BRAZILIAN MUSIC AND SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS: FROM THE PLANTATIONS TO TROPICALIA

by

Elisabeth M. Blin

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The project presented by Elisabeth Blin entitled *Brazilian Music and Social Consciousness: From the Plantations to Tropicalia* is hereby approved:

_____

Dr. Peter Buhler Date
Advisor

_____

Dr. Roberto Bahruth Date
Committee Member

_____

Dr. Jeanne Belfy Date
Committee Member

_____

Dr. John R. Pelton Date
Dean, Graduate College

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Elisabeth Blin was born in southwest France in the city of Saintes in 1958. She studied the piano as a child and later the guitar, developing a passion for Brazilian music and bossa nova. She studied Art and Social Sciences in college and in 1994 moved to Boise with her husband, Tom and their son, Kirtane. She has taught French and guitar since 1994 and has recorded three CDs of original bossa nova music.

She received her Bachelor in Music Performance from Boise State University and became interested in the humanist and revolutionary content of Tropicalia music. The combination of art, spirituality and social justice of the 1960s Tropicalia movement echoed her own personal interests.

Her research for this project, which began in 2005, includes seminal readings on Brazil, personal interviews with Professor Christopher Dunn at Tulane University and Brazilian artists Maria-Carmen Gambliel in Boise, Idaho, and Celso Machado in Vancouver, Canada. It also involved a visit to Brazil in 2007-2008, where she conducted interviews of Rogerio Duarte, Professor at the University of Bahia at Salvador, and Brazilian musician Caetano Veloso.

ABSTRACT

Tropicalia was a 1960s counter-cultural movement created in Brazil to express social and racial consciousness issues. By mixing samba with cross-cultural influences rooted in the country's history of colonialism, Tropicalia, metaphor for a Third World tropical paradise, wanted to combine the power of music, literature and visual arts in order to achieve social justice. This study examines how Tropicalia tried to bring political literacy to the mass of the people, and encourage the fall of the dictatorial regime in power from 1964 to 1985. Several of the tropicalists who had been jailed and exiled from Brazil during the movement now have key positions in today's Brazilian society.

The goal of this research is to allow the historian to understand the importance of protest music in Brazilian culture, from the early days of colonization to the present. It is also meant to allow the listener to understand the influences of slavery and colonization on Brazilian music.

This project includes a thesis on social consciousness and music throughout Brazilian history, as well as a one-hour slide presentation on Tropicalia's music and esthetics (on DVD format). Transcripts of original interviews are included as appendices to the thesis.

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Brazilian singer and Tropicalia leader Caetano Veloso (b.1942) quotes in his book Tropical Truth and in one of his songs, the letter written on his arrival in Brazil by explorer Pedro Vaz de Caminha to the King of Portugal, Manuel I, on May 1st, 1500.[1] The Portuguese navigator describes the Brazilian land as being so fertile and green, that "everything one plants in it, everything grows and flourishes." He explains further: "Arvoredo tanto, e tamanho, e tao basto, e de tanta folhagem, que nao se pode calcular." (The vastness of the tree-line and foliage is incalculable.)

This letter brings to mind of a brief passage quoted in M.L. King biography, where the 1800s black American scholar W.E.B. Du Bois, describes the natural wealth of South-West Georgia:

> "For a radius of a hundred miles about Albany stretched a great fertile land, luxuriant with forests of pine, oak, ash, hickory and poplar, hot with the sun and damp with the rich black swampland; and here, the cornerstone of the Cotton Kingdom was laid.[2]"

This passage also echoes the comments of French anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss (b.1908), during his 1941 visit to Rio de Janeiro. Arriving in the bay of Guanabara, he remembered immediately the words of Columbus describing the New World in 1498:

> "The trees were so high that they seem to touch the sky; and, if I understand correctly, they never loose their leaves; for I have seen them as fresh and green in November, as they are in May in Spain; some even were in flower, while others bore fruit… Wherever I turned, I could hear the nightingale singing, accompanied by thousands of birds of different species.[3]"

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[1] Veloso 1997, *Tropical Truth , A Story Of Music and Revolution inBrazil* (Companhia das Letras, Sao Paulo: First Da Capo Press, New York: Random House Inc. , 2003), 117

[2] *The Soul of Black Folks*, quoted in Oates, Stephen B. 1982. *Let The Trumpet Sound, The Life Of Martin Luther King Jr* .(New York: Harper and Row, publishers) 183

[3] Claude Levi-Strauss 1958, *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), 80

The similarity here shows that the story of colonialism repeats itself everywhere in a similar fashion: it begins with the colonizers' adventure and a strong sense of awe in front of the abundance of nature, and it is rapidly followed by the avaricious vision of the profits that can be derived from nature's wealth. The colonizer's objective is not really to bring civilization or even catechism to the savages, "the unique objective is to bring back treasures.[4]" Wherever there is a potential for exploiting the resources, there is an interest from the "civilized world" to get involved.

This awareness of the robbery of the colonial wealth was one of the starting points of the Tropicalia movement. Tropicalia, more than merely a musical, artistic or political expression, was an angry intellectual outburst of an awakening after four hundred years of colonization and oppression in Brazil. This is why tropicalist leader, Gilberto Gil, after he was appointed minister of culture in Brazil in 2003, declared: "I am a politician, but above all, I am a tropicalist.[5]

[4] Jean Paul Delfino 1998, *Brasil: A Musica, Panorama Des Musiques Populaires Bresiliennes* (Marseille: Editions Parentheses) 16

[5] Bruno Garcez 2006, "A Taste of Rio in Central London," BBC News, 02/17/2006 http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/4720982.stm

INTRODUCTION

Popular music and social protest are like two parallel vines that grow together and interweave through our history. The street troubadours of fourteenth century Europe and the rap singers of today's black ghettos fulfill the same purpose: they are not singing only to make a living, but they are singing to denounce poverty and injustice. So did the African slaves in South America, and so did they transmit their message, from the sixteenth century plantations on to the present time. African tribal chants have been exported and transformed into a variety of shapes; in North America, they became blues and gospel music, when in South America, and particularly in Brazil, they evolved into the samba and its many incarnations.

One of these incarnations was Tropicalia, a cultural movement created in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in 1967 by Caetano Veloso (b.1942), Gilberto Gil (b.1942) and a small group of intellectuals and artists like Helio Oiticica (1937-1980) and Rogerio Duarte (b.1936). Their intention was to use artistic forms in order to express protest and rebellion against a dictatorship which had taken power in 1964. Tropicalia also intended to question the fundamental structures of Brazilian society and values. The tropicalists created a revolution in musical expression in order to foment deep societal changes, while drawing on the eclectic heritage of Brazilian history.

The tropicalist message was long misinterpreted by the public, but since the 1990s Tropicalia has been drawing attention in the acknowledged civilized world: journalists, musicians and scholars scrutinize it and write about it in England, in France and in North

America.[6] In the last thirty years, the movement's cultural and social stance has come to be understood, raising questions about colonialism, race, music, and social consciousness. Tropicalia's leaders, commonly called "Caetano" and "Gil" in Brazil, who were once considered rebels, now have key positions in Brazilian society. This socio-cultural transformation is as much of an anthropological mystery as was the advent of samba in the 1930s.[7]

As a native of France, a formal imperialist nation, I have been especially sensitive to colonial issues, and to their analysis in the writings of Franz Fanon (1925-1961), a French psychiatrist who studied the impact of colonialism on African countries. After growing up listening to "The Girl from Ipanema," and other broadly popular bossa nova classics in the 1960s, the importance of colonialism in the making of Brazilian culture rapidly became crucial to my own understanding of Brazilian music.

This research focuses on two main angles: tradition and revolution. By tradition, I mean the origins of Brazilian music: the tradition which has pervaded over several centuries; and by revolution, I mean the mix of tradition with new musical and aesthetic forms, which was perfected in the Tropicalia movement in order to bring cultural and social changes in Brazil. The evolution of music in the specific socio-historical background of Brazil created a continuity where four hundred years of Brazilian history, instead of separating them, have linked the birth of colonial Brazil to the birth of Tropicalia.

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[6] Bruce Gilman 1997, "Times of Gall," in "30 Years of Tropicalismo," 2, December 1997 (14 Pp) <brazil.com/cvrdec97>

[7] Anthropologist Hermano Vianna explains in chapter 2 of 'The Mystery of Samba,' how after being repressed for decades in Brazil, samba almost became overnight national music of Brazil (Vianna 1999, 10)

I: TRADITION

Early Origins of Protest Music: Music As Resistance

Discovery-Acculturation-Miscegenation

"Brazil is a love story between races."
Stefan Zweig, 1994[8]

The complexity of Brazilian identity has long been a subject of debate. Travelers of the seventeenth century were already amazed at the juxtaposition of genres, races and diverse rituals present in Brazil. Three hundred years later, the Brazilian historian Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) called "the complexity of Brazil" "an anthropological problem.[9]" The difficulty of the Brazilian people to define their own identity is explained by Caetano Veloso who sees Brazil as "a name without a country, (…) the double, the shadow, the negative image of the great adventure of the New World.[10]"

The origins of modern Brazil are bound in a melting pot where miscegenation and black slave resistance have generated a unique musical sound. As a result, music in Brazil is the primary manifestation of both Brazilianness and protest. The osmosis of black and white cultures became the foundation of Brazilian society in the sixteenth century, and the Mexican writer, Jose de Vasconcelos, even speculated that "Brazil might be the first country in the Americas to achieve his ideal of forming the 'cosmic race,' a people who were neither European, African or

[8] *Bresil, Terre d'Avenir*, La Tour d'Aigues : Editions de l'Aube, In Delfino 1998, *Brasil: A Musica, Panorama Des Musiques Populaires Bresiliennes* (Marseille: Editions Parentheses), 15 (230 pages)

[9] Vianna, 58

[10] Veloso, 4

Indian, but a universal *mestizo* type representing an amalgam of all races.[11]"

Gilberto Freyre was the first intellectual in Brazil to study how miscegenation was affecting Brazilian music. In 1933, he published The Masters and the Slaves, where he introduced the idea that race mixing was "the source of the true and original culture of Brazil.[12]" Freyre tried to give the Brazilian people a new sense of direction and meaning, which, as Caetano Veloso explained, seemed to have been lacking since the still recent end of slavery. In the 1890s, abolition was immediately identified for what it actually was, and called by the black slaves of Rio, *falsa abolicao*, false abolition.[13] Although slave trade was outlawed in 1830, real abolition only happened in1888, leaving Brazil the last western country to adopt an anti-slavery legislation. "The Afro-Brazilian merely shifted from one kind of slave quarters to another: the *favelas* (slums).[14]" It is still called false abolition, because three hundred years after the French humanist Michel de Montaigne (1533-1594) denounced the exploitation of the Indians of Brazil, the discrimination of the descendants of the slaves is still a social and cultural reality in Brazil.[15] The abolition law was simple enough, to give blacks slaves a relative freedom from plantation owners, but it gave them no citizen rights, no working rights, in other words, no legal rights at all in Brazil.[16] The emancipation law of 1888 was not meant to

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[11] Robert Toplin 1981. *Freedom and Prejudice: The Legacy of Slavery in the United States and Brazil* (Wesport, Conn.: Greenwood Press), 49

[12] Vianna, 55

[13] Veloso, 4

[14] Barbara Browning 1995, *Samba, Resistance in Motion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 3

[15] Michel de Montaigne, « Des Cannibales » in *Les Essais, livre premier, chapitre XXX* (Paris: Librairie Generale Francaise, 1557), 353-375

[16] Toplin, 49

please the abolitionists only, and it came at a time when many *fazendeiros*, (plantation owners) considered that the new immigrants from Europe would be a better and more dependable work force than the black ex-slaves.

Most of the documents related to slavery were destroyed by the white authorities who were obviously trying to erase an embarassing past. Consequently, historians and anthropologists, like Claude Levi-Strauss (b.1908), in the twentieth century, have done extensive research to understand the problem of Brazilian identity.

In 2007, Brazil's population of 188 million, included fifty five per cent whites, thirty-eight per cent mixed (mestizos), six per cent blacks, and one percent of other races. This population was divided among Portuguese, Italians, German, Japanese, black and Amerindian origins.[17] The vast Brazilian culture is therefore dominated by three elements: its indigenous influence, which came from various Amerindian tribes, the European influences brought by different colonizers, and the African influence, which came from a massive slave trade.

Brazil was settled by Portugal on March 8th, 1500, when the Portuguese navigator Pedro Alvarez Cabral arrived by mistake at Porto Seguro, on the coast now called

[17] John W. Wright, editor, *2007 New York Times Almanac* (New York: Penguin Group USA), 543-44

Bahia.[18] His expedition had been sailing south following the coast of Africa (hoping to

Figure 1. Map of Brazil, highlighting the region of Bahia (in green), the key cities of Salvador, Sao Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro (in red), and the approximate location of the former democratic slave-revolt state of Palmares (in pink). (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2000)

eventually reach India), but it was diverted by strong currents to the west. When Cabral finally reached Brazil, he thought it was India, just as Columbus did a few years earlier when he arrived in the Indies. The details of the expedition were written by Pero Vez da Caminha in a now famous letter to the king of Portugal. Brazil therefore did not receive European culture and music through the Spanish filter, as did all other countries of Latin

[18] Delfino, 16

America, but through the Portuguese colonization.[19] As a consequence, the acculturation process in Brazil took a very different shape from the rest of South America.

The name "Brazil" came from the Brazilian red wood, first natural wealth of the country, which the Portuguese colonizers exploited along with the sugar cane. "Braza" is the Portuguese word for "burning coals," which are red like the Brazilian red wood.[20] Very soon, in the mid-fifteen hundreds, the vast Brazilian land (with a total area equal to Europe's) as well as the judicial and the executive power, were divided among only fourteen *donatorios*, or counties, ruled by a Portuguese Lord.[21] This early organization of the country created an administrative structure which has persisted through centuries.

The slave trade between Portugal and Africa had been active since the eighth century, so that before they were sent to Brazil, the black slaves had already spent seven hundred years mixing their own dances and music with those of the Iberian Peninsula.[22] A Spanish writer, Gomes E. de Azurara, reported in 1841 that the first African slaves, brought from Guinea to Portugal in 1444, were already well known for their songs of lamentation.[23] In this way, their music, chants, and drumming had already been exposed to a degree of acculturation before they arrived in South America.

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[19] Vianna, 78, 86

[20] Delfino, 13

[21] Bridgewater, W. and Kurtz, S. editors 1963, "Brazil,"*The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 3d edition (New York: Columbia University Press) 265-66

[22] Peter Fryer 2000, *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil* (Hanover: University Press of New England), 3

[23] Vianna, 11

The Portuguese language rapidly integrated many African terms from Yoruba and Angola dialects (i.e. *candomble,* or religious rituals, which is *conbombe* in Angola; *orixas,* or divinities, which is *orisas* in Africa*; samba,* the music and dance, which is *semba*; *Yemanja,* goddess of the sea, which is *Yemonja* in Angolan language).[24] Furthermore, many African slaves in Portugal, just as later in the U.S., excelled in the field of music, and were trained in European classical music. In this way, musical acculturation had already taken place for several centuries.

> "Brazil is the great laboratory of civilization, where Indian, European and African races had been allowed to merge freely. People of Indian, European and African origins have mixed in an atmosphere of such liberality and such a complete absence of legal restrictions on miscegenation that Brazil has become the ideal land for a true community of people representing very diverse ethnic origins."
>
> Manifesto Against Racial Prejudice (1935)[25]

Indigenous Roots

When the Portuguese settled in Brazil, the indigenous population was over two million. Their number is estimated today at 500,000.[26] They were Indians of the Tupi, Guarani, Tapuyas, Tabajaras, and many other tribes who already had their own music.[27] Most of the songs were used in religious rituals, sung solo or in chorus, and accompanied with percussion and wind instruments: hand claps, rattles, sticks and drums; flutes, whistles and horns. Tupi refrains were printed on music sheets for the first time in the

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[24] Fryer, 2-3

[25] Arthur Ramos, *Guerra e relacoes de raca*, Rio de Janeiro 1943, 171-174 (in Thomas E. Skidmore 1993, *Black into White, Race and nationality in Brazilian Thought* (Durham: Duke University Press), 207

[26] Bridgewater and Kurtz, 265

[27] Delfino, 17

sixteenth century, and the Tupi instruments were described as being opulently decorated.[28]

The very first contacts between the Amerindians of Brazil and the colonizers were made by hearing the songs of the African slaves who were always sent first on shore to test the hospitality of the aborigines.[29] The Amerindian music has profoundly influenced the making of modern Brazilian music. The *maraca* shaker of the Tupis was similar to the African *chocalho,* and commonly used later in small orchestras of *maxixe,* a late 1800s Brazilian version of tango.[30] The *cururu* dance, which is a popular Brazilian dance, was a primitive Guarani dance integrated in the 17th century in Jesuit religious celebrations. The *caiapos,* Amerindian rituals which represented scenes of tribal life, have evolved into national religious celebrations like the *catimbo* in northeastern Brazil, and the Pagalanca in the North.

Musicologist Mario de Andrade (1893-1945) narrates an interesting encounter, which he experienced in the 1960s with an Amazonian native. Walking through the Amazonian village of Fonte-Boa, he heard a feminine voice singing a "melodic, monotonous, very pure" song.[31] As he came closer, de Andrade recognized an old Gregorian chant, whose rhythm and words had been distorted, so that the original Latin lyrics sounded like *tapuio* language. He noted how strong the first influence of the Jesuit

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[28] Larry Blumenfeld, Jack O'Neil and Nina Gomes editors 1995. *Brasil, A Century Of Song,* (Blue Jackel Entertainment Inc.) CD 5001-2, 5002-2, 5003-2, 5004-2, Liner Notes, 48 pages, 6

[29] Fryer, 17

[30] Mario de Andrade 1967, *Pequena Historia da Musica* (Sao paulo: Libraría Martins Editoria), 180

[31] Ibid, 184

priests had been in the 1550s, and how the music had been carried through the centuries, simply by word of mouth.

The colonizers discovered gold and precious stones a hundred years after their arrival, but it was the commerce of sugar cane that was immediately profitable. For this purpose, they first enslaved the Amerindians and took possession of their land; then, they nearly decimated them through hard work in order to develop the plantations. In today's Amerindian population, mostly Tupi and Guarani tribes have survived.[32]

By the mid-1500s, the Portuguese needed more and stronger workers, and African slaves were brought from West Africa, first from Angola in the seventeenth century, and later from Nigeria and Benin in the nineteenth century.[33] Because of the brutal impact of European culture on the natives, it is difficult even for scholars to determine how much of the aborigine's tradition has been lost or preserved. Traces of Indian culture have been found in forms of *candomble* worship that still use the names of the Amerindian deities in the Tupi language (one of the oldest languages in the Amazons).[34]

An important aspect of the acculturation process in Brazil is that miscegenation was, from the early days of colonization, an accepted social fact. Inter-racial relationships and marriages became common, simply because the Portuguese settlers came to Brazil without wives.[35] Furthermore, unlike in other colonial territories, the (enslaved) tribal

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[32] Chris McGowan and Ricardo Pessanha 1998, *The Brazilian Sound: Samba, Bossa Nova and the Popular Music of Brazil* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 9

[33] Fryer 2000, *Rhythms of Resistance*, 5

[34] Ibid, 17

[35] Bill Kirchner, editor 2000, *The Oxford Companion to Jazz* (Oxford: The Oxford University Press), 549, McGowan 1998, 9, Blumenfeld 1995, 6

groups were not separated and were even allowed to conserve their traditions. In the same way, Brazilian music started to integrate some language and chants of the African slaves, mixed with indigenous and Portuguese folklore.[36]

The acculturation process, although reciprocal between Portuguese colonizers and colonized Indians, seems to have left a stronger mark on the Portuguese, who after a few generations considered themselves as true "Brazilians." As a British traveler described it in 1813, "the masters were imbibing some of the customs of their slaves.[37]" Very little evidence has been found, showing the same influence on Amerindians, probably due to the fact that they were almost eliminated culturally, and because those who survived did so by simply hiding far away from any outside contact.

In the sixteenth century, the *chacona, zarabanda* and *jacara* dances and music were the first products of the cultural blend of two continents in Brazil.[38] The samba of the Northeast of Brazil is also very similar to descriptions of indigenous dances dating from the seventeenth century. In 1635, the German traveler, Zigmund Wagner, painted scenes showing the heteroclite mix of indigenous instruments, Catholic symbols like the Christian cross, and invocations of Amerindian spirits called *encantados.* In the 1700s, this Amerindian music, now called "Atlantic dances," was brought back to Europe, and

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[36] Arto Lindsay 1988, "Beleza Tropical," Brazil Classics 1, Compiled by David Byrne, Luaka Bop 680899 0001-23, Liner notes (15 pages), 3

[37] Fryer, 112, 122 (Historian Gilberto Freyre even called Portuguese colonization "a splendid adventure [in which the colonizers] dissolved themselves in the blood and culture of other peoples, to the point of almost seeming to vanish." Note of author, quoted in Vianna 1999, 66)

[38] Browning, 18

met the European culture again in Seville, which was then the artistic center of southern Europe.[39]

Adding to the Portuguese cultural imports, Spain invaded Mexico in 1519, and along with gold and silver, the Spanish colonizers brought back to Europe the indigenous music of "New Spain." The *tocotin*, for example, was an imitation of an Aztec song form and dance. The *fandango* dance, which was popular in every country of Europe in the eighteenth century, was traced back to the Indians of the new continent. A Spanish author mentioned its origins in a 1769 dictionary of Spanish, French and Latin languages, where he explained how the Spaniards learned the dance from the Indians.[40]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, interesting forms of *candomble* music from West Africa developed in the region of Belem in northern Brazil, under the name of *batuque* of Para and *batuque* of Amazonas, mixing African and indigenous cultures.[41]

European and Arabic Roots

Although African rhythms seem to have influenced Brazilian music and samba more than any other culture, from a historical viewpoint the European tradition reached Brazil first. For example, the c*ongos* and c*ongadas* were drama dances which re-enacted the lives of famous characters. They were performed in black slave brotherhoods

[39] Fryer, 113

[40] Francisco Cormon, *Sobrino Aumentado, o Nuevo diccionario de las lenguages Espanola, Francesca y Latina* (Antwerp: Los hermanos de Tournes, 1769), quoted in Fryer, 118

[41] Fryer, 15

(*irmandades*), but they were not from pure African inspiration.[42] In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the c*ongadas* were inspired by the old French theatrical tradition of the *chanson de geste,* which can be traced back to the ninth century. The *chanson de geste,* or "song in gesture," was the first popularization of drama and music on the street. It was based on real facts or history and meant to glorify a heroic character. The most famous *chanson de geste* from the twelfth century, called "La Chanson de Roland," narrates the deeds of the French emperor Charlemagne (742-814). Some *congadas* still reenact this epic, as well as other fights between the Christians and the Moors.[43]

From the eighth century until 1249, the Moors (nomadic tribes from North Africa) occupied and imposed their own Arabic culture on the Iberian Peninsula.[44] Their powerful civilization left visible prints in the fields of architecture, language and music. Improvisation was a characteristic of Arabic music and became part of the Spanish flamenco and the Portuguese *fado*. Portuguese folklore had already absorbed an ancient Arabic practice called *desafiao*, a song contest based on improvisation.[45] The Moorish scales, which probably were the origin of the Medieval European modes and tonal system, were brought to Brazil through Portuguese music.[46] Syncopation and intricate rhythms in the Brazilian samba therefore originate from the complexity of Portuguese-

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[42] Gerard Behague, "Brazil" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. by S. Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), III, 237

[43] Behague, "Brazil," 237

[44] McGowan 1998, 12 (After the Moors were stopped in Poitiers, France, by Charles Martell in 732, the Moors occupied the South of France and the countries around the Mediterranean)

[45] Kirchner, 551

[46] McGowan, 11 (The Portuguese also introduced many European instruments in Brazil. The flute, piano, violin, guitar, clarinet, triangle, accordion and cavaquinho (small guitar), were brought by the Portuguese. The lute, ancestor of the guitar, is known to be a modern form of the Moorish laud (Morales 2003, xiv))

Amerindian folklore mixed with African percussion and Arabic improvisation (see Figure 2).

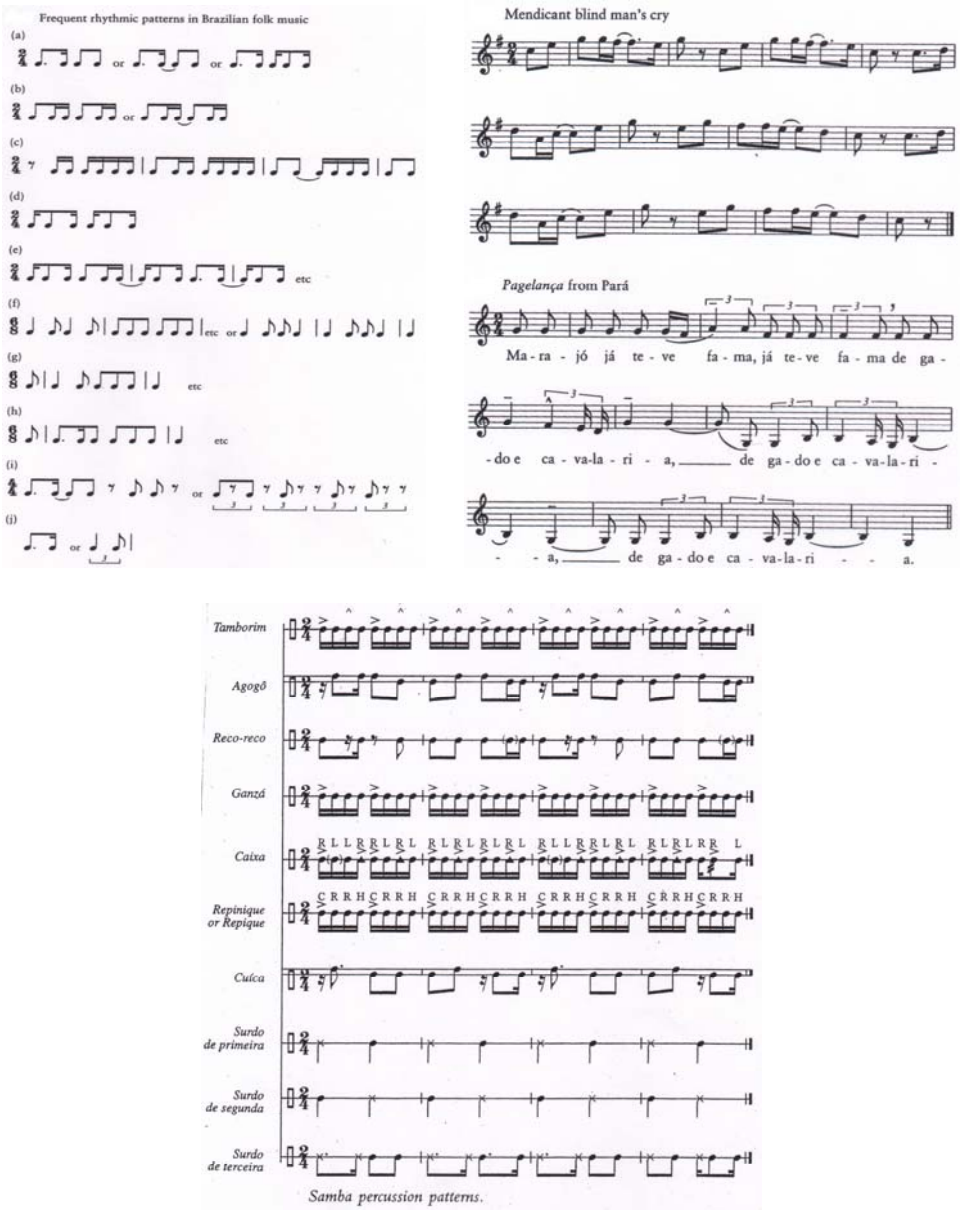

Figure 2. Examples of rhythmic similarities between Portuguese, African and Amerindian folk music (top left and right, Behague 1980 New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 274) and samba patterns (bottom, Murphy 2006, 11).

The dance of Sao Goncalo (Saint Gonzalo) was another *congada* paying homage to a Dominican friar who lived in Portugal in the thirteenth century, and who became known for playing the guitar and dancing with prostitutes in order to catechize them.

Figure 3. Statue of Sao Goncalo (Saint Gonzales), from the collection of the Mario de Andrade, Sao Paulo, Brazil. (de Andrade, *Pequena Historia da Musica*, 186)

The story is "a typical myth of incorporation, which could be used both by the colonizers and by the colonized.[47]" Numerous writings from early travelers describe these unusual celebrations:

[47] Jose Jorge de Carvalho, "Afro-Brazilian Music and Rituals, From Traditional Genres to the Beginnings of Samba" Serie Antropologia 256, Universidade de Brasilia, 1999, 39

> "We found close to the church (…) an astonishing multitude of people dancing to the sound of guitars (…) As soon as the viceroy appeared, they picked him up and forced him to dance and jump – a violent exercise which hardly suited his age or disposition… It was rather droll to see, in a church, priests, women, friars, gentlemen, and slaves dancing and jumping promiscuously, and shouting at the top of their voices *Viva San Gonzales d'Amarante*.[48]"

Many of these dances were accompanied by Western instruments (guitar and ukulele) and African instruments (percussion, drum and rattle), so that "behind a European belief (a catholic saint), an Afro-derived culture can continue to flourish.[49]"

> "Slavery had ceased for the moment (…) I could no longer doubt; we were in the church; the large mirthful dancing hall was a Brazilian temple of God, the chattering negroes were baptized Christians, were supposed to be Catholics, and we were attending mass."
>
> Maximilian 1867, *Aus Meinem Leben*[50]

In the eighteenth century Brazil, the favorite song style was called the *modinha*. It was a romantic type of song based on European melodies or melodic patterns. The *modinha* and the African *lundu,* an African dance from Central Africa and the Bantu region, were at the time the two "chic" styles played both on the streets and in the salons. A hundred years later, a new genre called *maxixe* mixed the *lundu*, the *polka* brought from Europe, and the *habanera* dance from Cuba. The *maxixe* (also called "Brazilian tango") and the *lundu* are the direct ancestors of modern samba.

The *tambor de crioula* dance of northern Brazil also integrated African singing, drumming and dancing with the worship of Catholic saints, and was carried by the slaves from Brazil to Venezuela, Columbia and Equador. The following example is a song for St. Benedict:

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[48] Fryer, 57

[49] Ibid, 40

[50] Quoted in Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance,* 57

Meu Sao Benedito, eu sou seu escravo,
Se eu morrer nos seus pes, eu sei que me salvo.

(My Saint Benedict, I am your slave
If I die at your feet, I know I saved myself)[51]

The European influence created interesting juxtapositions of cross-cultural elements. For example, one of the most popular *orixas,* or African deities, Yemanja, is worshiped as an Angolan water spirit, but sheis commonly identified with Our Lady of the Conception and Our Lady of the Navigators; therefore she is represented as a young woman of "Marian and European appearance.[52]"

Dancing as much as playing music and singing was for the slaves an experience of liberation and reaffirmation of their African roots. The *batuques,* which are stomping and clapping dances from Kongo-Angola, were viewed by many travelers as obscene and primitive, and in this aspect, they fulfilled a double purpose: praising Africa, and shocking the oppressors. As Franz Fanon explained it: "In the colonial world, the phenomena of the dance and of possession may be deciphered as in an open book the huge effort of a community to exorcise itself, to liberate itself, to explain itself.[53]" The name *batuque* would still be of Portuguese origin, since *batucar* means "hammering" in Portuguese and refers to the percussive dance action.

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[51] Jose Jorge de Carvalho 1999, "Afro-Brazilian Music and Ritual, Part, From Traditional Genres to the Beginnings of Samba." Serie Antropologia 256, Universidade de Brasilia. Lecture presented in the Graduate Seminar in Ethnomusicology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison**,** Pp 1-59, 42 <unb.br/ics/dan/Sere256empdf.pdf>

[52] Fryer, 18

[53] Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963), 57, Originally published in French under the title, *Les Damnes de la Terre* (Paris: Francois Maspero editeur S.A.R.L. 1961)

The most interesting dance of Iberian origin and created by the slaves, is probably a sarcastic dance called *Bumba-Meu-Boi*. During the dance, the dancers knock each other's belly in a parodic style known as *umbigada*, which means "belly-blow." This dance, marked by a special music and rhythm, was essentially meant to mock the Portuguese, whose religious training gave (at least in public) an uptight and puritan attitude toward the body.[54]

African Roots: Brazilian Music and the Cultural Triangle

The many common elements between the cultures of Brazil and West Africa might find a possible explanation in the intriguing geographical connection between the two continents of South America and Africa. A scientific hypothesis called the Pangea theory developed in the late twentieth century and suggests that they were once connected.[55] This idea is illustrated on the 1997 CD cover of Virginia Rodrigues, an Afro-Brazilian singer whose recording was produced by tropicalist Caetano Veloso.

[54] Fryer, 55

[55] "I have found connections with the Brazilian music everywhere, in Egypt, in Morocco, in India, in Madagascar. When you look at the map of South America and Africa, you can see that they used to be connected," Celso Machado, telephone interview with author, 9/22/2005

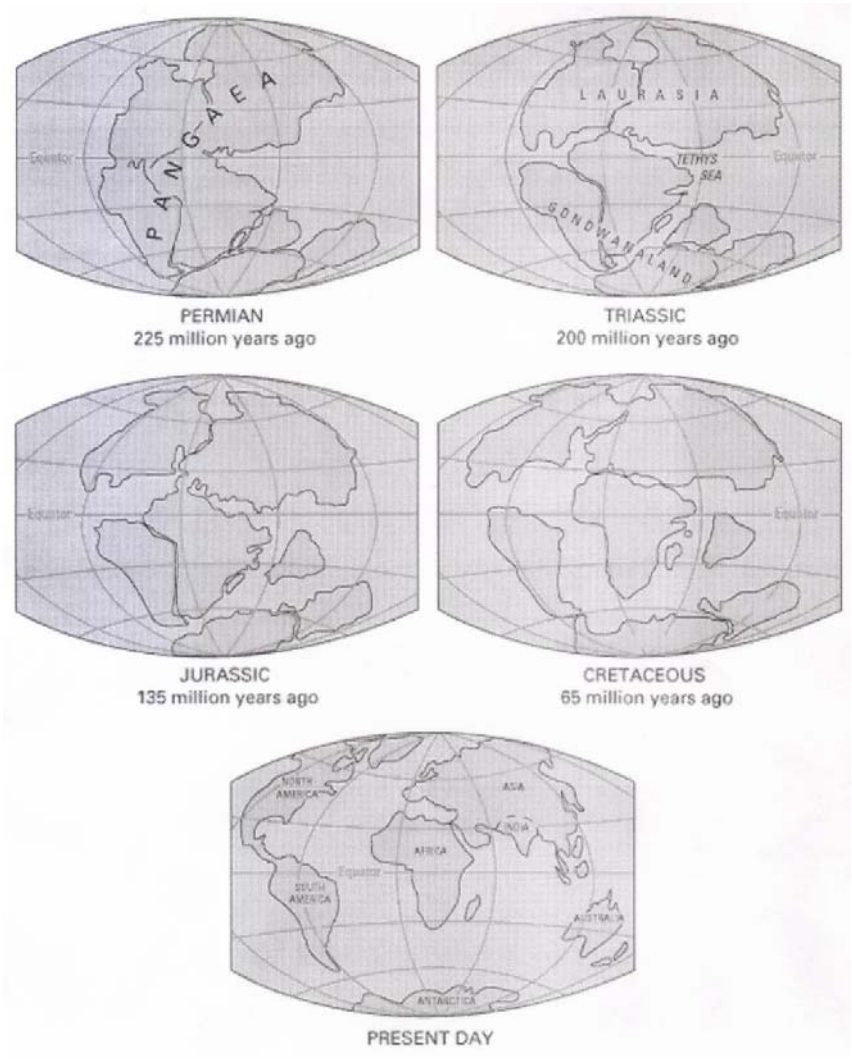

Figure 4. One possible projection of the Pangaea theory, showing the original physical connection between the African and South American continents.
<http://www.munabe.com/departamentos/humanidades/documentos/tema2/pangea-continental-drift.gif>

Many important connections between Brazilian and African cultures were made through the slave trade. The impact of the slave presence on Brazilian music can be assessed by the fact that the number of black Africans transported to Brazil during 350 years of slavery has been estimated between 3.6 and 5 million.

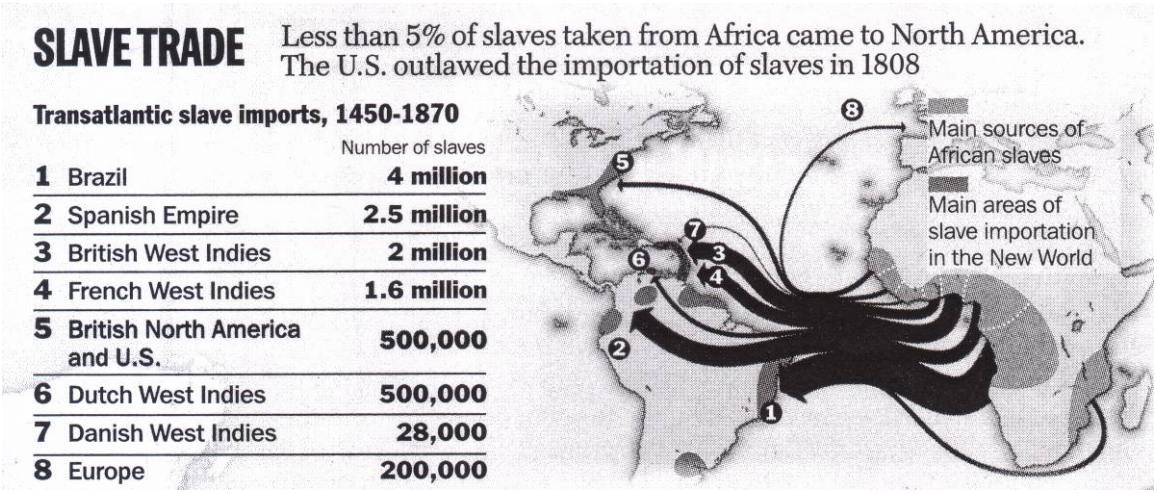

Figure 5. Estimated numbers of slaves traded between 1450 and 1870. (Stauffer, 61)

It is the highest recorded number of slaves traded in the world (the total number of slaves brought to the U.S., for example, was 500, 000).[56]

In 1817, the slave population of almost two million (1,930,000) represented more than half of the total Brazilian population of 3,817,000.[57] As a direct consequence of slavery, Brazil has today the second largest black population in the world. A French engineer of Louis XIV (in the 1600s) thought that "the city of Salvador looked like a new Guinea," and Robert Southey, a British poet, wrote in the early eighteenth century that the state of Bahia was a true "Negroland.[58]"

This constant exchange of influences between Africa and Brazil was made possible through the "Atlantic cultural triangle," or "golden triangle.[59]" From the beginning of the eighteenth century, Portuguese ships were constantly cruising the Atlantic Ocean,

[56] John Stauffer, "Across The Great Divide," TIME, 07/04/2005 (58-65), 61

[57] Fryer, 6

[58] Ibid.

[59] Delfino, 18

carrying slaves and goods from the ports of Angola, to those of Brazil and Portugal, forming a trade route in the shape of a triangle, of which the peak was the Cape Verde Islands, far-south of Lisbon. During one hundred fifty years, the main ports on the trading route, Luanda in Angola, Salvador, Recife, Rio in Brazil, and Cape Verde and Lisbon, formed "a connected system of musical melting pots.[60]"

Figure 6. The Atlantic cultural triangle, also called the golden triangle or slave triangle. (Fryer, xi)

[60] Fryer, 137

Five main African genres are found in Brazilian music:[61]

1. The *candomble* and *shango* cults, religions of West Africa.
2. The *capoeira*, an ancient martial art and dance sung in Angolan dialects and accompanied by the *berimbau.*
3. The j*ongo* and *caxambu* dances.
4. Dramas called *congos* and *congadas*.
5. The last type of neo-African music is the *batuque*, ancestor of the samba.

The name of the famous self-defense Brazilian dance known as *capoeira* came from a Portuguese word, which means "large chicken-coop." It was chosen by the slaves for its double meaning, since in Angolan, *kupewila* and *kimundu kapwela* also mean "to cause to fall" and "to clap hands.[62]"

The *jongo and caxambu* dances are work songs used by the slaves, and street cries from black vendors. The jongos are also riddles in African language which contained hidden meanings only understood by the slaves:

> "Pretty canary kept in a cage
> Why the little chain on your leg, please tell me why?[63]"

Slaves who worked in mines of the region of Minas Gerais would mix passages of Christian prayers in the midst of their African songs, so that the masters would not be suspicious. Their songs were called *vissungos*, or "songs of power."[64] During funerals, their custom was also to sing *a-capella* melodies semi-improvised after the liturgic chants of "Paternoster" and "Ave Maria." In the early nineteenth century, many *vissungos* were sung in Portuguese, the language the slaves had already heard in their own harbors of the West African coast. Nevertheless, they would commonly sing in their African tongue

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[61] De Carvalho 1999, "Afro-Brazilian Music and Rituals," 12

[62] Fryer 2000, *Rhythms of Resistance*, 30

[63] Fryer, 51

[64] de Carvalho 1999, "Afro-Brazilian Music and Rituals," 12

when they wanted to criticize their oppressor.[65] The slave masters tried several times to ban the singing from the plantations or the streets, but it resulted in such a decrease in productivity, that they rapidly gave up, preferring to let the blacks sing, as long as they would work better.

Congos and *congadas*, were used for specific dances and folk plays. Some dramas depicted the coronation of an African king or a queen in a surprisingly integrated combination of European and African cultures. Some of them are still played by the *maracatus rurais* (folklore groups) in the carnival of Recife. A famous Brazilian folk play, *Quilombo*, narrates the true story of a slave rebellion that took place in the state of Palmares in the seventeenth century.[66] The slaves managed to establish a democratic state which was a world-wide new experience, and around 1650, their population reached eleven thousand. The story became a favorite emblem of resistance and protest music in Brazil, especially in the 1960s, praising the freedom that the slaves preserved in Palmares for almost a hundred years. The revolt of *Quilombo* and its leader *Zumbi* were favorite themes in the Tropicalia songs.

The *batuque* was probably inspired by the *fandango* dance, which was popular in every country of Europe in the eighteenth century. The *fandango* was probably an ancestor of the *batuque* and the *lundu* dances, although scholars disagree on their origins. The *batuque* (name of a dance from the Kongo-Angola) could have evolved into the *lundu*, under Portuguese and Spanish influences. *Batuque* and *lundu* could also have been

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[65] Fryer, 43

[66] Charles A. Perrone and Christopher Dunn, "Chiclete com Banana, Internationalization in Brazilian Popular Music," in *Brazilian Pop Music and Globalization* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001),

imported to Portugal by slaves from Angola in the eighth century.[67] These slaves were sent to Lisbon because of their talents of dancers or musicians, for the entertainment of the Portuguese courts. As early as 1551, ten per cent of Lisbon's inhabitants were slaves (which means a total of approximately 10,000 slaves in Lisbon alone).[68] In this way, African rhythms have been elements of Portuguese folk music since the early sixteenth century. They were particularly visible in the responsorial forms of Portuguese songs, and the hemiola structure of the rhythms (alternating duple and triple meters).[69]

Very soon, other African slaves brought the *fado*, the traditional Portuguese lament-song, from Portugal to Brazil, as well as the *fofa*, a "hip shaking" dance directly derived from the *lundu.* The *fofa* was recorded in Portugal around 1730. The slaves played and danced the *lundu* in Brazil to celebrate their African culture in a subtle form of resistance (the *lundu* probably got its name from the Angolan port of Luanda.) In Brazil, *lundu* and *fofa* were considered indecent dances by the higher classes because of their similar hip-shaking sexual content. When these musical forms reached Salvador and Rio in Brazil in the 1800s, they were at first adopted by the poor.

Musically, the *lundu*, especially in its Bahiana form (from the state of Bahia), has been compared to the Portuguese *fado*, accompanied similarly with a *viola* (guitar) and a *pandeiro* (tambourine). By the second half of the nineteenth century, they were integrated in the salons, becoming the national dances of Brazil. Visitors, then, would be shocked,

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[67] Fryer, 109

[68] Ibid, 193

[69] J. and R. Purcell, "Portugal II, Folk Music" in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (London: Macmillan, 1980) XV, 146

noticing how the masters seem to actually be under the (cultural) influence of their slaves.[70]

An important syncretism between African and Portuguese cultures happened at the religious level, between the Catholic and the Yoruba cults. The African slaves became expert at "camouflaging" their African rituals behind the worship of Christian saints.[71]

Figure 7. Painting of Fete de St. Rosalie (The Festival of St. Rosalie, patron of blacks) by Rugendas (c.1821-25) (Fryer, 65)

[70] Fryer, 122

[71] Browning, 139

Religious Syncretism

The first *irmandades* (brotherhoods) were created by Jesuit missionaries in 1552 in Pernambuco, after the model of groups formed in Portugal and Spain a hundred years earlier. The white *irmandades* used mostly the songs, dances and costumes of Portugal, but the black *irmandades* used African songs, instruments and dance patterns, mixed with Church hymns. These brotherhoods, fully sponsored by the Catholic Church, gave the slaves a unique structure to preserve their culture, music and dancing. Under the cover of Our Lady of the Rosary or Our Lady of Mercies, they essentially provided a legal means of assembly for all blacks and were organized around the nacoes, or origins of the slaves.[72]

In 1633, fifteen thousand black slaves (men and women) celebrated Our Lady of the Snow procession in the streets of Lisbon, "playing guitars, drums, flutes and other instruments used in their lands, dancing with castanets (…) entering the church dancing Moorish dances and singing.[73]" As the French historian Roger Bastide (1898-1974), explained it: "Originally the saints were merely white masks placed over the black faces of the ancestral deities.[74]"

This comment echoes the title of the book Black Skin, White Masks, written by French psychiatrist Franz Fanon who brought the problems of racism and colonialism to the world's attention in the 1950s. The saints received new names that were simply those

[72] The *nacoes* (literally "nations" in English) were actually referring to the African ports from where the slaves had been sent to Brazil, rather than their own place of birth (note of author)

[73] M.S. Sloane, 1572, *Diary of a Traveler* (in Fryer 57)

[74] Roger Bastide, *Les Religions Africaines au Bresil* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960) 225, quoted in Fryer, 3

of the African *orixas* (pronounced "*orishas"*), or deities, also called *orisas* in Yoruba language. "It was a ritual of reversal: they could parade in the public space as if they were civilized, because they were Catholic. As long as (or at least during the precise period of time) they were celebrating Our Lady of the Rosary, Jesus and so on, they could be taken for full human beings.[75]"

The religious synchronicism, which happened similarly in the Caribbeans, Cuba and South America, has taken a unique shape in Brazil (which illustrates how the history of colonialism repeats itself). The amalgam between the Catholic Gospel and saints, and the many variations of *candomble* religion and African *orixas* offers a perfectly coherent Brazilian image. The practice of "African Catholicism" and "Catholic candomble" has become so anchored in Brazilian culture, that no one is surprised when Caetano Veloso sings in public his mystical song "Ave Maria," in Latin, followed by "Ya Olokum," a song of Gilberto Gil dedicated to Olokum, a *candomble* deity of water. Veloso said about *candomble*: "They are the miracles of the people.[76]"

The Catholic Church played a crucial role in Brazil, when after the council of Vatican II (in 1965) a new religious strategy called "liberation theology" was adopted.[77] The church in Brazil was determined to use the Gospel to promote peace and justice, and to protect and educate poor farmers whom powerful landowners threatened to evict. This active participation of the clergy in the social cause of Brazil is interesting, first because in the history of colonialism the church has usually been found on the side of the

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[75] de Carvalho 1999, "Afro-Brazilian Music and Ritual," 20

[76] Liner notes, WGBH 1993

[77] The Annenberg/CPB Collection 1993, *Miracles Are Not Enough*, Video Recording

colonizers, and second because the mystical dimension is an important component of Brazilian popular music.

Early 20th Century: Coalescing Consciousness

The Carnival

"Only two things are well organized in Brazil: disorder and carnival."
Baron of Rio Branco, c. 1880[78]

Surprisingly, the famous Brazilian carnival was actually born in Portugal. An old tradition called *entrudo* was celebrated on the three days preceding Ash Wednesday, during which Portuguese people would splash each other on the streets with water and dust. This celebration originates from a Babylonian ritual dating two thousand years B.C. where slaves were allowed for five days to take the master's place.[79] This practice evolved over the centuries, but the carnival remains animated by a spirit of social revenge based on a reversal of values. For anthropologist Mikhael Bhaktin (1895-1975) "carnivalization is a subversive inversion of power: the poor play rich, the weak play powerful.[80]"

In the mid-eighteen-fifties, the carnival underwent a first "profanization" by attempting to replicate Parisian masked balls.[81] By the end of the century, the parades became an imitation of the European courts. The now four-day Carnival has kept only one original link with the Catholic celebration, by still opening on the Friday prior to Ash Wednesday. After the Brazilian emancipation act in 1888, the black people of Salvador

[78] Delfino, 69

[79] Ibid, 70

[80] Browning, 145

[81] Delfino, 72-73

and Rio de Janeiro started to celebrate the carnival with their own singing and dancing, which raised violent protests from the local bourgeoisie.

The advent of samba and carnival took place in the late 1920s in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, immediately succeeding its intense repression by Brazilian police.[82] The booming popularity of samba among the black and very soon the white population spread so massively and rapidly, that historians have called it a true mystery.[83]

Later in the twentieth century, the carnival started to be viewed as a convenient "manner of letting off the steam of social frustrations that might be directed toward political change.[84]" This idea was also suggested in Marcel Camus's *Black Orpheus* award-winning French movie of 1958.[85] Demonstrating the political impact of Brazilian music, the carnival is acknowledged as a "pressure valve" for the social tensions of the country.[86] Some view the distraction of the carnival as an easy way for people to forget about their poverty. The carnival nevertheless has remained, through the twentieth century, the highest expression of protest music and dance, for which the poorest

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[82] "Brazilian whites today readily admit that carnival would not have amounted to much had it remained in their hands. The Portuguese colonizer's idea of enjoyment during the week before Lent was to spray each other with syringes filled with water, foul-smelling liquids or worse. In the mid-nineteenth century, someone came up with the only slightly better idea of beating a very large drum while a crowd followed him around the neighborhood. Carnival life began to improve only toward the end of Emperor Pedro II's progressive regime, when a restless new urban elite championed the abolition of slavery, which the emperor also favored (…) Patterned on the elegant celebrations of Paris and Venice, elaborate costume balls quickly became the rage. 'Carnival societies' were formed to parade through the main streets of the city, dressed in complicated allegorical costumes, often designed to satirize the old regime and promote the liberal agenda" (McGowan, 36)

[83] Vianna, 12

[84] Browning, 144

[85] Jonathan Grasse 2004, "Conflation and conflict in Brazilian popular music: forty years between 'filming' bossa nova in Orfeu Negro and rap in Orfeu." Popular Music, Vol 23/3 (Cambridge University Press), Pp 291-310, 291

[86] Browning, 145

Brazilians spend all their time and money. Since the advent of global economy and tourism, in the twenty first century, one can also argue that this pressure-valve has become a tremendous money-maker. Each year the profits made by the City of Rio de Janeiro approximate six billion dollars.[87] Still, during four days, people are able to "erase" from history their current economic oppression and the old European exploitation of their races.

Origins of samba

> "The samba is a mixture of the *jongo* of the African percussive ensembles, of the Sugarcane dance of the Portuguese, and of the *parace* of the Indians. The three races are melded in the samba as in a crucible." Baptista Siqueira, 17th C. [88]

Brazilian music, and particularly the modern samba, was born from the osmosis of indigenous roots, mixed Portuguese-African origins and European influences (Portugal and beyond). The name samba either came from *semba*, which in Kimbundu and Ngangela dialects of Angola means "belly bounce", or it could be a transformation of *saamba*, a term of initiation in Kikongo language (in the Congo area).[89] S*emba* became *umbigada* in Portuguese. Curiously, in Brazil, the word *zamba*,[90] probably of indigenous origin, means a mestizo child, born of an indigenous mother and an African father. It is also the name of a special dish, served by the *Cariri* tribes.[91]

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[87] Delfino, 70

[88] Browning, 17

[89] Fryer, 103

[90] Browning, 16

[91] Browning, 19

There is much more to samba that simply movement and sensuality; samba became the national dance of Brazil because "samba narrates a story of social contact, conflict and resistance.[92]" The *samba de roda*, or samba danced in a circle, has Kongo-Angolan origins from *candomble* ceremonies usually sung in Yoruba; in this way, when the samba incorporates occasional jokes using Yoruba terms, it is to stress a language of resistance:

Aruande, e aruande, camarado	(Aruande, e aruande, comrade.
Galo cantou, camarado, cocotoco	The cock crowed, comrade, cock-a-doodle-do.)[93]
Carcara pega mata e come,	(The falcon catches, kills, and eats,
Caracra no vai morrer de fome	the falcon won't die of hunger.)[94]

The popular samba sung in twentieth century Brazilian Popular Music (MPB) is nevertheless generally linked to the Angola folk tradition and sung in Portuguese.[95]

Mid-20th Century: Rebellion

The Making of Modern Samba

> "Brazilians have adopted the notion that racial and cultural mixture define their unique national identity. Samba is the great metaphor for this mixture.[96]"

In the early twentieth century, the social context of Rio de Janeiro had a great influence on the flourishing of the samba as a dance and music, but equally important as an element of resistance. Abolition became more effective as the Republic was instituted in Brazil in 1889 through a pacific revolution.[97]

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[92] Ibid, 2

[93] Jorge Amado, *The War of the Saints* (New York: Bantam Books, 1993), 231

[94] Ibid, 226

[95] de Carvalho 1999, "Afro-Brazilian Music and Rituals," 5

[96] Vianna, xiv

[97] W. Bridgewater, and S. Kurtz editors, *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 3d edition, 'Brazil' (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 265

During that time, a world crisis in the coffee and tobacco industry forced many black workers to migrate from the plantations to large cities like Rio, in order to find work. The former slaves created the first *favelas*, or slums of Rio. These blacks were called *malendros* and identified by the police because of their calloused fingertips (from playing the guitar).[98] The *malendros* brought to Rio their rural *candomble* traditions from Africa, which merged with existing popular music genres like the *marcha* and the *choro,* to finally create the urban samba. The black families, housed in slum buildings, would hide their traditional religious ceremonies (*candomble, batucada, capoeira*) in the backrooms, while the socially accepted music, like the *choro,* was performed in the front room opened to the street. These buildings of Cidade Nova (the new city) acted as "cultural dividing screens," showing a good example of how the black population managed to preserve its culture, in spite of the repression of a white-ruled society.[99]

In order to control the demographic explosion of these black neighborhoods, an urban plan of social and geographic segregation was created in Rio de Janeiro, which had become Brazil's capital in 1763.[100] In the early twentieth century, a process of "forced natural selection" was created and initiated in Paris by French architect

[98] Jose R. Zan, "Popular Music and Policing in Brazil," in M. Cloonan and R. Garofaldo (ed.), *Policing Pop* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), chap. 12, 206

[99] de Carvalho 1999, "Afro-Brazilian Music and Rituals," 5

[100] Salvador was Brazil's first capital from 1549 to 1763. Rio became the capital until 1960, when the capital moved to Brasilia (De Souza 1986)

Haussman. In the name of "urban renewal," the purpose of this re-organization was simply to eliminate the poor and colored population from big city centers.[101]

The particular topography of Rio made it easy to separate the blacks from the whites, because the city is topographically divided between the steep hills, set on abrupt solid granite, and the beach area where the Portuguese had initially established their headquarters and commerce. Two zones were then created in Rio: The Zona Sul, or southern area, traditionally white and rich, and the Zona Norte, or northern area, where the black poor population lives in shacks on the hills, called *morros* or *favelas*. Rio de Janeiro, now with a population of six million, is still divided today between the prosperous white south, and the darker, poorer north.[102]

Inspired by Haussman's plan, poor quarters in Paris, Chicago, New Orleans, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro were similarly destroyed under the pretext of "sanitization," and their inhabitants were evicted.[103] Pequena Africa (Little Africa) was the area of old Rio de Janeiro where most blacks and black immigrants used to live, next to the port. The colored population was so important that the place looked like "a true Africa in miniature.[104]" There, in the late 1800s, they had established not only their homes, but also religious places of gathering where they kept their African rituals, music and dance alive. The famous Praca Onze (Square Eleven), where the first sambistas used to meet and jam, was destroyed at that time, and their music "expressed and incarnated a social

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[101] In the early 1900s, a peculiar societal coincidence placed the samba and black community of Rio in a situation very similar to the jazz and black community of New Orleans (de Carvalho 1999, 37)

[102] Guillermoprieto 1990, 8

[103] Place Congo in New Orleans, U.S., was destroyed during the same years (note of author)

[104] McGowan 1998, 22

and historical trauma.[105]" Sometimes religious or nostalgic feelings would conveniently mask ideas of protest, like in the Dance of Sao Goncalo, where the singer states that he is leaving without mentioning his destination; it is the chorus who orders him to go to Congo and Angola:

Adeus parente que vou me embora	Goodbye my brother I'm leaving
(Pa terra de Congo, vou ve Angola)	(to the land of Congo, I'm leaving to see Angola)
Ai eu vou me embora, eu vou me embora	Oh, I'm leaving, oh, I'm leaving
(Pa terra de Congo, vou ve Angola)	(to the land of Congo, I'm going to see Angola)[106]

The black population from the *favelas* often had, and still has, some day work down in the city, either in dock labor, street vending or prostitution. "For a sense of order and dignity, they turned to the two things that slavery had not confiscated and used against them: samba and *candomble*, music and religion, the end products of centuries of clandestine worship of the African gods.[107]"

The *batuque*, a favorite drumming tradition of hand clapping and foot stomping was practiced by groups of black people. Around 1910, Brazilian police banned the *batuque* from the carnival for ten years, and black people reacted by inventing the *afoxes.*[108] *Afoxes* were groups of singers and dancers dressed in white, who celebrated ancient Yoruba rites with African drumming and samba music. In this way, the blacks managed to keep their music celebrations in the streets in spite of their exclusion from the carnival.

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[105] de Carvalho 1999, "Afro-Brazilian music and rituals," 37

[106] Ibid, 31

[107] "After the abolition of slavery in 1888, the African rituals sprang back: hybridized adaptations of Nigerian, Dahomean, Angolan and Portuguese traditions, they became Brazilianized under the names *samba* and *candomble*, and their power was undiminished" (Guillermoprieto 1995, 8)

[108] Joao da Bahaina (1887-1974) played the tambourine, and once in 1908, while he was playing at the Penha street fair with many other *sambistas*, the police confiscated the tambourines. "Samba was prohibited, tambourines were prohibited." Joao da Penha in Vianna, 81

The first samba song, "Pelo telephone," recorded in 1917 by Donga (1891-1974), and Mauro de Almeida (1892-1956), was a social parody of carnival, gambling and police repression. In 1917, it became a carnival song hit in Rio, and since then samba has remained the favorite carnival music in Brazil.[109] The official version of the song was:

"O chefe da folia pelo telefone	(The chief of police rang me up
manda me avisar que com alegria	To let me know with joy that
nao se questione para brincar"	One does not ask questions to have fun)[110]

But the unofficial version denounced the illegal roulette game and mocked the police who were unable to control it:

"O chefe da folia pelo telefone	(The chief of police rang me up
manda me avisar que na Carioca	To let me know that in Carioca Plaza
Tem uma roleta para se jogar"	There is a good roulette game)[111]

Other samba songs had been recorded as early as 1910, but with "Pelo Telephone," samba became acknowledged as a musical genre and not simply a dance. The main musical characteristics of the samba have pervaded afterwards, especially the binary rhythms contrasting with African beats typically in triple meter.[112] "Coming from the *jongo*, the *maxixe*, the *samba de roda*, and other rural genres, samba represents esthetically the assimilation, or the passage to modernity.[113]„

Several new versions of the song "Pelo Telephone" were written, but the one signed by two main samba composers, Almirante and Pixinguinha (1898-1973), in 1955, became a landmark of social protest in Brazilian music. In 2004, Gil "remodeled" the song "Pelo

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[109] Perrone and Dunn, "Chiclete com Bananas," 9

[110] Delfino, 39 (translation from the French by author)

[111] Ibid

[112] Fryer, 26

[113] de Carvalho, "Afro-Brazilian Music and Rituals," 48

telefone" one more time, changing its title to "Pela internet," and placing it in a twenty first century context of computerized information and cellular phones.

In the nineteen-twenties and thirties, samba, a creation of the blacks, became the music style shared by different ethnic groups of society. After an unexpected reversal of values which became called the "mystery of samba," social classes and musical genres (i.e. African *candomble* and rural folk samba) would easily mix in downtown Rio, so that samba quickly became accepted as Brazil's national music.[114] In these early years of development of samba, the radio represented an enormous tool of cultural democratization, able to reach the most remote jungles of the vast Brazilian land. Coincidently, the radio also became a convenient means of nationalist propaganda for the new Vargas government.[115]

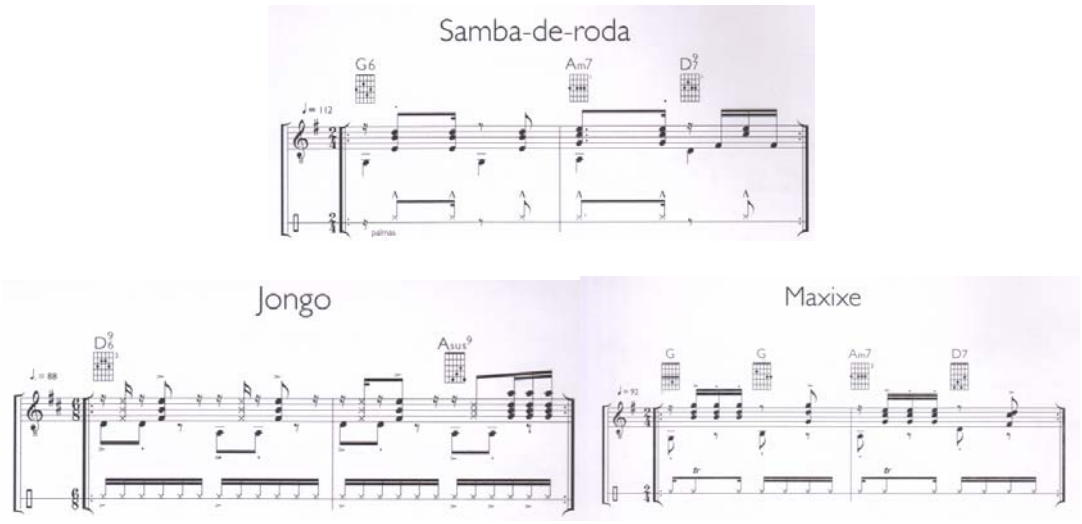

Figure 8. Rhythms of samba-de-roda, jongo, and maxixe dance music. (Pereira, 33, 36, 19)

[114] Vianna, 86-88

[115] Grasse, 295

Thanks to educated musicians like Ari Barroso (1903-1964), and Noel Rosa (1910-1937), in the 1930s the samba became established as a popular style not only for the poor and black people, but for the middle and upper class of Rio as well. In 1933, popular composer popular Brazilian composer Lamartine Babo (1904-1963) wrote "Historia do Brazil," a samba which opened with the question "who invented Brazil?" This question had not been answered yet, because it really never had been asked. The song "Historia do Brazil" was one of the earliest attempts to question Brazilian national identity in popular music. For the first time, national identity was not built on a mythical perfect harmonization of indigenous and European cultural influences, but on the actual mixing of African and Brazilian cultures, acknowledging the presence of black skin, mostly eluded elsewhere.[116]

Composer Heitor Villa-Lobos (1886-1959), Barroso and Noel Rosa had the same ambition to make Brazilian music a national art in the 1940s. Although they were rival composers, they had equal faith in the patriotic power of unification of the samba. Ari Barroso feared that with the spread of the radio, the U.S. foxtrot was going to take over Brazil. Barroso, strong defender of the Brazilian heritage, claimed in 1940, "Brazil is samba.[117]" Assis Valente (1911-1958), popular samba composer of the 1930s, wrote a satiric song called "Brasil Pandeiro," about the duel between jazz and samba, and to a certain extent, between American and Brazilian culture:

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[116] Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil, Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press 2004), 2

[117] Ana Rita Mendonca, *Carmen Miranda foi a Washington* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1999), 10

"Uncle Sam wants to know our *batucada*
He's been saying Bahian spices improved his dishes[118]"

Branqueamento

The nationalistic theory of racial democracy called *branqueamento* (whitening) was seeded in the 1920s in Brazil, in the writings of Gilberto Freyre and ethnomusicologist Mario de Andrade. The myth of the "mestizo ideal" introduced in Freyre's philosophy envisioned a Brazilian population gradually whitening its dark skin through a natural process of miscegenation.[119] The semi-utopian inclusion of African blackness in the blood of Brazil was inspired by a literary movement of the nineteenth century called *Indianismo*. Nevertheless, while *Indianismo* aimed at preserving and celebrating the indigenous cultures (and colors) of Brazil, the *branqueamento* theory prophecized the simple disappearance of the black race through natural white absorption.[120] In order to make the prophecy come true, several laws were established at the turn of the century in Brazil, limiting the immigration of people of color and favoring white European immigrants.[121] During these years, the emerging samba played by black *sambistas,* became systematically repressed on the streets of Rio. These conflicting elements

[118] McGowan, 27

[119] Levi-Strauss wrote an interesting comment during his visit in Sao Paulo in 1955: "The term 'colored' is virtually meaningless in a country where the great variety of races, and the almost total absence of prejudice, at least in past times, encouraged cross-breeding of every kind. One could practice distinguishing there between the *mestizos*, black crossed with white, the *caboclos*, white crossed with Indian, and the *cafusos*, Indian crossed with black." (Levi-Strauss, 110)

[120] Jonathan Grasse, "Conflation and Conflict in Brazilian Popular Music: forty years between 'filming' bossa nova in Orfeu Negro and rap in Orfeu." Popular Music, Vol 23/3 (Cambridge University Press, 2004), Pp 291-310, 297

[121] Suzel Ana Reily, "Tom Jobim and the Bossa Nova Era," Popular Music, Volume 15/1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4

between racial and musical issues played an important role in Tropicalia's social statements and hybrid music of the 1960s.

The First Samba Schools

Noel Rosa co-founded the first samba school, Deixa Falar (Let us speak), with Ismael Silva in 1929, inaugurating the most important social phenomenon of modern Brazilian society. Today, hundreds of samba schools gather thousands of members, getting ready all year round for the next Carnival in different cities of Brazil.[122]

The original music played in the first samba schools is called *samba de morro*. It is said that the *samba de morro* came straight from Angola and Congo. The *afoxes,* or procession groups, became part of the Carnival, reviving the African identity of Brazil in the early twentieth century. They became a powerful tool of social expression in the nineteen-seventies, and have remained active to this day. The oldest *afoxe* still in existence was created in 1949 in Bahia. It is known as *Filhos de Gandhi* (Sons of Gandhi), and perpetuates the message of non-violence and race equality of the Hindu philosopher.[123] Gil became a member of the group in the 1960s and 70s, and has remained a strong supporter of *Filhos de Gandhi* since then, which illustrates well the syncretic and multicolor characteristics of Brazilian society and its music.[124]

[122] Delfino, 78-79

[123] Browning, 128

[124] Gil wrote a song called "Filhos de Gandhi," recorded in 1975 with Jorge Ben on the *Gil e Jorge* album (Verve 314 512 167-2)

Samba in the 20th Century

During the twentieth century, samba music and dance went through several phases of development and transformation, before and after samba was claimed as Brazil's national music in the 1930s. In the 1910s and 1920s, the *maxixe*, also called Brazilian tango, combined with *choro* and *frevo* music to complete the diasporic recipe of samba.[125]

The *choro*, an instrumental black folk style still performed in Brazil, was played in the salons in the late nineteenth century. It was a unique mix of European influences (especially the waltz), and harmonies similar to jazz music. The name *choro* comes from the verb *chorar*, which means "to weep," "to mourn," "to lament.[126]" Because the *choro* was performed by black slaves, its social and emotional function is very similar to the role played by blues in North America. C*horo* groups usually combined several guitars, a flute, and a *cavaquinho* (Brazilian ukelele), and they specialized in improvisation as did the jazz bands of the same period in the U.S.[127] In the early 1900s, following the emancipation law of 1888, black musicians in Rio de Janeiro took the *choro* out in the streets and the cafes, making it a popular style. The *choro* moved to the black quarters of Rio known as "Pequena Africa" (Little Africa).

The *frevo*, on the other hand, is a Brazilian type of marching band music with much syncopation. An analogy can be made between *frevo* and Dixieland jazz music played during the New Orleans "Mardi Gras" parades by blacks and Creoles of color. A *choro*

[125] Morales, 198

[126] Murphy, 31

[127] Ibid. , 34

recorded in Brazil around 1910, "Lingua de Preto," has also been compared to early jazz works like "Black Bottom Stomp" or "Grandpa's Spells" of Jelly Roll Morton.[128] The Brazilian *choro* players were interested in ragtime and Dixieland jazz just as the North American jazz musicians were fascinated by the Brazilian samba.[129]

Mixing *choro* and *frevo*, the urban samba made its way back from the slums to the cafes and salons in the 1920s and 1930s, becoming a symbol of Brazilian national identity.[130] Talented black composers who greatly influenced the bossa nova and Tropicalia movements emerged in Brazil at the turn of the century: Mauro de Almeida (1882-1956), Joao de Baiana, Donga (Ernesto Joaquim Maria dos Santos, 1891-1974), Pixinguinha and Garoto (Annibal Augusto Sardinha, 1915-1955). Many of these musicians lived long enough to function like cultural bridges between the colonial period and the second half of the twentieth century in Brazil. They continued to add ingredients to the samba recipe, especially by mixing the *samba de roda* with the *choro*.[131]

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[128] Murphy, 33 (Similarities in the music like multiple themes, breaks for solos and syncopation, were early hints of the natural complicity between jazz and samba. There is an interesting parallel to be made between jazz and samba throughout the twentieth century, due to the fact that Brazil and the U.S. share complex racial origins arising from the African Diaspora (note of author))

[129] Kirchner, 548

[130] McCann, 41

[131] De Carvalho 1999, "Afro-Brazilian Music ands Rituals," 47

Setting the Stage for Tropicalia

The French Connections

Another ingredient in the complex cultural mixture of Brazil is the recurring French influence which surfaces in Tropicalia's song writing.[132] The cultural and diplomatic exchanges between France and Brazil have transpired over several centuries.

In the sixteenth century, the writings of French humanist Michel de Montaigne already acknowledged the curiosity of the French for the recently discovered Brazil land its indigenous population. During the colonization period, many French musicians directed small orchestras of Black slaves, at first in the plantations, and later in the salons.[133] In the 1920s, the French poet Blaise Cendrars (1887-1961) played an important role in the valorization of black culture, and in the "discovery of Brazil.[134]" Cendrars spent extensive periods of time in Brazil and brought trends of the European intellect to his Brazilian friends like historian Gilberto Freyre, or writers Sergio Buarque de Hollanda (1902-1982) and Oswald de Andrade (1892-1974).[135] In return, Oswald de Andrade, who was Brazilian ambassador in France, brought the Brazilian culture to Paris. He declared in a 1923 lecture in Paris, that "the suggestive presence of African drums and black singing (were) ethnic forces contributing to the creation of modernity.[136]" In the 1940s and 50s, Claude Levi-Strauss traveled in Brazil to study

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[132] See Part II of this study, in the description of song lyrics (note of author)

[133] Fryer, 134, 148

[134] Vianna, 67

[135] Sergio Buarque de Hollanda is a reknowned historian in Brazil; he is also the father of Chico Buarque de Hollanda who became a participant in the Tropicalia movement

[136] Vianna, 70

the Indian aborigines, and his book Tristes Tropiques is a landmark of twentieth century anthropology.[137]

The French composer Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) lived in Rio from 1914 to 1918, when he was the private secretary of Paul Claudel (1868-1955), another influential French writer and minister. Milhaud became a personal friend of Heitor Villa-Lobos and had frequent interactions with the *sambistas* and the Afro-Brazilian music. "Brazilian popular culture flowed readily back and forth across the Atlantic in the nineteen-tens and twenties:"[138] Back in Paris in 1920, Milhaud wrote "Le boeuf sur le toit" (The Cow On The Roof,) a modern suite and homage to Brazilian music.[139] A few years later, Jean Cocteau (who directed in 1959, Albert Camus' movie "Black Orpheus," which takes place during the Carnival of Rio) created a theater play after Milhaud's piece. He even opened a cabaret, "Le boeuf sur le toit," which became one of the favorite spots of Parisian musical and intellectual life in the1930s.

Albert Camus was the brother of French philosopher Marcel Camus. Marcel Camus and the French existentialists also had a strong influence on Brazilian thought of the 1950s and the bossa nova movement. The tropicalists were educated and familiar with the French culture, and Caetano Veloso mentioned in particular his admiration for the French philosopher Edgar Morin (b. 1921).[140] In this way, for centuries and especially in the

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[137] The book was published in 1958, year of the creation of bossa nova music (note of author)

[138] Vianna, 74

[139] Ibid., 73-4

[140] Veloso Interview 2008, 124

twentieth century, a process of "transculturation" has connected French and Brazilian music and culture.

Carmen Miranda – Ari Barroso

The effects of U.S. / Brazil relationships on Brazilian music became especially marked after World War I. Brazil welcomed American investments, and American products began to replace European products unavailable because of the war.[141] During that time, U.S. military bases were installed in Fortaleza, Natal and Sao Luis to secure the Northeast of Brazil from a possible German invasion.

The U.S. encouraged cultural exchanges in the name of world peace,[142] and in 1929, Columbia record producer, Wallace Downey, noticed Carmen Miranda in Sao Paulo. American Lee Schubert became her manager, and in 1938, a Brazilian radio program called "Cinearte" predicted that Carmen Miranda, who "already had conquered Argentina with her world of samba, was now going to bring it to Uncle Sam." The quote was printed in the New York Herald Tribune while she was touring the U.S.[143]

[141] Ruth Leacock, *Requiem For a Revolution*, preface VIII (Kent: The Kent University Press, 1990), viii

[142]Ibid. Some American corporations were then looking at acquiring market monopoles in Brazil

[143] Mendonca, 10

Figure 9. Photo exhibit (top left, top right) on display in the Carmen Miranda Museum (bottom), Rio de Janeiro, 2007. (Photographs by author)

Carmen Miranda quickly became a Brazilian icon and symbol of Brazilian culture, and in 1951, she was considered the best-paid singer in the U.S.. Tropicalia took inspiration from her ability to absorb and filter foreign influences:

> "I'd love to play a scene with Clarck Gable
> With candle-light and wine on the table
> But my producer tells me I'm not able
> 'Cause I make my money with bananas (…)
> But if I quit my job, it's not disturbing.
>
> I'm even better of than Ingrid Bergman
> 'cause I can sit at home and eat my turban
> And still make my money with my bananas.[144]"

[144] "I make my money with bananas," by Ray Gilbert (in Mendonca, 57)

Figure 10. Images inspired by Carmen Miranda's signature samba-style costumes and fruit bowl head dress. Especially well-known in the U.S. are the Chiquita banana labels and associated advertising copy. <http://images.google.com/images?gbv=2&hl=en&q=chiquita>

The humor of this song also reflected the political strategy of the Good Neighbor Policy, inaugurated under the Roosevelt Administration in the 1940s, in order to establish economic relationships with countries of South America, and especially Brazil.

In 1939, Ari Barroso composed the patriotic song "Aquarela do Brasil," which became an international hit of the *samba-exaltacao* style (exalted samba, or samba written to the glory of Brazil). The lyrics describe Brazil as a tropical paradise where playing music is the main form of work:

Brasil meu Brasil brasileiro	(Brazil, my Brazilian Brazil
Meu mulato inzoneiro	My mischievious mulato
Vou cantar te nos meus versos	I will sing you my verses
O Brasil samba que da	O Brazil, samba that makes
Bamboleio que faz ginga	My head spin, and makes me dance

O Brasil do meu amor	Oh Brazil of my love
Terra de Nosso Senhor	Homeland of our Lord
Brasil, Brasil, pra mim, pra mim	Brazil, Brazil, for me for me
Terra do samba e pandeiro	Land of samba and the tambourine)[145]

The song was promoted by Brazilian classical composer Radames Gnattali (1906-1988), orchestral director at Radio Nacional in Rio. Incidentally, Barroso was also working for the American branch of RCA Victor in Rio de Janeiro.[146]

When Walt Disney visited Brazil in 1941, he fell in love with Barroso's music and invited him to come to the United States. Soon after, Disney decided to use "Aquarela do Brasil" for the score of his 1943 colorful cartoon "Saludos Amigos.[147]"

Early signs of Tropicalia (1940s-50s)

The mix of genre and parody style of Tropicalia was pre-figured in songs like "Adeus America," composed in 1948, by the popular band Os Cariocas[148]. It was written to mock the current trend of musical nationalism in Brazil:

> "Eu digo adeus ao boogie-woogie, ao woogie-boogie / e ao swing tambem/
> Chega de hots, fox-trots e pinotes / que isto nao me convem"
>
> (I say goodbye to boggie-woogie, to woogie-googie / and to swing as well
> No more hots, fox-trots and jitterbugs / because this is not my style)[149]

[145] Delfino, 55

[146] McCann, 71

[147] The cartoon and the song are available on an 8 minute video at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y1QsvTi6r0k

[148] *Carioca* means, in Brazilian, a person from Rio de Janeiro (note of author)

[149] Ruy Castro. *Bossa Nova, The Story of the Brazilian Music that Seduced the World* (Rio: Companhia das Letras, Chicago: A Cappella Books, 1990), 26

In a 1951 samba called "Ministerio da Economia," Arnaldo Baptista (b. 1948) sung a satiric open letter to Brazil's new president, Getulio Vargas:[150] "Mr. President, now everything will be cheap, the poor will be able to eat, I won't have to eat cat anymore.[151]"

Under the influence of the liberal President Jucelino Kubitschek (1955-1960), in the late fifties, social and economic optimism animated the spirit of Brazil. The new capital Brasilia was inaugurated as a symbol of Brazil's progress and modernity. Social and educational programs like Paulo Freire's were developed and artistic initiatives encouraged; in this context, the bossa nova movement emerged in 1958 and nobody could have predicted the political turmoil which awaited Brazil in the 1960s. Tropicalia was born out of this turmoil.

[150] President Vargas was re-elected in 1951 after his first mandate (1939-1945), but he committed suicide one year later (note of author)

[151] McCann, 76 and 83-84

II : REVOLUTION

> "The racial question is submerged in the larger question of social justice for the millions of poor at the bottom of the scale in Brazil's very unequal pattern of income distribution.[152]"

Revolutions

Several "revolutions" took place in Brazil during the twentieth century; nevertheless none of them was initiated by the people of Brazil. Instead, the name "revolution" was used by several dictators to give their military "coups" a more democratic look. The first "revolution", in 1930, organized by President Getulio Vargas (1930-45; 1950-54) was a way out of a post-empire democracy where the military had all powers; Vargas was a popular dictator, and because he was responsible for creating many social laws, he was elected by popular vote in 1934.

Ironically, in 1964, the military generals officially renamed their putsch "the Revolution", and it is referred to as such in many history texts, which says a lot about the way we transmit the story and history of our planet. This second "revolution," followed by twenty-one years of dictatorship, left Brazil's economy impoverished and Brazilian society disorganized and more than ever in search of its Brazilian identity.

> "The 60s were a very stimulating period for composers, singers and musicians. Everything was heightened by the instinctive rejection of the military dictatorship, which seemed to unify the whole of the artistic class around a common objective: to oppose it. After the bossa nova revolution, and to a great extent, because of it, there emerged the tropicalista movement, whose aim was to sort out the tension between Brazil the Parallel Universe, and Brazil the country peripheral to the American Empire.
>
> "Tropicalismo wanted to project itself as the triumph over two notions: one, that the version of the western enterprise offered by American pop and mass culture was potentially liberating, (…) and two, the horrifying humiliation represented by the capitulation to the narrow interests of dominant groups, whether at home or internationally"
>
> C. Veloso[153]

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[152] Skidmore, 213

[153] Veloso 2000, "Tropicalia Truths," 6

The original inequitable division of the Brazilian land was still predominant in the 1960s, and beyond; in 1997 the wealthiest twenty per cent of the population owned sixty seven per cent of the land.[154] Brazil is the sixth largest country in the world, with the tenth largest economy and the widest gap between the rich and the poor on earth.[155] In 2005, the wealthiest 1 per cent owned more than the poorest 50 per cent in Brazil.[156] Tropicalia leader, Caetano Veloso (b. 1942) comments: "It was that way when I was a boy, and it is still that way. As we reached adolescence, my generation dreamed of reversing this brutal legacy.[157]"

Sergio Dias (b.1947) guitarist of the tropicalist trio Os Mutantes was a teenager during the dictatorship and explains that the so-called "revolution" of 1964 was a coup d'etat: "I grew up before the coup d'etat of 1964, and after that, Brazil was raped musically, emotionally and culturally. We were totally smashed and destroyed to smithereens."[158] The only revolutions in Brazil probably happened at the cultural level, rather than the political or social level. If Bossa nova was a "revolution of sophistication," Tropicalia was a few years later a spontaneous counter-cultural explosion.[159]

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[154] Veloso 1997, *Tropical Truth*, 4

[155] S. Baker, *Tropicalia, a Brazilian Revolution in Sound* (interview Sergio Dias), Licensed by Angela Scott, Soul Jazz Records SJR CD118, 2005 (52 pages), 5

[156] Ibid, 5

[157] Veloso 1997, *Tropical Truth*, 4

[158] Baker 2005, 6

[159] Lindsay, 5

Figure 11. Tanks in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, April 1, 1964, during the coup. (Baker, 16)

Politico-economic Influence of the U.S.

> "Violent oppression of the social movement in Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s was rewarded with foreign investments and international loans. The Brazilian economy became the 8th largest in the world. It was called a Third World economic miracle, until the Mid-1970s where the national debt reached alarming proportions and the inflation took off. Social movements which had been questioned in the 1960s revived in new forms.[160]"

In the late fifties, in the middle of the cold war, most Brazilians viewed the U.S., and not the Russians, as the "evil empire.[161]" When the military took power in 1964, many intellectuals in Brazil were aware that the American government had supported the coup, and that the Brazilian generals were in favor of the American anti-communist policy.

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[160] Caitlin Manning, "Brazilian Dreams: Visiting Points of Resistance," Video Documentary (San Francisco, 1991)

[161] Leacock, viii

Some of them had actually been trained in secret American programs. These paramilitary operations had the full approval of President Kennedy, and later President Johnson, which became public knowledge when the FBI documents were declassified in 1986.[162] Brazilian historian, Salgado Freire wrote in 1959:

> "The majority that today exploit us are North American. The astronomical profits that leave the country, drawn from all our effort, impoverish us, make us paupers, debilitate us, and aggravate our misery considerably. The capitalists rob us, but they tell us that they are helping us; they make scandalous investments (…) with highly impertinent airs of philanthropy.[163]

In the days of failure over the Vietnam War, the "Brazilian revolution" was presented by the Readers' Digest in the U.S., as a popular victory against communism.[164] The military "interim" of General Castello Branco, which followed in 1965, instead of six months, lasted twenty-one years. The daily life of the Brazilian people became dramatically altered by an atmosphere of repression, which turned into a nightmare after 1968, when the Constitutional Act No. 5 (AC No. 5) suspended all civil rights indefinitely. In spite of the censorship imposed on the Brazilian press, many Brazilians were aware of the role played by the U.S.:

> "We can see the results now of the 'coups d'etats' which were backed by America and happening across the entire Latin Americas. I could understand the Americans' fear of the Soviet Union and the fear of Brazil becoming a huge Cuba. And so the Americans helped the coup and we were basically raped as a country from top to bottom because of it."
>
> Sergio Dias[165]

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[162] Ibid. 182, 213

[163] J. Salgado Freire, *Para onde Vai o Brasil? Grandezas e Miserias do Nosso Desenvolvimento* (Rio de Janeiro: Coquista,1959), quoted in Fontaine, 1974, 208-209

[164] Leacock, 233

[165] Baker, 7, 9

As one of the consequences, the U.S.-Brazil relationships have visibly influenced the arts and especially the music writing from the sixties to the present time.[166] Anti-Americanism feelings took different shapes, and in the late fifties, the bossa nova movement was partially a reaction against the American rock invasion.

Music and Politics in 1960s Brazil

> "There is something suspicious about music, gentlemen. I insist that she is, by her nature, equivocal. I shall not be going too far in saying at once that she is politically suspect."
>
> Thomas Mann[167]

By 1960, the foreign rock industry was taking seventy per cent of the Brazilian market. Incidentally, in 1964, year of the military putsch, the first rock fans club had been created in Sao Paulo, and had started to compete with popular bossa nova radio and television programs.[168]

Other musicians like singer Geraldo Vandre (b.1935), wanted to address the people's taste, especially from the rural areas, with a more basic, unsophisticated style. He used the *moda de viola*, a grass-roots folk singing with simple guitar accompaniment. His award-winning song, *Disparada*, described the social and religious atmosphere of the back-country and became a major success in 1966:

> Prepare your heart, for the things of which I'II sing
> I come from the backlands, and I may not please you ...
> If you don't agree, I can't apologize

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[166] American companies had already infiltrated Brazil's economy after World War II; from 1943 to 1956, a high-budget program sponsored by Coca-Cola called 'Um Milhao de Melodies' (a million melodies), advertised American songs (Ibid)

[167] Samuel A. Floyd Jr. *The Power of Black Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 183

[168] David Treece, "Guns and roses: bossa nova and Brazil's music of popular protest, 1958-68," (*Popular Music* 16/1, 1997), 18

> My story's not told to deceive
> I'II take up my guitar, I'II leave you aside
> I'II sing in another place[169]

The same year, Gilberto Gil's song, *Roda*, expressed the same desire to awake the public's awareness:

> My people, pay attention (...)
> Whoever doesn't want to listen doesn't have to hear[170]

Vandre declared in an interview that the *moda de viola* was the most proletarian of Brazilian styles, and that it represented "the only way of singing for sixty or seventy per cent of the Brazilian rural population.[171]" Vandre opened a large gap between the casual "sea, sun, romance" atmosphere of bossa nova with its fancy jazz chords, and on the other hand, the more rural structure and simple harmony of the *moda de viola*, paired with a heavy political content. Veloso commented that *Disparada* was the first Brazilian response to the "ie,ie,ie," short onomatopoeia for rock and roll in Brazilian. *Disparada* was nominated for the first prize of the "TV Record's Second Festival of Brazilian Popular Music" in the fall of 1966, with co-winner Chico Buarque (b.1944), for his song *A banda.*

During the live contest, broadcast on television, Sergio Ricardo (b. 1941), a friend of Veloso and Gil who had written a protest song against the football industry, was booed by the audience. Annoyed and disappointed by this reaction, he smashed his guitar on

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[169] Treece, 25

[170] Ibid

[171] Ibid, 19

stage and threw it at the public yelling: "You're a bunch of animals![172]" Two years later, when Vandre wrote "Caminhando" (Marching), the song came out in the midst of student demonstrations and a major social confusion. Vandre wanted the piece to be a hymn of solidarity between farmers, workers and students, and he deliberately simplified the music so that it would exclusively be a vehicle for protest. This was a change of direction from musicians who were, at that time, trying to revive the rural and afro-Brazilian roots:

> In the schools, in the streets, fields and building sites
> We're all soldiers, whether armed or not
> Marching and singing and following the song
> We're all equal whether armed in arm or not[173]

The full title of the song was actually "Caminhando, pra nao dizer que nao falei das flores." (Marching, so you'll not say I didn't speak of flowers.) The song was banned by the regime and became the chant of universal solidarity, adopted by the main groups of the opposition, particularly the powerfull CBEs (Christian Communities), and the PT (Worker's Party). Shortly after the song was released, Vandre was exiled to Chile.

From Bossa Nova to Tropicalia

In reaction to the nationalist propaganda of the previous two decades, bossa nova (new beat) took over the Brazilian scene in the late fifties. Composer Antonio Carlos (Tom[174]) Jobim (1936-1994), singer Carlos Lyra (b. 1936), and guitarist Joao Gilberto (b.1932) started a new musical trend, inspired by the West Coast School of Jazz of the

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[172] Treece, 24

[173] Ibid, 1

[174] Almir Chediak in his three volume "song Book of Tom Jobim" explains that Jobim detested his first name of Antonio Carlos and had chosen the nick name of Tom (Chediak 1996, 23)

1950s.[175] Contrary to the polemics against the Americanization of Brazilian culture, they viewed elements of jazz and be-bop as interesting ingredients to add to the Brazilian melting pot.[176] Tom Jobim explained that bossa nova was "a distillery of the samba, a condenser," which also combined harmonies of Debussy and cool jazz.[177]

The tropicalists wanted to expand the scope of Brazilian music, but they loved bossa nova.[178] In the song "Saudosismo" (Nostalgia, 1969), Veloso confesses that the Tropicalistas have learned from Joao Gilberto, co-founder of the bossa nova movement with Tom Jobim, how to be forever *desafinados*, in other words, "out of tune.[179]" The concept of *desafinado*, is very organic to the bossa nova movement and does not translate directly into the English language, but it encompasses a musical characteristic (out of tune" or "dissonant") and a psychological emotion of sadness and disappointment.

The musical stretch of bossa nova which influenced Tropicalia, rests on the dissonance between jazz harmonies, augmented and diminished chords, and vocal melodies sung on the edge of dissonance (like "out of tune").[180] Jobim once answered

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[175] Gerald Seligman, *Bossa Nova Brazil*,Liner notes, Compact Disc 314515762-2, 1992, 2

[176] Naves, 53

[177] Arto Lindsay, "Beleza Tropical," Liner notes (15pages), Brazil Classics 1, Compiled by David Byrne, 680899 0001-23 (Luaka Bop, 1988), 5

[178] Calado, Carlos, "Tropicalism, New Attitude, New Music," AllBrazilianMusic: the music from Brazil, 2000, 1 <allbrazilianmusic.com/en/styles/styles.asp?Staus=MATERIA&Nu_Materia=931>

[179] Veloso 1997, *Tropical Truth*, 53

[180] They are also called "fat chords," in music theory, and were distinctive of French composer, Claude Debussy (note of author)

the question "where does bossa nova come from?" saying that it came straight out of the American be-bop.[181]

The tropicalists were especially influenced by the manipulation of samba rhythms of guitarist Joao Gilberto, who was commonly called the "pope" and a "god" of bossa nova.[182] Ever-since he recorded "The Girl from Ipanema," composed by Jobim and Vinicius de Moraes (1913-1980), his "telegraphically syncopated" guitar playing has remained unique.

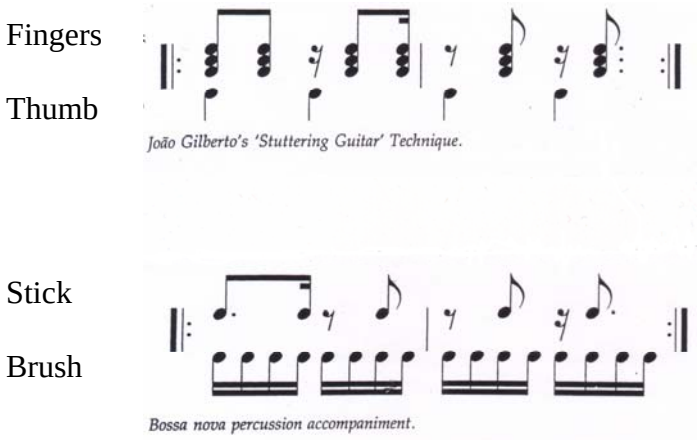

Figure 12. One of Joao Gilberto's guitar techniques (top), and a typical bossa nova accompaniment (Reily, 5, 13).

From a stylistic and performance viewpoint, the exuberant language of Tropicalia seems to contrast with the sober image established by Joao Gilberto. His intimate "bench and guitar on an empty dark stage," soon became the norm for many of his followers.[183] In his 2007 European tour, Caetano Veloso, long time admirer of Gilberto, adopted the

[181] Ruy Castro, *Bossa Nova, The Story of the Brazilian Music that Seduced the World*, Chicago: A Cappella Books 2000, x; also in the interview of Creed Taylor, Jobim's producer, by Gene Lees, in "Antonio Carlos Jobim, The Man from Ipanema," Verve-Polygram Records Inc., 314 525 880-2

[182] Naves, 2

[183] Ibid, 4

"Joao" concert strategy of simple voice and guitar.[184] Bossa nova has been accused of being a bourgeois music fashion; nevertheless "Bossa nova is a continuation of the tradition of Brazilian music. In Brazil, the piano was always used by richer people, and the guitar by everybody on the streets; but Tom Jobim did not write for the rich people.[185]"

The first bossa nova phase (1958-1964) can be viewed as an upper-class musical revolution, but when the dictatorship took over Brazil in 1964, many bossa nova artists turned to social consciousness. Tropicalia, metaphor for a Third World paradise, was born out of a desire to transform Brazilian society which had become a living hell under the regime, and give a voice to the *povo*, the mass of the poor.[186]

> "Repression after the military coup turned Brazil into a creative desert. Ironically, these deplorable measures nurtured artists' creativity. Having courage became fashionable. All disciplines exhibit imaginative and agile solutions in order to 'co-exist' with the regime's grim prohibitions. Artists became specialists in metaphor as politics and art walk side by side. Tropicalia's musical profile was its most controversial side.[187]"

The Tropicalist group was formed in Sao Paulo several years before it would become called a movement. Several of its members were students at the Federal University of Bahia in Sao Paulo, which was "a factory of ideas where young Baianos formulated the vision of an artistic vanguard and strove to create works that would appear advanced even to the First World.[188]"

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[184] Interview Veloso 2008

[185] Celso Machado, Interview 9/22/2005

[186] Dunn 2001, Brutality Garden, 3; the concept of *povo* in Portuguese, which means the poor, the masses, is frequently present in the lyrics of Tropicalia and Brazilian songs (note of author)

[187] Bruce Gilman, "Times of Gall," Brazzil – 30 years of Tropicalismo, december 1997 (14pp), 1 http://www.brazzil.com/cvrdec97.htm

[188] Ibid, 2

Tropicalia was built on the unusual friendship which connected and still connects Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso, both artists and philosophers. They were joined in the mid-sixties by poets Torquato Neto (1944-1972) and Jose Carlos Capinam (b. 1943), female vocalists Gal Costa (b. 1945) and Nara Leao (1942-1989), composer Rogerio Duprat (1932-2006), and the trio Os Mutantes: Rita Lee (b. 1947), Arnaldo Batista (b. 1948) and his brother Sergio Dias (b. 1950).

Afro-sambas and Social Consciousness

"Brazil is a place where people sing, so the music is naturally a medium for ideas[189]"

In the mid-1960s, other Brazilian musicians reacted to the censorship by developing the same language of metaphor, which the slaves had used for centuries. The simple integration of Afro-Brazilian rhythms, religious songs from *candomble* and *umbanda* cults with their folk ballads was an expression of protest. The dictatorship encouraged American culture to infiltrate Brazilian society, but from a racist viewpoint was opposed to any type of root revival, especially coming from Africa.

The guitarist Baden Powell (1937-2000) and the influential poet and diplomat Vinicius de Moraes (1913-1980), specialized in the composition of Afro-sambas. After writing many famous bossa nova songs with Tom Jobim (1936-1994) in the 1950s-60s, de Moraes turned to protest lyrics. A well-known example is the song *Berimbau*, first released in 1966, and recently re-recorded by black Brazilian Bahiana, Virginia

[189] Interview Celso Machado, 9/22/2005

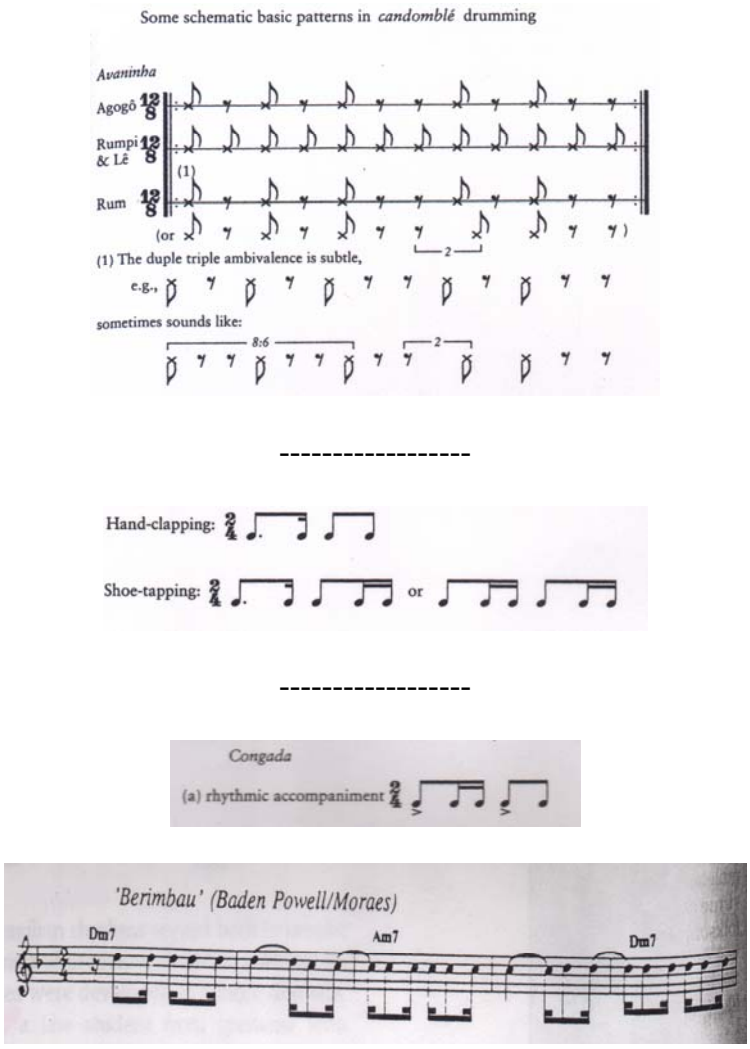

Figure 13. Similarities between candomble drumming from Africa in 12/8, Caterete Indian folklore rhythms, congada African rhythm, and the Afro-Brazilian samba song "Berimbau" of the 1960s. (Top 1, Behague, 291; second 284, third 285, bottom Treece, 20)

Rodrigues on the CD "Mares Profundos.[190]" The song came out in the early stage of the Brazilian dictatorship, and the lyrics, like the *capoeira* martial art, use many metaphors of resistance:

> "Quem e homem de bem nao trai, O amor que lhe quer seu bem,
> Quem diz muito que vai, nao vai, E assim como nao vai nao vem,
> Quem de dentro de si nao sai, vai morrer sem amar ninguem,

[190] Virginia Rodrigues, *Mares Profundos*, (Natasha Records, Brazil 2003) translation by John Ryle

O dinheiro de quem nao da, E o trabalho de quem nao tem
Capoeira que e bom nao cai, e se um dia ele cai, cai bem!
Capoeira me mandou, dizer que ja chegou,
Chegou para lutar, Berimbau me confirmou,
Vai ter briga de amor, tristeza, camara."

(A man of good will does not betray the love that wishes him well
A man who talks a lot gets nowhere,
And getting nowhere, nothing comes to him
He, who does not venture out from within himself
Will die without loving anyone
The wealth of a man who gives nothing away
Comes from the labour of those who have none
If a capoeirista is good, he won't fall
And if he falls, he'll do it elegantly
The capoeirista sent me, to tell you he was here, here to fight,
The berimbau told me too, Go and fight in the lists of love,
Sadness, comrade.)

Chico Buarque

Chico Buarque de Hollanda (b. 1944), intermittent tropicalist and advocate of social justice in Brazil, brought up racial criticism in many of his songs. Buarque, simply called "Chico" in Brazil, is an educated musician from Sao Paulo and the son of Brazilian historian Sergio Buarque de Hollanda. In 1964, Chico declared: "I want to sing like Joao Gilberto, compose music like Tom Jobim and write poems like Vinicius de Moraes.[191]" His outstanding poetry always in the service of exposing oppression and poverty, granted him success from his very first recordings in 1965.

Chico was part of the second era of the bossa nova movement: from 1958 to 1964, the year of the military coup, bossa nova's inspiration had been centered around the "salt/sun/south theme."[192] When the dictatorship came in power in 1964 and imposed censorship on art and freedom of speech, bossa nova entered a new phase of social

[191] Braga-Torres, 12

[192] Castro, 208

engagement. Veloso wrote that Chico "was the embodiment of the best in Brazilian history" and that "his music worked as a metaphor for the capacity of Brazilian music to create happiness for a people with barely any other source of joy."

> "My long suffering people said goodbye to their sorrows
> To see the band pass by singing songs of love"
>
> A banda, 1966[193]

Buarque's song "Pedro Pedreiro" (1965) was typical of this new trend of social protest, denouncing hunger and discrimination, especially in the backlands of the Northeast of Brazil, where the farm-workers conditions of life were, and still are, particularly harsh.[194]

> Thoughtful Pedro Pedreiro waiting for the train
> Morning it seems does not wait
> For the sake of those who have happiness
> Of those who are penniless
> Pedro Pedreiro is there thinking
> Through thinking time passes
> One gets behind. Waiting
> Waiting, waiting, waiting for the sun
> For the train, since last year for next month's pay raise.
> Waiting for happiness, for luck
> And Pedro's wife expecting (pregnant) to wait also…
> Pedro Pedreiro is waiting for death
> Or the day to go back North
> Pedro doesn't know but perhaps he's really
> Waiting fort something more beautiful than the world
> (…) Pedro Pedreiro wants to go back
> Wants to be a pedreiro (roadworker), poor and nothing more
> Without waiting, waiting… Waiting for nothing else[195]

Another dramatic example of social criticism, "Construcao" (construction), (1971), exposes the fatal condition of urban workers:

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[193] Veloso 1997, *Tropical Truth*, 106-7

[194] Behague, 443

[195] These lyrics were written at the beginning of the dictatorship (note of author)

He loved on that occasion as if it were the last
He kissed his wife as if she were the last
And each son of his as if he were the only one
And he crossed the street with his timid step
He climbed the scaffold as if he were a machine
He erected in the stair landing four solid walls
Brick after brick in a magic design
His eyes numbed with cement and tear
He sat to rest as if it were Saturday
He ate rice and beans as if he were a prince
He drank and sobbed as if he were a shipwreck person
He danced and guffawed as if he listened to music
And stumbled in the sky as if he were drunk
And floated in the air as if he were a bird
And ended up on the ground as a flaccid package
He agonized in the middle of the public walk
He died on the wrong side of the street disturbing the traffic[196]

Chico also represents the link with traditional samba of the 1930s, written by black musicians like Noel Rosa or Donga (1891-1974). After two years of exile in Italy, when Chico returned to Brazil, two thirds of his songs were systematically banned by the regime.[197] Musicians had to use the camouflage and allegoric devices the slaves used to practice in their songs and dances. Apparently, the censorship was not very refined, and some songs like "Apesar de Voce" (In Spite of You) were banned after they had been released and become hits in Brazil:

"In spite of you, tomorrow is going to be another day
I ask you where you are going, to hide from the immense euphoria[198]"

In 1973, Chico wrote with Gilberto Gil the song "Calice," which featured an allegorical critique of religious and political repression:

[196] Sebastiao Salgado, *Terra, Struggle of the Landless* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1997), 28

[197] McGowan and Pessanha, 80

[198] in McGowan 1998, 80

How to drink this bitter drink, gulp down the pain, swallow the drudgery
Though my mouth is quiet, my breast remains
No one hears the silence in the city…
Father, take this cup away from me[199]

Social and racial issues were not always present in bossa nova songs, but they were always present or in the background of Tropicalia's lyrics and Chico's lyrics. In the song "Raised from the Ground," Chico Buarque raises poetic, but screaming questions about the condition of farmers:

Rippped from the land? What then?
Raised from the ground? How so?
As beneath your feet the ground
Like water slipping through your hand?
Living in bottomless mud?
Like lying in a bed of dust?
In a hammock swinging without a hammock
Seeing the world upside down?[200]

In "Brejo da Cruz," he describes the pre-programmed lives of millions of lower class Brazilians:

The news in Brejo da Cruz
Is that the children
Are feeding on light

Crazed children are turning blue
And giving up the ghost
There in Brejo da Cruz

Chico Buarque, "Brejo da Cruz"[201]

By reacting against the "bourgeois left," which had become disconnected from the poverty and social issues of the country, Tropicalia questioned the unofficial caste system, active in Brazil since the early days of colonization.[202] In order to bring social justice to Brazil the tropicalist redefinition was art made for and by "everyday' people,"

[199] Ibid. , 81

[200] Chico Buarque, "Raised from the Ground," music by Milton Nascimento, quoted in Salgado, 31

[201] Ibid

[202] Dunn 2001, "Tropicalia Truths"

versus art coming from leftist intellectuals, whom only a few could understand. By doing so, the tropicalists opened within Brazilian politics a vast debate which had already created a split within the bossa nova movement. The tropicalists were criticized for dividing the left wing. Singer Nara Leao (1942-1989) declared in the television show "Opiniao" in 1964:

> "I want the pure samba which is the expression of the people. I don't want to spend the rest of my life singing "The Girl from Ipanema," and even less, in English. I want to be a singer for the people.[203]"

Tropicalia and Cultural Cannibalism

Anthropophagic Manifesto

"O Tropicalismo e um neo-antropofagismo"[204]

A seminal element of Tropicalia's philosophy was the return to the primitive sources advocated in the three-page "Anthropophagite Manifesto" written in 1928 by Brazilian poet Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954).[205] De Andrade's goal was to open Brazil's mind to a counter-cultural understanding of society and the arts. Veloso summarized very elegantly the connection between "*Antropophagia*" and Tropicalia:

> "Tropicalism was an attempt to challenge the preconceptions of the time. We turned bossa nova inside out, we brought out the guts of Brazilian music and culture; and within those guts, with everything that Brazil could eat from the outside, all the creations from the past and from the present: pieces of the Beatles, pieces of Goddart movies, the most disparate things in the whole world, Argentine's tango, Portuguese *fado*, songs played in the whorehouses in Brazil. All this showed up in the middle of our songs, as if we were showing what Brazil had digested and had inside its guts.[206]"

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[203] Castro, 268

[204] "Tropicalism is a neo-anthropofagism," Veloso in Favaretto, 55

[205] Oswald de Andrade, 'Antropophagite Manifesto' (Brazil, 1928) http:/lwww.391.org/manifestos/1928anthropophgite.htm

[206] Caetano Veloso, in Enterprises for Channel 4, 1993

Like in Tropicalia, humor and parody are vital in de Andrade's text, perhaps to make a sad and revolting reality possible to be "swallowed" as well:[207]

> "Only anthropophagy unites us. Socially. Economically. Philosophically.
> The world's only law. The masked expression of all individualisms, of all collectivisms.
> Of all religions. Of all peace treaties.
> *Tupy, or not Tupy that is the question*[208]
> Against all catechisms. And against the mother of the Gracchi.
> The only things that interest me are those that are not mine.
> Law of man. Law of the anthropophagite (...)
> Sons of the sun, mother of the living. Found and loved ferociously,
> With all the hypocrisy of nostalgia, by the immigrants,
> By the slaves and the *touristes*.
> In the country of the big snake.
> *It was because we never had grammars, nor collections of old plants.*
> *And we never knew what was urban, suburban, boundary and continental.*
> *Lazy men on the world map of Brazil* (…)
> Against all importers of canned consciousness. The palpable existence of life (...)
> We want the Carahiba revolution. Bigger than the French revolution."[209]

When de Andrade wrote the "Anthropophagite Manifesto," his goal was to spread the idea of assimilating cultures other than Brazilian, by devouring them, that is to say, digesting them until they become part of your own blood. Caetano Veloso took this idea to heart and made it a crucial element of the tropicalist philosophy: the absorption instead of the rejection of the "enemy's" good qualities became the core of the tropicalist attitude. The technique of reconstruction of the language was another strategy which Tropicalia borrowed from the concrete poets from Sao Paulo and in particular from Augusto de Campos (b.1931).

In the Manifesto, de Andrade further explores the main damages caused by civilization and commerce, referring to Montaigne, Rousseau, science and communism:

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[207] Poet Oswald de Andrade was contemporary to Mario de Andrade, Brazilian musicologist and historian (note of author)

[208] Original in English [T.N.], italicized for emphasis (note of author)

[209] de Andrade, 1-3

> "We were never catechized. We live through a somnambular law.
> *We made Christ be born in Bahia* (...) *We already had communism.*
> *We already had the surrealist language. The golden age* (...)
> Magic and life. We had the relation and the distribution of physical goods,
> Of moral goods, and the goods of dignity (...)
> *Before the Portuguese discovered Brazil, Brazil had discovered happiness.*[210]"

The manifesto's irony is completed with the author's signature obviously mocking the Catholic Church, but also referring to a real event:

> "Oswald de Andrade,
> in Piratininga, Year 374 of the swallowing of the bishop Sardinha."

Bishop Sardinha was a real catholic priest who was actually eaten by Tupi Indians in the early 1500s. His bust now stands on Praca da Se in Salvador. Caetano Veloso declared in a PBS interview that "Brazil was born the day the Indians ate Bishop Sardinha (sardine).[211]"

The mix and clash of cultures is typical of the nature of Brazilian heritage: "As a *swallower* of difference, Brazil is constructed by modernism as the kingdom of hospitality, of receptive warmth revealing an inherent disposition to receive the Other.[212]"

The accusation of the damage caused by "grammatization" (made by de Andrade his 1928 Manifesto in the phrase "it was because we never had grammars") is intriguing, as in the 1960s, this idea became part of the teachings of seminal Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire (1921-2004).

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[210] Oswald de Andrade, 'Anthropophagite Manifesto' <http://www.391.org/manifestos/1928anthropophgite.htm>

[211] Weinoldt, Kirsten, "40 Years Off Key, The Bunker Of Nara Leao," Brazzil Magazine, December 1998, 10 <brazil.com/cvrdec98.htm>

[212] Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda, 'The Law of the Cannibal' Lecture (New York University, May 1998), 6 <http://acd.ufj.br/pacc/leteraria/paper1helo.html>

Paulo Freire

The link between Tropicalia and Brazilian educator Paulo Freire has been highlighted several times, in particular in Veloso's writings.[213] Freire had designed a revolutionary program of accelerated literacy for adults, which involved simultaneous social and political education. His method proved to be extremely successful (in the early sixties and up to the present time), and was supported by the government of Joao Goulart (1961-1964), as Freire was "preparing the general population for great social changes.[214]"

In 1970, fifty per cent of the Brazilian population still could not read or write, and therefore, were not allowed to vote. It is easy to understand why Freire's ideas presented a major threat for the conservatives and the rich, who did not see the politization of the poor as profitable for them. The military putsch of 1964 was also designed to put an end to this "dangerous" socialization of the country.

The combination of archaic and modern elements was typical of the post-1964 Brazilian society and typical of Tropicalia's music and lyrics as well.[215] In a similar way, Paulo Freire's method was designed to combine "the archaic nature of rural consciousness and the specialized theory of teacher of literacy." Freire explained how if the best way to kill a snake is to chop it into pieces, similarly fragmentation is a major tool of oppressive education.[216]

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[213] Veloso 1997, *Tropical Truth*, 194-95, 289

[214] Ibid, 194

[215] Roberto Schwarz, Misplaced ideas - Essays on Brazilian culture, "Culture and Politics in Brazil, 1964-1969," (London: Verso Publishing, 1992), 142

[216] Dr. R. Baruth, Lecture, Boise State University, 07/19/06

Freire's argument was that dividing people into categories, levels, gender, or race, is a good strategy to propagate deficit thinking. His ideas were influential in the development of Tropicalia's philosophy about connecting art, individual expression and social consciousness. Freire wrote in Pedagogy of the Oppressed: "The fundamental effort of education is to help with the liberation of people, never their domestication.[217]"

In addition to Oswald de Andrade and Paulo Freire, Mario de Andrade, another prominent intellectual who influenced Brazilian culture all through the twentieth century, is a reference point in Tropicalia's writings.

Mario de Andrade

Writer and musicologist Mario de Andrade was the leader of the modernist wave in Brazil (1922-1930),[218] which paralleled the modernist and dadaist movement of Europe. He wrote in 1928 that the essential characteristics of true Brazilian culture were to be found in Brazilian popular music.[219] His experimental "epic" book Macunaima was celebrated for its inter-cultural and inter-racial poetry.[220] "Macunaima is a bricolage of myths, songs, rituals and texts taken from indigenous, African, Portuguese and Brazilian sources.[221]" The use of the French word "bricolage" is very appropriate and refers to the vocabulary of French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss (b. 1908), who studied the

[217] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1970), quoted in "Education is Politics," by Ira Shor (New York: Routledge, 1993), 4

[218] Modernism was a literary movement, which started in Europe in the 1920s; in Brazil, it promoted a "renovation of Brazilian arts by exalting the national foundations of popular culture, while selectively appropriating international aesthetics models" (Perrone and Dunn 2001)

[219] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 22

[220] Veloso, Interview 2008

[221] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 20

indigenous tribes of Brazil in the twentieth century.[222] The word "bricolage," in French, implies an instinctive approach to creativity, versus a learned or scholarly approach. This "bricolage" literary technique of Mario de Andrade became one of the elements of Tropicalia's cultural amalgam.

Carmen Miranda and Dada

In the song "Tropicalia," Caetano Veloso combines seminal elements of the tropicalist world: "Viva bossa-ssa-ssa, viva palhoca-ca-ca; viva banda-da-da, Carmen Miranda-da-da." The first reference is an homage to bossa nova and Brazilian nature (*palhoca* means "mud hut" in Portuguese, which indirectly refers to the metaphor of the "forest and the school" of Oswald de Andrade.[223] "Viva banda" is a nod to Chico Buarque's 1966 famous song "A banda"; and finally, "Miranda-da-da" salutes both Carmen Miranda and the Dada movement of the 1920s in Europe.

Dada was a movement of intellectuals (writers, painters, musicians) who reacted to the devastation of Europe after World War One. Like Tropicalia, it reflected an existentialist quest from artists who felt an increasing disconnection between the masses and the world leaders.[224] Tropicalists have frequently established their link to Dada, whether in songs or plastic arts by cultivating the absurd and showing the incoherence of modern society (exemplified in visual artist Helio Oiticica's work, "Tropicalia," by the television set, symbol of modernity, in the middle of the *favela* where people live on dirt

[222] Naves, 3

[223] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden,* 89

[224] "After the carnage we are left with the hope of a purified humanity (…) Thus Dada was born out of a need for independence, out of mistrust for the community (…) Do we make art in order to earn money and keep the dear bourgeoisie happy?" Tristan Tzara, *Dada Manifesto,* Paris, 03/23/1918, 1 of 4 <http://www.391.org/manifestos/tristantzara_dadamanifesto.htm>

floor; see below).[225] Tropicalia and Dada claimed the ontological unity of all forms of art, and their common goal, which is to provoke the public's reaction and make the individual think and question the world. They also wanted to eliminate the gap between art and life by encouraging a creative process beyond designations and labels, while expressing social freedom from political or economic oppression.

In 1968, just before the enforcement of the Constitutional Act No. 5[226], which suspended all civil rights and personal freedom for the first time in Brazil history, Tropicalia brought together visual artists, musicians, actors, journalists and politicians, during the "March of 100,000" in Rio de Janeiro.[227] The large demonstration was meant to protest against military repression and the recent murder of a student, Edson Luis, by the police.[228] The next day, the magazine O Cruzeiro published the main slogans of Tropicalia used in the demonstration:

> "What is new today might be dead tomorrow. Down with prejudice. Art and culture as a totality. A new aesthetic. A new moral. Communicate through polemics. We're no longer in the Stone Age. We're in the 'Stone-throwing' Age. Which world is this? Fission. Fossil.
>
> Down with elite culture. Art is suspended etiquette. No more swallowing of finished works. Participate. Culture with gods. From the bottom up. Everything has changed. Imagination in power. Third World. Art. Chewing gum. Artist, Quixote. Marginal, marginalia. The rebels think so.[229]"

Veloso and Gil were arrested in December 1968, and forced eight months later in exile to England, where they had to stay for two years.

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[225] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 84

[226] Baker, 40

[227] Veloso 1997, *Tropical Truth*, 68

[228] Ibid, 292-93

[229] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 149

Helio Oiticica and Rogerio Duarte

"Tropicallia is a cry of Brazil to the world"
Oiticica 1968[230]

Two visual artists had a major influence on the evolution of Tropicalia: sculptor Helio Oiticica (1937-1982), who gave the movement its name, and graphic designer Rogerio Duarte (b. 1936), who created the graphics for the tropicalist recordings.

When Helio Oiticica presented his installation called "Tropicalia" at the museum of Modern Art in Rio in 1967, he proposed a giant sculpture in the shape of a large room where the public was invited to walk through without shoes, experience the atmosphere, step on pebbles and sand, and listen to the sounds coming from a live television set. The object of the installation was to give the public, a feel of what it is to be in a *favela.* His

Figure 14. Helio Oiticica's "Tropicalia" exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in Rio de Janeiro, 1967 (upper left), and his poster memorializing the death of Cara de Cavalo, which was adopted as a tropicalist emblem (lower right). (Baker 30, 43)

[230] Searle 2006, 1 of 2

particular example was referring to the *favela* of Mangueira in Rio de Janeiro, "using an organic architecture meant to stress the juxtaposition of the new and the old. In this way, the exhibit denounced the unequal modernization of Brazil, which was mostly benefiting the upper-class.[231]" Oiticica lived for two years in the *favela* where he became a personal friend of Cara de Cavalo (Horseface). De Cavalo, a famous outlaw in Rio, was murdered by one of the death squads (*esquadrao da morte*), police members who illegaly killed "marginals"[232]. Shortly after "Tropicalia," Oiticica created the famous red poster "Seja marginal, seja heroi" (Live outside the box, be a hero), which the tropicalists displayed on stage during their concerts.[233] In 1968, his work inspired journalist Nelson Motta (b.1944) to write an article about a new cultural movement, which he called "The Tropicalist Crusade.[234]"

The other visual artist who contributed to create Tropicalia's image and style is Rogerio Duarte, a long time friend of the tropicalists, who has written several songs with Gil and Veloso.

> " 'Eu seu o tropicalismo' (I am tropicalism), the famous sentence is not from Caetano Veloso nor from Gilberto Gil, but from the graphic artist, poet, university professor and writer from Bahia, Rogerio Duarte, 64.[235]"

Often called the "intellectual father of Tropicalia," Duarte was born in 1936 in Ubaira, Bahia, six years before Veloso and Gil.[236] Intellectual mentor of the Tropicalists

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[231] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 84-85

[232] Ibid, 143

[233] Interview Veloso 2008

[234] Calado 2000,1

[235] Pedro Alexandre Sanches, 4/28/2003 (Translation by author)

in the mid-1960s, he was a formal member of the communist party and worked for UNE (National Student League) and the PT (Workers Party). Duarte was famous for his original designs of political banners and posters used in left wing propaganda. As a result, he brought a political and social spirit to Gil, Veloso and Gal, who were all from Sao Paulo.

> "To me, Tropicalism represented the synthesis between spirituality and Marxism. The people's naïve creativity and the political militancy. It took everything out of its compartment whereas the left-wing put everything in order."
>
> Rogerio Duarte[237]

Figure 15. Examples of Rogerio Duarte's graphic works, including album covers and posters, from the cover of his 2003 book Tropicaos.

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[236] Gilman, 5

[237] Ana de Oliveira, "Interviews. Rogerio Duarte." Tropicalia Oficial Internet Site, 1 <tropicalia.uol.com.br/site_english/internas/entr_duarte.php>

Duarte has been acknowledged as "one of the most important figures regarding the creation of art and design in Brazil. Designer, art director, poet, writer, professor, translator and multi-instrumental musician, Duarte remains fascinating, whichever creation of his you encounter first.[238]"

Considered as an agitator by the dictatorial police (his nickname was "Rogerio Chaos"), he was jailed and tortured in 1968, and consequently spent several years recovering in a psychiatric hospital of Rio de Janeiro.[239] He also spent two years in a Buddhist monastery:

> "Buddhism and Marxism were compatible. It offered the mystical wonder without the alienating charge of Western religion, the opium of the people. It was a way out for me.[240]"

A 2003 publication (Tropicaos) compiles the writings that were salvaged after Rogerio Duarte was forced by the military to burn most of his graphic works and poems. Duarte commented: "Pardon my lack of modesty, but my life has been the incarnation of Tropicalism. I was a muse, never an eminence, and I became a dissident, a renunciate. I live with nothing, I live an austere life and I do not need to carry the burden of comfort. I did not renounce joy, I keep on working in a less spectacular way, but a more profound way.[241]"

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[238] Ivan Melo, "Rogerio Duarte: Uno De Los Mas Importantes Disenadores Graficos De Brazil, Caos Tropical," *Argentina*, 01/14/2007, 12 (Translation by author) <casamerica.es/es/layout/set/simple/casa-de-america-virtual/arte-y-exposiciones/articulos-y-n>

[239] Gilman, 5

[240] Ana ae Oliveira, "Interviews. Rogerio Duarte." Tropicalia Oficial Internet Site, 1 <tropicalia.uol.com.br/site_english/internas/entr_duarte.php>

[241] Rogerio Duarte,"Duarte Define Caetano e Gil Como Colegas 'Ricos.' " Folha de Sao Paulo, 04/28/2003 <tools.folha.com.br/print?site=emcimadahora&url=http%3ª%2f%2Fwww1.folha.uol.com.br%2Ff>

For Rogerio Duarte, Tropicalia was repressed by the regime, but the tropicalist spirit never died and is still present in Brazilian music.

1967-1969: The Tropicalia "Moment"[242]

Tropicalia's Musical Allegory

> "Gil wanted a movement that would unleash the truly forces of Brazilian music, beyond the ideological slogans of protest music, the elegant chains of altered chords, the narrow nationalism. I was only the apostle while Gil was the prophet.[243]"

Tropicalia constantly juggled with low and high culture, with the precise intention of reconciling the two worlds for mass production.[244] Gil's song "Domingo no Parque" (Sunday at the Park), in 1967 presented a mix of eclectic elements like the Angolan *berimbau*, electric guitars of Os Mutantes, and an orchestral introduction arranged by experimental conductor Rogerio Duprat.[245] Gil was inaugurating his "universal sound," built on Brazilian folklore, samba, rock and *avant-guard* classical music.[246] The vocals used the call response practice of African chants, while the lyrics purposely depicted the story of working class ordinary people, using images and verbal flashes similar to the language of concrete poetry: "The ice cream and the rose/O Jose/ The rose and the ice cream/O Jose/Spinning in his mind/O Jose.[247]" The revolutionary message in Tropicalia

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[242] "The tropicalist moment" is the title of chapter three in C.Dunn's book, Brutality Garden

[243] Veloso 1997, *Tropical Truth*, 66

[244] Cesar Braga-Pinto, "How to Organize a Movement: Caetano Veloso's Tropical Path" (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 103

[245] Gilman, 4

[246] Baker, 31

[247] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 68

was carried by the music and the language; both music and language presented unusual "anomalies" and distortions which have been called the "metalinguista" of Tropicalia.[248]

The music writing of the tropicalistas integrated sounds from the real world (engines, animals, humans) which reinforced the programmatic aspect of their songs. Many parallels have been made between tropicalist compositions and the recordings of the Beatles, in particular, the "Sergeant Pepper's" album, which is considered to be the first "concept" album in pop music. Caetano Veloso said that when the Beatles' album Sergeant Peppers came out in 1969, he was shocked to hear many of the musical ideas which the tropicalists were developing, especially mixing eastern and western music: "When we heard 'Sergeant Pepper's,' it was great and at the same time, terribly frustrating, because these were all ideas we already had been thinking of in Tropicalia.[249]"

For example, in the song "Miserere Nobis" (1968), Gilberto Gil uses a shooting canon sound, as a reminder of the military dictatorship in place. The song "Mamae coragem," by Caetano Veloso and Torquato Neto, uses sirens, another symbol of police and military presence. The integration of sounds into the music was an innovation of "Sergeant Pepper's"[250] (although this also can be argued as not a novelty, since French

[248] Naves, 56

[249] Interview Veloso 2008

[250] Naves, 51

composer Erik Satie had recorded a fire-truck siren on his piano piece "Parade," in 1917).[251]

Since the censorship prevented the open expression of protest ideas, language and music are often combined to reinforce one another in Tropicalia works. In "Enquanto seu lobo nao vem," Caetano Veloso makes a musical allusion to the communist hymn "The International." "Paisagem util" (Useful Landscape), was written by Veloso as a parodic response to the song "Inutil paisagem" (Useless Landscape) composed by Tom Jobim in 1964. Veloso mocks again the melancholic and bourgeois (urban upper-class) "sun, sea, romance" bossa nova atmosphere by changing it into the "furious and vibrant" spirit of his own song.[252]

The controversial "Geleia geral" (General Jelly) by Gil and Torquato incorporated an excerpt from a nineteenth century opera by Brazilian composer Carlos Gomes. In the song, the words, "brutalidade jardim" (brutality garden), are actually a quote from a 1924 novel by de Andrade, and the use of those words is very intriguing, as they do not follow the Portuguese syntax (Jardim da brutalidade,) but rather an English one. As Dunn explains, this title specifically refers to the attempt of the dictatorship to make Brazil look like a "peaceful garden," when, at the same time, it was "brutally suppressing its opposition.[253]" The use of the English syntax may also refer to U.S. involvement in Brazilian affairs.

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[251] Erik Satie, *Complete works for piano four hands,* Duo Campion-Vachon, Analekta, Fleur de Lys, 1995, FL 2 3040

[252] Naves, 53

[253] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 97

The public at first reacted with hostility to the tropical provocations. In 1968, Veloso presented his new song "E proibido proibir" (It's Forbidden to Forbid), written after the French student slogan of May 1968. Veloso appeared on stage with Os Mutantes dressed in plastic clothes; during the performance, they were booed and the audience threw eggs and tomatoes on stage, so that they could not finish the song. Veloso responded with an improvised and now historic speech where he yelled at the public: "So, this is the youth that want to take over politics? (…) Si voces, em politica, forem como sao em estetica, estamos feitos![254]" (If you deal with politics like you deal with art, we are finished!).

"Tropicalia, ou Panis et Circensis"

> "In its manifesto album *Tropicalia ou Panis et Circensis*, Tropicalia compared the pop music industry and its festivals at the time of the military regime to the Roman circus. It rejected the instrumentalization of culture for leftist political ends and embraced an anarchic identity whose most iconoclastic expressions were the adoption of kitsch and, as elsewhere in the world, the staging of black power and androgyny. The atypical language of Tropicalia was defined in the first tropicalist recording.[255]"

"Tropicalia, ou panis et circensis," album manifesto of Tropicalia was recorded in 1967 by Os Mutantes, Gil, Veloso, Tom Ze, Gal Costa (b.1945), Nara Leao, and poets Capinam (b.1941) and Torquato Neto (1944-1972). The "bright, psychedelic, self-referential" cover of the album, designed by Rogerio Duarte is a group photo and figures a parody of a "bourgeois family" posing for the picture (with Rogerio Duprat holding a chamber pot as if it were a tea cup.) Beyond the parody, it announces the bold mix of genres which was going to be Tropicalia's signature style.

[254] Ibid, 136 and Calado 1999, 3

[255] Sovik, 115

Figure 16. The cover of the album "Tropicalia ou Panis et Circenses," (left) with enlargement (right). Designed by Rogerio Duarte. (Baker, 26)

The title of the album "Panis et circenses," (from the Classic poet Juvenal[256]) is a cry of despair to the middle-class, stuck in unconscious mediocrity:

> "I tried to sing my illuminated song
> I unfurled the sails over the masts in the air
> I set free the lions and the tigers in the backyard
> But the people in the dining room are busy being born and dying[257]"

The title presented deliberate linguistic anomalies. First, the word "Tropicalia,"

[256] Critical author from Rome who lived between the first and the second centuries (note of author)

[257] Veloso and Gil 1967, "Panis et circenses," Os Mutantes, *Everything Is Possible*, liner notes by David Byrne, 1999, Luaka Bop, 68089-90036-2

(which did not really exist in the Brazilian language), refers to an idea of the tropics, and something tropical, or exotic. Then, “Panis et circensis” means “bread and circus” in Latin, translated in English as “bread and games.” The short word *ou* is the same in French and Portuguese and means “or”. Is Caetano Veloso referring here to the exploitation of the European empires (Dutsch, Portuguese, French, British), which took turns over the centuries invading and pillaging the tropical colonies? The album's lyrics give a metaphorical answer, using the “kaleidoscopic language,” which was necessary to deceive the censorship:[258]

> “Walking against the wind, without a handkerchief and without documents (I.D.),
> In the sun of almost December, I go
> The sun scatters in spaceships, guerillas,
> In beautiful cardinals, I go
> In president's faces, in great love kisses
> In teeth, legs, flags, bombs and Brigitte Bardot
> The sun on the newsstands
> Fills me with happiness and laziness
> Who reads so much news, I go...”
>
> “Alegria, alegria,” Veloso [259]

The handkerchief Veloso mentions at the beginning of “Alegria, Alegria” (Joy, Joy) represents the scarf or handkerchief carried by students during demonstrations to protect themselves against the tear gas used against them by the police. The allusion actually pays homage to the student demonstrations in France of May 1968.[260] When Veloso performed the song for the first time in October 1967, he sung with the Beat Boys, a rock group from Argentina. He was booed by the audience who did not understand the music nor the “fragmented imagery” of the lyrics which encouraged disrespect for the law.[261]

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[258] Favaretto, 20

[259] Caetano Veloso, “Alegria, alegria,” Tropicalia Essentials, Hipo 314 546392 2, 1968

[260] Interview Veloso 2008

[261] Gilman, 4

Tropicalia was a reaction against the "bottled smile[262]" imposed on the arts during the dictatorship. Commenting on artistic repression, Naves gives an interesting insight on Levi-Strauss' concept of the human intelligence, which tends to act either "like an engineer," or like "a bricoleur.[263]" For Naves, the attitude of the engineer, who can build from logical knowledge but not from imagination, was typical of the arts encouraged by the Brazilian dictatorship.

In "Divinho Marvilhoso" (Divine, Wonderful), Veloso and Gil clearly refer to the samba heritage and the daily life of the militant student:

> "Be careful of the delirious samba
> Be careful, everything is dangerous
> Be careful of the high windows
> Be careful when stepping on the mangrove asphalt
> Be careful with the blood on the floor
> You need to be alert and strong
> We don't have time to fear death ...
> Be careful, everything is dangerous."
>
> "Divinho Marvilhoso." Costa, Gil, Veloso.[264]

"Lindoneia," sung by Nara Leao, "muse" of the bossa nova movement, Veloso describes police repression:[265]

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[262] Tom Ze, quoted in Naves, 52

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[263] Naves, 3 (in French in the text, note of author)

[264] Costa, Gil, Veloso, 'Divinho Marvilhoso,' Tropicalia Essentials, Hipo 314 546392 2, 1968

[265] Weinoldt, "40 Years Off Key, The Bunker of Nara Leao," Brazzil Magazine, December 1998, 8 of 18 <brazil.com/cvrdec98.htm>

"Smashed, runned over, dead dogs in the streets
Police on the look out, the sun shining on the fruits
Bleeding, ai, my love
The loneliness will kill me of pain" "Lindoneia," Veloso [266]

The religious and philosophical quest is an underlying theme in Tropicalia's social investigation. In "Procissao" (Procession), Gilberto Gil openly questions Christianity and the Catholic Church:

"I am also in Jesus' side, but I think he forgot
To tell us what on earth we have
To find a place to live
Many people are amazed in being God
And promise so many things in the hinterland

That he will give a dress to Maria, and a field to Joao
Years come and go, and nothing comes
My hinterland keeps giving to God
But if there is Jesus in the firmament
This has to stop here on earth." "Procissao," Gilberto Gil[267]

The mix of the old and the new is also obvious in Veloso's "Paisagem util," as he combines the scary (American and capitalist) blue moon of Esso gas station with a romantic description of Rio de Janeiro. It opens with an ideal image of blue ocean, blue skies and flamengos on an ever-new born day in Rio where "the automobiles seem to fly." Then, unexpectedly Veloso brings in the picture the blue moon of Esso, almost like an opponent of Rio's bright sun:

"Suddenly it lights up and hovers
High in the sky a moon, a red and blue oval
High in the sky over Rio

An oval moon of Esso
Inspires and illuminates the kiss
Oh, the poor, sad, happy loving hearts of our Brazil."
"Paisagem util," Veloso.[268]

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[266] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 116

[267] Gil, "Procissao," Tropicalia Essentials, Hipo 314 546392 2, 1967

[268] Veloso, "Paisagem util," Tropicalia Essentials, Hipo 314 546 392 2, 1968

When Veloso recorded the song "Tropicalia" in 1967, by a spontaneous act of serendipity which had become typical in Tropicalist meetings, the drummer Dirceu started to recite the opening of Pedro Vaz de Caminha's letter to the king: "The Brazilian land was so green and fertile that everything one plants in it, everything grows and flourishes…" Dirceu was joking, unaware that he was being recorded, and his inspiration of the moment was kept on the final recording of the song. The song "Tropicalia," with its playful syllables, contains a dozen semantic components:[269]

"Sobre a cabeza os avioes	("Above my head the soaring planes
So os meus pes os caminhoes	Below my feet the trucks and trains
Aponta contra os chapadoes meu nariz	My nose head on with the highlands
Eu organizo o movimento	I lead the movement
Eu orineto o carnaval	I direct the carnival,
Eu inauguro o monumento no	I unveil the monument in my
Planalto central do pais."	Homeland's central plain.")

Refrain (varies): Viva a bossa-sa-sa, viva a palho-ca-ca-ca-ca
Viva maria-ia-ia, viva a bahia-ia-ia-ia-ia
Viva iracema-ma-ma, viva ipanema-ma-ma-ma-ma
Viva a banda-da-da, Carmen Miranda-da-da-da-da

The monument and the central plain are allusions to the new Capital, Brasilia, symbol of the modern Brazil dreamt by the previous President Jucelino Kubitscheck (1955-1960?) In the refrain, after the images of bossa nova, grass shacks and Carmen Miranda, "Viva Maria" is a reference to the movie by French director Louis Malle; *ia* also means mother in Yoruba; Ipanema is not only the famous beach, but also means "bad water" in Guarani; Dada does not only refer to the Dada movement, but is also the name of a character in the movie "Black God, White Devil.[270]" The song was concluded

[269] Veloso, Tropical Truth, 117-8

[270] A.H. Weiler, "Black God, White Devil From Brazil" (New York Times review, 09/25/1971), Pp1-2

by singer Roberto Carlos (b.1941) screaming: "Que tudo o mais va pro inferno!" (To hell with everything!).

Gil wrote a parody of another piece of Brazilian literature. In the poem "Cancao do exilio" (Song of the Exile), by romantic poet, A.G. Dias. Instead of the original text "My land has palm trees, and you can hear the wind whispering in their leaves," Gil writes:

> "My land has palm trees, where strong winds blow,
> Of hunger and great fear, mostly of death…
>
> The bomb explodes outside, now I have fear
> Oh yes we have bananas
> Even to give away and sell.[271]"

The bomb here refers to the military terror imposed in Brazil and other South American countries (i.e. Chili, Bolivia), and Gil also makes a satirical allusion to Carmen Miranda's bananas (on her hat and in her songs). It is likely that he was referring also to the Chiquita bananas sold by the American United Fruit Company. The cynicism here illustrates the mimetic approach of primitive tribes, "the capacity to mime and mime well, in other words, the capacity to Other.[272]"

Imitating the way Amerindians, especially Tupi Indians, absorbed alien influences, Tropicalia introduced a new way to "devour" foreign culture. For example in the song "Soy loco por ti America" (I am Crazy About You America), written by Gil and Capinam in *portunhol*, the lyrics are mixed in a sort "collage" of Spanish and Portuguese while the music mixes rhythms of Cuban *mambo* and Columbian *combia*.[273] "El nombre del hombre muerto" (the dead man's name), refers to the Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara,

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[271] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 119-20

[272] Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity, a Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 19

[273] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 118

murdered by the Bolivian army in 1967. Under the dictatorship, the press was forbidden in Brazil to pronounce his name, therefore Gil and Capinan simply called him the "dead man." The whole song pays a disguised tribute to Che Guevara and Latin American solidarity, while implying a criticism of U.S. imperialism:

> "Soy loco por ti America, soy loco por ti de amores (Spanish)
> El nombre del hombre muerto, ya no se puede dicirlo
>
> Quem sabe, antes que o dia arrebente, (Portuguese)
> El nombre del hombre muerto, antes que a definitiva noite
> Se espalhe em Latino America, el nombre del hombre es pueblo[274]"

Os Mutantes

> "Risk is exactly what the artists did in the late 1960s Brazil. Tropicalismo was more than a revolt against the military dictatorship.[275]"

Tropicalia is often translated by "Tropicalism," but again, like the dadaists of the 1920s, tropicalists rejected "isms." Gil and Veloso ignored and crossed over "the limits of cultural transgression," when in 1968, they opened a show in Rio with the psychedelic rock trio "Os Mutantes" (The Mutants). They were dressed in black and green pieces of plastic and played truncated fragments of the Brazilian national hymn between their rock songs. The backdrop, by Helio Oitica, represented the portrait of the well-known bandit, Cara de Cavalho, with a sign that red: "Seja Marginal, Seja Heroi!" (Live outside the box, be a hero!).[276] Parody and pastiche in Tropicalia were meant to be corrosive, but the tradition is always mocked with a gentle spirit. Nevertheless, these "anarchic attitudes,"

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[274] Favaretto, 172

[275] Gilman, 3

[276] Interview Veloso 2008 (For more insight about Oiticica's work, see Dunn 2001, 84; note of author)

full of moral and political ambiguities, were a direct threat to the Castello-Branco regime.[277]

Figure 17. Os Mutantes, then and now. Clockwise from bottom: the original band members in the early sixties, from the cover of the 1995 book A Divina Comedia dos Mutantes (Calado); posing in 1967 for a postcard titled "Beatles Brasilieros" (Brazilan Beatles) modeled from a popular and similar picture done by the British rock group The Beatles (Calado, 168); press clipping from a recent tour to the U.S. (Braz, 32).

Os Mutantes were frequently called the "Brazilian Beatles.[278]" Rita Lee (b. 1947), Arnaldo Baptista (b.1948) and his brother Sergio Dias (b. 1951), were the original Mutantes. They first appeared on TV shows in Sao Paulo, and in 1967 won second place in a national music festival where they played with Gilberto Gil. After recording "Panis et Circensis," they played in France in 1969 and in 1970, went back to record

[277] Naves, 56

[278] Carlos Calado 1995, *A Divinia Comedia dos Mutantes* (Sao Paulo: Editira 34 Ltda), 168

"Technicolor," an album released only in 2000. The three musicians had received piano, violin, trumpet and flute education as teenagers, and Arnaldo and Sergio's mother was a famous concert pianist in Sao Paulo.[279] This (partially) explains how Os Mutantes with only three musicians were able to produce the sound volume of a full rock band while using an unusually diverse instrumentation.

The lyrical and musical creativity of Os Mutantes is the object of an entire book.[280] In the song "Top Top" (pronounced "topi topi" in Brazilian), Os Mutantes also quote "Tupi or not Tupi" of Oswald de Andrade (see page xx).[281] The sensuous singing style evokes a definite sexual content related to instinctive impulses, and certainly related to primitive perceptions and primitive sources.

Tropicalia wanted not only to revive the indigenous origins of Brazil, but also its African heritage. The use of tribal or African chants is present in almost all of Gilberto Gil's songs. "Bat Macumba," composed in 1967, and recorded on the first Tropicalia' album with Os Mutantes, mixes Afro-Brazilian rhythms and konga drums with a parody of concrete poetry. The joke is based on the phrase "batmacumba ie-ie - batmacum baoba." Three semantic units are juxtaposed here: the comics character of Batman, the Brazilian rock onomatopoeia "ie,ie,ie," (which reads in English "yeah, yeah, yeah") and *macumba* which refers to an Afro-Brazilian ritual.[282] A fundamental idea of Tropicalia is expressed in this song, which far from rejecting any of those influences,

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[279] Calado 1995, *A Divinia Comedia dos Mutantes*, 27

[280] Carlos Calado 1995, *A Divinia Comedia dos Mutantes* (Sao Paulo: Editira 34 Ltda)

[281] "Os Mutantes" Novo Millenium 73145382412

[282] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 93

wants to embrace them and merge them into a new Brazilian identity. "Ex-Mutante" Rita lee declared in an interview:

> "Tropicalia was a tattoo for the rest of your life, the musical playground where I learned to write in Portuguese, to sing in Spanish, to play in English, to dance in African, and to compose in Esperanto.[283]"

"Tom Ze, the Zenial[284]"

"I don't make art, I make spoken and sung journalism[285]"

The liner notes of Tom Ze's first solo album in 1966 open with these words: "We are unhappy people, bombarded with happiness," referring to the atmosphere of brainwashing imposed on Brazilian people, 'forced' to be happy.[286]" An early tropicalist from Sao Paulo, Tom Ze (b. 1936) has been engaged in social activism in Brazil since the beginning of his career in the 1960s. Often considered the most marginal of Tropicalia musicians, Ze envisioned in the 1960s how the corporate world was going to take over the planet's economy and by extension, some of people's freedom and creativity.

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[283] Gilman, 3

[284] Article title in the French magazine, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, in de Melho 2005

[285] Suza Homem de Melho, "Tom Ze, Estudando o Pagode," Trama.com, March 2005

[286] Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*, 106

Figure 18. Cover of Tom Ze's 2003 book Tropicalista Lenta Luta (Slow Tropicalist Fight) (upper left), and the liner notes from his 1998 album "Fabrication Defect."

One of Tom Ze's special contributions to Tropicalia comes from his musical training at the Music College of Bahia where he studied composition and harmony while playing piano and cello with Professor Walter Smetak. He also worked with Ernst Widmer (1927-1990) and German avant-guard composer H.J. Koellreuter (b.1915) who had been a student of Stockhausen in Germany, with tropicalist maestro-conductor, Rogerio Duprat (1932-2006).[287] Ze brought trends of modern erudite music to the group of young tropicalists who had already met in Bahia. Veloso, Gil, Gal Costa, Maria Bethania (b. 1946) and the three Mutantes were experimenting mixing psychedelic rock with Brazilian root music, while studying at the Federal University of Sao Paulo.[288] Their first music-

[287] de Melho, 1; coincidentally, Duprat worked with Frank Zappa who was studying with Stockhausen at the same time, Cardoso, 1 of 3

[288] de Melho, 3

theatre shows in Salvador were “Nos, Por Exemplo,” (Us, for Example) and “Velha Bossa Nova e Nova Bossa Velha,” (Old New Beat and New Old Beat). In the song “Parque Industrial,” Tom Ze quotes the Brazilian national hymn, while the words explain:

> “We have the bottled smile, it already comes ready and at a fixed price,
> Just reheat and use, just reheat and use, because it's ma- ma- made in Brazil.[289]”

Ze, like Duarte, almost disappeared from the public scene from the 1970s to the 1990s. His meeting with David Byrne, music producer and ex-member of the North-American band Talking Heads, made Tom Ze come out of the shadow. His 1999 recording, “Com Defeito de Fabricacao” (Fabrication Defect), and his 2006 “Estudando Do Pagode” (Study of the Pagode), are obvious tropicalist creations, charged with political criticism and musical irony. Following a mimetic attitude-with-a-political-consciousness, he explains on the jacket of the 1999 CD his “Esthetics of Plagiarism,” “We are at the end of the composer’s era, inaugurating the plagi-combinator era.” For Ze, artists now only have a choice between natural tropicalism (hybrid creativity), or mediocre mimesis:

> “The Third World has a huge and rapidly increasing population. These people have been converted into a kind of “android,” almost always analphabetic. It has happened here in Brazil, in the slums of Rio, Sao Paulo and the Northeast of Brazil, and in the Third World in general. But these “androids” reveal some inborn “defects”: They think, dance and dream, things that are very dangerous to the Third World bosses. Let me explain: In the eyes of the First World, we in the Third World who think these things, and who explore our reality on the planet, are like “androids” who are essentially defective. To have ideas, to compose, for instance is to dare. In the dawn of history, the idea of gathering vegetable fibers and inventing the art of weaving took great courage. To think will always be considered an effrontery.”
>
> “Com Defeito de Fabricacao[290]”

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[289] Naves, 52

[290] “Com Defeitos de Fabricacao, Fabrication Defect,” Liner Notes, Produced by David Byrne (Luaka Bop 68089 90033-2), 1

Linguistics of "Post"-Tropicalia

> "In the Mid-1970s, the national debt reached alarming proportions in Brazil and the inflation took off. Social movements which had been questioned in the 1960s revived in new forms.[291]"

After 1968, the repression was so intense in Brazil that the next five years became labelled *sufoco* (suffocation). Many college professors and artists were exiled and many people were tortured. In the 1970s, the censorship refused many of the songs written in Brazil and musicians had to disguise their lyrics with enough metaphor to make them sound perfectly ordinary.[292] When Gil and Veloso returned from London in 1972, "they returned as heroes, surrounded by the love of the people and the permanent vigilance of the police."[293] Unable to address the political situation in a direct fashion, Gil was one of the first artists to embrace the cause of black Brazilians and roots revival, paving the way for future movements like the reggae, mangue-beat and hip-hop movements. While the experiment of "Matbacumba," which was politically fairly mild, still had gotten Gil exiled in the 1960s, in the 1990s he was free to integrate the African pantheon, native Yoruban and Amerindian names in his poetry.

Gilberto Gil

Gil grew up in Bahia, the center of black culture in Brazil, and the first characteristic of his lyrics in Brazil's democracy of the 1990s, is the constant reference to his Afro-Brazilian roots, religion and culture. The words *orixas*, *xango*, *oxum*, *exu*, which are

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[291] Manning, introduction

[292] Christopher Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden,* 149

[293] Jorge Amado 1993, *The War of the Saints*, translated from the Portuguese by Gregory Rabassa (New York: Bantam Books), 225

deities of the *candomble* rituals, have quickly become familiar to the secular listener, as they are repeated in many of the songs. Gil, in this way, pays a tribute to the African-Yoruban ancestors of the Brazilian people:

> "When the agogo will sound
> The sound of iron upon iron
> It will be like the cry of the lamb
> Bleeding in harmony to the great Egum."
>
> "Serafim," Gil[294]

The social and political context is also underlying right below the surface of the poetry, like in "Where the Baiao[295] Comes From":

> "Underneath … the Mud of the ground
> The dance floor A sigh of energy
> Sustained by a divine breath (...)
> Where does the Baiao come from?
> It comes from underneath
> The mud of the ground, From where does it come
> Xote and Xaxado, It comes from under
> The mud of the ground, Where hope comes from
> The energy spreading out of, The green of your eyes
> Throughout the farmlands, Oh, oh, from under the mud of the ground."
>
> "Where the Baiao Comes From," Gil[296]

In Tropicalist writings, the reverence of the survival of ancient traditions is often reinforced by the anger and the sadness caused by the damage done to the people and the land by the colonizer:

> "I wanna be your funk
> Funk of your samba,
> Funk of your choro
> Rio de Janeiro,
> Pretty Guanabara,
> Those who saw you first went nuts
> Chiefs araribaoia who used to walk
> From Arararuama to Itaipava
> Never stopped adoring you,

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[294] Gilberto Gil, 'Serafim', Parabolic, Tropical Storm, 76292-2, 1992

[295] Music and dance style from northeastern Brazil (note of author)

[296] Gil, 'Parabolic', Tropical Storm, 76292-2, 1992

> Then they made you into a city
> They did so many bad things,
> And built a Christ to save you
> Funk of the ghetto,
> Funk of help
> That the abandoned street child expects from someone."
>
> "I Wanna be Your Funk," Gil, Ze and Liminha[297]

Gil's socio-cultural ideal is summarized in the integration of the global and the local, which he calls "glocalisation." This concept includes the tropicalist idea of reconciliation between "the forest and the school," the allegory used by poet Oswald de Andrade, who like Levi-Strauss, highlighted the difference between intuitive and academic knowledge.[298] The globalization of cultures and the assimilation or extinction of tradition is also expressed in "Parabolicamara" (a play on word between the name of satellite dish in Brazilian, and the name of a plant in the Northeast).[299] The world of instant communication and fast traveling clashes with the reality of the poor who live on dirt floors with no running water.

> "Long long ago the world was small because the earth was large
> Today the world is very large because the earth is so small
> The size of a satellite dish."
>
> "Parabolicamara," Gil[300]

The sound of the traditional *berimbau* seems to mark and divide the eternal time in the song. The concept of "what goes around comes around" (sung several times in the song), is frequently referred to in the tropicalist works.

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[297] Ibid

[298] Dunn 2001, Brutality Garden, 15-16

[299] Gilberto Gil, "Parabolic" (Liminha 76292-2, 1991), 2

[300] Ibid

Illustrating the idea of digesting cultures, Tropicalia includes Eastern religions, Zen principles, and Hindu philosophy, as part of its own creative process. Gil himself started to study eastern spirituality when he was jailed by the Castello-Branco regime in 1968, and has remained an adept of meditation and non-violence as a daily way of life.[301]

Another tropicalist example of cultural assimilation and re-invention of the language, is the song "Fate," where Gil uses the verb "to caetanar," which does not belong to the Brazilian dictionary, but is simply built on Caetano Veloso's name. The liner notes specify its meaning: "to do something like Caetano Veloso, foremost Brazilian composer.[302]" In other places, the language is used in a purely surrealistic way, associating words and ideas that are usually not found together:

> "Vick vapor rub slow anesthesia
> Chile pepper in a styrofoam bottle
> Xuxa Witch Gold of alchemy."
>
> "Snow in Bahia," Gil[303]

A recent trend in Brazil, since the election of the new president, Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva in 2001, shows an innovative cultural strategy, which now uses an almost tropicalist dialectic: "to make politics poetically, or to make poetry with a political consciousness.[304]" For Gilberto Gil, now minister of culture in Brazil since 2003, the two

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[301] Gil, while in jail, got acquainted with the police chief of Bahia, who had similar oriental tastes, and for this reason, he helped Gil and Veloso get released and exiled (note of author, see Veloso 1997, 262)

[302] Gil, 'Parabolic', Tropical Storm, 76292-2, 1992

[303] Ibid, "Snow in Bahia"

[304] "Fazer politica poeticamente e poetar politicament," Gil in "Eu Tenho um Sonho, Die Zeit, 07/28/2005, 2 of 4

idioms are not contradictory. “Politicians can be poets and vice and versa.” Politics is a fight, but it becomes a fight using balance and art, like martial arts.[305]

Consequences of Tropicalia

For Caetano Veloso, Tropicalia created important consequences more than specific influences.[306] One of these consequences is that “there is from now on the pre-Tropicalia and the post-Tropicalia periods in the history of popular music in Brazil.[307]” Music critics also agree that even-though Tropicalia lasted officially from 1967 to 1969, “it did change forever the face of MPB (Musica Popular Brazileira).[308]” Reflecting on the multiple administrative obstacles encountered during his extended trips in Brazil in the 1940s and 50s, Claude Levi-Strauss had concluded: “Everywhere the atmosphere is becoming equally oppressive.[309]”

Minister of culture and *sambista*, Gilberto Gil, fifty years later, presents a symmetrically opposite view of the world and humanity: “Brazil, on today’s map of the world, offers a new model: through the broadcasting of a universal music, which combines uniformity with an eloquent presence of the local dimension and diversity. This “glocalization” is the horizon towards which humanity is walking.[310]” Nevertheless, Gil’s

[305] Robert Stam in his article “Tropicalia and the Aesthetics of Garbage” comments about the parallel between Tropicalia and jujitsu, both sharing “the trait of turning strategic weakness into tactical strength;” Robert Stam, “Tropical Detritus: *Terra em Transe*, Tropicalia and the Aesthetics of Garbage.” *Studies in Latin-American Popular Culture*, Vol. 19(Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000), 84 (83-92)

[306] Veloso Interview 2008

[307] Delfino, 113

[308] Weinholdt, 10

[309] Levi-Strauss, 36

[310] Gil 2005, Le Figaro, 1

optimism is somewhat darkened by the class and racial inequality denounced in Carnival songs like the following one, which won first prize in the Rio Carnival contest in 1986:

> "The black race came to this country, bringing their strong arms and their roots.
> They planted their culture
> Here, Yoruba, Gege and Nago.
> In the refineries, mines and fields, blacks were always oppressed,
> And in the rebel enclave of Palmares, Zumbi our leader fought for freedom.
> Finally light dawned, reason prevailed, and Princess Isabel abolished slavery.
> Or did she? Is it true, is it a lie? Because to be born with a black skin
> Has not given us the right to equality. One hundred years of liberty:
> Is this reality or illusion? Let's all wave our white handkerchiefs
> And with *Mangueira* ask for an end to discrimination.
> Throw of the ties that bind! Please give people their freedom![311]"

Even though Tropicalia was a brief moment in Brazilian history,[312] it inspired political and cultural transformations, visible in twenty first century Brazil:

> « Au temps du tropicalisme, nous avions une idée, une ambition, un reve, que j'ai la chance de voir s'accomplir aujourd'hui: la possibilite que notre culture et notre nation s'imposent au monde non comme une puissance classique mais comme une force d'integration et de rapprochement. »
>
> ("In the days of Tropicalism, we had an idea, an ambition, a dream that I feel lucky I am able to see come true today: the possibility that our culture and our nation can impose themselves on the world, not as a traditional power, but as a force of integration and coming together.[313]")

In the 1960s, when the fight for racial equality and Afro-Brazilian culture was initiated by Gil and Tom Ze, MPB musicians affiliated with the Workers Party and CPCs (Centers for Popular Culture) played an important role in the protest for social justice, but the wholistic message (including politicics, humanism and spirituality) that Tropicalia infused in the society and the individual, seems to have been the most pervading in Brazil. It certainly influenced politics in the establishment of a liberal government.

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[311] "Randy's Song," in Guillermprieto, 20

[312] "The tropicalist moment" is the title of chapter three in C.Dunn's book, *Brutality Garden*

[313] Gil, Le Figaro, 07/13/2005, translated in English by author from the French (Gilberto Gil, like many educated people in Brazil, speaks French fluently)

Caetano Veloso declared: "It began with Fernando Ricardos, who was President before Lula. In the 80s, if you would have said to a left wing intellectual, that in a few years, we were going to be led politically first by Fernando Ricardos for eight years, then for eight years by Lula, the other one would say, 'you are dreaming too hard, that's too good to be true, that will never happen!'[314]"

The impact of Tropicalia on Brazilian arts has also been significant; Nelson Motta, who was a music journalist under the dictatorship, wrote about Caetano Veloso in 1993: "Caetano was a liberator of Brazilian art. He enabled each generation to follow its own path, avant-guard music, rock, pop, classical, traditional. He gave new values to each style of music.[315]"

Veloso has produced many young Brazilian artists like Virginia Rodrigues, whose recordings celebrate the *candomble* tradition in Afro-sambas, often sung in Yoruba language. Veloso has also recorded with numerous classical musicians, among which guitarist Paulo Bellinati (b.1950), composer and University Professor in Sao Paulo, who has taken an active part in the revival of the music traditions of Brazil[316].

Brazilian scholar, Liv Sovik, asserts that Tropicalia, born in 1966, became part of the Brazilian canonical culture when it was commemorated in 1996 in Sao Paulo, as the

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[314] Interview Caetano Veloso 2008, 134

[315] WGBH, "Americas: Builders of Images (writers, artists and popular culture)." *Americas*, Vol. 7(WGBH / Boston, and Central Television Enterprises For Channel 4, U.K. 1993), Video recording, Interview Caetano Veloso

[316] Paulo Bellinatti 1997, Liner notes, "Aristocratica" and "Tom e Preludio," (Sao Paulo: GSP Publications) These two pieces are included in the performance part of this project (note of author)

city's Carnival theme. It was then celebrated as a "necessary reference point in Brazilian cultural identity discourse (…) and a vital part of Brazil's cultural heritage.[317]"

A three-month commemoration exhibit hosted Tropicalia artifacts at the Barbican Arts Center in London, England, from February to May 2006. British press reviews wecolmed this "salute to Brazil's 1960s multi-disciplinary movement"[318] with applause:

> "This is a timely exhibition. Whatever else it was or wasn't. Tropicalia was an engine of creativity. It had spirit, it was sensual and intelligent, for all the embarrassment of the period. Sitting watching early concert footage of Gil and Caetano, or excerpts from their short-lived TV series, one gets an impression of a less-media-and-market driven age, before culture became an industry. An errant art meant something in the late-1960s. Nowadays, there's only the market, and dictatorships by different names.[319]"

The Telegraph newspaper concluded: "For all its confusions, Tropicalia has proven immensely influencial.[320]"

Post-tropicalia Social Programs

In 2003, the Lula government established unusual social programs in accordance with the tropicalist rejection of corporate imperialism and encroachment on Brazilian economics. For example, one of these programs, designed to reduce poverty and hunger problems in Brazil, is called "Fome Zero" (Zero Hunger). It is financed by new taxes on international financial transactions and taxes on weapon trade. In 2005, the government also created the National Fund for Social Housing in order to finance the renovation of the *favelas*. On a larger scale, since 1991, Brazil has been leading the development of a

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[317] Sovik, 113

[318] Serena Davies, "Brazil psycheledic dream," the Telegraph, 02/21/06, 2 of 2 < telegraph.co.uk/core/Content/displayPrintable.jhtml:jsessionid=KQS5Li2VGFOBDQFIQMGS>

[319] Adrian Searle 2006, "Watch the birdy," The Guardian 02/21/2006, 2 of 2 <arts.guardian.co.uk/print/0,,329417055-110428,00.html>

[320] Davies, "Brazil Psychedelic Dream,"2

South American common market called Mercosud, (Market-south), equivalent of the European economic system.[321]

[321] Ambassade du Bresil en France (bresil.org)

CONCLUSION

"My role is to change people's mind"
Caetano Veloso[322]

The active participation and actual influence of musicians and writers in the life and struggles of the lower class people in Brazilian society is a socio-cultural element of importance. From the 1928 "Anthropophagite Manifesto" of Oswald de Andrade to the protest songs of Chico Buarque in the 1970s and the pro-black roots lyrics of Gilberto Gil in the 1990s, there has been a continuous involvement of popular music in the evolution of politics and the media in Brazilian society.

During a 2005 visit, the Brazil minister of culture Gilberto Gil gave a lecture at the Wheeler Auditorium in Berkeley on the theme of "Contemporary Brazilian culture.[323]" He explained the need to give to "the economic dimension of culture as much importance as to the cultural dimension of the economy." For once in Brazil, an intellectual with a social praxis has achieved a governmental position where he can implement social ideas about art *and* justice. This parallel development of economy, culture and social justice was common to the 1960s messages of Paulo Freire and Tropicalia. Just like the literacy revolution started by Freire in the late fifties achieved worldwide repercussions on teachers, intellectuals and artists, the influence of Tropicalia can be felt in different spheres of present Brazilian society.

Gilberto Gil typifies the tropicalist idea of direct assimilation and transmission of culture. By advocating social justice, Tropicalia wanted to make critical thinking and

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[322] Liana Alagemovits 1997, "Firebrand Extraordinaire, Caetano Veloso, always a provocateur" (Brazilian Press), *Brazzil Magazine* June 1997, 1

[323] Quoted in Charles Perrone, 'Bananas, Beats, Bossas,' *Hemisphere:*A *magazine of the Americas* (summer 2005), 15 http://webcast.berkeley.edu/events (02107105)

creativity a means of popular expression and a part of people's lives. Tropicalists were aware that even if for the poor, "lack of food and lack of style can hardly be of the same order of inconvenience," well fed or even literate people who lack critical thinking do not achieve real freedom;[324] therefore Tropicalists fought for a social awakening of all classes.

Without pushing a xenophobic agenda, Tropicalists manipulated the Portuguese language ("so many are the admirers who were conquered by the sonorous magic of the word sung in the Brazilian way,[325]") combining it with French, English, or Spanish idioms. Beyond a simple parody, the tropicalist deconstruction or reconstruction of words wanted to reinforce the trans-cultural power of artistic expression, and the actual unity of the human condition.[326]

The devouring cultural strategy of Tropicalia, in its blending of tradition and innovation, was summarized by Oswald de Andrade: "We were never catechized. Instead, we celebrated carnival.[327]" After the bossa nova movement had established a link between Brazilian music and literature, Tropicalia digested bossa nova, Afro-samba and counter-culture rock, blending artistic and social justice inquiries.

It is still premature to objectively estimate the scope of influence of Tropicalia, whether cultural or political; Caetano Veloso prefers to talk about the many

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[324] Roberto Schwartz 1992. "Culture and Politics in Brazil, 1964-1969." *Misplaced Ideas, Essay on Brazilian Culture*. London: Verso, 143

[325] Mario de Andrade added: "Brazilian popular music is the most complete, most totally national, most powerful creation of our race so far" (Dunn 2001, *Brutality Garden*), 23

[326] Perrone and Dunn, "Chiclete com Banana, Internationalization in Brazilian Popular Music," 2

[327] Naves, 12

"consequences" of Tropicalia, rather than its "influences.[328]"As "all times of upheaval begin as surprises and end as clichés,[329]" Tropicalia's innovations of the 1960s might not be news on the twenty first century scene, but the language introduced by Tropicalia nevertheless did pave the way for cultural movements of protest in Brazil like hip-hop, rap and mangue beat which sprouted twenty and thirty years later.[330]

The proof that Tropicalia's spirit is alive and well is to be found in the strong reactions which the movement still provokes, whether from its defenders or from its detractors. A French author does not hesitate to open a paragraph on "Tropicalism" with the title "Le triomphe du mauvais gout" (the triumph of bad taste).[331] Caetano Veloso justifies the Tropicalist use of every possible artistic means in order to shock : "Tropicalism developed bad taste, because good taste limits a lot, it paralyses creativity.[332]"

The tropicalist leaders, Gil and Veloso are still confident in their mission of innovators. The CD jacket of Gil's last recording, "Gil Luminoso," opens with a quote of Veloso: "Gil walks in darkness, in the future, next to being.[333]" Mocking his own philosophical quest, Veloso writes further: "Gil believes in God, I believe in Gil."

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[328] Veloso 2008, interview, 129

[329] Tod Gitlin, *The Sixties, Years of Hope, Days Of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), xiii

[330] Dunn, 2001, "Tropicalia Truths," 5; Perrone 2000, "The Tropes of Tropicalia and Tropicalismo," 2

[331] Delfino 113

[332]Ibid

[333] Gilberto Gil 2006, "Gil Luminoso," Gege Producoes Artisiticas Ltda, August 2006

Brazilian Minister of Culture responds with no embarrassment that he considers himself as a composer, a musician and a member of the government, but above all, as a tropicalist, and still a rebel.[334]

According to Rogerio Duarte, the real Tropicalia has not happened yet.

Figure 19. The author with Rogerio Duarte (left, in Rio de Janeiro) and Caetano Veloso (right, in Salvador), December 2008.

[334] Gilberto Gil 2005, "Eu Tenho um Sonho," transcribed by Ralph Geisenhansluke, Die Zeit, 07/28/2005 http://www.gilbeto gil.com.br/sec_textos_view.php?id=94language_Id=1&print=1

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APPENDIX A

Glossary

GLOSSARY

(Sources: Amado 1971, 1993; Fryer 2000, Murphy 2006, Duarte Bezerra 2000)

Afoxe	Afro-Brazilian Carnival groups
Agogo	Double metal bell played in Carnival and *candomble* rites
Antropophagia	Cultural movement inaugurated in Brazil by poet Oswald de Andrade in his "Antropophagic Manifesto" of 1928 where he developed the theory of cultural cannibalism: the absorption of foreign culture instead of its rejection
Atabaque	Tall drum played in *candomble* rites
Axe	Samba mixed with Caribbean beats like reggae, calypso and meringue Northeast style (region of Bahia) with mostly percussion
Baiao	Ballad genre of the North of Brazil, played with accordions
Bahiana	Female born in the state of Bahia, Brazil.
Bamba	In samba, refers to outstanding performers
Batida	Guitar rhythm; roughly 'hitting'
Batucada	Northeast style (region of Bahia) with mostly percussion
Batuque	Earlier denomination for samba drumming. Also rhythm played with hand clapping and foot stomping
Berimbau	Word of unknown origin (also spelled *berimbao*, *birimbao*) used in Brazil for two musical instruments: a musical bow whose string passes through a gourd resonator held against the player's chest or stomach and is tapped with a small stick; and a form of jew's-harp
Bloco	Afro Carnival parading formation
Bumba-meu-boi	Traditional popular dance and pageant of Northeast Brazil
Branqueamento	Whitening theory. Racial philosophy initiated by Mario de Andrade and Gilberto Freyre in Brazil in the 1920s
Caboclo	Person of mixed white and Indian blood

Cachaca	White rhum, firewater; national alcoholic drink of Brazil
Capoeira	Afro-Brazilian martial arts first brought by African slaves
Carioca	Person born in the state of Rio de Janeiro
Cavaquinho	Small four-string guitar also called Brazilian ukulele
Caxambu	Earlier form of Afro-Brazilian dance closely associated with *jongo* (African worksong)
Chacona	One of the hybrid Atlantic dances brought back by the Spanish in the 16th C. Chaco is the name of the vast arid plain between Bolivia and Paraguay
Chócalho	Rattle (shaker) instrument of African or Tupi origin (under the name of maraca)
Choro	Mix of folklore and jazz like instrumental style (mixing *frevo, pagode* and more)
Condomble	West African religion (music and rituals) of Yoruba origin. Ritual music from the African *Ge-ge* and *Nago* religion (West Africa,) using three different *atabaques,* or beats (the *Rum, Rumpi* and the *Le,)* as well as pentatonic and hexatonic scales
Cumbia	Latin-American dance in 4/4 time, of African slave origins (and later mixed with Indigenous) populations on Colombia's Atlantic coast and characterized by short steps
Cururu	Amerindian dance of Tupi origin
Dada	African divinity (elder brother of Xango)
Escola de samba	Carnival paradingsamba formation, especially in Rio de Janeiro
Fado	Portuguese folk song influenced by Arabic music
Fandango	Old Spanish dance of the 17th C. in ¾ time, probably of Moorish origin, with breaks, and with guitar and castanets accompaniment
Favela	Brazilian shanty town / *S*lums on the hills of Rio
Forro	Mix of soul and funk music

Frevo	Marching band music with syncopation
Irmandades	African brotherhoods created by Jesuit priest in the 15th century in Spain and Portugal
Jacara	One of the hybrid Atlantic dances brought back by the Spanish in the 16th C.; is probably of Spanish origin (the city of Jaca is in N-E Spain, in the province of Aragon)
Jogo do Bicho	Unlawful lottery system very popular in Rio de Janeiro
Jongo	African worksongs performed in Brazil as a subtle form of protest singing. Also, name of African drum and rural samba from southeastern Brazil
Habanera	Cuban dance of Spanish origin in the late 1900s, which provided the basis of modern tango
Lundu	African dance and music from the Bantu region and Central Africa, very popular in Brazil from mid 18th to 19th century
Malendro	Unemployed urban 'hustler,' 'gangster'
Mambo	Means 'conversation with the gods.' Brought by African slaves, became popular as a dance in the 1940s, and in 1954 in the form of the 'cha-cha-cha'
Mangue-beat	Northeast style (region of Bahia) from the 1990s with mostly Percussion
Maxixe	Afro-Brazilian urban dance and music, closely associated with *lundu* and *batuque*. Inspired the early 20th century tango
Moda de viola	Guitar-accompanied rural folk-song
Modinha	'Little song,' a varied Luso-Brazilian popular song tradition
Morro	Hills; symbolic reference for shantytown residents
Orixas	African deities in Afro-Brazilian religions
Pagode	Samba with a predominance of percussion created in the 1980s in Rio de Janeiro's Zona Norte (poor Northern area)
Pandeiro	Tambourine played with a stick

Portunhol	Mix of Spanish and Portuguese; language invented by Tropicalia, similar to Esperanto in South America
Quilombos	Brazilian maroon communities
Reco-reco	Notched bamboo scraper
Roda de samba	Samba danced in a circle (*ring samba*)
Samba	Mix of *choro* and *frevo*. Musical composition and dance based on a 2/4 beat with interlocking rhythms
Samba-cancao	'Samba-song,' a commercial urban genre from the Golden Era of the 1930s-1950s
Samba-reggae	New style of samba developed in Salvador in the 1980s
Sambista	*Samba* player or composer
Sertoes	Inlands of Brazil, mostly poor, black and illiterate
Surdo	Deafening bass drum
Tambor	Drum used in jongo dance
Terreiro	Communal liturgical and cultural spaces for Afro-Brazilian practices
Tocotin	Of Aztec origins, is one of the hybrid Atlantic song-dances brought back by the Spanish in the 16th C.
Umbigada	Choregraphic gesture consisting in protruding the belly as a signal for the change of dance partner or of performer in the center of a *roda de samba*
Viola	Eight- to ten-string guitar
Violao	Six-string guitar
Vissungo	'Songs of power.' Work songs used by African slaves
Zarabanda	One of the hybrid Atlantic dances brought back by the Spanish in the 16th C. and described as indecent by many Europeans

APPENDIX B

A Brief History of Brazil

BRIEF HISTORY OF BRAZIL

THE DISCOVERY

During the 15th and 16th Century, Portugal, a kingdom of roughly one million inhabitants, felt trapped between Castilian enemies and the Atlantic. After many years of fight against the Moorish occupation, the Portuguese started to search for the road to the East, following the African coast from north to south.

In 1434, they managed to reach the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1498, Vasco de Gama for the first time crossed the Indian Ocean, discovering the route to the Far-East. The first Portuguese expeditions had reached Brazil in 1487.

In 1500, the Portuguese navigator Pedro Alvarez Cabral arrived on a land covered with forest while he was trying to reach India. The new territory is proclaimed Portuguese possession according to the Treatise of Tordesilhas of 1494: all territories situated on the west of Cape Verde were declared Portuguese, when all territories on the east were Spanish possessions. Brazil's borders were delimited even before Brazil was entirely discovered.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

FIRST COLONIZERS (1500-1580)

Brazil was first called Ilha de Vera Cruz (Island of the real cross,) then Terra de Santa Cruz (land of the holy cross,) and finally Brazil, from the name of the red wood called Pau-Brasil, which was the first wealth the colonizers exploited.
A program of systematic colonization was established in 1530, and the city of Sao Paulo is founded in 1532.

In the North-East, Salvador is founded in 1549 and will become the siege of the government.

The country was populated with Indians tribes: Arawak and Caribes in the north, Guarani on the east coast and Amazons, Ge in the south, and Pano in the west. Their number then was estimated at two millions.

In the 16th C., the country is divided in 14 areas where Donatorios, or lords of the county become in charge. Some of these areas are still present in today's federation of Brazil.

The fertile and humid state of Pernambuco was a perfect place to develop sugar cane plantations (the sugar cane had been brought from Madeira,) as well as ports for the Portuguese ships. Slaves were brought from Western Africa, while sugar was exported to Europe, and a triangular trade developed between Brazil, Africa and Europe.

In 1555, a fleet of 600 French soldiers and colonists led by Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon invaded Rio de Janeiro. They were defeated by the Portuguese in 1567 and had to abandon Rio.

UNION OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL (1580-1640)

After the death of the king Sebastian of Portugal, Spain and Portugal became united in 1580, but during that time, the Dutch invaded north-east Brazil where they settled down for 24 years.

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION (17TH C.)

In search for Indians slaves and minerals, Portuguese explorers colonize the inner lands which had been until then the monopole of Jesuit missions. When Portugal becomes independent again in 1640, they managed to keep all the new territories.

DISCOVERY OF GOLD (17-18TH C.)

The decline of sugar production in the Mid-1600s coincided with the discovery of gold in unexploited territories. The gold-rush attracted a whole new wave of colonizers who then developed cattle farming and the new cities of Minas Gerais.

Almost one million tons of gold and 3 millions of diamond carats were extracted in this period. This wealth partially financed the British industrial revolution, since textiles sold to Portugal by England were paid with the gold from the Brazilian mines.

COFFEE BOOM (18th C.)

In the 18th C., the coffee boom followed the gold and diamond boom. Brought from Guyane, coffee was even a better source of profit. Plantations were developed in the state of Rio de Janeiro, and moved south later, making Brazil the first world coffee producer.

Following the economic trend, Rio de Janeiro became the capital of Brazil after Salvador in the 1750s.

THE INDEPENDENCE

BEGINNING OF NATIONALISM

In the second half of the 18th C. , the first independent movements surface after Portuguese colonizers realize that most of the profits were kept in Portugal and not in Brazil. The fights against the Dutch invasion also helped develop the nationalistic feeling. One famous rebellion happened in Minas Gerais, under the influence of Tiradentes, a young officer who studied the ideas of the French Encyclopedists and those of the American revolution leaders.

PORTUGUESE COURT IN BRAZIL (1808-1821)

In Nov. 1807, Napoleon invaded Portugal and King Joao, with his court, fled to Brazil, where he stayed until 1821. In 1815, Brazil was declared united kingdom to Portugal.

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE (SEPTEMBER 1822)

The Republican spirit, inspired by the French revolution, spreads in Brazil, and the regent Dom Pedro is commanded to return to Portugal. Instead, he chooses to stay in Brazil and in 1822 declares Brazil's independence and becomes Brazil's emperor.

THE EMPIRE

PEDRO THE 1st (1822-1831): gave Brazil in 1822 a constitutional chart promoting social laws.

PEDRO THE 2d (1831-1889): Slavery was abolished in 1888. The economy was flourishing and a health system projected for the whole country.

THE REPUBLIC

THE END OF THE EMPIRE AND ABOLITION OF SLAVERY (1888): Following the abolition, a military revolt brought up the proclamation of the Republic in Brazil. Pedro II had to flee to France with his family.

FEDERATION AND PRESIDENTIAL CONSTITUTION: The new constitution was adopted in 1891.

THE NEW REPUBLIC (1930-1937):

In 1930, for the first time, the government was removed by force. The leader of this revolutionary movement, Getulio Vargas wanted a reform of the political and electoral system. Vargas stayed in power for 15 years and in 1934 a new constitution was adopted, giving women the right to vote. The same year, Vargas was democratically elected. In 1935, he passed an advanced legislation of the social welfare and the educational system. During WWII, Vargas declared war to the nazi power and 25.000 Brazilian soldiers were sent to Italy to support the allies. Brazil is the only country of South-America who sent armed troops to Europe to defend democracy.

BRAZIL AFTER WORLD WAR II

MODERN BRAZIL.

After WWII, Brazilian people voted for the 1st time in 15 years and elected General Gaspar Dutra, previously Defense minister with Vargas. The new democratic constitution was adopted in 1946 and in place until 1967. In 1951, Vargas was re-elected and formed a populist nationalistic government. In 1954, Vargas committed suicide and was followed in 1955, by former governor of Minas Gerais, Jucelino Kubitschek, who had the support of Vargas followers as well as of the communists. Kubitschek brought to Brazil 5 years of economic expansion, as well as the creation of today's capital, Brasilia.

His successor was president Quadros who resigned after one year of presidency. He was replaced by the vice-president Joao Goulart, who supported the left and was accused by the military to have connections with Marxist ideals and the Cuban regime of Fidel-Castro. After 2 years of alarming inflation and political agitation, in 1964, the Brazilian military took power of the government by force.

THE MILITARY REGIME (1964-1985)

The first general nominated as president was general Castello-Branco; he had the full support of the U.S. government (see Leacock 1990, in "Culture and Race in Brazil," p. 25. E. Blin.) In 1969, the Authoritarian Emilio Garrastazu Medici became President and installed the worst fascist regime in Brazil for the next five years . This period is called anos de chumbo (leaden years) or sufoco (suffocation).

Three more generals succeeded to Medici, accentuating the restrictions on civil liberties, until general Figueirido reestablishes some political rights in 1979,. This period is called "Abertura," the opening. In 1982, the first democratic elections since 1965 were organized under the pressure of the Brazilian people.

In 1985, the first president Tancredo Neves, candidate of the opposition, was elected democratically. Tragically, a few days before being invested, Neves is transported to the hospital where he will die 5 weeks later. His vice president, Tancredo Neves calls for

general elections in order to establish a new constitution. Finally in 1988, a new constitution is adopted and democracy is restored in brazil.

THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY (1986-1994)

Fernando Collor was the 1st president elected in 1989, but in 1992 he was impeached and had to resign. Itamar Franco succeeded to Collor and his main contribution is the creation of the new Brazilian money, the real.

PRESIDENT FERNANDO HENRIQUE CARDOSO (1995-2002)

In 1994, Cardoso was elected president for 4 years. Cardoso was previously a left-wing senator, minister of Foreign Politics and Finance minister.

PRESIDENT LUIZ INACIO LULA DA SILVA (2003-)

Lula was elected in October 2002 with a majority of votes of 53 millions (out of a total population of 185 millions), a score unmatched since the return to democracy in 1985.
Lula is an ex-union leader and founder in 1989 of the PT (Worker's Party).
In 2003, Gilberto Gil became Minister of Culture.

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APPENDIX C

Interviews

CELSO MACHADO, 9/22/2005

September 22, 2005: Telephone interview from Boise, Idaho to Vancouver, Canada.

Celso Machado (b.1957) is a Brazilian musician and string virtuoso, who started his performance carreer in France. He lives in Vancouver, Canada and tours the world performing Brazilian African root music.

1) (EB): Your music is described as a bridge between the African and the Brazilian cultures, did you grow up in this environment in Brazil, or is it something that you have searched and explored later in your life?

> (CM): "I grew up around Bahia, Recife and Pernambuco in a family of musicians. I went to the school of samba sa a child, where the Black African influence is very strong. Lots of African rituals like the *candomble* are still in practice in Bahia. But I have found connections with the Brazilian music everywhere, in Egypt, in Morocco, India, Madagascar. When you look at the map of South America and Africa, you can see that they used to be connected."

2) Bossa nova is considered by some like the "bourgeois" aspect of Brazilian Music (music for the rich with sentimental lyrics, etc…); what do think about that?

> "Tom Jobim came from a wealthy family, but he did write music for the poor and for the
> rich. Bossa nova is a continuation of traditions of Brazilian music. Tom Jobim was inspired by the beauty of nature, the beauty of Rio de Janeiro, but he did not write for the rich. Because he came from a wealthy background, his instrumentation is more complex. The piano was always used by richer people and the guitar by everybody on the streets. But he did not write for the rich people."

3) Do you think that Brazilian music should be used for social or political awareness (like Caetano Veloso's or Gilberto Gil's)? Is this spirit part of your music too?

> "Sometimes in history you need some strong voice, and there are times when people want to say something. Brazil is a place where people sing, so the music is naturally a medium for ideas. In Brazil, if you want to say something really happy, the music can do that very well; but if you want to say something really sad, the Brazilian music can express that perfectly too."

CHRISTOPHER DUNN, 10/18/07

October 18, 2007: Telephone interview from Boise, Idaho to Tulane, Louisiana

Christopher Dunn (b.1959) is the chair of the Portuguese Department at Tulane University, LO, and a Professor of African Diaspora Studies. He is the coeditor of *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization,* and the author of *Brutality Garden: Tropicalia And The Emergence Of A Brazilian Counterculture*.

1) (EB): Tropicalia was born in Brazil in 1967. How influential was it as a movement before the exile of Caetano V. and Gilberto G. in 1969?

> (CD) "Tropicalia does not become named as a movement until January 1968. It happened after a number of events in 1967: the first watershed event was the arts exhibit of 1967 Nova Objectividade where Helio Oitica displayed his display creation called "Tropicalia." The same year, the key movie "Terra em Transe" by Glauber Rocha came out, and caetano Veloso and G. Gil performed the songs "Alegria, alegria," and "Domingo no parque," which became landmarks of the movement. But the concept of a movement only appeared after 1968. It started with journalists who described the birth of a new cultural energy. They were really trying to understand what was going on. But they were also trying to make Tropicalia a consumable product. The impact of the movement started in January 1968, when it was then called Tropicalismo. By 1969, the tropicalist trend was present in art in general. For example, in music, people started to incorporate electric guitars in Brazilian music. Before that, it was considered heretic to mix electric sounds and traditional folklore."

2) Was Tropicalia perceived differently by the public, when Gil and Veloso came back from London in the early 70s?

> "Yes, one of the things was that there was a sense of, like an expectation, that they would continue this movement. But they were both very clear that they were not interested in being part of a movement. Now they wanted to go back to Brazilian music roots. They both always had an ambiguous relationship with the traditional left, because they used allegory, not political language. Gil and Veloso were not interested into politics but they still wrote provocative lyrics. By the end of the 1970s, they were making music that was very critical of the dictatorship."

3) How would you describe the influence of US culture, especially the influence of the 1960s civil rights movement, and later the hippie movement on Tropicalia?

> "I think it had a very strong impact. The counterculture of U.S. and Europe had an impact on all the tropicalists. They were aware of the cultural rebellion of 1966-1968. Gil was more influenced by the Civil Rights Movement and very aware of their message. The French semi-revolution of 1968 was important too: "E proibido proibir"

> came from France. It became even more important after the tropicalists went to Europe when they were exiled. Lygia Clark, for example, was an important visual artist who went to Paris in 1967-68, and stayed there for ten years."

4) Would it be accurate to say that behind the subversive and provocative aspects of Tropicalia's esthetics, the essence of the tropicalist message is primarily love, peace and social justice? For example, at the 2006 Pitch Fork Festival in Chicago, Sergio Dias of Os Mutantes opened the concert by declaring: "Music, culture, philosophy, literature, people united together to make a change, to make the world better, that's what we send to the world! We can do that!" <http://sergiodias.com.br/>

> "I think at the end, the tropicalists would say: "yes, music can change the world. May be not in the way protest music did and was used in the 1960s, but music in the long run contributes to new forms of sociability and produces cultural phenomena that can provide an income for poor people. They believed in the effect of music in an oblique way, not a direct way."

5) On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Tropicalia, in 1997, Gil and Veloso were accused by a TV critic to contribute to the "fossilization of Tropicalia" (Sovik 2000, 123). With Gil now in the government, and Veloso almost considered like a demi-god in Brazil, do you think that Tropicalia has become a 'fossilized avant-guarde?'

> "I think that it's not a movement that exists anymore, but Tropicalia still has a lot of relevance in Brazil and in Brazilian music. It's one influence among many others, but it's a movement that should be historicized."

6) You said in and interview that "Brutalidade Jardim" is your favorite line of a Tropicalia song (after watching myself the movie "City of God," this makes a lot of sense.) Do you think that Brazil is still today a 'brutality garden,' like Gil sung in his 1968 song *Geleia Geral* ? Did Tropicalia help Brazilian society evolve out of this violent social jungle?

> "In Portuguese, it is even more powerful because it means: "garden of brutality;" but De Andrade first wrote it in an unusual syntax form. "Brutalidade Jardim" should be in Portuguese "jardim da brutalidade." But yes, the last ten years have seen a lot of changes in social life in Brazil."

7) Liv Sovik suggests (quoting Tom Ze) that "protein rappers" might provide today the best tropicalist expression in Brazil, as far as political and social criticism. What do you think about that? And who are, in your opinion the tropicalists of the new generations?

> "Tom Ze's understanding of politics is very different from Caetano's or Gil's. He is interested in bio-politics: How do populations at risk impact culture? He grew up in total misery of Northeast Brazil and he wonders how the fact that young people can have access to protein (food) instead of starving can impact popular expression.

Capitalist society takes it for granted that not being hungry is normal, but Ze, because of his background, does not take it for granted. In Ze's last CD, "Desafiao" is a song about social protest."

MARIA-CARMEN GAMBLIEL, 11/29/07

November 29, 2007: Personal interview in Boise, Idaho

Maria Carmen-Gambliel is a Brazilian visual artist and Folks Art Director of the Idaho Commission on the Arts. She grew up in Minas-Gerais, Brazil and was a young college student during the dictatorship.

1) (EB) How influential was Brazil before the exile od Caetano and Gil in 1969?

(MCG) Incredibly influential. It was a genre if music in the 60s that shaped and was shaped by the political context, in reaction to a political and social structure that was predominant in Brazil at the time. Also, it was a symbol of liberation, of connection with the tropics, of connection with culture that had its roots in the movement of Modern Art in the 1920s and later in the Anthropophagic Movement in the late 20s-early 30s. That movement, Tropicalia has a lot of connections with the neo-concrete movement in poetry and visual arts, even-though we are talking about at that level of a connection with something more abstract, we are talking about a connection with culture. Tropicalia actually became the actual symbol of Brazilian society and its esthetics, its political ideology that was contrary to the repression that we were undergoing.

Tropicalia addressed social, racial and political issues that were all related to the fabric of Brazilian society; then, we were under a restrictive military government that was imposed by a coup d'etat in 1964, and that in a crescendo went from mild repression into total repression, into a complete denial of civil rights, of human rights, and Tropicalia developed as a movement at that time. I don't know of a date, like "today is the day we create Tropicalia," there was not such a thing. There are landmarks, there were festivals. There was a first presentation of Tropicalia songs ("Caminhando," for ex.), Gil and Caetano working together, there is Gal. They were at first introduced in a TV show, "O fim da bossa," that presented contemporary Brazilian music. But in many of the networks, there was extreme censorship. They were censors in all the programs, all the newspapers, all publications, all the magazines. There were people infiltrating schools, universities, classrooms, everywhere, and that TV program was a little bit sanitized. Caetano and Gil were breaking away from that and in a rebellious esthetic attitude, they reacted against that. The tropicalists at that time are the place where everything sprouts with strength and goes beyond anything the government or any superstructure can have.

When Tropicalia happened, I was in Belo Horizonte, in Minas Gerais. It's the capital city of the state. There was a site where a lot of the protest marches organized, called "Tradicao, Familia e Propriedade," an organization that was Catholic Church based. It was supposed to have a social content but it was predominantly faith based and very conservative; and they were the ones with this paranoia against communism. Joao

Goulart was the president and (they thought) he was going to change Brazil into a communist country. They bought against international propaganda against THEM TOO? Several sections and sectors of the Catholic Church were very instrumental in supporting the coup. So they were people on the streets, protesting against the government which alienated and creating strikes, and a lot of social upheaval that the military and international forces associated with the coup of 64 capitalized on. So they wanted to control the social life of the country and quench this kind of government.
They were lots of people protesting against social inequality, lack of jobs, low salaries, inflation and social conditions. You talk about race and obviously, blacks and mestizos had a lower standard of life. They had lower jobs, lower salaries and a lower level of education. It was natural that they felt like underclass citizens, and a that level, through music which is part of cultural expression of their group, they felt freed and liberated. It was a natural way of expressing this content as well as happiness or any other sentiment.

Tropicalia was a response to that because it went back to the musical roots, to the dance of the culture, to the 'laisser-faire.'

2) What was the importance of the CPCs, Centers for Popular Culture, in Brazil in the 1960s?

CPSs were seminal institutions because they were institutions where people gathered to write poetry, play music, read, discuss. They were a forum and as such, they fell under severe scrutiny by the military, the political police, the DOPS (department of order and political science). CPCs were cultured people went, where life was being lived, where Brazilians used to express themselves and gather ideas different from the military and the government.
On December 13th 1968, the Act No 5 came in effect and most of the citizens rights were removed. Part of the Congress was shut down and it was an incredible violence against the civic life of the country.

3) How would you describe the influence of U.S. culture, especially the influence of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, and later the hippie movement on Brazilian society and and Tropicalia?

The regime was harder on anyone who had a brain and those who were struggling to express themselves with freedom and political view that were different from the establishment. Everybody got hit.

(EB: Was the regime openly pro-American?) (MCG) Yes. In fact, exiles could not go to the U.S. because it would not be safe. Gil and Caetano went to England, Chico Buarque to Italy, and they were numerous people who went to Algeria.

4) Was Tropicalia perceived differently by the public, when Caetano and Gil came back form London in the early 1970s?

> Everybody was curious to see what they were going to do then. Were they going to continue the track, were they going to go on. There were writers, humanists, economists, intelligent people, those who were part of the 'think-think of Brazil were out because they had either their civil rights removed or they were under arrest, or surveillance, so they took of. It took time before they receive amnesty and return to Brazil. They were musicians and writers, and movie makers.

(EB: Was it a known fact in Brazil when Rogerio Duarte was jailed and tortured in 1968-69?) (MCG) There were segments of the population who were aware of the arrests, but many people were lost in the incredible amount of arrests and tortures and disappearances. Some were really famous, like Caetano or Gil, but many were unknown which does not mean they were less important.

> There were class struggles related to unemployment, under paid jobs. Anyone could be fired for no reason, anyone could be arrested for no reason. So, the struggle was to regain those rights, to regain a political voice and the ability to vote. When I came to The U.S. it shocked me that the people would not go vote. I was deprived of my right to vote when I was in Brazil. The president was elected by Congress, then the president appointed the governors who appointed the mayors of the major cities, and the citizens did not have any importance in national security. In Brazil there was not such a thing as a Civil Rights Movement, because it was part of the fight for political freedom, for citizenship and individual freedom.

5) Is Tropicalia's message more about subversive and provocative esthetics, than about love, peace and social justice?

> Tropicalia wasn't overtly subversive of the order, ideologically. It's a fine line. They weren't preaching down with the government, they weren't preaching the revolution. They were preaching the establishment of the citizenship, of the culture, and that was against the grain of the government. But it was not 'let's take down this government.' But it was a time when the language was stretched and metaphor became the norm. If you wanted to say something, you had to beat the censors with intelligence, because they were not that intelligent. They had the party line and they guided themselves by "oh, you can't see anybody talking about social stability." But a different kind of order, "caminhando contro ao vento," it's a metaphor for all of that.
>
> (EB: Can you translate please?) (MCG) "Walking against the wind, without a handkerchief." (quote from Caetano.) Later, in the song "Calice,"by Milton Nacimento, "cale se" in Portuguese means "shut up." So, he used the metaphor 'calice' which means a glass of red wine. Red wine dyed with blood. So take away this calice, this order for me to shut up. Take away the restraining orders on my intelligence, my intellectual life, my creative life, my social life, my ability to gather

in the street, my ability to speak freely about my beliefs. Take away that death from me.

6) Do you agree that the graphic designer Rogerio Duarte who designed many tropicalist albums in the 1960s change the approach of Brazil forever?

It's a real broad statement. His images, the colors on the albums, even the way people dressed, was really influenced by the whole energy Tropicalia leashed. I cannot say that he changed the visual arts in Brazil forever. I can say that Helio Oiticica however, who did a lot of happenings and installations was more powerful than Rogerio. The Brazilian graphics were very advanced in many ways. When you think about what the neo-concrete people did, when poetry became a graphic object. Oiticica inherited a lot of that tradition, and Lygia Clarke, Goulart, they were very seminal in creating the visual esthetics of the country and in the architecture as well.

(EB: Was there at the time an obvious connection with the Dada movement and the surrealist movement of the 20s-30s in Europe?) (MCG) There was a strong connection with the Anthropophagic movement, Oswald de Andrade, Mario de Andrade. "Macunaima" was the anti-hero. There is a lot more to do with that in terms of local art. Mafate studied with F. Leger. There was a lot of connection with the black culture in Brazil or the Indian culture, trying to retake these expressions and these ethic groups of the country.

7) On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Tropicalia in 1997, Gil and Veloso were accused to contribute to the "fossilization of Tropicalia" (Sovik 2000, 123); with Gil now in the government, and Caetano almost considered like a demi-god in Brazil, do you think that Tropicalia has become a "fossilized avant-guard"?

I doubt it. It's a movement that has a cycle. Its highest moment was in the late 60s at the peak of the repression in Brazil. It has continued as a strong movement into the 70s and we had a continental divide in terms of censorship and repression. [The year 19]76 was an incredible divide. Repression was such that there was no more way to go or the country would implode. At that time there was an increasing liberalization. It was inevitable that a movement like Tropicalia with its own esthetics based on culture and grassroots, using an incredible litany of dissonance, sounds, images and situations, could create a very coherent movement out of incoherence, out of discrepancies, out of differences. It created a very coherent movement out of incoherence, out of discrepancies and differences. It created this amalgam of what they think is the tropics, this collection of everything that can happen at one point anywhere. I think that movement generated all the movements: you had the Nos Baianos, you had Rita Lee and Os Mutantes, you had later on… Ramalho and a lot of Northeastern musicians not directly descending from Tropicalia, but associated with the same esthetics as Tropicalia's. So how can you avoid the beginnings of other movements? I think that Tropicalia would have failed if nothing else would had happened after that.

About Caetano being a demi-god, Caetano is an incredible performer, musician, lyricist, everything. He earned his place in the culture with his independence, his honesty in what he believed in doing and continues to do. He branched out to other genres and other situations, making movies with… I think it's only natural that that happens. Gil as minister of culture, I frankly was disappointed when I listened to his speech, I felt "Oh my god, what happened to you!" There is some sort of toned down political discourse. He's no longer counter-cultural, he is cultural. It's washed out, I am sorry, but I think that was exists now in Brazil is not a direct consequence of Tropicalia, but would not have happened without it. I can't say Tropicalia is decadent or phased out, but it's no longer at the peak of things.

8) Do you think that Brazil is still today a "brutality garden," like Gil sung in his 1968 song "Geleia Geral?" Did Tropicalia help Brazilian society evolve out of this violent social jungle (I am referring to the violence exposed in movies like City of God," for example.)

No, I don't think so. You look at the piece of Oiticica, the installation of … Carvalho, a bandit who was killed by the police, if you look at the root of any urban violence, that maybe true, but I don't think Tropicalia did it. In fact, they used all the assets, nature, Tropicalia, sense of freedom, sense of connection, alegria, joy of living, all these things, to counter and to call attention to the lack of it. But it was not in a very expository way. City of God, Pixote, ….. those movies made by Brazilians about Brazil were more a vehicle of exposure of urban violence. Chico in the song "Pedro Pedreiro," it talks about violence, about construction, about the lack of care for human life (it's the song "Construcao.") I look at it as a very important marker of awareness of urban violence. Chico is an incredible lyricist. He worked with Augusto Boal. There is an incredible
awareness of the social conditions in Chico's music that is very different from the core of Tropicalia.

CAETANO VELOSO, 1/4/2008

January 4, 2008: Rio Vermelho, Salvador, Brazil. (Present at the interview: C. Veloso, E. Blin, Tom Gostas, Kirtane Blin, Diogo Duarte, Marilha D.)

(tape 1)

1) (E.B.) Tropicalia was born in Brazil in 1967. How influential was it as a movement before you were exiled with Gilberto Gil in 1969?

(C. V.) It was pretty influential because the response from ordinary people was immediate, just natural, like some songs became successful. There was this kind of scandal but it was mostly among students, journalists and intellectuals, people reacting against what we were doing, but ordinary people just chose some songs. So, the first song sung by me that represented Tropicalia was "Alegria, Alegria," and it was immediately influential in that way. In a less conscious fashion, because it was just empathy with ordinary people. But in the end we were put in jail and exiled and left wing intellectuals and students and journalists changed their position towards us. It was basically like that.

2) Was Tropicalia perceived differently by the public, when Gil and yourself came back from London in the early 70s?

In fact, people were not talking about Tropicalia anymore when we came back. They were interested in what we meant and they were curious about what we were going to do once we were back in Brazil. But what really changed with our exile was the critical attitude of the more intellectualized areas of Brazilian society, mostly left wing. They were against us before, then they were kind of in favor. But it did not last long. As soon as we were back, after just a few months, the left wing newspapers resume their aggressive attitude towards us. That's what changed, but it did not change for too long, so things really didn't change in depth.

3) How would you describe the influence of US culture, especially the influence of the 1960s civil rights movement, and later the hippie movement on Tropicalia?

We were influenced by that kind of American popular culture indirectly and very directly at the beginning. Because of course, some other American things have strongly influenced us before that. Mostly the great songs of the 1920s and 30s and jazz, these people had influenced us as they did the bossa nova leaders. But that kind of culture, more connected to rock'n roll, pop culture started t influence us, our roots, later, and first of all through some Brazilian very naïve artists who had been immediately influenced by that kind of American culture. So it was indirect. It came through three different sources. One, Brazilian native singers and composers who were very commercial, like Roberto Carlos. Now he is very respected, but back then, it was just commercial rubbish. Like rock'n roll everywhere. In fact, before the

Beatles, rock'n roll was basically everywhere and it was considered commercial rubbish. We belonged to the second generation of bossa nova followers or admirers, and we never paid attention to much rock'n roll, Elvis Presley, or whatever. But in the end, we were worried about this contained segregation of our group, of the group in which we found ourselves immersed. And we started paying attention to people like Roberto Carlos and Cediga Pelo, lots of commercial naïve Brazilian singers and composers. And because we wanted to have more real reconnection with the Brazilian sensibility, and we thought that this more or less aristocratic attitude was not enriching us; It was making us more and more feeble and defensive and everything that was connected with American or international popular culture was regarded as something to be despised by the group in which we were immersed and we reacted against that. But first through these naïve Brazilian musicians, then, through the very sophisticated film makers from France, first of all, Jean Luc Godart, who in his sophisticated films included aspects of American pop culture, Hollywood, commercials, Coca Cola, whatever, Pepsi Cola, the poetry of these things. We did not know much about american pop art, but through godart and the french culture, that's the funny thing. And the 3d source was not American either, it was English. These things came more or less in this chronological order. My conversations with his father, with Rogerio Duarte about these things, before anything we did and the songs I wrote, were of vital importance, because he was kind of, ... he knew lots of pop art, but he did not show it to me, not Lichtenstein or Andy Warhol, anything, but he tagged other ideas. He showed me this book by a French writer that was very influential, even before Godart and everything…

(EB) Antonin Artaud?
(CV) No, he was a thinker…
(EB) Sartre?

(CV) I knew Sartre, he was this big star, very well known, I liked Sartre. But Sartre was this left wing complex philosopher, and in fact I liked his intelligence, but I was not a fan of his. No, it was Edgar Morin. Because he had written a book about the new methodology that came from the United States, called "The New Olympics." He wrote this book very early on about these things, Hollywood and so on. Rogerio would read parts of this book to me and talk about it, <u>because we were talking about the alienation towards the real cultural experience of our people</u> and then we approached these naïve singers; then Godart, Morin, the Beatles. And the Beatles offered in fact some kind of a solution to that thing. We were very near to them when we started paying attention to the Beatles. Because the Beatles were just, you know (singing) "She loves you, yeah, yeah, yeah," … just commercial rubbish. They were imitating naive American commercial musicians, you know, pop-rock, and we did not pay attention to that. We just knew they were this commercial phenomenon, but we did not pay static or intellectual attention to that. Later we starting doing so, so Tropicalia mostly was born like that.
Is it unclear or confusing?

4) No, no, it's very clear. So it was true that the 'Sergeant Peppers' album was the big influence on Tropicalia?

Not entirely right, because when S.P. was released, we had already been working on all these ideas, and I had already written a song like "Paisagem inutil" or even "Alegria, Alegria," but S.P. had not been done yet. S.P. confirmed unbelievably lots of things that we were thinking of. But the Beatles had already started doing sophisticated things that changed everything they had done before, and their approach to rock'roll and american pop. Because it was just this British teenage things, of liking American vitality. It was very spontaneous and those people liked the Beatles and the Rolling Stones or Eric Clapton; those people who like blues, they felt the healing of American vitality, but they were very British, and that made a lot of difference, including to Americans. But to us, it was important because we were from our own point of view, going in that direction already. And when S.P. Appeared, it was like a confirmation, and things were a little bit frustrating, because we were dreaming ot doing something like that, and we were already starting to do things in that direction. So, we were also, and that came immediately afterwards, interested in more radical music experimentations and also poetical experimentations among the avant-guardist artists. Because of a group of poets from Sao Paulo who were very bold in their avant-guard ambitions, called the Concrete Poets from Sao Paulo. They even were intrigued by us because they noticed, and that was much before SP, they noticed from an interview I gave and from a song I had put in a festival in Sao Paulo much before Tropicalia. But it was already… One of those guys wrote an article, he did not know us or anything, we were just some guys from Bahia, but he had noticed that our thought was interesting and had to do with things that they thought of regarding how art evolves. Then he came to talk to me after I had released "Alegria, Alegria," this poet, Augusto de Campos showed me avant-guard musicians, but also things like Janis Joplin, that were happening in the United states. He showed me John Cage and avant-guard serious musicians…

(EB) Stockhausen?
(CV) Stockhausen, John Cage and the French one, this great…
(EB) Pierre Boulez?

(CV) And Pierre Boulez. He approached us to some serious musicians from Sao Paulo who became interested in what we were doing, and the Beatles. And they became directors, mostly, Rogerio Duprat was the best. But the first to work with us was Julio Medalha, who arranged the song "Tropicalia" itself, with a fantastic arrangement. He was a serious musician, avant-guard, a contemporary musician who had lived in Germany and was back in Sao Paulo and he was the first to collaborate with us. So all these things came together… Let's eat because we are hungry!

(Break for meal. Interview resumes, tape 2)

5) Was Tropicalia's message more about subversive and provocative esthetics, than about love, peace and social justice?

I'd say it was about both, but I think the tone was closer to subversive and provocative, because of the military dictatorship and the environment of Brazil back then.

6) (EB) This is a mild reference to Christopher Dunn: Do you think that Brazil is still today a 'brutality garden,' like Gil sung in his 1968 song Geleia Geral ? Did Tropicalia help Brazilian society evolve out of this violent social jungle? And I am referring to the violence exposed in the movie "City of God," which I watched after reading your book.

Well, I would not say that anything helped Brazil evolve out of the wild jungle it is. As you mention the movie "City of God," you could see some others that would shock you even more. And they are pretty realistic. And living in Rio and Sao Paulo can be pretty violent. All-though, it can be also very sweet and those people seem sweet, and they are in fact. It's a complicated thing about the Brazilian character. I remember when Stefan Veig, he's an Austrian writer, he fled Nazism and came to Brazil and he lived in Brazil and killed himself a few years later. He wrote a book called "Brazil, country of the future," it's a great book, I loved it. People in Brazil really killed it but I loved it. In the book he says that he went up to the favelas, and back then, there was no cocaine traffic or heavy weapons like they have nowadays but still, it was were bandits could be found mostly, and he said that what shocked him most was that the sweetness he had found in all Brazilians, he found also among the most dangerous bandits. And this still is, although they are cruel and some stories are unbelievably unhuman, they can be… , well it's the Mediteranean way that has been kept and the Portuguese language, and the very nature of the Portuguese colonization. The relationship of the masters and slaves here, and the blacks, the mixing of races, all the hypocritical tenderness that went on during the colonial time, that formation of Brazilian people. All of this contributed to this sweet tone that is not necessarily just hypocritical. It's basically not hypocritical, although, the sweet guy can be one of those cruel criminals or policeman.

It's an interesting thing about '*brutality garden*,' it sounds great in English and it sounds great in Portuguese, but they are different. '*brutalidade jardim*,' the way it goes, in the lyrics of that song in Portuguese, when you translate it into English, it sounds like it's a 'garden of brutality.' But in Portuguese, the juxtaposition of these 2 words, these 2 nouns, none of them works as an adjective as one of those does in English. So the meaning changes a lot when it's translated, because '*brutalidade jardim*,' it's just two different things put together. If you think about it in French, '*brutalite jardin*,' it's exactly like that, it's not '*brutality garden*.' That means a different thing, it's beautiful too, but it's not, you know, it's just a curiosity.

(EB) It's very 'concrete poetry,' type of…
(CV) Yes, just two words put together.

7) On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Tropicalia, in 1997, Gil and yourself were accused by a TV critic to contribute to the "fossilization of Tropicalia" (Sovik 2000, 123). With Gil now in the government, and yourself almost considered like a demi-god in Brazil, do you think that Tropicalia has become a 'fossilized avant-guard?'

(CV) Well, I don't know who said that; Liv Sovik, I know who she is, and … Well, I really don't know what that means, not at all.

(EB) It sounds mean, but I wanted to have your opinion about it, like to say that now tropicalia is just good to be a page in the history books…

(CV) It's a page in the history books, but still, what led me to Tropicalia leads me to doing what I'm doing now, it brings me here. So, I am loyal to this, and I will always be. It doesn't matter if it's called Tropicalia, if something seems to be fossilized in Tropicalia to somebody, you know… But not to me, no. For example, Gil now is working in the government, and if it depended on me, he would not be there. I told him, you know, I don't like the idea. But he likes being there, so it's ok, but I would not be there, that way, not at all.

8) What about people who say, and I will not quote anybody…, that the real Tropicalia has not happened yet, what do think of that?

Nothing real has happened yet, the real democracy has not happened yet, the real United States have not happened yet, the real communism has not happened yet, the real hippie world has not happened yet, the real Christianity has not happened yet, the real Buddhism has not happened yet. What has happened yet, really? But this is good; I have a samba that says 'samba has not been born yet.' I think this is good because this means life. Everything in life is like that. Any couple can say, 'our marriage has not happened yet.' That will always be true.

9) Who are, in your opinion the tropicalists of the new generations and what is for you the best expression of Tropicalia's influence in today's Brazil?

I very often say that Tropicalia was more of a …, generated more consequences than it created influences. For example, bossa nova was really influential. They created a style, a very precise style. So, that style can influence anybody and you can recognize the influence of bossa nova. But *Tropicalia was such a message of juxtaposition of different things, and we never created a defined style, and we didn't want to, but we created consequences,* but not really influences, I don't recognize things as being… And when something seems to be influenced by Tropicalia, it's in general pretty weak. But the consequences have been important.

10) Is it a good understanding of Tropicalia to say that it wanted to awake

Brazilians, so that they would all be outlaws and heroes, like in Helio Oiticica's work, and do you think that Tropicalia did succeed in waking people up?

> Well, in waking up some people and many people up to a point, yes. But, the poetical suggestion made by Helio Oiticica to everybody, "be a criminal, be a heroe," … Not a criminal, because 'marginal' is not criminal. Outlaw, … but also 'marginal' is … may be you have that in French…
>
> (EB)Yes, in French, it is 'marginal.'
> (CV) It has a semantic area bigger than that. It's not just that an outlaw guy was a marginal, it can be a poet that doesn't go… Anything that is not main-stream can be called 'marginal.' So the phrase is looser in its original form in Portuguese than criminal or even outlaw. He was referring to an outlaw who had been shot by the police because he had photographs of that guy. He knew the guy personally, because he would go to the *favelas* and he was mingled with lots of people who lived there and he knew the guy. So the police killed the guy and Oiticica put the photograph that was showed in the newspaper on this banner. It was not a banner, it looked like a flag, and it said 'seja marginal, seja heroi.' Because it was something against police, against repression and a romanticized vision of that particular criminal, and being criminal as a metaphor for being not adherent to the main stream morals and values. It was just that. So, in that sense, that flag was very much Helio Oiticica's thing. It was not, we included it in the environment where we would play our songs, but we never did more than that with it. It was one of the elements that were there. (…) The word Tropicalia came from him and he was a genius. That flag was very provocative and we wanted to look and sound provocative. So it had a lot of things to do with the atmosphere in which we were moving.

11) After 1964, the 2d bossa nova wave wanted to write music for the people, and not just the upperclass. How did Tropicalia managed to be a mass movement and at the same time keep its intellectual and cultural roots (I am thinking of Oswald de Andrade and Antropophagy.)

> That's one thing that's certain. In the second phase of bossa nova in which some of us wanted to write things more for the people, was less popular than the first wave and some of Joao's Gilberto's records. Because in bossa nova, the best records were Joao Gilberto's, and the best selling records also. So, those more interested in discussing social justice and going back to the backlands of the Northeast, or to the favelas in Rio, and the themes of their lyrics, being communists in their ideas (…), they did not become that popular. Allthough, sometimes what they did was magnificently beautiful also. But these political pretentions were not very popular. They were more … admired by upper class, well-educated students of the universities, than the audience that the music appealed to.
> Tropicalia was entirely different. Tropicalia was not respected by those respected people; we had spontaneous hits with ordinary people, as I told you at the beginning of our conversation. Now, it's been different, and we were against that pretense of

being with the people but in fact to please leftwing intellectuals at the university. No, Tropicalia was clearly against this, against this pretense. Allthough, not against the majority of the artistic creation that came from this dream. Because things done by Carlos Lyra, Nara Leao, Vinicius de Moraes when he started doing this, … Edu Lobo, … all these things have been wonderful. But, "Chega de saudade" was more popular. (…)

12) You said that "Tropicalismo e um neo-antropofagismo." Could please explain this idea ("Tropicalism is a neo-antropophagism").

Yes, I said that because then I was under the enthusiasm of getting to know better and better Oswald de Andrade's poetry, novels and thoughts. And he was really a very impressive man, mostly for a person like me, or people like us in the Mid-60s, because what we were doing, or trying to do when we came to know him … because he was not taught in the schools, he was not respected… Now he is, but then he was not. He was not respected as an author and our teachers would not mention him. So, we in fact got to really know him through the concrete poets of Sao Paulo, and then, we were amazed with the identity of feelings and ways of looking at things, that we felt between his style and ours. Well, I have to be modest to say that, but nothing that we did can be compared to his importance, but the coincidence of points of view was unbelievable. So, I said that as a tribute to the reality that this man had seen. I basically was saying tropicalia is nothing but a new antropofagismo; that means that O. De andrade had said all already.

(EB) Like I think you said in your book, "we swallowed the Beatles, we swallowed Jimi Hendrix." I think you said that in these terms, "we used to eat the Beatles, we used to eat Jimi Hendrix."
(CV) Yes, because of O. de Andrade's ideas of anthropophagism. It was a good metaphor, and he used it in a very good way regarding Brazilian culture and the relation of Brazilian culture with European traditions.

13) Do you think, and I'm making up questions as we go, do you think that it is pretty much the fate of any invaded colonized country to have to absorb in such a massive way foreign cultures in order to make their own, or is it a quality that is very specific to Brazil?

No, I think even the U.S. have felt that in its intellectual formation, maturation. Everybody has sought that all over the Americas. I think Brazil, of course, being different in many ways, because we have been colonized by the Portuguese, we have greater disadvantages; like Portuguese is a lot less known than Spanish, not to mention English. Spanish now is the second language of the world, most spoken and second best known, something like that, in the western world. Portuguese is almost unknown. Its literature is not known; Brazilian literature is not known, not even by our neighbors here. I was reading something by Guimaraes Josa; it was beautiful, I was very enthusiastic about Guimaraes' novel. But I thought I was reading the best of

his oeuvre. He also wrote some short stories that might interest BrazIlian people only. But you can only do that when you are dealing with a culture that is not known by other people, because that would be like saying, apart from Mobby Dick, ….. is meaningless, except for Americans, but you just can't say that. So, Vargas Llosa could never say that of Guimaraes Josa, it's just wrong. Because his short stories sometimes are in a higher level than his novel; from any point of view, not because I am Brazilian. So Brazil has suffered that a lot more than any other American country, because we speak Portuguese. And on top of that, we are a huge country. We are as big as the continental U.S. , territorially; and that gives a different way of dealing with how you are in the world. Big countries have naturally big ambitions. So we have the biggest disadvantages, we are fatally connected with big ambitions because we are this huge country that the Portuguese never divided. The colonies became one country, because the king of Portugal came to Brazil. Our history is different. The idea of anthropophagy in Brazil has somehow a bigger force.

14) Thanks, because I had a question for you about Brazilian literature, that I was going to forget: What was the influence of Macunaima of Mario de Andrade, on Tropicalia, and was the Modernist movement a precursor of Tropicalia. And… what about Dada in Europe? (I have studied a lot about surrealism and the Dada movement in Europe; and since I started to study Tropicalia, I've kept finding similarities between the approach of Dadaism and Tropicalia…)

(CV) So do I!
(EB) …and I think there's only one author, I think it's C. Dunn, who mentions something, a brief comment/analysis…
(CV) I wrote an article in the New York Times about Carmen Miranda, that's called… in fact they didn't use my title. It's "Carmen Miranda-Dada," which is the last line in Tropicalia. This was the greatest synthesis of Tropicalia's inspiration; and I mentioned that and I tell in that article that the knowledge of the French, Swiss, trans-European dadaists came to us through the Concrete poets of Sao Paulo, because they were radical vanguardists who didn't like Surrealism; and they opposed Dada to Surrealism. We knew Surrealism, because Surrealism is very well known, from Salvador Dali who was this star, this pop figure, to… (pause)

(EB) Magritte?
(CV) to Magritte…
(EB) I love Magritte!
(CV) Mostly Magritte, you know; from Salvador Dali to Magritte…
(EB) A friend of mine painted this *(showing CD jacket of 'Therapie Bossa Nova')*
It's in my living room, I love it.

(CV) I love these things too, but you know, we felt that our thing was not Surrealism. I personally didn't identify… when people said "Oh, it's surreal! ," I said "No! it's not surrealistic, that's not the idea. I even thought that tropicalia was more cubist than surrealistic. But then, the Concrete poets showed us the Dada manifestos and ideas,

works and things, and I felt that we identified better with those things, than Surrealism. Surrealism has this academic aspect to it, that has always been a little boring…

(EB) And … I was asking you about Macunaima of Mario de Andrade…
(CV) Yes, I was going to avoid that one (*laughing)* but I must tell you, I never read Macunaima entirely…
(EB) I just read it in English and my Brazilian friend…
(CV) How did you like it? I never finished it…
(EB) I don't get it! What does he want to say, what's the metaphor about, what's the…
(CV) I don't like it much, I didn't even read it entirely… I will be frank, I never read the whole book, I could never read it entirely! … I read O. de Andrade's two most important novels many times, but I could never read Macunaima entirely. I think it's a little loose. It's the most Oswaldian of all things that Mario did, but Mario had some beautiful poems and interesting ideas; but, I don't know, Macunaima is the nearest thing to Oswald, but I think it's a little… inconsistent. It's not thick enough. I tell you, I never finished it. I saw the movie and I did not like the movie either! But the book is better. But no, it did not influenced me at all…
(EB) Even in Portuguese, it's impossible to read… My friend said…
(CV) It's boring!
(EB) "It's a complete impossible task to translate it in English, but…
(CV) Well, it's impossible in Portuguese too. I did not find it difficult, I found it a little shallow.

15) Is there a social or racial message in the Anthropophagy of O. de Andrade, or is it merely an esthetic and cultural approach (and what about Tropicalia) ?

Oswald had social and political motivations for all that. Although the very beginnings of everything was cultural esthetics. But he has always had this social and historical and racial interest, everything; and that led him to become a communist. He was a communist in many ways, but of course he was a very original communist, but he was a communist. We had social conscious interests in our gestures during the tropicalia movement. I think race… if there's one subject i'd like to write about still, if i would give up the idea that there are too many books around, why write one more, it would be to write something about race in brazil, and then about my personal experience, the way i see it, and my personal history, the environment i grew up in, and the ideas about race in brazil and the new discussion that came, and how i saw it from my lived experience. This is a book I would like to write, and these ideas had been with us from the beginning. Gil is black. We are both mulattos. As I say in the book, he is dark enough mulatto to be called black, even in Bahia; I'm a light enough mulatto to be called white, even in Rio or Sao Paulo. But Gil was the son of a doctor, and his father had a car. Mine never had one; my father was a mulatto, my mother was lighter than him, and we are mixed; but we were poor. So, she'll never speak of race, when he was young. He was just talented and he studied in the best university,

here. He studied, you know, to be a CEO, among the rich white guys. And he never felt anything racial, never spoke about that. But in the end, when he started with this Tropicalia thing, this was one of the things that we started, talking about more and more ….And he became some kind of a racial activist; he wrote songs and did things in Bahia so that he became this black figure. But in the beginning, he was very Brazilian, and that race did not mean anything to him; or he thought that this meant nothing to anybody here.

16) I've read in different places that there is a real denial problem of racial issues in Brazil…

(CV) In Brazil, yeah…
(EB) And there was this 'Branqueamento,' is this the right pronunciation?
(CV) Branqueamento!
(EB) Like yourself, you have the profile of the higher race, where it's good to mix a little bit, but not too much, you know…
(CV) Yes, lots of these things are coming in place now. Because we were totally color blind when I was very young, because in BrazIl, mostly here, I'm from a town of … da Bahia, this area is highly mixed, Brazil is highly mixed, racially, and this area because in Bahia we had the biggest number of black slaves, and then the biggest number, early on, during the colonial times, we had this enormous population of black and mulatto free people, apart from slaves. The quantity of blacks and mulattos, … and the mulattos have had a lot of respectable growth in the society; some blacks too; and on and of, it's been very confused, the racial thing here. Because the Portuguese are not at all like the British. But the English are professional racists, and the Portuguese are racist as people ordinary are. But they are pretty amateurish, first of all, because things were not pretty white in Europe, from the Pyrenees down, that's Africa, from the eyes of somebody from Holland or England. The Arabs had been there for centuries, in the Iberia; It's a peninsula. So, when they came here, they were already like that, and they had never been good racists. So, it's been very confused. Nowadays, what happened is the following: up to the beginning of the twentieth century, lots of American black people who came here thought this is paradise. And we were very proud of being, you know, racially totally tolerant; like we didn't have the laws of segregation. We never had prohibition of blacks going into this part of the bus, or in that square, or coming into this church or in this theater, that restaurant, nothing! We thought that was monstrous. Everybody thought that was monstrous; those white families that had been masters from the very beginning of colonization, and who were racist like very shyly, because nobody wanted to be openly racist in BrazIl, that would never work. A person who would say, "darker people in your house… ," that's Brazilian racism. A white family that descends from slave owners, you know, colonizers from the beginning, traditional white families, as white as Portuguese can be… They would be like, they don't want their daughter to marry a black man or their sons to marry black women or mulatto women, and if they bring mulattos or black friends to their house, they would be silent, or they would try to say carefully, because they would bring them from school, or from the street, because

people, you know, it was totally conventional, mostly among poor people, until now, the only thing that, from the Mid-seventies on, suggests remotely some idea of racially separating poor people from other groups of poor people, is a will of imitating Americans, through academic propaganda, rap and the black movement. This is true. Some Americans came here to write books denouncing the hypocrisy of the BraziIian so-called racial democracy, as if democracy itself had been perfectly applied in the United States… No, no, this is nowadays a common place… even the government here, it began with Fernando Ricardos, who was the president before Lula. (…) in the 80s, if you would have said to a left wing intellectual, that in a few years, we were going to be led politically first by Fernande Ricardos for eight years, then for eight years by Lula, the other one would say, "you are dreaming too hard, that's too good to be true, that will never happen!

(EB) Lula was head of the Worker's Party at the time?
(CV) Lula was the head of the Worker's Party, he was a worker's leader, a union leader. Left wing, and he was fighting against the dictatorship hand in hand with Fernando Henrique Cardoso who was a left wing Marxist professor in the University of Sao Paulo. They were like protesting against the mentor dictatorship and imperialism, everything. So, to say that "we are going to become presidents," you know, in a row… , that would be unimaginable. Well, at least, Fernando Henrique Cardoso was a sociologist of left wing Marxist root, and he wrote mostly about race, mostly about black people, from a Sao Paulo point of view, where racial problems were more visible than here… because of many reasons; one of those is that lots of European immigrants came to Sao Paulo brought by ex-slave owners who were trying not to admit the abolition of slavery. These people from Sao Paulo created a more racial kind of situation, a little more like in America, but very little; it's never been similar to the U. S., never, not even in Sao Paulo, nowhere. But anyway, F. H. Cardoso wrote about these things and when he became president, he was the first one to bring the word 'race' to the laws and the idea of affirmative action and quotas (for black people in the universities.) He was the first one to introduce that idea, and obviously afterwards, Lula created a ministry of racial equality. The minister if a black women, and she said some crazy things; like, she said that it is natural that black people hate white people because they had been tortured by them. So, the minister of racial equality saying that it's natural that black people hate white people! Who told you that black people hate white people! … It's wanting to imitate the U.S. , but after the beginning of the twentieth century, Americans would come here and think they were in paradise, and they wrote about it. Lots of people from Europe also… Of course, there were the racists who wrote things like saying Brazil is going to be the worst place in the world, because this racial mixture is going to mean degradation, it's going to be degrading for the population, that kind of thing. But also people who were blacks in the U.S. , they thought it was like paradise; you'd go to the beach and see a group of friends, … three blacks, two mulattos, one blond and four whites and black hair girls talking together, joking and laughing; they don't even seem to be thinking one is black, one is half black, one is blond, one is white… It's really different, we are used to that, we grew up in that environment. So, of course,

two things are racist: the attitude I was describing of some families and people who think that being white is superior in a way … But it's very light; they had to hide it and not say it publicly, they never could; it's something different. This is one kind of racism. The other is purely statistic; like if you count the number of poor black people, it's the highest (among blacks.) If you count the number of black poor people, that's the highest too (among white and blacks.) But that obviously came from slavery; but in the U. S. , even after everything they did with Civil Rights and everything, and with Obama being candidate, in fact facing a position of black American, in spite of all that, of Gondoliza Rice being such an important figure in this most conservative government, … in spite of all that, if you make the statistics about for example, presidents in the U. S. , blacks are a minority.
(… at that moment, a black person shows up on the patio)
Speaking of 'blacks are the majority…???

(E.B.) I don't know, I don't know him!
(C.V.) Did he come from the U. S. ?

(…)

17) One last question… What I am doing is a thesis/project, so I am doing different things. One of them is to perform two choros on the guitar, and as a demonstration of where even modern popular music of Brazil and the samba tradition came from, rooted in the classical and rooted in the popular at the same time; These are two Paulo Bellinatti…

(CV) Paulo Bellinatti, of course! He's a great guitar player! They had this group for a while of three great guitarists, Bellinatti and two other guys, playing just three guitars, …It was fantastic! He's a great guitarist.
(EB) (…) If I say *choro* and Tropicalia, does it bring anything to your mind?
(CV) It makes me think about it, but we did not have much of the presence of *choro* specifically then. I wrote some sambas that are *choro* like, mostly when I wrote for Bethania, and when I was touring with the Foreign Sound, I played a new samba that I did not record yet. It's called "diferentemente" and it's *choro* like. But back then, no. Back then, *choro* was something we always thought about; it is the most defined form of popular music that's been developed in Rio mostly, and that created a tradition of masterpieces, and that was taught. You find young guys playing in Lapa nowadays creating new things and new groups of *choro*. That was exactly the kind of thing that would never then, you know, wake up the dogmatic, nationalistic, left wing, intellectual pretentious group of people we wanted to shock.
(EB) It was too conventional…
(CV) Yeah, it was something really Brazilian, really good, that we loved, but it didn't need us. We couldn't make better *choros*, or something with *choro* that would revitalize it. Nor we needed *choro* to… If we'd play something like *choro*, people would think "well, these guys are ok, they are Brazilians and they are trying to make their best…" and that's not what we wanted to do then.

18) What about (I promise it's the last one) your love for Carmen Miranda?

I wrote that article that says a lot about it. It's been like… I think it grew mostly when we started with the Tropicalismo thing. Because she wasn't known, like she was known from the American movies when I was growing up. She was already living there and she was an international star. The movies were not very good and she didn't know how to dance samba, but she was very talented in moving her hands, in a little Spanish way. But she was very *carioca* in her looks and things, and she was very funny; but she was a little of a character of not only Brazil, but of Latin America, because they'd put together some Cuban things with Brazilian things, and she was there speaking sometimes a little Portuguese, a little Spanish, English with a … forced accent. We were proud of her because she had been a big star in Brazil, but that was before I was born. I was born in 42 and she had been a big star, so my mother loved her, I learned how to love her… Because she was fantastic. It's a pity that people thought what is she doing there in Hollywood? Most people were a little bit ashamed of her, and did not think much of her… Only that she was known and she was Brazilian and she was there; and that she had been a great singer before, and I would never look for her old records. But in the end, with Tropicalia, that she was Hollywood, American pop, Brazilian, so we were more and more curious about her. We went to revisit all of her old records and she was fantastic.

(EB) (…) I just went to the Carmen Miranda museum, and I realized on the DVDs how charismatic she was…
(CV) She was very!
(EB) I sensed a presence in her smile…
(CV) She was marvelous, really!
(EB) And I realized why she was so loved and well-known.
(CV) It's true. You know what happened is that she went to the U. S. in the 30s, and she played on Broadway first, before she went to Hollywood, and she was an instant phenomenon there, because of her charisma. She was just irresistible. She had been here, she went there, as soon as she arrived… She never came back; she only came back to die.
(EB) And also, I love the fact, I think it was in 1942 that she had to come back for a while, and people in Brazil did not like what she was doing then, and the same night she wrote the song where she says "they accuse me of trading my samba for…
(CV) Yeah, of being Americanized… I love to sing that song…
(EB) But even if nobody likes me anymore, I will eat my turban and my bananas…
(CV) I have a show where I opened singing it with my guitar. I have a recording of it, you can find it, it's a good recording "Dizem que volvei Americanizada," I just play guitar and sing it, it's a great song.
So, this is it, I hope you found what you came here for.

ROGERIO DUARTE, 12/27/07

December 27, 2007: Personal Interview, 3434 Avenida das Americas, Blocko 5, #506, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Excerpt, translated from the French by author. (Present at the interview: R. Duarte, E. Blin, Tom Gostas, Kirtane Blin, Christian Toth)

1) (E.B.) You have written several songs for the Tropicalia movement…

(R.D.) I have written several songs, but from a branch a little bit on the left of Tropicalism. I have written only four or five songs; my contribution has been of a different kind. In the CD which comes with my translation of the Bhagavat Gita, it is interesting because there are many tropicalists who participated in this recording; there is Gilberto Gil, there is Gal Costa, there is also the new generation of Brazilian musicians. I have written many songs which were co-authored with tropicalists musicians, but my life has been very strange, and I would say a little more dramatic than for other tropicalists.
I was not a pop star because of my prison and torture, and later I started to do a purely underground type of work. I am the underground side of Tropicalia. In the 1970s, when Caetano and Gil were exiled, I began to work on protest music with a black musician called Sergio Bandeira who nfortunately died at a very young age. It was a real revolution here in Brazil. But the dictatorship destroyed all of that. One of our songs had almost become a Brazilian hymn, even though it was never recorded. Much later, when I was asked to record the song, I had already decided to renounce my whole material life and I refused. Later, I changed my position and then Narlan (Matos) decided to re-publish my work in this edition of Tropicaos in order to make it known to the public. But I have nothing to do with this edition and I did not even review his work. There are many unpublished things in my work and Narlan began this almost archeological (laughs) research in order to rediscover ancient things.

2. You declared in an interview for the newspaper Folha de Sao Paulo : « I am tropicalism. » Was it a joke or did you say this seriously? What did you mean exactly?

(R.D.) It means in particular that I was more of a character than an author, because my entire life was Tropicalia. What I went through has inspired many people because I was almost an incarnation of the tropicalist ideas. I used to reject practically any hierarchy of esthetics, good taste, bad taste… and because I was already a little more scholarly, I had a better knowledge of world culture; I was also more respected because I was a professor at the Museum of Modern Art in Rio and I used to work with other avant-guard artists like Helio Oiticica. We were more respected than Caetano at the beginning; later, he was acknowledged as a prominent intellectual, but at the beginning of the movement, we (Oiticica and Duarte) were more representative of an intellectual revolution. Here in Rio, I was not acknowledged as an artist because I was more of an anarchist… and for this reason I am almost considered as a mythical character!

3. In Tropicaos, there is a text where you declare : « I was chosen…"

(R.D.) Yes, it was actually a random choice, like a lottery: "this one!" It does not imply any special merit on my part; randomly means by chance. May be this is linked to some karma, some strange mystery which I am not aware of. Before tropicalism, I was a member of the committee for propaganda and agitation of the Students National Union and I was a communist, not even out of ideology, but only out of the association with the Brazilian youth.

4. You said that Budhism and Marxism were compatible…

(R.D.) My mysticism started in my childhood; It is not a dramatic accident of life, it is the nature of the soul. Like with Arjuna, when one has lost all materials hopes, one starts to seek transcendance. There is a poem of Drummond de Andrade, "E agora Jose," it is a must read; it inspired a lot of tropicalists, Caetano and others…

5. You are often referred to as the main spiritual influence on Tropicalia…

(R.D.) I read the first translation of the Ramayana when I was eleven and my uncle was an admirer of Indian culture. Early in my childhood, I had a collection of French publications from Rene Guenon about budhism, hatha-yoga, and I used to know many Sanskrit words. Later, during my jail experience, I have had many mystical experiences which made me realize that time does not exist, that the essence of things is eternal (…)
Caetano is a very dear friend of mine, one of the greatest friends of my life. I am his son's godfather and he is a very trustworthy friend. Personally, I consider him as a saint. I am in the process of translating another Sanskrit text, the "Gita-Govinda," and Moreno is working with me. (…) With Tropicalia, we started a revolution in the revolution, because we were already tired of the leftist protest which lacked a deeper esthetic understanding. We refused to carry the banner of protest songs and we created a meta-social revolution. So-called activists considered us like crazy, but it is us who were put in jail and endured the most repression. We were the left of the left of the left.
(…) I arrived in Rio long before Gil and caetano, and I was a part of the Marxist movement of the festive left, but when the Bahian artists got together, it was like all of a sudden my real nature was able to manifest. It was for me like meeting my real brothers.

APPENDIX D

Brazilian Music and Social Consciousness: The Tropicalia Movement (DVD Presentation and Summary of Thesis)