizes a variety of brass instruments as well as stringed instruments, and features the occasional cymbal crash for emphasis.²² In comparison to "Fala meu louro", the song has a much more upbeat feel to it, with a much faster tempo and far more rhythmic interest in the lines of all of the instruments. The trumpets provide a syncopated melodic line in the intro, and then proceed to provide a powerful contrast to the vocal line, rather than simply doubling the sung melodic line. The use of the big band instrumentation also changes the feel of the song, giving it a more festive feeling, with the cymbal crashes in particular creating a sense of a parade. Yet beyond these cymbal crashes, Sinhô rarely used percussion in his popular recorded *sambas*. That all changed in 1930, the year of the release of "Na Pavuna".

After the release of "Na Pavuna", Sinhô released at least two recorded *sambas* that featured a much wider range of rhythmic percussion instruments, including *tamborims* and *surdos*, the same percussion instruments that had been featured prominently on "Na Pavuna". On these two *sambas*, "Buruncuntum", recorded by Carmen Miranda, and "Reminiscencias do Passado", Sinhô went from featuring practically no percussion instruments to utilizing a variety of them.²³ "Buruncuntum" is an especially interesting example, as Carmen Miranda would eventually become a major cultural export of Brazil, a representative in many

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²² Sinhô, "Ora vejam so," original recording by Francisco Alves and the Orquestra Pan American do Cassino Copacabana, Odeon, 1925.

²³ Sinhô, "Reminiscencias do Passado," original recording by Ildefonso Norat, Columbia, 1930.

ways of Brazilian music and culture, a claim that she sought to lend credence to through the heavy use of percussion instruments. This song, one of Miranda's first, utilizes surdo as well as what sounds like a wood block percussion instrument, in addition to the occasional cymbal crash.²⁴ Through the use of a wide range of brass and woodwind instruments (particularly saxophone) as well as the surdo and the clave like instrument, "Buruncuntum" melds the influence of the American big band with the newly popular influence of Afro-Brazilian percussion instruments. This song reflects Sinhô's shift away from using only percussion instruments associated with American big band traditions to incorporating percussion instruments associated with the Afro-Brazilian traditions of his own country. In many ways, this song represents the sound that would soon become standard in Rio; a combination of big band or orchestral sounds with Afro-Brazilian based percussion instruments included to add the perception of musical and Brazilian authenticity. The inclusion of Afro-Brazilian based percussion instruments began the remarkable trend that would associate samba with rhythmic percussion traditions for years to come.

Yet despite the immense popularity of the songs that included rhythmic percussion instruments, the use of these instruments in recorded *sambas* did not become ubiquitous. In fact, percussion still remained a fairly rare occurrence in the *sambas* released in the 1930s, with the majority of songs still utilizing hardly any

²⁴ Sinhô, "Buruncuntum," original recording by Carmen Miranda, Odeon, 1930.

percussion at all. When percussion was used, it was primarily used as a timbral and sonic accentuation, with instruments such as the *ganzá* and *reco-reco* providing simply background rhythmic accentuation. When percussion was utilized it remained a method for the artist to tap into the perceived sense of authenticity that had become associated with percussion instruments and their connection to Afro-Brazilian traditions. Whereas the use of percussion instruments by the Oito Batutas in the 1920s had lent them a sense of authority as representatives of Brazil abroad, the use of percussion in the 1930s began to become a musical representative of authenticity at home. The questions of authenticity in *samba* would be reflected in the musical polemic between white, middle-class Noel Rosa and the poor, Afro-Brazilian *sambista* Wilson Batista.

Noel Rosa

Noel Rosa was born in 1910 to a middle class family from the neighborhood of Vila Isabel. A forceps accident at birth left him with a deformed jaw, a physical disfigurement that would haunt him for the rest of his life. Although he initially pursued studies in medicine, Rosa eventually dedicated himself to his music, and sought comfort and companionship in the bars and nightclubs of the city, exposing himself to the music of the red-light districts. It was in this setting, a "...meeting place for middle-class musicians ...as well as poor *sambistas* from the surrounding shantytowns" that Rosa developed his skills

as a *sambista*.²⁵ Rosa would prove himself to be an accomplished musician, playing *bandolim* and guitar, but his most powerful talent was as a lyricist. The combination of his skills would eventually make him the most renowned *sambista* of his time, and one of the most enduring.

Rosa had his first solo hit in 1930 with "Com que roupa?", a song released in the same year as "Na Pavuna", a track on which Rosa also played as a member of the Bando de Tangarás. Yet "Com que roupa?" displays none of the percussion instruments that made "Na Pavuna" such a hit. Instead, the song makes use of only stringed instruments, with *cavaquinhos* providing the harmonic and chordal structures and a guitar providing the bass timbre and the rhythmic accentuations and movement of the song. The song has a swinging rhythm to it, provided by the guitar as well as the vocal line, but the song lacks the *Estácio* sound that would become standard as the decade progressed.

But the song was enough to start an incredibly successful, though incredibly short, career. Rosa soon became the popular voice of *samba*, gaining popularity through his witty lyrical mastery. Percussion was used occasionally in his recorded songs, primarily as background rhythmic accentuation. As Rosa's career progressed, the rhythmic patterns present in his songs shifted firmly over to the rhythmic stylings of the *Estácio* sound, and he would every now and then use percussion. Over the course of his career, Rosa wrote over 200 melodies

²⁵ Shaw, 92.

²⁶ Noel Rosa, "Com que roupa?," original recording by Noel Rosa, Parlophone, 1930.

and/or sets of lyrics, and over 70 percent of his output was classified as sambas. Yet an analysis by Luis Antônio Afonso Giani of 20 of Rosa's so-called *sambas* came to the conclusion that of these 20, only 8 could be categorized by the Estácio samba rhythm, with an emphasis on percussion and syncopation.²⁷ Songs such as "Até amanhã", "Fui louco", and "Coisas nossas", all recorded in 1932, feature the percussion instruments and rhythms now associated with "authentic" samba.²⁸ Additionally, the lyrics of "Coisas nossas", extol the everyday life of the *carioca*, making reference to the pandeiro, the samba singer, and the "street traders, newspaper vendors, tram drivers, and passengers" as authentic markers of everyday life in Rio. The song utilizes tamborim as well as the pandeiro mentioned in the lyrics. These percussion instruments, featured prominently in a song that waxes lyrically about the everyday life of the *sambista*, assist in lending a sense of truth and authenticity to Rosa's lyrics as he describes to the listener the happenings of the city. In addition to all of the people, places, and things that are listed as "our things" in the lyrics, by merit of their inclusion in the instrumentation of the song, the pandeiro and the tamborim are also considered "our things", distinctly connected to a sense of Brazilian identity and a connection to the "authentically" Brazilian. Yet the majority of Rosa's songs recorded in 1932 do not feature these instruments or rhythms. As we will see, percussion came to

²⁷ Shaw, 96.

²⁸ Noel Rosa, "Até amanha," João Petra de Barros, Odeon, 1932; Noel Rosa and Bide, "Fui louco," original recording by Mário Reis, Victor, 1932; Noel Rosa, "Coisas nossas," original recording by Noel Rosa, Columbia, 1932.

play a crucial role in the polemic between white, middle-class Noel Rosa and the Afro-Brazilian *sambista* Wilson Batista. This musical contretemps played out through a series of *sambas* released from 1933 to 1935 in which Rosa and Batista musically argued about the authentic in *samba*. Throughout this discourse, percussion would begin to become complexly intertwined with conceptions of authenticity and legitimacy in recorded *samba* music.

The Musical Polemic

The musical battle between Rosa and Batista began in 1933 when Batista, an Afro-Brazilian *sambista* originally from Campos, released "Lenço no pescoço" ("Scarf Around the Neck"), an ode to the figure of the *malandro*, the quick-talking, dapper, vagrant idol of *samba*. In this musical representation of the *malandro*, Batista utilizes the standard clarinet, guitar, and cavaquinho instrumentation, but also adds three layers of percussion to the song.²⁹ The lowest level consists of the *surdo*, which emphasizes the second beat (the upbeat) of each measure, seen notated as follows:



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²⁹ Wilson Batista, "Lenço no pescoço," original recording by Sílvio Caldas, Victor, 1933.

The second layer of percussion consists of a *tamborim*, which produces a syncopated rhythm whose sharp, almost metallic sound hovers in the background. It appears notated as:



The third and final layer of percussion consists of a *pandeiro* whose bells consistently accent the sixteenth notes, providing a constant rhythmic background. This constant rhythmic percussion gives the song a sense of moving forward through time, and lends the song much of its jaunty appeal. It appears notated as:



Although "Lenço no pescoço" does not incorporate the wide variety of percussion found in "Na Pavuna", the percussion that is used provides a necessary component of the song, rounding out the overall sound. The use of the *surdo*, *tamborim*, and *pandeiro* most frequently found in *samba batucada* lends legitimacy through the music to the *malandro* character that is portrayed as inhabiting the sonic landscape that was perceived to be associated with the *morro*, scarf thrown jauntily around his neck. Through the use of percussion, Batista defines his musical *malandro* as a resident of the *morro*, the home of *malandros* and *batucada samba*.

Rosa's response to Batista's ode to the *malandro* came in the form of "Rapaz folgado" ("Idle Boy"), a *samba* that seemed to scorn the character of the *malandro* presented by Batista.³⁰ This disdain for the *malandro* was out of character for Rosa, and many have speculated as to his intent. The most convincing argument, presented by Bryan McCann, posits that Rosa maintained his appreciation for the *malandro*, but only for the *malandro* that served a purpose, protecting *samba* from the incursions of outside influences. As McCann states, "Batista's *malandro*, in contrast, is self-satisfied and untroubled...There is no tension in his boastful proclamation of independence. By Rosa's logic, therefore, he is an unfulfilled *malandro*: he has no larger function, no project." ³¹

Batista interpreted "Rapaz folgado" as a personal attack, and released "Mocinho da vila" ("Little Boy from Vila Isabel") in response. The lyrics of the song called upon Rosa to stick to his career as a radio personality and middle-class star and leave *malandragem* to those who were better suited to the pursuit, such as Batista himself.³² The song challenged Rosa's authenticity as a *sambista*, calling into question his connections to *samba* as well as the figure of the *malandro*. Batista formulated his attack on the basis that Rosa was a white, middle-class *samba* performer with no connection to the *morro*, in Batista's view the true

³⁰ Noel Rosa, "Rapaz folgado," 1933, original recording by Arací de Almeida, Victor, 1938. Although "Rapaz folgado" is the second *samba* in the sequence of the polemic, I am going to skip over it in terms of musical analysis because it was not recorded until 1938, making the recording itself a musical anachronism

³¹ Bryan McCann, "Noel Rosa's Nationalistic Logic," *The Luso-Brazilian Review* 38, No. 1 (2001): 10.

³² Wilson Batista, "Mocinho da vila," 1934.

birthplace and home of the *malandro*. In reality, Rosa passed frequently between the *cidade* and the *morro*, between his daytime radio persona to the *samba de rodas* of the *favelas*, from the major recording studios to the bars and bordellos that he frequented at night. Rosa made a point of integrating himself as fully as possible into both the world of the *samba* of the radio as well as the world of the *samba* of the *morro*. As McCann states, "More than any other composer of the period, Rosa wrote *samba* that bridged *morro* and *cidade*. In other respects, Rosa had nothing in common with the *malandro* as popularly represented."

Rosa's response came several months later in the form of "Feitiço da vila" ("Enchantment of the Vila"), a *samba* that dismissed Batista's challenges of his authenticity. The lyrics smoothly dismiss Batista, stating that the *sambistas* of Vila Isabel were the ones that gave poetry to *sambas*, raising them to the status of high art and making them worthy of being a national cultural product. Rosa equated the *samba* produced in Vila Isabel to the coffee produced in São Paulo and the milk produced in Minas Gerais, thus placing it on equal footing with some of Brazil's most important products. Rosa challenges Batista's questioning of authenticity by implying in his lyrics that it is in fact the *sambistas* of Vila Isabel that in fact grant the songs their cultural authenticity by elevating them to the point where they are considered national art.

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³³ McCann, 54.

³⁴ Rosa and Vadico, "Fetiço da vila," original recording by João Petra de Barros, Odeon, 1934.

Yet musically there is a change in "Feitico da vila" that almost negates what Rosa presents in his lyrics. Rosa suddenly incorporates rhythmic percussion into his recorded sambas, including a surdo as well as a ganzá shaker, and both instruments provide a musical presence that was lacking in his prior recorded sambas. Although it is not definitely clear that Rosa added heavier percussion in response to Batista's questioning of his authenticity as a sambista, the lack of multiple percussion instruments in the majority of Rosa's oeuvre prior to the polemic lends credence to the idea that Rosa incorporated the percussion in direct response to Batista. This incorporation of percussion instruments where no percussion existed before was a shrewd and perceptive musical decision intended to prove legitimacy in the world of samba. Although the lyrics of Rosa's song maintained that samba gained its cultural legitimacy within the confines of Vila Isabel, the music presents something entirely different, as Rosa sought to gain cultural legitimacy through the addition of percussion instruments usually associated with the music of the *morro*, presented by Batista as the true home of samba.

Batista retaliated with personal put-downs and attacks on Rosa's physical appearance that Rosa powerfully countered with "Palpite infeliz" (Unfortunate Suggestion").³⁵ Rosa reiterates the ideas of "Feitiço da vila", maintaining that it is the *sambistas* of Vila Isabel that elevate *samba* to its highest potential. And just as

³⁵ Noel Rosa, "Palpite infeliz," original recording by Arací de Almeida, Victor, 1935.

in "Feitico da vila", Rosa accompanies that statement with less frequently heard percussion instruments, this time the surdo, ganzá, as well as the tamborim and a caixeta, or Brazilian woodblock instrument. The percussion instruments truly command the song, with the tamborim and the caixeta occupying the most sonic space. They are only overshadowed by the voices that proclaim exuberantly the merits of Vila Isabel as well as of the favelas of Estácio, Salgueiro, Mangueira, Oswaldo Cruz, and Matriz. These neighborhoods, particularly Estácio, Salgueiro, and Mangueira were all associated with strong samba traditions, particularly of samba batucada. Through a combination of lyrical homage and the incorporation of various percussion instruments that at the time were strongly associated with the morro and almost never heard in recorded sambas, Rosa succeeds in associating himself and his music to the sambas created in the morro that were based far more in the percussive batucada tradition. These were the sambas that Wilson Batista held to be the most authentic representations of the *malandro* and of the spirit of samba. Noel Rosa not only triumphed over Wilson Batista in terms of lyrical and musical skill and artistry, but Rosa also refuted the questions of authenticity presented by Batista by creating a musical connection between his recorded sambas and the sambas more often played in the neighborhoods of the morro. Rosa crafted this connection through the use of the batucada-based percussion instruments so often associated with the neighborhoods of the *morro*.

The Aftermath

As evidenced by the polemic between Batista and Rosa, percussion had begun to become intricately linked to authenticity in the sphere of recorded samba. After the conclusion of the polemic, Rosa continued to release sambas, many of which featured increasing levels of percussion. One of these was the samba "João Ninguém", which was one of the few recorded sambas to utilize the cuica, an instrument closely associated with the batucada tradition of the morro and of Carnival but one that was hardly ever heard in recorded sambas.³⁶ Although the *cuica* is only heard briefly at the end of the song, the fact that it was there at all was a major occurrence. Through the use of these percussion instruments, as well as through his powerful lyrical skill, Rosa continued forging the connection between samba and national identity, connecting the two ever closer together as he gained even greater influence in the popular music market. During his time, "...Rosa crafted a body of work that made him the most compelling of the composers exploring the link between samba and national identity... [his] compositions provided the most important expression of [this] link "37

Although Rosa died in 1937, the development of this link would continue into the 1940s with the rise of stars such as Carmen Miranda and Ari Barroso. These performers and composers would continue the legacy of *samba* as a

³⁶ Noel Rosa, "João Ninguém," original recording by Noel Rosa, Odeon, 1935.

³⁷ McCann, 49-53.

representative of national identity through the use of percussion instruments, but their music was used not only to craft a sense of national identity at home, but also to portray the meaning of Brazilian identity abroad. As will be explored in the next chapter, the rise to popularity of *samba-exaltacão* and its subsequent exportation abroad would shape the continued use of percussion in *samba* as the songs were presented to the world as authentic representations of Brazil.

CHAPTER 4

PERCEPTIONS OF *SAMBA* ABROAD:

ARI BARROSO AND CARMEN MIRANDA (1937-1945)

After Noel Rosa's death, a new wave of samba stars began to take the stage. In contrast to Rosa, the new wave of recorded samba stars sang in broad terms of the glorious attributes of Brazil as a nation, rather than portraying the quotidian experiences of *cariocas* as Rosa had. These stars, including Ari Barroso, Carmen Miranda, and Francisco Alves, released sambas that presented "a vision of Brazilian exceptionalism and virtue" that painted a beautiful, albeit nebulous, landscape of Brazil. This genre, popularly termed samba-exaltação, would come to be the new musical representation of Brazilian national identity at home, as well as the new representation of Brazil abroad. This veneration of Brazil through the lyrics of samba reflected the increasing entrenchment of the rhetoric of racial democracy, the cultural theory that upheld the idea that Brazil was a society without racism and without discrimination. One of the ways it was posited that Brazil succeeded in avoiding racial discord was through the process of *mesticagem*, the ethnic amalgamation of white and Afro-Brazilian forces. It was postulated that it was this process of *mesticagem* that had allowed Brazil to avoid the racial strife that so tormented the United States. As the rhetoric of racial democracy continued to gain traction in Brazil, the comparison of race relations in Brazil and the United

¹ McCann 42

States became a crucial aspect of the doctrine. Brazil sought to distinguish itself from the racial discord associated with the United States by proving that it was a society based on racial and ethnic mixture, as represented culturally by *samba*. In an effort to sustain this myth of racial democracy, percussion became an even more integral part of the *samba* produced in the 1940s and 1950s, especially in the versions that were exported to the United States.

Ari Barroso and "Aquarela do Brasil"

One of the most well known composers of *sambas* in the late 1930s and 1940s was Ari Barroso. Similar to Rosa, Barroso was white, middle-class, and well educated. But unlike Rosa, Barroso finished his schooling, moving from the town of Ubá, in Minas Gerais, to Rio de Janeiro in the early 1920s to pursue a degree in law. While pursuing his degree, Barroso found himself much more inclined to the pursuit of music than he was to the quest for a law degree. He found fulfillment in playing piano for the local theaters, and after graduating promptly abandoned the law profession in order to undertake a future as a popular composer. Unlike most musicians of the time, Barroso was "...perhaps the first Brazilian popular musician to treat music as a true profession." Although Barroso lacked the lyrical skill of Rosa, he was a talented melodist, and he gained his first recording contract with Victor in 1932. During the 1930s Barroso worked to make a name for

² Shaw, 146.

68

himself, primarily through radio work. He was the host of a series of radio shows, including variety shows, comedy hours, and sports coverage. By 1937, Barroso had established himself as a powerful force in Brazilian popular music. Barroso was even the person chosen to deliver the eulogy at Noel Rosa's funeral, a symbolic passing of the musical torch from one star to the next. Barroso would ascend to major stardom in the 1940s after the release in 1939 of his massive hit, "Aquarela do Brasil".

"Aquarela do Brasil" was recorded and released in 1939, at the peak of Barroso's radio career.³ The song, a sweeping orchestral *samba* that extolled the virtues of a glorious Brazil, would become so wildly popular that it was commonly referred to as Brazil's unofficial national anthem. The song was the first of many *sambas* that would be classified as *samba-exaltacão*, a sector of *samba* that focused on "...representing his [Barroso's] nation in a flattering light, and...are noted for their overt, exaggerated patriotism... and their often boastful treatment of life in Brazil." Over the course of the 1930s, Barroso's lyrics had shifted away from representations of quotidian *carioca* life, an emulation of Rosa's lyrical style, and moved towards "hyperbolic eulogies of the nation as a whole." With lyrical phrases like "Brazil, my Brazilian Brazil", Barroso stepped forward as the composer that would represent the nation in all of its perceived

³ Ari Barroso, "Aquarela do Brasil," original recording by Francisco Alves, Odeon, 1939.

⁴ Shaw, 168.

⁵ Ibid.

greatness. Pride and patriotism are apparent in Barroso's description, given in an interview many years later, of composing the song on a rainy evening in 1939:

"I began feeling all the greatness, the value, and the opulence of our land, a giant in its very nature...and I essayed the first chord, vibrant, to be sure. It was an emotional clangor. The new rhythm, different, played in my imagination, standing out above the noise of the rain, in syncopated cadences of fantastic hand drums. The rest came naturally, music and lyrics all at once...I felt myself another. From within my soul came forth a *samba* that I had long desired, a *samba* that, in brilliant and strong sonority, traced the greatness, the exuberance of the promised land, the good people, hardworking and peaceful, a people that loves the land in which it was born. That *samba* extolled, in a sonorous apotheosis, that glorious Brazil."

The lyrics of the song represent "...an extended, delirious celebration of lush, tropical grandeur as the source of national vigor", and the music reflects the same sentiments. The song begins with a swelling wave of wind instruments, steadily building upon themselves to subside into a descending clarinet melody, like a wave breaking upon the sands of Copacabana beach. The wind instruments are soon joined by brass, and eventually, by a solo male voice, sung by the well known interpretor Francisco Alves, that intones "Brasil, meu Brasil brasileiro, meu mulatto inzoneiro" (Brazil, my Brazilian Brazil, my tricky mulatto), a lyrical introduction that introduces the listener to the poetic themes of the song. As McCann writes, "...The unabashed redundancy of the *sambas* famous first

⁶ Ari Barroso, interview with Marisa Lira in *Diário de Noticias*, 1958, as cited in McCann, *Hello Hello Brazil*, 70.

⁷ McCann, 70.

words...immediately establish a tone of breathless patriotism. What adjective could begin to describe the greatness of Brazil? Only, of course, *Brazilian*." Additionally, the image of Brazil being represented by a "tricky mulatto" serves as a reflection of the widely held belief that racial and cultural mixture and combination was now the true wellspring of national identity, a theme that is present throughout the lyrics of "Aquarela do Brasil".

Alves then declares "Vou cantar-te nos meus versos" (I will sing of you in my songs), and there is a brief, almost imperceptible pause, almost as though the orchestra and the vocalist are all breathing in deeply together, before they all launch into the "sway and swing" of the piece. The silence is broken by a tamborim that is clearly audible in the absence of other instruments, summoning all of the other instruments to join. The brass instruments and a pandeiro then join the tamborim, as Alves declares his admiration for his "Brazil, samba that makes us, sway and swing". This sway and swing is provided by the tamborim and pandeiro, instruments associated with the mulatto and Afro-Brazilian traditions that Barroso held as the fount of Brazilian national identity.

Yet as the song progresses, most of the rhythmic responsibilities end up with the horn section, a technique that stemmed from the treatment of jazz rhythms by American jazz bands. In an attempt to make the syncopated rhythms

8 Ibid

⁹ Lyrics and translations for "Aquarela do Brasil" taken from Lisa Shaw's *A Social History of the Brazilian Samba*.

of *samba* more feasible for a large orchestra, Radamés Gnattali, the orchestral arranger of "Aquarela do Brasil", adopted this technique, although he claimed it as an original and uniquely Brazilian solution. Whereas in "Na Pavuna" the distinctive *bum bum bum* of the *surdo* had served as the defining aspect of the song, in "Aquarela do Brasil" the most unforgettable musical detail is the *bump bump BUMP (wah) bump bump bump (wah)* of the horn section. The majority of the rhythmic emphasis and motion of the song is performed by the horn section, rather than the percussion instruments. Rather than providing the principal rhythmic force of the song, the presence of the *tamborim*, *pandeiro*, and *surdo*, all Afro-associated instruments, functions primarily as a method to evoke a musical connection to the mulatto and Afro-Brazilian traditions that Barroso connects to the national identity of Brazil.

This connection to mulatto and Afro-Brazilian traditions is continually referenced throughout the song, as Alves croons about traditional images of Brazil's colonial past, such as the black wet-nurse and the *rei congo*, or king of the Congo, as well as the "headstrong mulatto girl" who resides in "the land of *samba* and tambourines". These continual references to Afro-Brazilian traditions of past and present assist in creating a glossed over and highly romanticized version of Brazilian history.

¹⁰ McCann, 71.

The version of Brazilian history present in "Aquarela do Brasil" was generally in line with the propaganda of the government at the time, headed by Gétulio Vargas. Vargas, who was elected in 1930 and served as president of Brazil until 1945, concentrated much of his efforts while in office on uniting the many and divided regions of Brazil into one cohesive whole and creating a unifying national identity. One of the ways in which he undertook this endeavor was by encouraging and disseminating songs such as "Aquarela do Brasil" and other sambas that extolled the virtues of the nation as a whole. The support of the government ensured that the song received immense attention and radio play on Rádio Nacional, the state owned radio station.

Saludos Amigos and the Arrival of Disney

The feel and sound of "Aquarela do Brasil" was also in line with a new player in Brazilian popular culture. Walt Disney first traveled to Brazil in 1941 in order to look into making a film about the country. Disney was a strong supporter of President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, an American government endeavor to better relations between Latin America and the United States, and to gain Latin American support for United States international policies and actions. He believed that making a movie that featured characters from Latin America would be beneficial to the cause. Mickey Mouse and other Disney characters were generally popular in Latin America, and so Disney was chosen as cultural

ambassador to Latin America. Nelson Rockefeller, the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs for the Roosevelt administration, suggested to the State Department that it should fund a visit by Disney and his team to South America, primarily to Argentina and Brazil, and provide US\$300,000 to underwrite the cost of producing a film with Latin American themes.¹¹

The resulting film was Saludos Amigos (Hello Friends), an animated film released in 1942. The film features two classic Disney characters, Donald Duck and Goofy, who are transported to various Latin American countries, including Peru, Argentina, and Brazil.¹² While there, they encounter an array of new characters meant to represent the various Latin American cultures. In Peru, Donald encounters a mischievous indigenous boy and an obstinate llama; in Argentina, Goofy is introduced to the life and traditions of the Argentinean gaucho, constructed as the Latin American counterpoint to the cowboy of the United States. Finally, Donald is transported to Brazil, where he encounters an anthropomorphized parrot named Zé Carioca, a fast talking resident of Rio. Zé is dressed in the type of clothing typically associated with the malandro, the smooth-talking scoundrel who became "an iconic figure in Brazilian popular culture, and a stock figure in samba lyrics. The malandro was usually represented as an Afro-Brazilian man in stylish attire, most frequently a white linen suit and

¹¹ Shaw, 147.

¹² Chile is also represented by a small, hapless plane named Pedro, but none of the major Disney characters are featured in this section. The representation of Chile in fact inspired René Rios Boetigger to start *Condorito*, one of the most famous Latin American comic strips.

panama hat, living by his wits in the brothels and gambling dens of the city." Here, the *malandro*, as represented by Zé Carioca, retains the white linen suit and Panama hat typically associated with the *malandro*, but does not retain any of the more disreputable characteristics. Disney appropriated only the aspects of this common Brazilian cultural figure that they desired to present to a United States viewing public, which were the dapper dress and the smooth and charming demeanor, and discarded the rest of the characteristics that made the *malandro* a *malandro*.

This singing and dancing parrot version of the *malandro* was introduced in the last segment of *Saludos Amigos*, titled Aquarela do Brasil. In this segment, the viewer is introduced to a Brazil represented by vivid watercolor renditions of waterfalls, tropical birds and flowers, and fruit trees. These vibrant illustrations are accompanied by a new recording of Barroso's "Aquarela do Brasil", renamed simply "Brazil" for the Disney release. He song, with its exultation of Afro-Brazilian based cultural traditions and its glossed over version of Brazilian history became the introduction to Brazil for an international audience. Just as the Oito Batutas had served as representatives of Brazilian cultural traditions during their tour in France, Ary Barroso and his *samba-exaltacão* now served as the musical representation of the nation abroad.

¹³ McCann, 53.

¹⁴ Saludos Amigos, videorecording, (Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 1942).

And that representation was percussion heavy. Disney's representation of Brazil relied upon the same emphasis on the cultural contributions of Afro-Brazilian traditions through the use and reference of percussion instruments as was found in Barroso's "Aquarela do Brasil". The Disney segment continues with the introduction of Zé Carioca and his first interactions with Donald Duck. After an exchange of business cards (the names on which Donald mispronounces terribly), Zé launches into rapid-fire Portuguese. Donald is left looking lost and bewildered, frantically attempting to look up translations in an ever-increasing pile of books. Only after Donald is subsumed in a pile of Portuguese-English dictionaries does Zé switch nonchalantly into English, telling Donald that they will "go see the town" and that he will show him "the land of the samba". This interaction is remarkably telling when one compares the representations of Rio that Zé presents in Portuguese versus in English. When Zé is speaking in Portuguese to Donald, he declares "Vai conhecer o Rio. Vamos a todos os lugares. Vamos a..." (You will experience Rio. We'll go everywhere. We'll go to...). Zé then spouts of a lengthy list of renowned Rio sights and locales, including, Tijuca, Copacabana, Salgueiro, Botafogo, jardim botânico, Cinelândia, Praça Onze, Pão de Açúcar, and Corcovado. All of these places are natural and cultural wonders, testaments to the greatness of Rio. Yet when Zé switches into English, the language that the audience will understand, the sights to see in Rio consist only of the "land of the samba". Suddenly, all of the major landmarks of Rio are forgotten

in favor of presenting Rio as the land of the samba. And that samba, as it is then portrayed to Donald (and by extension the movie going public in the United States) consists heavily of percussion instruments that are introduced as Zé begins to dance. First comes the sound of the tamborim, then the reco-reco, the ganzá, the pandeiro, and last the cuica. These are instruments that were rarely heard in the recorded sambas of the 1930s, and that were almost never heard all together (the *cuica* hardly ever made it into the recording studio). ¹⁵ Donald and Zé are soon surrounded by the sounds of percussion instruments, which Zé adds to by playing a flute melody. Interestingly, this melody is the flute melody of "Tico tico no fubá", a choro that was originally composed in 1917 and recorded by the Orquestra Colbaz for the first time in 1931. 16 The version that is heard in Saludos Amigos maintains certain aspects of the original Orguestra Colbaz recording, including a series of instrumental solos that include flute, a bandoneón (an instrument integral to Argentine and Uruguayan tango orchestras but almost never heard in *choro* recordings), and *cavaquinho*. But beyond the solo instruments and the flute melody heard at the very beginning, the Disney version of "Tico tico" has little in common with the original recording. The most obvious and important of these changes is the use of percussion. In the original recording, there are no percussion instruments used, but in the Disney version, there are at least five. Percussion had shifted from rarely being used in the recording studio to being a

¹⁵ McCann, 139.

¹⁶ Zequinha de Abreu, "Tico tico no fubá," original recording by Orquestra Colbaz, Columbia, 1931.

core musical aspect of *samba*, deemed integral enough to include in the representation of *samba* to a foreign audience. The average movie-goer that viewed the film would likely have no way of knowing that what they heard in the soundtrack for the film was not fully representative of recorded Brazilian *sambas* of the time, and would have no reason to believe that the music was anything but how *samba* actually sounded. As a result, the musical representation of Brazil as known abroad became closely tied to a conception of *samba* that included heavy percussion.

The percussion instruments featured in the song are emphasized more than all other instruments, not only aurally, but visually as well. Although the bandoneón is represented prominently by Donald's hat (which looks remarkably like the instrument) both the flute and cavaquinho, the two instruments more commonly associated with choro are only visually represented by Zé's umbrella. There is no actual visual representation of either of these instruments during the segment. This is especially interesting in relation to the cavaquinho, since it was often constructed as a particularly Brazilian instrument, yet it is hardly referenced in the segment at all. Instead it is the percussion instruments that are featured, both aurally and visually.

As "Tico tico" comes to an end (with Zé and Donald walking down the iconic Copacabana sidewalk to a purveyor of *cachaça*, a Brazilian sugarcane alcohol), the only sounds left are those of the percussion instruments that

introduced the song. After a brief conversational break, in which Donald drinks a full glass of cachaça, Zé declares to Donald, "now you have the spirit of the samba!" This "spirit of the samba" is conveyed through Donald's sudden bouncing rhythmic hiccups, aurally portrayed by the pounding of a surdo each time his feather-covered rump hits the seat. Zé, playing a box of matches, soon joins the pounding beat of the *surdo*, adding a second rhythmic layer in addition to Donald's. The two primary characters are then joined by a variety of percussion instruments, including the reco-reco, pandeiro, tamborim, and ganzá. And not only are these instruments heard in the song, but they are also represented on screen as a disembodied paintbrush draws Afro-Brazilian hands playing each instrument as it is heard entering into the sonic landscape. Despite the fact that these instruments did not play a primary role in the actual recorded sambas that were being released in Brazil at the time, Disney prominently features them. Once again, the major emphasis, both musically, as well as in Disney's efforts to convey a visual image that is distinctly Brazilian, falls on the percussion instruments.

Melody Time

Disney reiterated this presentation of samba as defined by its use of percussion in a later segment from *Melody Time*, an animated feature released in

1948. 17 The segment, titled "Blame it on the samba", utilizes many of the same concepts about samba as were found in the "Aquarela do Brasil" segment from Saludos Amigos. The same characters are featured, with the addition of the Aracuã, a mischievous Brazilian bird, and they are once again dancing to a *choro* classic that has been retrofitted with heavy percussion in order to be presented as a samba. In this segment, the song featured is "Apanhei-te, Cavaquinho", an extremely popular *choro* that was composed by Ernesto Nazareth and originally composed for solo piano. 18 In the version heard in the Disney segment, not only have hackneved English language lyrics been added, but many percussion instruments have been added to the song as well. This is reflected in the lyrics of the song, as the harmonizing Dinning Sisters sing the recipe to concoct the perfect samba. According to them, the recipe is as follows:

> "You take a small *cabassa*¹⁹ (chi-chi-chi-chi) One *pandeiro* (cha-cha-cha-cha) Take the *cuica* (boom-boom-boom) You've got the fascinating rhythm of the samba

And if guitars are strumming (chi-chi-chi-chi) Birds are humming (cha-cha-cha-cha) Drums are drumming (boom-boom-boom) Then you can blame it on the rhythm of the samba."20

¹⁷ Melody Time, videorecording, (Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 1948).

¹⁸ Ernesto Nazareth, "Apanhei-te Cavaquinho," original recording by Grupo o Passos no Choro,

¹⁹ A type of rattle more commonly referred to as a *xequerê* or *afoxé*. It consists of a hollowed out gourd wrapped in a net through which beads are woven.

20 Daniella Thompson, "Blame it on Walt: How Ernesto Nazareth Landed in a Donald Duck

Cartoon", Daniella Thompson on Brazil, May 5, 2004.

As seen, the recipe is particularly percussion heavy, recapitulating the conception of *samba* that was originally presented to foreign viewers in the segment from *Saludos Amigos*. And again, as in *Saludos Amigos*, these percussion instruments play a large part in the visual representation of the segment. Replacing the disembodied, percussion playing Afro-Brazilian hands seen in *Saludos Amigos*, "Blame it on the *samba*" features giant, larger than life animations of the instruments that dance around and command the screen in an almost menacing manner. Within both of these Disney shorts, *samba* is constructed as a musical form that is primarily based in Afro-Brazilian percussion instruments and rhythmic traditions, both of which are emphasized aurally and visually.

The success of these Disney shorts and of *samba-exaltacão* would prove to have a sizable effect on conceptions of Brazilian identity. As McCann states, "The international success of *samba-exaltacão* was crucial to Brazil's evolving rhetoric of racial democracy, and consequently to a larger sense of self-definition." The carefully constructed presentation of *samba* as strongly based in Afro-Brazilian traditions to a foreign audience assisted in further solidifying the concept at home of a Brazilian racial harmony that did not exist in other post-slavery nations, such as the United States. The selling of *samba-exaltacão* abroad assisted in solidifying the

²¹ McCann, 77.

"...flourishing rhetoric, celebrating as it did Afro-Brazilian culture as the source of national identity, albeit in a way that consigned Afro-Brazilians themselves to a folkloric, idealized, and static past. The international success of this music put racial democracy on a world stage, proving to all observers that Brazil cherished its Afro-Brazilian roots, and demonstrating the irresistible popular culture that prospered in its sunny, harmonious clime. By 1942, the success of *samba-exaltacão* at home and abroad had brought *samba* to its apotheosis"²²

Carmen Miranda

Barroso was not the only Brazilian musician to make waves in Hollywood. Despite Barroso's success as a composer, the physical face that Brazil would present to the world was to be found elsewhere. It was found in Carmen Miranda, a Portuguese born beauty who emigrated to Brazil with her family when she was one year old. After leaving Portugal, her family settled in Rio, and her father opened a hair salon. Miranda grew up in a fairly comfortable middle class setting, with her family eventually becoming the owners of a private hotel. Miranda got her big break in music in 1929, when she was first discovered at a song festival. In that same year she recorded her first record. She didn't stay with her first record company very long, soon switching over to RCA. RCA had the goal of creating a great female star that would rival the market's current star, Francisco 'Chico' Alves. With that goal in mind, executives suggested that Miranda perform only Brazilian music, to the exclusion of Portuguese songs,

²² Ibid, 78.

tangos, and other foreign influences.²³ With this concept in mind, RCA set out to make Miranda a star.

Miranda soon rose to prominence within Brazil, producing a myriad of hit records and performances. She gained recognition as a radio star as well as a recording artist, releasing songs from a variety of genres including *marchas*, *choros*, and *rumbas*, but she became most famous for her *sambas*. Over the course of her career, the music of Carmen Miranda would reflect the evershifting conceptions of *samba* in relation to Afro-Brazilian musical traditions as percussion became more frequently heard in her recordings and she adapted the characteristics perceived to be the most Brazilian in order to enhance her career. But at the beginning of her career, Miranda reflected little of the "Lady in the Tutti-Frutti Hat" that she would become.

Initially, Miranda made a name for herself singing at festivals as well as releasing songs such as "O nego no samba".²⁴ The song, recorded in 1929 for RCA Victor, is generally unremarkable, except for the clear and commanding voice of Miranda. The instrumentation leans toward the big band, with horns and brass featuring most prominently in the recording. The song is upbeat and catchy and reflects the infectious energy that would make Miranda irresistible. Many of the other songs that she released in the first year of her career

²³ Schreiner 115

²⁴ Ary Barroso, Luiz Peixoto, Marques Porto, "O nego no samba," original recording by Carmen Miranda, Victor, 1929.

displayed her strong voice beautifully, but were equally unremarkable. Yet as Miranda's career progressed she began to release songs with titles such as "Se gostares de batuque", "O samba é carioca", "Quando eu penso na Bahia", and "Na batucada da vida", and percussion began to be featured more prominently in her recordings. At a time when racial democracy and the "mestiço paradigm" were becoming more and more central to Brazilian national identity, Miranda was carefully cultivating a personality that could reflect the changing conceptions of Brazilian national culture and that had "Brazil in every curve of [her] body." 26

Miranda also gained prominence in the Brazilian film industry, appearing in four films produced by Wallace Downey, an American producer of popular cinematic musical revues. It was in the last film that she did for Downey that Miranda donned the exaggerated Baiana attire that she would wear as she became famous in the United States.²⁷ In the segment, taken from the film *Banana de terra* (Domestic Banana), released in 1939, Miranda sings Dorival Caymmi's "O que é que a baiana tem?" outfitted in an exaggerated version of the typical Baiana dress.²⁸ She appears wearing "...a turban with a protuberant fabric bouquet,

²⁵ Kid Pepe, "Se gostares de batuque," original recording by Carmen Miranda, Odeon, 1935; Osvaldo Silva, "O samba é carioca," original recording by Carmen Miranda, Victor, 1934; Ary Barroso, Luiz Peixoto, "Quando eu penso na Bahia," original recording by Carmen Miranda, Odeon, 1937; Ary Barroso, Luiz Peixoto, "Na batucada da vida," original recording by Carmen Miranda, Victor, 1934.
²⁶ Vianna, 94.

²⁷ A baiano/a is someone or something from the northeastern state of Bahia. Associated strongly with Afro-Brazilian traditions.

²⁸ Banana de terra, videorecording, directed by Ruy Costa (Rio de Janeiro, BR : Sonofilmes, 1939).

several kilograms of beads around her neck, and a two-pieced shiny dress that left her midriff bare."²⁹ Miranda did not done blackface for this portrayal of an Afro-Brazilian character, although she had in the past. It was in this overblown representation of a Baiana that Miranda would make her mark on Hollywood.

That Night in Rio

One of the first American films that found Miranda replicating her exaggerated representation of a Baiana was *That Night in Rio*, released in 1941.³⁰ It was one of the first foreign films in which Miranda had a major role, and it found her reprising her dramatic headdress and shiny two-piece dress that she had first popularized in *Banana de terra*. The plot of the film follows a farcical comedy of errors, full of mistaken identities and the drama that ensues. The film opens with a silhouetted backdrop of Rio's tropical beaches, lit by the occasional firework's blast. The background quickly fades into Miranda, surrounded by sparklers, wearing a mass of silver beads, and topped off with an extravagant headdress made of fruit and silver filigree. This image of an amplified Baiana is accompanied by the sound of *surdo*, *tamborim*, and *ganzá*, as well as the sounds of the *cavaquinho*, as Miranda launches into the opening song "Chica chica boom chic". Over this sonic background Miranda sings about the "chica

²⁹ McCann, 146.

³⁰ *That Night in Rio*, videorecording, directed by Irving Cummings (Century City, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Films, 1941).

chica boom chic" rhythm of the ganzá, the batucada, the pandeiro, of Brazil, and of her heart. Once again, the lyrics of the *samba* make a distinct connection between rhythm, percussion instruments and Brazilian national identity. In addition to the percussion instruments and the lyrics of the song, the song also makes another, more recently formed connection to national identity by musically quoting Barroso's "Aquarela do Brasil." After the percussion instruments have sonically staked their ground in the segment, the cavaquinho musically quotes the ascending rhythmic horn line of "Aquarela do Brasil", playing the bump BUMP (wah) bump bump bump (wah) rhythmic line that was the defining musical aspect of Barroso's famous samba. By musically quoting Barroso's internationally renowned samba, Miranda further solidifies her authority as a representative of Brazilian national identity. In only the introduction of the song, Miranda has managed to squeeze in four separate markers of what was perceived as authentic Brazilian cultural identity: the dress of a Baiana, the sounds of the *batucada*, referencing Afro-Brazilian percussion and traditions in the lyrics, and musically quoting the then world famous "Aquarela do Brasil". All four of these connections to national identity are reiterated as the song progresses, as Miranda finds herself dueting with a handsome American entertainer played by Don Ameche. Each line that Ameche sings drips with Good Neighbor Policy sentiment, as heard in the opening stanza of his part:

"My friends, I send felicitations
To our South American relations;
May we never leave behind us
All the common ties that bind us;
A hundred and thirty million people send regards to you"

Ameche provides a strong contrast to Miranda, as his overblown vocal line is accompanied by an orchestral line that remains strictly within the duple meter parameters of the song, with none of the syncopation that was present during Miranda's opening introduction. Yet as the song progresses Miranda interjects vocal exclamations that consist solely of variations on the phrase "Chica chica boom chic" and each reiteration is syncopated and accompanied only by the percussion instruments, the two aspects of samba that were considered connected to Afro-Brazilian traditions and perceived as being the most Brazilian. And again, the percussion instruments are the only *samba* instruments visually represented in the film's opening, as the camera then zooms into a close focus upon a drum that sonically emulates a surdo (although the actual drum represented is much smaller) as well as that most Brazilian of percussion instruments, the *cuica*. All told, the *surdo*, *cuica*, *pandeiro*, *ganzá*, and *afoxé* are all represented, with nary a *cavaquinho* or wind instrument in sight. Again, a delineation of Brazilian-ness is created in the comparison between Brazil and the United States, in this instance represented by Ameche's and Miranda's respective musical characteristics: a strict duple meter orchestral accompaniment for Ameche and a syncopated, percussive accompaniment for Miranda. Additionally, it should be noted that all of the percussionists featured in *That Night in Rio* are particularly light skinned. Despite the fact that film is appealing to a cultural connection to Afro-Brazilian traditions as an indicator of true Brazilian cultural identity, there are no distinguishably Afro-anything musicians featured in the film.

Miranda's Baiana costume and her percussion filled musical numbers would feature prominently in a slew of feature films, including *The Gang's All Here* (1943), in which she appears to descend from a giant net full of fruit to sing a snippet from Ari Barroso's "Aquarela do Brasil", by that point the most famous Brazilian song outside of Brazil, and *Copacabana* (1947), in which Miranda performs a rousing and percussion filled rendition of "Tico tico no fuba", the same *choro*-reworked-as-*samba* that was also featured prominently in *Saludos Amigos*.³¹

In *That Night in Rio*, as well as in *Saludos Amigos*, percussion is presented as the most defining aspect of Brazilian *samba*, and by extension, as a representation of Brazil, despite the fact that percussion was not generally a major component of most recorded *sambas* up until that point, particularly not to the extent that was portrayed internationally. Both aural and visual

³¹ *The Gang's All Here*, videorecording, directed by Busby Berkeley (Century City, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Films, 1943); *Copacabana*, videorecording, directed by Alfred E Green (Hollywood, CA: Beacon Productions, 1947).

representations of the percussion instruments featured prominently in these films that were, for many in the international audience, their first introduction to Brazil. This international emphasis on Afro-Brazilian based rhythmic and percussion traditions became a self-replicating cycle in the continuing formation of national identity. As racial democracy became a more integral aspect of national identity formation, percussion began to incorporate itself more into the musical production of samba. This percussion was then over-emphasized in the representations of Brazil that were presented to audiences abroad, both on records as well as on recordings featured in films. This influenced the perception of Brazil that was held by foreigners, the majority of whom had only these film representations upon which to base their conceptions of the nation. Subsequently, the conception of Brazil represented by samba, which was in turn represented by the Afro-based percussion instruments upon which attention had become so heavily focused was then passed back to Brazil. As time progressed, this back and forth resulted in "...the crystallization of a set musical formula for *samba*. This formula, based principally on what is known as samba de morro [samba batucada]...became a model to be preserved at all cost by musical nationalists."³² This was of particular consequence in terms of the United States, as Brazil sought to actively distinguish itself from the United States in terms of race relations. The distinction of Brazil as a nation of racial

³² Vianna, 95.

democracy versus the United States as a nation of racial subjugation played a significant role in establishing Brazil as an entity capable of withstanding "North American influence", "Americanization", and "cultural imperialism". The recently developed cultural national symbols, *samba* in particular, represented a field in which Brazil could offer the world something uniquely Brazilian. As Oswaldo Aranha, one of the ministers of the strongly nationalistic Getúlio Vargas government stated, "...We are a new people. And new peoples generally triumph over the older ones. Brazil, with its new music, its own music, is going to triumph."³³ This "new people" was the people created by the "mestiço paradigm", the people that resulted from the supposed racial democracy that came to prominence in the early 20th century.

This continual feedback persisted until the conception of *samba* both abroad and at home became equated with *batucada* percussion instruments. The effect of *samba-exaltação* and the music of Carmen Miranda on the Brazilian audience, and later on the international audience, was profound, with two artists, Barroso and Miranda, effectively representing an entire nation to the world. Similar to the Oito Batutas twenty years prior, Barroso and Miranda served as representatives of the "nacional brasileira". But unlike twenty years earlier, this time there was less controversy over the representation of Brazil through popular music with roots in Afro-Brazilian tradition, and little dismay over the

³³ Sérgio Cabral, "Getúlio Vargas e a música popular brasileira," *Ensaios de opiniao 2*: 36-41. As cited in Vianna, trans. John Charles Chasteen.

fact that the nation was represented by Brazilian nationals "...playing guitars, pandeiros, and other rudimentary instruments." ³⁴ In contrast to twenty years earlier, this time those Afro-Brazilian roots were not only presented but emphasized and accentuated for the listening and viewing audience. Samba was presented on the world stage as a cultural representation of the very essence of Brazil. Syncopated rhythmic systems and percussion instruments were now inextricably linked to samba, and by extension Brazil, in the minds of both foreign audiences as well as listeners at home.

³⁴ Cabral, *Pixinguinha*, 73. Translated and Cited by Marc Hertzman.

CHAPTER 5

SUBVERSIONS OF RACIAL DEMOCRACY:

WILSON BATISTA AND GERALDO PEREIRA (1945-1958)

In the midst of the fervent and unfettered praise of samba-exaltação a new, more denunciatory type of samba began to emerge. This contrary vein of samba, dubbed critical samba by Bryan McCann, began to develop alongside sambaexaltação in the 1940s and 1950s, but would long outlast the zealous patriotism of samba-exaltação. Two sambistas in particular, Geraldo Pereira and Wilson Batista, were responsible for the rebirth of this more intellectually minded form of samba in the face of the gilded realities presented by the majority of the popular sambas of the time. Through their powerful musical voices samba would emerge as a commanding representation of social issues and a strong voice for social change. These Afro-Brazilian sambistas would reclaim the musical form that had so intimately integrated the percussion instruments and rhythmic systems that originated in the Afro-Brazilian traditions of Brazil in order to challenge the reality presented by samba-exaltação and to call attention to the issues and discriminations that were occurring everyday in the lives of Afro-Brazilians.

Geraldo Pereira

Geraldo Pereira was born in rural Minas Gerais, but lived the majority of his young life in the favela of Mangueira in Rio de Janeiro. He was an Afro-Brazilian sambista, known for his sambas that sketched tales of life in the favelas and on the morro. He developed his skills as a sambista writing music for and working with Mangueira's primary escola do samba, Estação Primeira. He was a skilled melodist as well as a subtle and profound lyricist, combining the skills and strengths of Barroso and Rosa. His first entrance into the world of popular music came through an opportunity created by samba-exaltação. Pereira was cast as the title character in Laurindo, a film produced by the local film studio Cinédia that followed the story of Laurindo, the director of harmony of an unnamed samba school. The character was taken from a samba-exaltação written in 1943 by Herivelton Martins that followed Laurindo as he refuses to come to terms with the fact that Praca Onze, the former hotbed of samba and of Carnival, has been paved over in order to make way for Avenida Getúlio Vargas.²

Although the film was less than successful, it allowed Pereira to move beyond Mangueira, where he was already recognized for his talent, and enter the world of the *cidade* and the film studios, radio stations, and record companies that came with it. Periera's casting as Laurindo allowed him to gain entrance into a world that at the time was generally closed to musicians of his color and class.

McCann 78

² Herivelton Martins, "Laurindo," original recording by Trio de Ouro, Odeon, 1943.

Although the exclusion of non-whites was not an official policy or even acknowledged, the preclusion and subordination of Afro-Brazilian *sambistas* in the recording studios was a reflection of the pervasive and covert racism that permeated much of Brazilian life.³

Pereira attempted to gain favor within the world of popular music with a series of conventional *sambas*, but none of them were successful. Pereira gained his first true musical success with "Falsa baiana" ("False Baiana"), a *samba* recorded by Ciro Monteiro and released in 1944.⁴ The song is sparsely instrumented, with the primary focus falling squarely on the percussion instruments that provide a constant background to the song. These instruments, *surdo* and *pandeiro*, are augmented by flute, trombone, *cavaquinho*, and guitar that weave and fade in and out of the musical texture, providing a powerful counterpoint to the vocal line. But it is truly the vocal melody that commands center stage on the recording, with its lightly skipping vocal inflections and playful melodies. As McCann states, "... Its quality of buoyant swing and its use of phrases of unequal length became Pereira's trademarks as a composer....the vocal line first establishes a regular relationship to the underlying rhythm, then disrupts

³ Bryan McCann, "'Geraldo Pereira: *Samba* Composer and Grifter," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Brazil*, ed. Peter M. Beattie (Wilmington: SR Books, 2004), 131.

⁴ Geraldo Pereira, "Falsa baiana," original recording by Ciro Monteiro, RCA Victor, 1944.

that relationship with a rapid roll of stressed consonants falling in between the rhythm's strong beats."⁵

This focus on the vocal melody was likely no coincidence. Unlike in the *samba-exaltaçãos* that remained popular at the time of the release of "Falsa baiana", Pereira was actually saying something in his lyrics, making a strong statement about the reality of race relations and divisions in Brazil, issues that were glossed over in the majority of popular music at the time. The plot of the *samba* follows:

"...the title character, who merely puts on the costume of a Baiana for Carnival, to the real Baiana, who has *samba* in her every movement. When the false Baiana enters the *samba* circle she just stands there, not knowing what to do. No one claps, no one sings, and the *samba* dies. When the real Baiana enters, in contrast, she swivels her hips and leaves her onlookers with their mouths watering, saying 'Hail, Bahia!"."

In contrast to Barroso's "Aquarela do Brasil", the most quintessential samba-exaltação, which contended that samba was the music of all of Brazil, a common ground amongst the people, Pereira seemed to claim that samba did not belong to the whole nation, but rather that only a select few can lay claim to it. Pereira's samba "...accepts the premise of samba-exaltação in order to deny its conclusions: samba is the soul of the nation, but that soul is misused and corrupted by those who only try to put it on once a year. Here, the adoption of

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⁵ McCann, Hello, Hello Brazil, 81.

⁶ Ibid

Afro-Brazilian rhythms and symbols is not evidence of racial democracy, but a phony, unconvincing gesture." Pereira's words are supported by his instrumentation choices, as he sings the primary sounds supporting the vocal line are those of the surdo and the pandeiro, with the cavaquinho, usually an integral part of the rhythmic structure of a samba, hardly audible over the steady beat of the bells of the *pandeiro*. During the introduction as well as the instrumental break prior to the repeat of the lyrics the trombone and flute are allowed to come to the forefront of the sonic landscape, but while Monteiro is singing the only constant sound is that of the surdo and the pandeiro. Pereira's swinging lyricism and percussive use of plosive consonant sounds almost makes a percussion instrument out of Monteiro's voice, adding a new and previously unheard layer of percussion to the composition and creating an intimate tie between the vocal line and the percussion instruments, and by extension, the Afro-Brazilian traditions inherent to samba. In the face of a false Baiana the surdo and the pandeiro maintain their steady beat, waiting for the true Baiana with "samba in her every movement" to enter the *roda* (circle).

It is of particular note that the release of "Falsa baiana" coincided almost exactly with the rise of Carmen Miranda as the international representative of Brazil. Many thought of Miranda as a "false *Baiana*", a white woman who adopted the dress, choreography, and musical traditions of the *Baiana* in order to

⁷ Ibid. 82.

advance her own career. Although Miranda was in fact a wildly talented singer and dancer who could *samba* with the best of them, this did not change the fact that the image of Brazil that she built her reputation upon, both at home and abroad, was inherently misrepresentative.

"Falsa baiana" was Pereira's first foray into the critical realm of samba, but it was definitely not his last. As time passed Pereira's view of the economic, racial, and social climate in Brazil gradually soured. He began to incorporate this displeasure into his lyrics, releasing songs such as "Golpe errado" ("Unfair Blow") that challenged the realities of the economic status quo.⁸ In this song, Pereira brings the *malandro* back to *samba*, relating the tale of a *malandro* strolling in his "starched white suit" with his brown girlfriend as his wife toils as a maid in the house of a white man down in the cidade. The song related the realities of the economic system and couched it in language predominated by images of color. Pereira's lyrics were powerful and shocking not only because they explicitly laid out the economic inequalities of the situation, but because he did so at a time when those inequalities were not acknowledged. The rhetoric of racial democracy remained strong, and its conception of racial equality and patriarchal relations still held sway in popular thought. Challenging these conceptions was rarely, if ever, done, and was particularly rarely done in the popular music sphere. Samba-

⁸ Geraldo Pereira, Cristóvão de Alencar, David Nasser, "Golpe errado," original recording by Ciro Monteiro, RCA Victor, 1946.

exaltação and its glossed over, uncritical view of Brazilian life and Brazilian-ness was the norm; Pereira challenged this norm.

He did so with the same instrumentation found in "Falsa baiana". Trombone, flute, and *cavaquinho* are all featured in "Golpe errado", as well as surdo, with the addition of ganzá and hand drums. Again, percussion plays a critical role in the song, providing the musical foundation of the song as the other instruments provide melodic accents. Yet the power of the song rests on the strong percussive background provided by the surdo, ganzá, and hand drums. These instruments that were practically unheard in the *sambas* released 20 years earlier now formed the core of the popular recorded sambas. These percussive sounds draw a strong connection between the economic realities described in the lyrics and the everyday life of most Afro-Brazilians. Pereira further cements this connection through the use of not only a single interpreter, but also a multi-voice chorus. This musical concept was frequently found in early sambas, as the primary vocalist would engage in a call and response pattern with a participatory audience. This format is also found in other musical expressions based in Afro-Brazilian traditions, such as the songs that accompany capoeira9. Although "Golpe errado" does not feature a call and response format, the song prominently features a multi-voice choir in addition to the primary vocalist, who in fact only sings solo for a very brief period of time. The chorus sings the rest of the song,

⁹ Afro-Bahian martial art and dance form brought to Brazil by Bantu slaves from Angola. Played to the musical accompaniment of the *berimbau*, *pandeiro*, *agogô*, *atabaque*, and other instruments

creating the musical feeling that every character in the story woven by the lyrics is calling out against the injustice of the economic realities portrayed. The reincorporation of the multi-person chorus into *samba* would become characteristic of many of the critical *sambas* that were released in the 1940s and 1950s as the composers attempted to assert their authenticity as representatives of Afro-Brazilian traditions and issues.

With the subsequent release of songs such as "Ministério da Economia", "Escurinha", "Falso Patriota", and "Cabritada malsucedida", Pereira continued to say what no one else would say through his lyrics. 10 Each of these songs addressed the economic and social inequalities that confronted the Afro-Brazilian, particularly the *favelado*, in everyday Brazilian life. And each song contradicted the idealized representation of Brazil and Brazilian life that was presented by *samba-exaltação*. "Ministério da Economia" satirically congratulated the recently re-elected President Vargas for his economic reforms, and again brings into stark relief the economic realities of the majority of Afro-Brazilians. Sarcasm drips from each of Periera's words as he extols the economic changes that the president has proposed even as he knows that they will not change anything or make a difference. "Escurinha" countered the polished and superlative imagery of *samba-exaltação* with the harsh reality of life in the *favelas*, describing the *barraco*, or

Geraldo Pereira and Arnaldo Passos, "Ministério da Economia," original recording by Pereira, Sinter, 1951; Geraldo Pereira and Arnaldo Passos, "Escurinha," original recording by Pereira, Sinter, 1952; Geraldo Pereira and W. Vanderley, "Cabritada malsucedida," original recording by Pereira, RCA Victor, 1953.

shack, of the director of harmony of a *favela samba* school as having only "four earth walls, [a] zinc roof, a floor of wooden slats." "Falso Patriota" finds Pereira point blank criticizing the hypocrisy of those who call themselves Brazilian yet consume cigars, rum, cars, and cheese that have been imported from foreign lands. Yet the most egregious fault of the consumer is that he does "not sing our *samba*, he does not like the *pandeiro*". And "Cabritada malsucedida" finds the government disrupting and crushing the *samba* celebrations that it claimed to extol in *samba-exaltação*. And in each of these compositions Pereira's cutting wit and sharp social criticism are backed up and reinforced by a firm foundation of percussion instruments.

Interspersed among the more critical compositions were songs such as "Que samba bom", a rollicking, percussion filled celebration of the "crazy thing" that is *samba*. ¹² The song was recorded by Blecaute, one of the few Afro-Brazilian *samba* interpreters, and would go on to become Pereira's biggest selling hit. The song incorporates a variety of percussion instruments, beginning with the sounds of the *surdo*, the *pandeiro*, as well as the rarely used *cuica*. Similar to "Golpe errado", the song is sung primarily by a multi-voice choir, creating the feeling that the entire *favela* is singing along. Providing the musical foundation for the choir is a *surdo*, a *pandeiro*, a wood block, and the *cuica*, as well as trombone and trumpet.

¹¹ McCann, Hello, Hello Brazil, 84.

¹² Geraldo Pereira and Arnaldo Passos, "Que samba bom," original recording by Blecaute, Continental, 1949.

When Blecaute does sing alone, he sings a melody that is carefree and insouciant, sung with the air of a man who clearly knows what he is singing about. This composition was a reflection of Pereira's conception of the "good *samba*", the best *samba* out there, and this best *samba* was the one sung by an Afro-Brazilian man that most prominently featured the widest array of percussion instruments.

Almost all of these compositions, with the exception of "Minstério da Economia", reference samba as a crucial aspect of the life of the favelado. Yet Pereira's samba was not the samba that was described in samba-exaltação as that of all the people of Brazil. As McCann states, "...samba is no longer a national treasure nurtured by Afro-Brazilians and then shared by all Brazilians, it is a separate cultural sphere owned by favelados, and not shared."13 The percussion and rhythms of samba shifted from a unifying concept to a divisive one, as Pereira used the power and popularity of samba to openly criticize the inherent inequalities of life in Brazil. Pereira's critical opprobrium foreshadowed a recrimination of the rhetoric of racial democracy that would not emerge in academia until late in the 1950s and would not be incorporated into popular thought until much later. Pereira was far ahead of his time in terms of denouncing racial discrimination, something that may have been possible due to his accepted and favored standing in popular music. The complaints that he voiced outside the realm of his lyrics were shot down as absurd and inappropriate. At the time that

¹³ Ibid, 85.

Pereira was releasing music the rhetoric of racial democracy still held strong, and the only way that one could protest the inequalities fostered by the rhetoric was through the medium of *samba* music. Pereira utilized *samba*, the most revered symbol of racial democracy and national identity, to question the contradictions present in both. ¹⁴ Many of the techniques that Pereira employed in order to question the dominant social order were also found in the music of a composer who was already an established name in *samba*: Wilson Batista.

Wilson Batista

By the 1940s, Wilson Batista had been around the popular music scene for quite a while. After his musical polemic with Noel Rosa in the 1930s, Batista continued to produce *sambas*. By the time that Pereira began releasing *sambas* in the 1940s, Batista had been a fixture in the popular music scene for over a decade. Batista continued to produce *sambas* that were intimately connected to the *morro* and its residents. Similar to Pereira, Batista utilized the character of Laurindo to make himself relevant again in the realm of popular music in the 1940s. Yet whereas Pereira used his film role as Laurindo to give his career a boost, Batista stuck to *sambas*.

Starting in 1945, Batista released a series of *sambas* that featured Laurindo as the protagonist. Each of Batista's songs was set in the *favela* of Mangueira,

¹⁴ Ibid, 86.

perhaps in a nod to Pereira's origins in the neighborhood. The songs track the progression of Laurindo from director of harmony of the Mangueira escola de samba ("La vem Mangueira"- Here Comes Mangueira) to a corporal in the Brazilian army ("Cabo Laurindo"- Corporal Laurindo) to a local politician on the morro ("Comício em Mangueira"- Rally in Mangueira). ¹⁵ The songs reflected the increasing expectations of the residents of the favelas as they came to expect integration into the political and economic nation based upon the exaltation of the Afro-Brazilian contribution to the nation found in samba-exaltação, as well as because of their contribution to the ongoing war effort in Europe. 16 Yet these expectations were not met, as the government failed to follow through on promises of inclusion. Favelados found themselves excluded from the nation by the Vargas regime as well as the government of Eurico Dutra, the elected president following the fall of the Estado Novo. The re-election of Vargas in 1951 changed little, and the population of the *favelas* continued to be extolled in the realm of popular music while being excluded from basic social services.

Each song features a heavy percussion foundation, including *surdo*, tamborim, and pandeiro. "La vem Mangueira" portrays the parading of the Mangueira escola de samba through the powerful percussion, as well as the use of a group chorus and the triumphant yell that opens the song. In listening, one can

¹⁶ McCann, 80.

Wilson Batista, Haroldo Lobo, Jorge de Castro, "Lá vem Mangueira," original recording by Deo, Continental, 1943; Wilson Batista, haroldo Lobo, "Cabo Laurindo," original recording by Jorge Veiga, Continental, 1945; Wilson Batista, Germano Augusto, "Comício em Mangueira," original recording by Carlos Galhardo, RCA Victor, 1945.

Mangueira" that utilizes percussion in the most powerful and effective manner. The song begins with a solo trumpet playing the opening line of the military bugle call "Taps", the song that is traditionally played at the funerals of fallen soldiers. The bugle call foreshadows the lyrical content of the song, as the song focuses on remembering those in the neighborhood of Mangueira who died at the front. But the bugle call quickly devolves into the clamor of percussion, followed soon after by the chorus, the voices of the rally. Laurindo then declares that the true heroes of the situation are those who died in the war effort. Interestingly, Batista qualifies those who have fallen as *sambistas*, all of them, employing the concept often found in *samba-exaltação* of every Afro-Brazilian having, in some way, an inherent connection to *samba*. The last four lines of the lyrics are particularly telling:

"Laurindo então lembrou o nome dos sambistas que tombaram Mangueira tomou parte na vitória Mangueira mais uma vez na história" "Laurindo then remembered the names of the *sambistas* that had fallen Mangueira took part in the victory
Mangueira once again in history"

These lines connect the fallen soldiers to *samba* and the whole neighborhood of Mangueira to Brazil's victory. They clearly display the hope of the *favelados* that their contribution to the war effort would gain them entrance into the political and economic nation. Yet the lines sound almost naive in their hope for inclusion. The massive fissure between the rhetoric of racial democracy and the harsh reality continued to grow.

Batista addressed this hypocrisy in his lyrics, although contrary to Pereira's method of challenging the tenets of *samba-exaltação* directly, Batista worked within the concepts of *samba-exaltação* in order to discredit them. In opposition to Pereira, "...Batista was less likely to criticize racial discrimination, and more likely to invoke the rhetoric of racial democracy and nationalism when it was to his strategic advantage—as in the Laurindo *sambas*." Batista utilized the typical tropes found in *samba-exaltação* and then undermined them, deviantly weakening them and creating questions where before there were none. Batista does this brilliantly in his *samba* "Chico Brito", utilizing the standard *samba* figure of the *malandro* in order to raise questions about the role of society in the formation of a criminal, a dilemma worthy of the philosophical contemplations of Rousseau.² Although the answer to that question is unclear, what is clear is that racial democracy and the rhetoric therein had not delivered real benefits. Through the use

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¹ Ibid, 88.

² Wilson Batista, "Chico Brito," original recording by Dircinha Batista, Odeon, 1950.

of the *malandro*, Batista is able to force the listener to think and to question the rhetoric of racial democracy that had become so entrenched in popular music as well as popular social theory. Batista challenged the system by working within it, enabled by the cultural power of *samba*.

In the face of unacknowledged racial discrimination and inherent inequality Pereira and Batista spoke up, albeit each in their separate ways. Both of them did so with a firm foundation of percussion to back up their words. At a time when the sounds of surdo, pandeiro, tamborim, and cuica had become commonplace in recordings that ignored and glossed over the presence of racial issues, Pereira and Batista reclaimed these sounds that were originally associated with the *morro* in order to subtly critique the conditions present there. Pereira and Batista utilized the premise of samba-exaltação as a starting point, in both lyrical content as well as instrumental and musical standards, and then turned it on its head. By the 1940s and 50s, percussion had become a crucial component of popular recorded sambas, a representation of samba do morro as national essence, but Pereira and Batista recouped the sounds of percussion in order to lend additional weight to their denunciation of the political, social, and economic climate of the nation. Pereira and Batista represented the new wave of Brazilian popular music, a critical stage that compellingly presented the failings of the Brazilian nation, in particular those concerned with the rhetoric of supposed racial democracy. This new wave

of *samba* revitalized the genre, giving it new weight and power as the nation moved into a new era of Brazilian popular music.

Despite the fact that the prevailing musical trends of the 1950s adhered closely to the tropes and standards of samba-exaltação, Pereira and Batista opened the door for a new form of samba to take hold. Through their subversive lyrics and their reclamation of percussive traditions, these two artists forged a new path in samba, one that would allow the genre to continue to grow and develop as a tool of social commentary. They were able to do so primarily because of the intimate and inextricable connection between Brazilian national identity and samba that by the 1950s had become firmly entrenched in Brazilian cultural thought. These artists were able to criticize and denounce the government and the social conditions present in Brazil solely because they were doing so through the medium of samba, and so their criticisms were still inherently Brazilian. As was the case with Pereira and Blecaute, one of Pereira's favored interpreters, when the artists attempted to call attention to issues of racism and discrimination in the music business through non-musical means they were mocked and ignored, for their criticisms were deemed unseemly and un-Brazilian. Yet when these same criticisms were made within the context of the *cavaquinho*, the *surdo*, and the pandeiro, they became top-selling, popular hits. Only within the circumstances of condemnations samba were these allowed to exist.

Conclusion

In 1962, a group of "composers, *intérpretes*, *sambistas*, scholars, friends of *samba*, and other interested parties" gathered at the Palácio Pedro Ernesto in Rio for the First National *Samba* Conference. The conference brought together 40 years of *samba* luminaries, ranging from Donga and Pixinguinha to Ari Barroso, and was documented by Edison Carneiro in his *Carta do Samba*. In the face of the increasing popularity of genres such as *bossa nova*, these stars of the *samba* scene gathered to share knowledge and sit on committees concerning the future of *samba*. These committees eventually came to the unified conclusion that "...*samba* was at its best...when it highlighted its most basic elements: drums and syncopated rhythm," while the Committee to Preserve *Samba*'s Traditional Elements highlighted:

"...the importance of Brazilian rhythm. Carneiro wrote, 'to preserve samba's traditional elements means to valorize syncopation.'...The Instrumentation and Orchestration Committee noted 'Samba's fundamental rhythm is best expressed with percussion instruments . . . samba gains character, force, and stature when it drinks deeply the water in its wells.""²

As evidenced by the findings of the committees at the First National *Samba* Conference, percussion and syncopation had become inseparable from the popular conception of *samba*, and by 1962 were perceived to be the most essential and

¹ Edison Carneiro, *Carta Do Samba*, Campanha de Defesa do Folclore Brasileiro, 1962. As cited and translated by Marc Hertzman, 438.

² Hertzman, 438-9.

fundamental components of samba.

Yet in spite of this almost unilateral focus on percussion in definitions of samba from 1962 to the present day, this thesis has shown that the incorporation of percussion was a gradual process that occurred over the course of decades. The genre began based in *maxixe* and *choro* of the early 20th century, songs like Ernesto Nazareth's "Brejeiro" and the *maxixe* "Fandanguaçu" that lacked percussion in any capacity. Samba was born out of these two previous genres, and when it was first introduced in 1917 with "Pelo telefone", samba maintained almost all of the characteristics of maxixe and choro, including instrumentation, structure, and a distinct lack of percussion. Despite the fact that samba at the time was merely a term, it began to be exported through the travels and recordings of the Oito Batutas, who first began to incorporate the lightest of percussion sections, including ganzá and pandeiro into songs such as "La-ré". Despite the limitations of the recording equipment of the time, the Oito Batutas incorporated a bateria percussion player into their line-up when they traveled to Argentina to record for Victor in 1923.³ But it wasn't until the introduction of electromagnetic recording epuipment in 1927, the popular acceptance of the rhetoric of racial democracy, and the subsequent release of the Bando do Tangarás hit "Na Pavuna" in 1930, that heavy percussion like the *surdo* was heard in recorded *samba*. It was also at this time that the rise of the Estácio sound introduced the now standard rhythmic

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³ Abel Cardoso Junior, Oito Batutas, In *No Tempo dos Oito Batutas* (pp. 2-3) [CD liner notes], Paraná: Músicas Comércio De Discos Ltda.

syncopation so strongly associated with samba. Yet despite the introduction of advanced technologies that could now record all the sounds of the various percussion instruments, percussion was still scarce in the recorded output of the genre. In the 1930s, rather than being the standard, the sounds of percussion were the exception, incorporated slowly into recorded sambas as middle class stars like Noel Rosa sought to connect with the perceived authenticity associated with drums and other percussion instruments. Songs such as "Feitiço da vila" and "João Ninguem" by Rosa incorporated far heavier percussion sections than had been heard before. It wasn't until the 1940s that the heavy use of percussion finally hit levels consistent with modern conceptions. Samba-exaltação and the exported sambas of the '40s incorporated the panoply of Afro-Brazilian instrumentation and rhythm. Ari Barroso's "Aquarela do Brasil", with its praises of Afro-Brazilian cultural elements, including percussion instruments, became the de-facto national anthem. Herivelto Martins's "Laurindo" integrated heavy batucada percussion into a recording that extolled the virtues of Brazil, depicting a "...harmonious Afro-Brazilian folkloric past that both undergirds and gives way before a noble future in which Brazil takes its place among the world's leading nations."4 Previously recorded choro compositions such as "Tico tico no fubá" were rerecorded with the addition of heavy percussion sections and re-released as *sambas* for inclusion in American films. It was broadly recognized internally and

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⁴ McCann, 79.

internationally as a musical representation of the miscegenetic Brazilian national identity and a reflection of Brazil's ideal of racial democracy. Almost simultaneously with the rise of samba-exaltação, the critical sambas of Afro-Brazilian sambistas Wilson Batista and Geraldo Pereira began to reclaim the sounds of percussion that were most often associated with the *morro* in order to criticize the racial and social inequalities present in Brazil that were glossed over in samba-exaltação and in the rhetoric of racial democracy. Songs such as "Ministério da Economia" by Pereira and "Comício em Mangueira" by Batista used the heavy sounds of percussion in order to draw attention to the serious issues of discrimination that did, in fact, exist in Brazil. Samba slowly took on the role of Brazilian social mirror, both in unabashed national pride as in sambaexaltação and, later, through such artists as Batista and Pereira, as a unique vehicle for protest. By 1962, the levels of percussion that had only been integrated in the 1940s had been codified as essential elements of *samba*.

In the face of popular and academic definitions that view percussion as an integral as well as an eternal aspect of recorded *sambas*, this analysis shows that the incorporation of percussion was a more gradual and subtle process. From its start as an amorphous genre term that was little more than an empty marketing tool, *samba* became a distinct musical form that was closely associated with syncopation and *batucada*-based percussion. In the span of 40 years, percussion and syncopation became so fully integrated into the recorded output of the genre

as to define it. Samba had also become inextricably connected to conceptions of Brazilian national identity, both by listeners in Brazil as well as abroad. These processes were intricately connected to each other— as samba became equated with national identity, percussion became more heavily integrated into the recorded output of the music as the music conformed to fit the idea of an ethnically mixed society. By 1962 the connection between syncopation, percussion, and samba had firmly and irrefutably taken hold, and has been maintained until the present day. New forms of popular music that lacked an emphasis on percussion, such as bossa nova, were deemed escapist and Americanized. In the brief time since percussion began to be incorporated into recorded sambas, it has become the most lauded and vital component of the genre. This fixation on percussion has been reproduced in both popular and academic circles, and has steadily become the standard conception of samba. The attempts to reproduce the tenets of racial democracy in the cultural arena of samba have been wildly successful. Regardless of the rise of new genres of popular music such as bossa nova and tropicália, samba, with its association with rhythm and percussion, remains the genre most associated with the national identity of Brazil. "Brazil is samba". To begin to understand the identity of Brazil one must know samba, and understanding samba requires listening closely to the original music to uncover the changes that have occurred, including the complex and vital role that percussion syncopation developed and have over the years.

GLOSSARY

Afoxé: a gourd with beads strung on cords or on wire wrapped around it.

Agogô: double bell (each bell is a different size) struck by a wooden stick.

Atabaque: generic name for conical single-headed drums played with the hands, similar to Cuban conga drums.

Bahia: state in northeastern Brazil; common nickname for Salvador, the capital of Bahia state.

Baiano (Baiana): someone or something from Bahia state; archaic, Afro-Brazilian circle dance.

Bateria: drums; drum-and-percussion section of an escola de samba.

Batucada: samba-drumming or percussion-playing involving different instruments.

Bossa nova: "New way"; genre of music developed in Rio de Janeiro in late 1950s that includes rhythmic elements of *samba*, a highly syncopated style of guitar playing, a generally subdued vocal style (when sung), and harmonic influences from cool jazz and classical music.

Cachaça: Brazilian sugar-cane liquor.

Caixa: snare drum.

Capoeira: Afro-Brazilian martial art brought to Brazil by Bantu slaves from Angola, practiced and performed publicly to singing and the playing of *berimbaus*, *pandeiros*, and other instruments.

Carioca: someone or something from the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Carnaval: Carnival, four days of celebration before Ash Wednesday, observed primarily in Roman Catholic countries. Mardi Gras is the U.S. version.

Cavaquinho: a four stringed instrument similar to a ukelele, with seventeen frets and usually tuned D-G-B-D.

Choro: instrumental genre of music developed in the late nineteenth century in Rio that developed out of tango, polka, and waltz. Gradually, variations of the *samba* rhythm largely came to replace these other rhythms, although European harmonic and melodic traits persisted. Features rapid modulations, melodic leaps, and improvisation.

Cuíca: small friction drum with a thin stick inside attached to the drumskin. The drummer rubs the stick with a moistened cloth and with one hand applies pressure to the drumskin, producing grunting, groaning, and squeaking noises.

Escola de samba: samba school, an organization that plans and puts on *samba* parades during *Carnaval*. It typically has many other social functions and may serve as the community center in its neighborhood (usually a poorer area of the city).

Favela: slum, shantytown.

Ganzá: single, double or triple tubular metal shaker; wooden or metal square with cymbals.

Habanera: slow Cuban song and dance in duple time.

Lundu: song and dance of Angolan origin, brought to Brazil by Bantu slaves, ancestor of many urban Brazilian song forms.

Malandro: man who makes his living by exploiting women, gambling, or playing small confidence tricks; scoundrel, vagabond, loafer.

Marcha: quick-tempo Afro-Brazilian music in binary meter with strong accent on downbeat. Influenced by ragtime and the one-step in the 1920s. Along with *samba*, a very popular carnival genre, especially in Rio.

Maxixe: song and dance that was a fusion of *lundu* with polka, habanera, and (later) tango. It was created in the late-nineteenth century and was the first original Brazilian urban dance.

Morro: in Rio used to mean one of the hills around the city upon which are located poor neighborhoods (the *favelas*); any hill.

Mulato (mulata): mulatto.

Pandeiro: similar to tambourine, but with jingles inverted.

Polka: a round dance and musical form in uptempo 2/4 time that originated in Bohemia around 1830.

Preto: black; a black person.

Reco-reco: a notched instrument (often made of bamboo or metal) that is scraped with a stick and produces a crisp sound.

Rei: king.

Roda: circle; the ring of musicians or bystanders surrounding *capoeira* participants.

Samba: the most famous Brazilian song and dance, now musically characterized by 2/4 meter and interlocking, syncopated lines in melody and accompaniment.

Samba de morro: name used by Brazilian media in 1940s and 1950s to characterize samba that kept essential characteristics of style developed by Estácio composers such as Ismael Silva and Bide.

Sambista: someone who sings, writes, plays, or dances samba almost exclusively.

Schottische: ballroom dance similar to polka introduced to England in the midnineteenth century, also called "German polka".

Surdo: drum in *samba* played with a wooden stick that has a velvet-covered wooden head, it comes in three sizes and functions as the bass in the *bateria* of an *escola de samba*.

Tambor: any drum.

Tamborim: small tambourine without jingles played with single or double stick.

Tango: dance and song form that developed in Argentina at the start of the twentieth century and derived its rhythm from the Cuban *habanera* and Argentinean *milonga*.

Tia: "aunt"; a Bahian matriarch. In Rio the *tias* were important in the development of *samba* in the early twentieth century, sponsoring parties with music and dance in the Bahian community located in Rio's center.

Tropicália: arts movement in the late 1960s, led in the musical area by Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso, and others.

Umbigada: movement in *lundu*, *samba*, and other Afro-Brazilian dances in which the dancer touches navels with another as an invitation to the dance.

Viola: guitarlike instrument whose number of strings (five, seven, eight, ten, twelve, or fourteen) varies according to the region.

Violão: guitar.

Zona Norte: northern zone of Rio that includes neighborhoods such as Estácio, Tijuca, Vila Isabel, and Ramos.

Zona Sul: southern zone of Rio close to the beaches, includes neighborhoods such as Flamengo, Botafogo, Copacabana, Ipanema, Leblon, Jardim Botánico, and Gávea.

Sources: McGowan and Pessanha 1998; Galinsky 1995.

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