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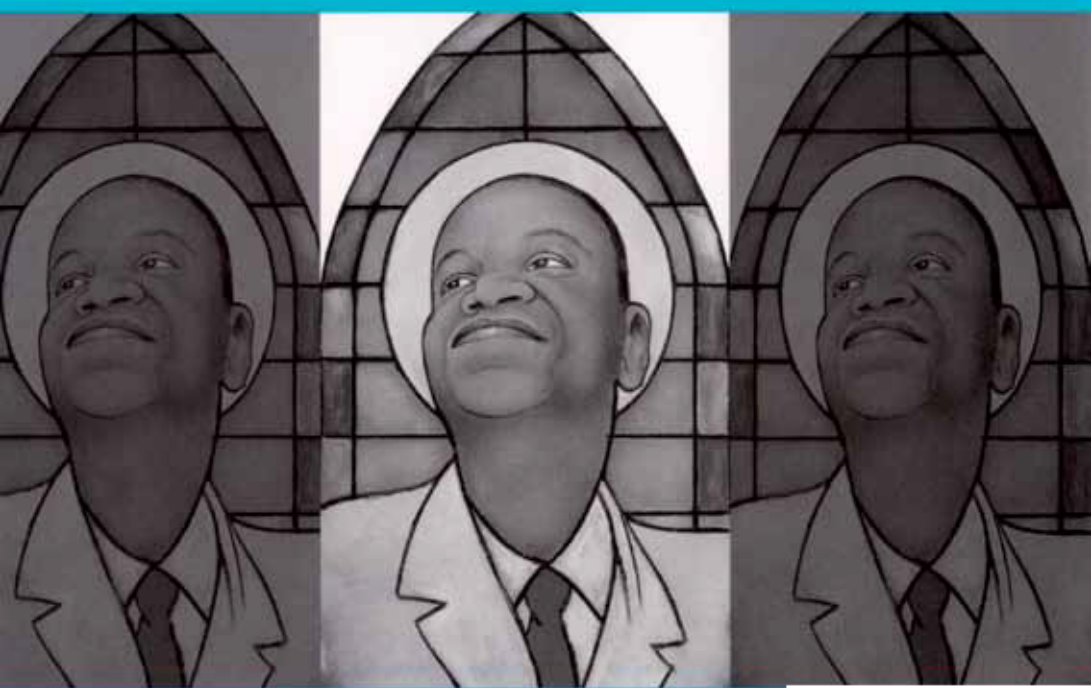
The Defence of Tradition in Brazilian Popular Music

Politics, Culture and the Creation of *Música Popular Brasileira*



An **Ashgate** Book

Sean Stroud

THE DEFENCE OF TRADITION IN BRAZILIAN POPULAR MUSIC

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Politics, Culture and the Creation of *Música Popular Brasileira*

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General Editor's Preface

The upheaval that occurred in musicology during the last two decades of the twentieth century has created a new urgency for the study of popular music alongside the development of new critical and theoretical models. A relativistic outlook has replaced the universal perspective of modernism (the international ambitions of the 12-note style); the grand narrative of the evolution and dissolution of tonality has been challenged, and emphasis has shifted to cultural context, reception and subject position. Together, these have conspired to eat away at the status of canonical composers and categories of high and low in music. A need has arisen, also, to recognize and address the emergence of crossovers, mixed and new genres, to engage in debates concerning the vexed problem of what constitutes authenticity in music and to offer a critique of musical practice as the product of free, individual expression.

Popular musicology is now a vital and exciting area of scholarship, and the *Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series* aims to present the best research in the field. Authors will be concerned with locating musical practices, values and meanings in cultural context, and may draw upon methodologies and theories developed in cultural studies, semiotics, poststructuralism, psychology and sociology. The series will focus on popular musics of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is designed to embrace the world's popular musics from Acid Jazz to Zydeco, whether high tech or low tech, commercial or non-commercial, contemporary or traditional.

Professor Derek B. Scott
Chair of Music
University of Leeds

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Introduction

A few years ago I found myself at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London where an eclectic programme of Brazilian music and videos was being shown. A small number of people were gathered in the cinema watching a series of video clips that included *Casa Cheia* [Full House] by the rap group, Detentos do Rap [Prisoners of Rap]. After a minute or so of this striking video, which was shot in the infamous Carandiru prison in São Paulo, a young Brazilian woman in front of me turned to her English partner and loudly exclaimed for all to hear: 'This has nothing to do with Brazilian music!' before storming out with her flustered partner in tow. My reaction at the time was one of mild amusement mixed with a slight feeling of puzzlement as to how a mere music video could elicit such a vehement reaction. As time went by I occasionally thought back to that evening and I came to reflect that the woman's reaction to the video could probably be attributed to one or more of a number of factors: an antipathy towards rap; a dislike for the setting of the video, which might reflect poorly on the image of Brazil in front of foreigners; and possibly an element of underlying racism – the woman was white and most of those featured in the video are black. That much is speculation on my part. However, I also came to the conclusion that the most important aspect of the woman's reaction to the video, and what it represented, was that Brazilian rap failed to match her apparently deeply-rooted conception of what constituted popular music in Brazil. Her reaction seemed to suggest that she felt that 'true' Brazilian music, whatever that might be, needed to be differentiated from a 'contaminated', imported and essentially inferior style of music that might hoodwink others into believing that Detentos do Rap and their ilk were legitimate representations of national culture.

These thoughts have been one of the main catalysts for this study, which examines how notions of what constitutes Brazilian popular music have been constructed over a period of forty years or so since the mid 1960s. Another point of departure for my research was my attendance at the national meeting of the Pesquisadores de Música Popular Brasileira [researchers in Brazilian popular music] (APMPB), held in Rio de Janeiro in 2001, which brought home to me the diversity of opinion among researchers and academics within Brazil over what styles and genres could be said to be truly representative of Brazilian popular music. On leaving that particular event I came away with the distinct impression that the influence of an essentially conservative group of writers and journalists, whose writings are prominent in a certain sector of the Brazilian media, continues to exert a particular influence on public perceptions of a tradition of national popular music. This led me to consider the role of the various other actors who have shaped present day notions of what is defined as Brazilian popular music, and what isn't, namely: the record industry, the broadcasting industry, the state, academics and individual researchers. One of the primary intentions of this book is to identify the influence of those actors in delineating the parameters of Brazilian popular music, and more particularly the

construction of a tradition within the wider sphere of popular music as a whole, that is, Música Popular Brasileira (MPB), the socio/cultural/musical movement that has dominated the artistic scene in Brazil since the mid 1960s.

MPB: A Brief Outline

Popular music has occupied a significant and prominent role in Brazilian cultural life since the 1920s. That role was amplified and took on different political dimensions in the 1930s and 1940s when the political administrations of Getúlio Vargas took popular music, particularly samba, under their wing to promote their nationalistic project at home and abroad. This was a period in which songwriters such as Noel Rosa and Ary Barroso came to the fore and when Carmen Miranda became a household name in Brazil and around the world.[1] The Bossa Nova movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s which was ushered in with the release of João Giberto's *Chega de Saudade* LP in 1959 was to have massive repercussions both domestically and internationally, particularly after the now almost legendary bossa nova concert given by Brazilian artists at New York's Carnegie Hall in November 1962.[2]

As bossa nova subsequently imploded into various competing factions, and *jovem guarda* [1960s Brazilian pop-rock] grew in popularity the next decisive phase in the history of Brazilian popular music occurred in the mid to late 1960s when an impressive number of highly talented musicians, performers and songwriters came to national prominence through their appearances at televised song festivals. Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso, Elis Regina, Gal Costa, Edu Lobo, Chico Buarque, Milton Nascimento, Geraldo Vandré and many others, all launched their careers before an enraptured national audience united by the newly created national television network.[3] This new movement rapidly came to be referred to by the acronym MPB (Música Popular Brasileira) [Brazilian popular music] from about 1965 onwards. These artists, and many others such as Maria Bethânia, João Bosco, Jorge Ben, Geraldo Azevedo, Ivan Lins, Alceu Valença and Simone, dominated the musical scene during the 1970s and many of them have maintained high levels of popularity and national recognition for nearly four decades, forming the nucleus of the group of artists most recognizably associated with the term MPB. They have been supplemented at regular periods during recent years by newer stars working

1 For comprehensive accounts of this period see Lisa Shaw, *The Social History of the Brazilian Samba* (Aldershot, 2000) and Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham N.C., 2004).

2 Ruy Castro's *Chega de Saudade*: *A história e as histórias da Bossa Nova* (São Paulo, 1990) is an exhaustive and entertaining survey of the history of bossa nova. See also Augusto de Campos, *Balanço da Bossa e outras bossas* (São Paulo, 1993) for a more analytical approach.

3 For more information about these festivals see Sean Stroud, '"Música é para o povo cantar": Culture, Politics and the Brazilian song festivals 1965–72', *Latin American Music Review*, vol. 21: no. 2 (2000): 87–117, Marcos Napolitano, *'Seguindo a canção': Engajamento politico e indústria cultural na MPB (1959-1969)* (São Paulo, 2001) and Zuza Homem de Mello, *A Era dos Festivais: Uma Parábola* (São Paulo, 2003).

within the format loosely associated with MPB, such as Marisa Monte, Chico Cesar, Lenine, Maria Rita and a host of others.

The music characteristically linked with the term MPB during its 'classic' period – roughly the mid 1960s to the mid 1980s – was an innovative mixture of refined harmonies (frequently influenced by jazz), poetic lyrics (often with literary and/or political allusions) and varied rhythms. In what is still rather surprisingly one of the few academic surveys of MPB, Charles Perrone makes the point that it is the combination of conceptual and technical expertise that makes this music remarkable:

> The production of Brazil's best contemporary songwriters represents sustained depth and formal sophistication, twenty continuous years of incisive creativity, and hundreds of songs with a minimum of throwaway lyrics or banally repetitive musical formats.[4]

Writing in 1989, Perrone made the valid observation that, 'MPB – which assimilates and goes beyond Bossa Nova – is not a discrete style or a unified movement but a diversified and evolving current within the larger sphere of Brazilian popular music of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.'[5] It was precisely because of this factor that MPB was able to move with the times in the 1970s as the expansion of the record industry and the media opened up new alternatives to traditional popular music. Perrone again:

> MPB readily incorporated foreign and regional trends and forged new avenues of expression. Hybridization was common, as composers mixed and remixed Brazilian parameters – rhythms, patterns of harmony, instruments – with those of rock, blues, soul, funk, some discothèque, Jamaican reggae, and, to a limited degree, African music.[6]

Nevertheless, this chameleon-like ability to meld with elements of other urban musical genres also made it increasingly difficult for many to establish what was and what wasn't MPB, and public conceptions of the nature of the movement consequently became ever more blurred.

I will return to this issue in Chapter 2, however, at this point I would like to briefly discuss the important symbolic role that MPB performs within the wider Brazilian cultural ambit. Mário de Andrade, the intellectual heavyweight and dominant figure of the Brazilian Modernist movement of the 1920s, was the first writer to tackle the subject of Brazilian popular music in any depth through various works that spanned the period between the late 1920s until the 1940s.[7] His sympathies by and large

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4 *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song: MPB 1965–1985* (Austin, 1989), p. 207.

5 Ibid., pp. 201–2.

6 Ibid., p. xxxii.

7 See for example, *Ensaio Sôbre a Música Brasileira* (São Paulo, 1962) and *Música, doce música* (São Paulo, 1976). Mário de Andrade (1893–1945) was a multi-talented novelist, journalist, poet, literary and music critic, linguist, music educationalist, state cultural administrator, folklorist and musicologist. He first came to prominence through his involvement as a poet in the highly influential Modern Art Week held in São Paulo in 1922 and gained further acclaim with the publication of his celebrated novel *Macunaíma* in 1928. For a survey of Mário's writings on music and how his work fits into the wider context of nationalism

lay more in the direction of rural popular music rather than its urban counterpart – which he generally considered to be *popularesca* or vulgar – and his writings on music formed part of his wider concerns about the need for Brazil to develop an independent cultural identity, undiluted by foreign influences. Echoes of Mário's influence can be clearly detected in the output of a number of nationalistically-orientated journalists, broadcasters and writers such as Almirante, Ary Vasconcellos, Lúcio Rangel and José Ramos Tinhorão, whose writings on popular music in the period between the 1940s and mid 1960s exerted widespread influence (this will be discussed fully in Chapter 1). The views expressed in the writings of the latter went virtually unchallenged until the mid 1960s when the televised song festivals and the explosive impact of the Tropicália movement provoked a series of articles on the revolution in popular music written by intellectuals such as Augusto de Campos, Brasil Rocha Brito and Gilberto Mendes.[8]

This new-found interest in popular music by Brazilian academics and intellectuals spilled over into the public arena through further articles written for the mainstream press, and heralded the start of an ongoing debate about the state of health of national popular music that has continued for the last forty years. I do not wish to suggest that popular music had not previously been the subject of public debate and governmental interest, for this had been a feature of Brazilian cultural life since at least the 1930s, however, what was radically different about the 1968 watershed was that the intense cultural activity that centred on the Tropicália movement, including the critical debates about popular music, also coincided with political debates that resulted in the imposition of severe political and artistic censorship and the flourishing of an increasingly powerful mass media and record industry. All these powerful forces coalesced at the same moment and imbued MPB with a particular, special status and kudos that intensified its cultural prominence for decades to come.

MPB and Concepts of Tradition, Quality, and Authenticity

The manner in which MPB has traditionally been viewed in Brazil is intrinsically bound up with notions of legitimacy and tradition. The pre-Tropicália period was largely dominated by a musically nationalistic, uncontested view of a tradition of popular music in Brazil that stretched back to the earliest days of samba at the start of the twentieth century, and also encompassed a 'golden age' of popular song and *choro* [a style of instrumental music that predated samba] in the 1930s and 1940s. As I will argue in Chapter 1, this selective and hierarchical view of the history of Brazilian popular music was largely the product of a number of writers, broadcasters and journalists who, to all intents and purposes, 'invented' that tradition and promoted

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in Brazil, see Suzel Reily, 'Macunaíma's Music: National Identity and Ethnomusicological Research in Brazil' in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. M. Stokes (Oxford, 1997) pp. 71–96.

8 These articles were later collected and edited by Augusto de Campos, and published as *Balanço da Bossa e outras bossas* (São Paulo, 1993). See also, Airton Barbosa, ed. 'Que caminho seguir na música popular brasileira?' *Revista Civilização Brasileira*, ano. 1 no.7 (1966): 375–85.

it through their writings. That specific tradition was based upon developments during the early days of samba (1917–1931) when artists and songwriters such as Donga, Pixinguinha, Ismael Silva, Sinhô and many others were influential in the formation of an urban, Rio de Janeiro-based style of popular music that itself drew heavily on Bahian and African origins.[9] Out of many different styles of 'samba', the one known as *Samba do Estácio* came to be referred to as 'authentic' at the start of the 1930s and this gave birth to the idea of an 'authentic' tradition of samba that was based in a specific locale (the *morro* or *favela*) and environment (the *escola de samba*). This style of samba subsequently received great support from the booming radio industry and was also endorsed by the state as a standard bearer for *brasilidade* ['Brazilianess'].[10] When several writers and critics of popular music in the 1940s and 1950s wished to oppose the 'contamination' of Brazilian music by popular music from abroad, it was to this so-called 'authentic' music that they turned as a point of reference, and the cultural significance of the music was subsequently solidified by its insertion in 'official' histories of Brazilian popular music as a mythical, nostalgic 'golden age'.

The direct challenge to this 'official' version of musical history posed by Tropicália was fundamental because its iconoclastic mixture of foreign elements such as electric guitars and rock music questioned established notions of musical nationalism, and Tropicália's deliberate deployment of kitsch references, the music and imagery associated with performers such as Lupicínio Rodrigues and Carmen Miranda amongst others, mocked pretensions to authenticity and legitimacy. The impact of the revolutionary performances by Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso at the televised 1967 TV Record song festival ensured that MPB would never be the same: elements of Tropicalist experimentalism and a rock sensibility were gradually incorporated into MPB, even as Tropicália itself withered away. Yet these traces of experimentalism and a flirtation with the avant-garde only went up to a point: MPB artists who strayed too far from the commercially and politically acceptable ran the risk of being marginalized and labelled *malditos* [mavericks].[11]

The fact that MPB absorbed so many aspects of the existing 'official' view of the linear development of a tradition of Brazilian popular music (samba, *choro*, regional styles from the Northeast, etc.) meant that it was logical for some to laud MPB as a continuation of that same tradition. By periodically re-interpreting compositions by canonical artists such as Cartola, Noel Rosa, Ari Barroso, Pixinguinha et al., MPB was not only in constant musical dialogue with that existing tradition but also took on the mantle of responsibility for the upholding of that tradition in the minds of many critics and certain elements of the public. The links that were made between MPB and the established view of a noble musical tradition tangentially imbued MPB with

9 Excellent accounts of this period are provided by Hermano Vianna, *O Mistério do Samba* (Rio de Janeiro, 1995) and Carlos Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente: Transformações do samba no Rio de Janeiro (1917–1933)* (Rio de Janeiro, 2001).

10 Marcos Napolitano, *História & Música: História cultural da música popular* (Belo Horizonte, 2002), pp. 49–54. See also, Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: popular music in the making of modern Brazil* (Durham N.C., 2004).

11 Napolitano, *História & Música*, pp. 67–70.

authority and legitimacy, thereby permitting its supporters to bring to bear a greater degree of intellectual and cultural kudos in discussions about popular music. Yet at the same time, it is important to recognize that the debate on the role of MPB since the mid 1960s has also reflected a continuing and often contrasting concern with not only the underlying importance of tradition, but also the critical necessity for the periodic rupture of that tradition to allow popular music to develop and progress.

One of the principal assumptions of many of those who have championed MPB is that it is 'quality' music (literally, '*música de boa qualidade*'), a subjective and hierarchical description employed to distinguish it from other 'lesser' styles of music that fail to match up to its exacting standards. I have already hinted at reasons for this attitude (MPB's literary and poetical heritage for example), but it is important to stress at the outset that such assumptions underpin the attitudes of many of the actors responsible for the mythologization of MPB and tradition that I will be referring to, such as individual critics, writers, and the state (FUNARTE's, *Projeto Pixinguinha*).[12] Ironically, the actual nature of what it is that distinguishes music of *boa qualidade* is never defined in concrete terms, but this is an intrinsic notion that is perpetually hanging in the background of discussions relating to the value or worth of popular music in Brazil – and elsewhere of course. Issues of 'quality' are closely linked to another rather nebulous term, that of 'authenticity'. I will demonstrate that this is another primary theme underpinning MPB's function within the tradition of popular music, and this issue is particularly relevant to the discussion in Chapters 6 and 7, in which I analyse re-workings and re-conceptualizations of musical tradition in the work of Marcus Pereira in the 1970s, and Hermano Vianna and Itaú Cultural in the late 1990s.

This book addresses two fundamental questions. First, how and why has MPB come to have the status that it does, despite the paradox that it has only ever represented a fraction of the market of record sales in Brazil? Second, why has the musical tradition within Brazil, of which MPB forms an integral part, been defended with such vigour over such a long period? These questions are not addressed in the existing literature, which almost exclusively tends to focus on the creativity of the musicians associated with MPB rather than analysing the phenomenon itself. My research builds on the work of Marcos Napolitano, Enor Paiano and Clara Wasserman who have all pointed to the marked influence of Mário de Andrade and the writings of Lúcio Rangel and Ary Vasconcellos in shaping a hierarchy of values within Brazilian popular music within which MPB was accorded a position of preeminence. However, I seek to go beyond these writers in attempting to identify the specific actors – music critics, the record industry, researchers – who have been responsible for the solidification of the aura of mystique that surrounds MPB. I demonstrate that it was no mere accident that MPB came to be perceived as the essence of quality in Brazilian popular music: the ground had been prepared for a long time, before a whole series of processes intervened and converged to create the conditions for it to flourish.

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12 The National Art Foundation (FUNARTE) was a government body established in 1975 to deliver a new initiative on the arts. FUNARTE's role relating to popular music is examined in depth in Chapter 9.

I attempt to provide a historical narrative of key moments and trends in the construction of the idea of MPB since 1968. I focus on how various factors have combined to create the conditions in which it has been possible for some to claim that MPB's inherent 'quality' and 'authenticity' constitute a tradition that is worthy of representing the nation. One of the central themes that I refer to is the persistent recurrence of attitudes that seek to 'preserve and protect' Brazilian popular music against the perceived threat from invasion by foreign popular music and cultural influences, and aesthetic dilution by the impact of commercialization and the mass media. These attitudes pre-date the 1960s, and in earlier times were closely linked to wider concepts of nationalism (both political and musical) in Brazil. They have been further refined and moulded by recent debates in Brazil on cultural imperialism and globalization. What is clear is that MPB's pivotal role as a standard bearer for national culture, particularly in the 1970s, saw it at the forefront of the 'defence of the national'.[13] It is for this reason that I pinpoint the periodic crises of confidence in MPB that have led to much public debate and discussion on the issue: it is precisely because of the large cultural shadow that it casts, that MPB's significance and prestige within the wider orbit of Brazilian popular music has been such a perennial subject of debate and concern in Brazil. My approach within this study is to provide a historical narrative of the rise and fall of MPB, with a specific emphasis on the manner in which popular music interacts with political and social factors. For this reason I do not provide any textual or musical analysis of the music under discussion.[14]

This book consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the crucial theme of musical nationalism, an underlying ideology that has acted as an ever-present backdrop to discussions about Brazilian popular music since the 1920s, and one that has been an important factor in the creation of the concept of tradition in the field of popular music. The second part of this chapter analyses the closely linked key debate on the so-called 'cultural invasion' in Brazil as it relates to popular music. Chapter 2 deals directly with the formation of the idea of MPB and the respective roles of those who have been the principal architects of its construction. Chapter 3 develops this discussion further by investigating the increasingly close relationship that has developed between television and popular music in Brazil, as demonstrated by the continuation of investment in the televised song festivals, even after 1972 when it was commonly considered that the festivals were an anachronism. The crucial role of popular music in *telenovelas* [TV soap operas] is also discussed in this chapter. Chapter 4 investigates whether theories of cultural imperialism and globalization can be successfully related to the Brazilian situation. This chapter also examines the influential role of the Brazilian record industry in the process of so-called 'cultural invasion'. Chapter 5 addresses the important intervention on the part of the state as a cultural mediator in terms of popular music in the 1970s through the creation

13 Carlos Sandroni, 'Adeus à MPB', in *Decantando a República: Inventário Histórico e Político da Canção Popular Moderna Brasileira*, vol. 1, ed. by Berenice Cavalcante, Heloisa Starling and José Eisenberg (Rio de Janeiro, 2004), pp. 23–35 (p. 29).

14 Readers who are interested in such an approach are advised to consult Perrone's excellent *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song*, and the same author's *Letras e Letras da Música Popular Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988).

of FUNARTE and the *Projeto Pixinguinha* (a government-sponsored initiative dedicated to promoting Brazilian popular music that has been in existence for the last thirty years). Chapter 6 examines the motives behind the efforts of Mário de Andrade (in the 1930s) and Marcus Pereira (in the 1970s) to provide musical 'maps' of Brazil through the collection of field recordings of traditional and popular music. Particular emphasis is devoted to the importance of folklore and authenticity in both of these path-breaking projects that were equally concerned with the importance of the protection and preservation of musical tradition. Finally, Chapter 7 concentrates on two major ventures undertaken by Hermano Vianna and Itaú Cultural at the end of the twentieth century that carried on the work of Mário and Pereira, but with a totally different perspective on the validity of musical 'authenticity' and the role of tradition in Brazilian popular music.

Chapter 1

Musical Nationalism and the 'Cultural Invasion' Debate

A central theme underpinning this study is how popular music in Brazil has frequently interlinked with political and cultural ideologies since the 1920s. An essential component of that linkage has been the idea of musical nationalism, which has periodically surfaced on the cultural scene ever since the publication in 1928 of Mário de Andrade's formative work *Ensaio Sôbre a Música Brasileira*.[1] This chapter sets out to demonstrate how that current of musical nationalism has manifested itself, how it has been opposed, and how it also laid the foundations for the idea of musical tradition that is still so potent in Brazil. The chapter consists of three parts, the first of which starts by relating the origins of nationalist trends within music in both Europe and Brazil. This is followed by a brief section that draws some parallels between the work of Cecil Sharp and the English Folk-Song Society in the early years of the twentieth century and Mário's influential nationalistically-flavoured writings on music that were to serve as a basis for much of the thinking on Brazilian popular music until the 1960s.

The second part of the chapter discusses how the theme of protectionist musical nationalism was continued and developed through the work of several writers and journalists between the 1940s and 1960s, and how the latter were responsible for the creation of 'invented traditions' that formed the ideological starting point for the foundation of a hierarchy of values within Brazilian popular music.

The final part of the chapter focuses on the closely linked debate about the fear of foreign 'cultural invasion' within Brazil that has been waged in the media and debated in public since the 1930s. I demonstrate how this debate intensified in the 1960s and 1970s and how that intensification is exemplified by the clash between the writings of José Ramos Tinhorão and alternative views that arose in the wake of the Tropicália movement. This section continues with a discussion of the reactions of some of those working in Brazilian radio to the impact of increasing levels of imported popular music, and the chapter concludes with an analysis of the efforts of the APMPB to redress the balance in favour of national music.

Musical Nationalism in Europe and Brazil

Musical nationalism is generally considered to be a movement that began in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century and which placed a strong emphasis

1 *Ensaio Sôbre a Música Brasileira* (São Paulo, 1962).

on the national characteristics of a country's musical tradition. This trend began as a reaction against the domination of German music at the time by composers in other countries who considered that the heritage of their own national melodies and dances could serve as the means by which they could move their nations from the musical periphery to the forefront.[2] In the last quarter of the nineteenth century composers in England, Norway, Spain and Sweden started to mine the folk aspects of their respective cultures for inspiration. Musicians and composers returning from Europe transported these ideas to Brazil, and to other Latin American countries, at the end of the nineteenth century.

The rise of musical nationalism can be viewed within the wider context of ideas about 'folk' and national culture that originated in the Baltic provinces during the eighteenth century. Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) has been credited with popularizing the theory that it was the rural isolation of peasant communities that protected them from the 'corrupting' influences of the wider world, which enabled them to develop their own individualistic national cultures. Herder contended that the oral peasant tradition contained the very soul or essence of a nation and that it was essential that any unifying national culture had to be grounded in that original, foundational peasant culture. As Herder's theories gained a wider circulation, folk culture was appropriated as a symbol of nationalism and national identity, not only within Europe but further afield.[3]

Cecil Sharp and the English Folk-Song Society

This approach was potentially problematic in a nation lacking a recognizable peasant class such as Edwardian England. For that reason, collectors of English folk song and dance sought to gather their raw material from the inhabitants of remote rural areas, as the collectors considered that the latter seemed to be the most likely repository of examples of 'uncontaminated' culture. There is an irony to this that John Francmanis has highlighted:

> . . . Membership of this elusive sub-stratum of English society was imposed rather than self-ascribed when, their deficiencies recast as virtues, selected elements of the unsophisticated rural population found themselves transformed into the 'folk'.[4]

Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) was the dominant figure of the English Folk-Song Society at this time, an organization that he joined in 1901. Sharp's ambitious approach and energetic drive revolutionized the society from merely collecting folk material into a movement whose aim was to instill patriotism in schoolchildren through the use of folk song. By re-popularizing 'simple ditties which have sprung like wild flowers from the very hearts of our countrymen'[5] Sharp believed that a new generation of English children would develop a greater awareness of their cultural heritage and

2 David P. Appleby, *The Music of Brazil* (Austin, 1983), p. 83.

3 John Francmanis, 'National music to national redeemer: the consolidation of a 'folk-song' construct in Edwardian England', *Popular Music*, 21/1 (2002), (1–25), p. 2.

4 Ibid.

5 Cecil Sharp, quoted in Francmanis, 'National music to national redeemer', p. 7.

that this would make them better citizens and patriots. Thus, Sharp hoped that a musical renaissance would lead in turn to a revival of the nation itself.[6]

Cecil Sharp's initiative was hampered by opposition from other members of the English Folk-Song Society who disagreed with his methods and sweeping conclusions. As Francmanis points out: 'effectively, he had determined who the 'folk' were, what constituted their art, which were their songs and dances, and what they represented'.[7] Nevertheless, the issue of what exactly constituted quintessentially 'English' music was a major concern for some in the years leading up to the start of the First World War and in an increasingly nationalistic era composers were urged to eradicate foreign influences from their works and to replace them with 'folk' elements more in keeping with the common people.[8] However, as a result of the increasing effects of urbanization in England even many of those living in the countryside that had formerly sung folk songs now favoured 'ditties' which originated in the urban music hall. Furthermore, Cecil Sharp and his followers were selective in their choice of the folk songs that they singled out to preserve for posterity and it was not unknown for Sharp to alter what he found to be more appealing or 'tuneful' to the modern ear.[9]

For some in England at the time there existed a clear relationship between folk culture and 'high' art, as illustrated by an article published in *Musical Times* in 1911:

> . . . The folk-art of a country, whatever its artistic merits or demerits, is the sincere expression of a community, the embodiment, in terms of literature, dance, or song, of national ideals and aspirations. Indeed, in the nature of things, an intimate and abiding relationship must always exist between the conscious, intentioned works of the really great, individual artist, and the un-selfconscious output of the people from which he sprang.[10]

As I will demonstrate, similar sentiments are to be found in the writings of Mário de Andrade in Brazil in the 1920s, an analysis of which will be found in the following section.

Brazilian Musical Nationalism: Mário de Andrade's Emphasis on the Role of Folk Music

The roots of musical nationalism in Brazil can be traced back to the publication of *A Sertaneja* by Brasilio Itiberê da Cunha in 1869. Generally regarded to be the first Brazilian musical composition to be 'nationalistic' in character, this piece incorporated elements derived from popular forms such as the *modinha*, the *maxixe* and the Brazilian tango. Boundaries between art music and popular music in Brazil were somewhat blurred towards the end of the nineteenth century, with composers

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6 Francmanis, 'National music'. For a critical analysis of Sharp's work, see Dave Harker, *Fakesong: The manufacture of British 'folksong' 1700 to the present day* (Milton Keynes, 1985).

7 Ibid., p. 9.

8 Ibid., p. 20.

9 Ibid., p. 10.

10 Ibid., p. 9.