PERFORMING SAMBA:
AESTHETICS, TRANSNATIONAL MODERNISMS, AND RACE

BY

MARCELO BOCCATO KUYUMJIAN

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts in Music
with a concentration in Jazz Performance
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2021

Urbana, Illinois

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Marc A. Hertzman, Chair and Director of Research
Professor Gabriel P. Solis, Director of Research
Associate Professor Michael Silvers
Associate Professor Teofilo Carrillo

ABSTRACT

Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, Rio de Janeiro became an important hub of an emerging Black Atlantic entertainment industry. *Cariocas*—the people who lived in Rio de Janeiro—listened to samba in ways that challenged and produced racial categories, celebrated the creativity of Black musicians and reinforced primitivistic notions of blackness. Analyzing an extensive archive of sound and text that includes commercial recordings of music, sheet music, newspapers, and writings on music that documents the city's musical activities from 1830 to 1968, this dissertation examines how musicians, intellectuals, journalists, critics, and audiences produced such contrasting ways of listening to Black music. These contrasting ways of listening, I argue, reveal two distinct aesthetic-political projects: music as knowledge for relationship-building amidst difference, or the knowledge of musical difference as a sign of racial difference and irreconcilable alterity.

Samba and other forms of Black music are produced in transnational networks and increasingly consumed through mass media, but music meaning continues to be negotiated locally and collectively. Commodified music is given life through embodied acts of music making. This dissertation focuses on the importance of local groups in shaping communities' engagement with commodified music. It examines local groups that claimed a stake in defining samba, considering how they articulated diverse representations of samba through sound, performance, and discourse and in turn, how they shaped the contested and relational nature of listening to Black music. It is through these institutions that individuals can learn to find in commodified forms of music the rich histories and experiences of Black communities across the diaspora, or the persistent legacies of race that dehumanize black subjects and reinforce racial hierarchies.

ACKNOWLDGEMENTS

As a musician, I have long been challenged to appreciate the opportunities for collaboration and to recognize the collective aspect of all meaningful creative work that I could accomplish. Although I have felt much lonelier in the process of writing this dissertation than most other acts of musical creation that I was used to, I can say with certainty that it was in no way a solo act. In fact, the most rewarding aspect of completing this dissertation was to learn how much of what I understood to be my own individual expressions and thoughts were the result of belonging to a community of people who shared so much with me, directly and indirectly. At the same time, writing this dissertation also made me much more aware to the fact that although I could, as a white man, benefit so much from the social and creative expressions of so many of the Black communities, musicians, and their music, the same was not true for many of their own interactions with other white people like me.

Throughout the process of writing this dissertation, it became clear that any intellectual contributions I wish to make through this work need to be accompanied by meaningful action that is appropriate to the weight of learning this historical truth. The history that I examined is filled with many examples of similar interactions, in which white people get to benefit from the creativity of Black communities without establishing any serious commitment to reciprocity or belonging. I am extremely grateful for the musicians and communities who shared so much beauty in the making and upkeeping of the genre samba. But while I recognize my indebtedness to the Black women and men who created the music, articulated the ideas, and shaped worlds that became so meaningful to me throughout the research and writing process, I must frame this work as a small fragment of what is necessary to learn and do so that the beauty that is aspired to in their music can become a larger reality.

The process of learning about this music and communities also allowed me for a much greater appreciation of the people who have shared so much of their lives with me, through and beyond music. Without a doubt, the hardest aspect of writing this dissertation was the long process of my graduate education, which unfortunately involved leaving my home and my country. When I left, we were five: my mother Malú and father Gilberto, my siblings Jéssica and Gabriel, and myself. We are now a larger family, with the additions of loving partners—Jones, Íris, and my wife Marília—in addition to Jéssica' and Jones' son, Mateus. I miss their companionship and I am extremely grateful that they have been supporting me ever since, despite the pain of being far away for so long. For my parents, I am also grateful that they chose to express their love for us by stimulating our curiosity and supporting our education. Their care for me and my siblings have made my academic life a possibility. And I am also grateful for all the other family members, grandparents, uncles and aunts, and cousins, who created a community of care and friendship that was always present throughout my life. In special, I thank my uncle Rogério who as a professional musician looked after me when I first started showing interest in music and who remained present throughout my career.

My academic career is also an example of the contradictions of the country I was born in, Brazil. Throughout my childhood and adolescence, I was provided with a great education that, unfortunately, was not available to all in the country. It took my parents a lot of financial commitment to provide us with these opportunities, but nonetheless something that they could afford, unlike many in the country. By the time I was considering my options for higher education, our financial situation probably would not have allowed me to continue paying for a similar level of quality. Nonetheless, I was a beneficiary of the public higher education system, which allowed people like me with a strong training access to a world-level university with no cost. So, while I

am grateful for the privilege of studying at a free and public University in Brazil, I also recognize that too many of these opportunities were limited to white people like me, for too long.

I still cherish the many friends who caried me through my undergraduate degree in Brazil and, in special, the small group of sisters and brothers that transformed me with their love—Priscila Akemi, Denis Nassar, Weber Marely, and Marília. I am also grateful for the faculty members who sustained my curiosity. One of them, Prof. Rafael dos Santos, was particularly responsible for much of the growth I had as a young pianist, and for opening doors so that I could advance my graduate studies in the United States, in institutions where I had access to much more resources than I could expect. My first stop was at the University of Iowa, where Prof. John Rapson and his wife Beth Rapson were responsible for so much of my success. As a teacher and advisor, John had an enormous impact on my education. But I am even more grateful for their friendship and care. I am so thankful that during the first two years outside my home and in a different and sometimes unwelcoming country, John and Beth were loving presences that helped me start rebuilding my life. I am also extremely grateful for the other jazz faculty—James Dreier, Steve Grizmore, Brent Sandy—and the music colleagues I met at Iowa—Justin LeDuc, Scott Morris, and Luke Hawthorne in special.

My time at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign was certainly life-changing. I met so many people who contributed to my intellectual and personal growth that I am afraid it would be impossible to mention all of them here. I can begin by mentioning that this was the first place that I realized the amount of work that is done behind the scenes in order to allow for the teaching and research that so often is the exclusive focus of our attention. I am thankful for the work of Gloria Rible and Angelina Cotler at CLACS; Jenny Philips at the School of Music; Elis Artz at the Lemann Center for Brazilian Studies; and Stephanie Uebelhoer at IPRH; along with so many

of the other staff workers who I have not met personally, but that make this institution work. As a graduate worker, I am also indebted to the earlier generations of GEO members who made sure that the conditions that make our work possible—living wages, proper work conditions, and tuition waivers—were protected beyond their term at UIUC. I am proud to have worked alongside so many other graduate workers to continue protecting these conditions and to extend the benefits to the future generation of graduate workers who are indispensable for this institution.

I have been transformed by the rich personal, academic, and musical experiences I had at UIUC. Although my work has gravitated towards the academic side of the School of Music late in my degree, none of that would have been possible were it not for the learning that occurred in my musical collaborative practices. It was at those spaces that I learned that my understanding of music included only a small fraction of all that is necessary for music to exist. I am extremely thankful to Jay Sawyer, Dana Hall, and Tito Carrillo for showing me the importance of discipline, community, history, and love in the creative and artistic processes. I am also thankful for a number of other colleagues—Andy Whelock, Zubin Edalji, Mike Harmon, Justin Copeland, Matt Endres, Mathew Muneses—with whom I shared so many moments of friendship and musical collaboration. And I also extend my gratitude to the entire jazz faculty who nurtured this program and who shared so much of their knowledge with me—Chip McNeil, Chip Stephens, Joan Hickey, Joel Spencer, Larry Grey, and Jim Pugh.

I could never have expected that my doctoral training would have been so rich and expansive. As a young musician with a very narrow perspective on music, I was fortunate to have met so many academics who nurture a beautiful openness to different forms of knowledge production. I am thankful for the may faculty outside of the School of Music who shared so much beyond what they were required to—Jerry Dávila, and John Karam in particular. There were many

formative encounters that changed the direction of my academic life, but I am certain that things could not have turned this way had I not spent a year as a graduate fellow with the Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities (now IHI). I remember being profoundly moved by the intellectual force and passion of its director, Prof. Antoinette Burton. Her powerful desire for engaging in meaningful learning experiences shaped the 2018-19 IPRH seminar and cohort, and I still see the impact of those meetings in my work. I am equally thankful to the other six graduate students and seven faculty members who put so much energy and care into our meetings and helped strengthen my curiosity and love for learning. I was also extremely fortuned to have met Gabriel Solis and Mike Silvers, who guided me in my explorations of the academic side of music studies. Their deep engagement with music showed me a side of music that I had not yet learned to appreciate. Their careful mentoring allowed me to break away from disciplinary boundaries that limit the field of music studies and that shaped my own thinking about music, despite my unconscious attempts at the time to deny that reality in my own musical practice. And I am forever grateful for the mentorship of Marc Hertzman. His intellectual contributions to my work are too large to number, but his commitment through the advising process is beyond anything I could expect. I am not exaggerating when I say that this dissertation would not have been completed were it not for the amount of care that he showed to me during the writing process.

I would like to specially thank my wife Marília. Her work-ethic is the standard that shapes all of my work and she was, and is, my inspiration to pursue this academic path. But beyond all of that, she gave me a home away from home. Our friendship and companionship make my life possible, and her love impacts everything I do, including this research project.

Finally, I thank the God who instructs me to live a life of love and who continues to teach me that the beauty of all creation points away from myself and towards friendship, community, belonging, peace, justice, and love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF EXAMPLES

INTRODUCTION

Jazz obscures the fact that, though we shared it with the world, it's Black music for Black freedom. All due respect to Benny Goodman, Charlie Haden, and Dave Brubeck, but they are guests in the House of Black Music.

Nicholas Payton

On Being A Guest at the House of Black Music

On a Saturday night, a white man walking with his friend by Cidade Nova, a predominantly Black neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro, heard a sound overflowing from a small house. Drawn by the "attractive polka" and noticing it was quite well executed, he and his friend decided to investigate. Looking through the open windows, the men saw some fifty Black people who joined a bride and groom in celebrating their wedding. After hearing someone talking about food, his friend suggested they should try to join the party. Initially opposed, our storyteller decided to engage one of the guests who was standing by the window. After striking a conversation, he learned that he was speaking to the groom, who insisted he and his friend were indeed welcome.

This serendipitous encounter was published as a chronicle in a short-lived newspaper in Rio de Janeiro in March 1880.[1] This is one of the earliest published versions of what would soon become a popular trope in Rio de Janeiro's press, the white observer who visits musical gatherings organized by the city's Black population. Therefore, it is not clear whether or not this event happened exactly as described. However, it is quite possible that the writer of this piece had at least participated in similar gatherings in the past. During the 1880s, a new style of music and

[1] "Na terra dos cégos…," *O Neóphito*, March 7, 1880.

dance was emerging within the city's Black communities and Cidade Nova was developing a reputation as a region where one could go to find such gatherings regularly. The presence of "curious" individuals, as the writer describes himself, would become an important aspect of discourses that emphasized the fluidity of race in Rio de Janeiro and the role of popular music in facilitating the encounters between the city's Black and white populations.[2] However, the positive tone that has often been used in popular and even scholarly discourse to characterize these narratives of encounter does not seem appropriate for this particular story. Instead, the way this encounter is narrated reveals a deep sentiment of racial superiority that cautions against such naïve interpretations.

The story begins with a detailed description of the couple's physical traits. The author used racial terms referring to the bride (*crioula*) and the groom (*negrinho*), and described with detail the particular skin color, the size of their eyes, size and color of lips, and the bride's teeth, a sign of her *guiné* heritage. Focusing his attention back on the music, the author was once again enchanted by the scenario. He admitted having been looking for a place for dancing and had found in that house the prefect spot to satisfy his body's cravings. The low candlelight, the chocolate bread, and the nice dining table covered with linen cloth created an inviting setting for this man to appreciate the ensemble composed of a guitar, cavaquinho, and flute. But as soon as the men's gaze turned to the other guests at the party, his vocabulary changed. He once again reverted to dehumanizing speech, comparing the people he observed with puppets. Their very movement was scrutinized, as he blamed them for raising dust that transformed the once peaceful room into a

[2] Moura, *Tia Ciata e a Pequena África No Rio de Janeiro*; Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente: Transformações Do Samba No Rio de Janeiro, 1917-1933*.

hellish place, smelling not like sulfur but African sweat. Feeling nauseated and bewildered, he only regained his composure when someone announced the food was ready. At this point, he abandoned his stance as observer and began interacting with the other participants at the party. His conversation with the groom was short, but he left such an impression that the groom requested he make a toast in celebration of the newlywed couple. The writer agreed. The speech preceding the toast had been so successful that many of the guests approached him for a collective hug. He was convinced that, from the middle of the group, the bride had attempted to kiss him and ran away expressing his horror from the situation, but not before hearing one of the guests saying towards him: "In the land of blacks, he who is white is king."[3]

The history of samba is full of similar encounters. Although public discourse that reinforced racialized notions of samba was common throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this story stands out for the proximity that allowed this level of detail in the observer's act of describing his racial object. Combining an ethnographic eye, an entitled attitude towards a social space where he did not belong, and a grandiose sense of self, the man's voyage into this house reveals the profound destruction that centuries of slavery had produced on white Brazilians. The man telling this story was captivated by the music, but that interest did not compel him to enter into a relation with the individuals, the community, and the space that produced it. His narrative of this encounter reveals his disregard for the intimacy of the wedding celebration and his inability to empathize with the couple and their guests. Equally troubling is the eerie similarity

[3] This is a clear pun based on a popular saying in Brazil (referenced in the title of the article): "In the land of the blind, he who has eyes is king."

between his behavior and that of many ethnographers and anthropologists who vaulted themselves all over the world in order to produced knowledge about Man.

I choose to begin the dissertation with this story as a way to remind myself of the challenging task I face. As I find myself a guest in this House of Black Music, the one built by so many Black Brazilians, how can I avoid the same mistakes that this man committed? What story can I tell that would not be distorted by my own white gaze? Struggling with these questions, I found it was not enough to simply announce my ethnographer self and make transparent my methods and goals. I believe I would still repeat that man's mistakes had I decided to insist in the mission of describing the men and women who I observed at samba's house, or the music they created which had long fascinated me. Instead, I have chosen to tell the story of their labor in building this house called samba. Doing so allows me to move beyond race, at least as an initial move, to show that behind the story told by that white man, there was another far more important. There are, after all, two different stories in the history of samba.

The newspaper chronicle begins and ends with the experience of the two white friends. But before they even got there, the Black people they encountered had long been at work. They prepared the food, decorated the house, and invited the guests. Before the fifty guests could belong to a shared community, they had to build a people from the many individuals who had been named Africans. Before there was a wedding, they had to sustain the very notion of kinship that was constantly threatened by the enslavers of their ancestors. And before there was music, these Black musicians needed to find ways to buy the expensive European instruments, learn how to play them, and reinvent the old songs they learned from their families through the songs that their former enslavers used to sing. After all of this work, rather than remaining isolated, they welcomed at their home the very people who continued to benefit from their racialized condition. Samba, the

Black music made for Black freedom, is also the house that Black people built as an attempt to reestablish the relationships that had been severed by the slavery, relationships that remained broken in Brazil's post-emancipation society.

This is a story—or rather two—that I believe I am capable of telling. I am inspired by the knowledge and creative musical work that engendered a community of Black people as well as by their commitment to building a world where not only Black lives were affirmed, but one that also provided the conditions for the restoration of white lives. My decision to study this process is also inspired by the intellectual work of many scholars from Latin America engaged on the project of decoloniality.[4] More specifically, I am interested in pursuing the path laid out by Sylvia Wynter, who argues that the central issue we face today is "that of the genre of the human, the issue whose target of abolition is the ongoing collective production of our present ethnoclass mode of being human, Man: above all, its overrepresentation of its well-being as that of the human species as a whole, rather than as it is veridically: that of the Western and westernized (or conversely) global middle classes."[5] At the center of Wynter's critique of coloniality is the intellectual construction that sustains the logic of the universal attributes of the human, when in fact they are only applied to Western bodies. The issue at hand, one that scholars like Paul Gilroy, Achille Mbembe, and

---

[4] Mignolo and Walsh, *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*; Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*; Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation-An Argument"; Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality"; Escobar, "Worlds and Knowledge Otherwise: The Latin American Modernity/ Coloniality Research Program"; Ferreira da Silva, *Towar. a Glob. Idea Race*; Santos, *The End of the Cognitive Empire: The Coming of Age of Epistemologies of the South*.

[5] Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation-An Argument," 313.

Denise Silva also struggled with, is how to articulate a project that can address both the entire human species and its constituting communities without resorting to the language of universality or fragmented identities.[6] To quote Sueli Carneiro and her reading of Aimé Ceisare:

> "The utopia that we seek consists in finding a shortcut between a blackness that is reducing of the human dimension and the Western hegemonic universality that nullifies the diversity. To be Black, but not only Black, to be a woman, but not only a woman, to be a Black woman, but not only a Black woman. Reaching the equality of rights means becoming a complete human being and full of possibilities and opportunities that go beyond one's racial and gendered conditions. This is the final goal of this fight."[7]

Defining Samba: Music, Nation, and Race

Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, Rio de Janeiro became an important hub of an emerging Black Atlantic entertainment industry. The recording of Donga's composition "Pelo telefone" in 1917 accelerated a process of commodification of musical practices of Afro-Brazilian communities that eventually led to the creation of the commercial genre samba. The rise of samba in mainstream popular culture in Brazil during the 1920s and 1930s was characterized by constant collaborations between white and non-white musicians, the inclusion of Black musicians in the growing music industry and shifting discourses on race that emphasized the positive aspects of miscegenation accompanied samba's growing popularity across different social groups. Through the first half of the twentieth-century, samba remained an important site of political struggle as more people became interested in defining the style, seeking not only economic benefits, but also "the right to define and shape the meaning of Brazil and Brazilian-ness."[8]

---

[6] Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture beyond the Color Line*; Gilroy, "After the Great White Error … The Great Black Mirage"; Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholy*; Mbembe, *Critique of Black Reason*.

[7] Carneiro, "Enegrecer o Feminismo: A Situação Da Mulher Negra Na América Latina a Partir de Uma Perspectiva de Gênero."

[8] Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*, 114.

As the circulation of Black music and dance increased, sound was quickly becoming an important medium for shaping identities, communities, and worldviews.[9] *Cariocas*—the people who lived in Rio de Janeiro—listened to samba in ways that challenged and produced racial categories, celebrated the creativity of Black musicians and reinforced primitivistic notions of blackness. Analyzing an extensive archive of sound and text that includes commercial recordings of music, sheet music, newspapers, and writings on music that documents the city's musical activities from 1830 to 1968, I examine how musicians, intellectuals, journalists, critics, and audiences produced such contrasting ways of listening to Black music. These contrasting ways of listening, I argue, reveal two distinct aesthetic-political projects: music as knowledge for relationship-building amidst difference, or the knowledge of musical difference as a sign of racial difference and irreconcilable alterity. By untangling these two aesthetic projects and exploring the tension between them, my aim is to contribute to a broader understanding of the politics of race in samba and Black music more broadly.

This project is situated in the growing field of global music history, positioning African diasporic communities as transnational and historical agents who shape and are shaped by global flows of music, and highlighting their work as producers of historical knowledge. Combining methodologies and theories of Black Studies, Black Theology, Performance Studies, Sound Studies, Historical Musicology, Ethnomusicology, I set out this study of the multiple ways that cariocas chose to engage with samba in order to investigate the varied modes of engagement with difference. Human difference as expressed in music does not have an innate quality to unite or

[9] Ochoa Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America."

divide communities. I examine the case of samba to explore how engagement with music shapes perception of human difference and how Black communities developed an ethics of musicking that is deeply committed to dismantling a racialized perspective of difference.

As a broad musical practice, samba had been present in the social fabric of Black Brazilians long before it became a recognizable musical form. The consolidation of samba as a symbol of Brazilian identity was a contentious process as the genre became a central element in broader discourses of race and nation. In recent years, scholars investigating the history of samba have joined others in the emerging field of Afro-Latin American Studies in proposing new frameworks for the study of race and African diasporic communities in the region. While recognizing the persistence of race in shaping Rio de Janeiro and Brazilian society, their work uncovers the many ways that white and Black individuals and communities collaborated in the process of making samba.[10] They describe a world of proximity, similarity, and exchange between white and Black cariocas, and yet racial violence remains a constant throughout the history of samba. In this dissertation, I advance this debate by investigating the different uses of aesthetic and performative elements associated with samba. Doing so allows me to identify two distinct aesthetic projects that became entangled in the construction of samba as a commercial genre of popular music. By untangling and mapping these projects along the lines of the Coloniality/Decoloniality framework, I will demonstrate how contrasting approaches to samba operated in ways that created the

[10] McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*; Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*, 2013; Cunha, *"Não Tá Sopa": Sambas e Sambistas No Rio de Janeiro, de 1890 a 1930*; Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*.

possibility for Black worlds to flourish within the nation, or used an aesthetics of "hybridity" to maintain a commitment to the exclusion of Black people.

Moving the discussion from musical objects to relations fostered by music, my research shows that aesthetics remained a key element in the making and unmaking of a racial society. Within Black communities, Black music as an aesthetic practice was a way to cultivate knowledge that sustained relationships alongside difference: Black people from different ethnic identities, neighborhoods, gender, economic status, and even white people who were willing to develop relationships not bound by the logics of race. On the other hand, many of the city's white citizens continued to engage with samba as a musical object, the soundscape of the racial world they had constructed. Understanding black music as an object allowed white people to develop relationships of proximity without intimacy, contact without exchange, dependency without mutual care, and the rights to set the terms of engagement that allowed them to remain unchanged in this relationship. To paraphrase Fred Moten and Achille Mbembe, Black music as expression and practice of relational knowledge demonstrated Black communities' "consent not to be a single being," while black music as an object represented white people's desire to continue to think of identity based not on mutual belonging, but on "being itself in its own state, its own mirror."[11]

Rather than focusing on taxonomies of music and race, I explore the different approaches to the performance of music genre. I argue that Black communities designed genre as a continuously expansive repository where musical repertoire was stored and later accessed through collective embodied processes of ritual, dance, affect, and music performance. Repertoire is non-

[11] Mbembe, *Critique of Black Reason*, 1.

normative, empowering music participants to engage creatively with the past and present, individual and collective memories, and local, national, and transnational musics. This shared approach to musicking nourished rather than erased local Black music sensibilities and is central to the production and transmission of knowledge across the African diaspora. In allowing for the imagining of multiple Black worlds, Black music as praxis challenges modernity's claims to the transcendent, timeless, and universal character of music and beauty that insists on producing the racialization of blackness.

In this sense, Black music was a technology developed by and through Black bodies, but nonetheless a technology that was where open to the participation of white musicians. This historical study of samba uncovers and analyzes the many instances when that happened, arguing that those white musicians, or these examples of "multi-racial" musical collaborations, were most often rendered invisible. For whiteness to be recognized, it needed to be made separate from "black" samba. I analyze this performance of whiteness as resulting from discourses and practices that reinforced notions of white superiority, not only by rejecting specific aural elements that were perceived as black, but also appropriating those elements while attributing its "improved" character to white musicians. More than any one aesthetic element, what characterizes whiteness is the ability to produce a "blackened" racial other.

These aesthetic practices also mapped into similar concepts of nation and race. One of them, which I name Black decolonial tradition, was based on a radical new understanding of citizenship. By affirming samba to be both Black and Brazilian, Black communities articulated a vision of belonging that did not seek to enlarge the community of people to be included as citizens. Instead, they rejected altogether the exclusionary principle that had left Black people out in the

first place. This aesthetic-political project was rarely explicitly stated but becomes visible as we examine the work of musicking beyond discourse. That is, although this was not articulated in the vocabulary of institutionalized politics, samba as an embodied practice engendered individuals, communities, and social relations that challenged the logic of the universal human. Artists and communities involved in creation of samba did not seek to redeem the image of Black people and blackness from the harms of slavery and coloniality, but rather uproot the social and cultural foundations that produced the perception of whiteness as the universal condition of humanness. Black women like Tia Ciata cultivated public spaces where the young Pixinguinha and Donga did not have to choose between being Black or modern, between collaborating with their friends in collective improvised dance-music or performing at the stages of the city. This aesthetic-political project is not concerned with the issue of representation itself, but rather with dismantling the epistemological framework that categorizes human diversity and orders it as civilized or primitive, modern or archaic, complex or artless, European or African, individual or collective, composed or improvised, universal or racial.

In reaction, another aesthetic-political project was articulated that reaffirmed Coloniality, albeit in new shape. This alternative articulated samba as a model of Brazil's extended citizenry but remained committed to the logics of universality. Its goal was to engender a new construction of the universal citizen, an enlarged notion of the "Brazilian" that would replace the more restrictive "European" man as the universal model in order to account for the new multicultural reality of the country. Although the people involved in this project recognized the need to include Black people into the citizenship project, they never completely abandoned the ideologies that racialized Black people in the first place. The result is a process of inclusion that remains flawed not because it fell short of its goals, but precisely because it refused to confront the root cause of

race. White people were willing to accept blackness as a part of the nation, but only as a source material to be "improved" by white musicians and composers. In doing so, they remained committed to the one-world of coloniality that built on the knowledge of human difference as representing racial difference, always marking blackness impure. This approach to the issue of race in Brazil transcends samba and was more closely related to political reforms. The school reform proposed by the Getúlio Vargas' administration is a perfect example of the inner contradictions of this system. Brazil at the time was a country with low levels of education, this issue made even worse by the high levels of racial inequality as related to access to education. The federal government's plan was based on a model of radical inclusion, which extended access to free public education to a large population of poor and Black citizens. But beyond access, this project was also had the goal of educating Black people out of their "blackness." The goal was instead to provide them with a "diploma of whiteness", which the government understood as a something required in order for Black people to achieve full citizenship.[12]

The consolidation of samba as a symbol of Brazilian identity was a contentious process and these two aesthetic and political projects became entangled with broader discourses of race.[13] But the most transgressive aspect of samba's decolonial potential has not been fully addressed in scholarship because discourse on samba has become limited by an understanding of race that does not account for its totality. By untangling these two different projects of nation and citizenship and

[12] Davila, "Expanding Perspectives on Race in Brazil."

[13] Paulina Alberto describes similar issues in broader discourses of race inclusion in Brazil. For more, see Alberto, "Of Sentiment, Science and Myth: Shifting Metaphors of Racial Inclusion in Twentieth-Century Brazil."

exploring the tension between them, I believe this dissertation can contribute to a broader understanding of the politics of race in samba and Black music more broadly.

Although the case of samba is distinct, it is not unique. Black cultures are at the center of the global entertainment industry and despite this unprecedented access, black music as an object continues to be used to produce race. Samba and other forms of Black music are produced in transnational networks and increasingly consumed through mass media, but music meaning continues to be negotiated locally and collectively. Commodified music is given life through embodied acts of music making. This present study examines local groups that claimed a stake in defining samba, considering how they articulated diverse musical representations of samba through sound, performance, and discourse and in turn, how they shaped the contested and relational nature of listening to Black music. It focuses on the importance of local groups like regional presses and media, cultural organizations, music ensembles, religious communities, neighborhood associations, public festivities, and others in shaping communities' engagement with commodified music. It is through these institutions that individuals can learn to find in commodified forms of music the rich histories and experiences of Black communities across the diaspora, or the persistent legacies of race that dehumanize black subjects and reinforce racial hierarchies.

Interrogating the Concepts of Africa and Europe

During the celebrations of Rio de Janeiro's fourth centennial, singer Elizeth Cardoso released the album "*400 anos de samba*" (400 years of samba). The lyrics of the homonymous opening track, composed by Luiz Antônio, offered a vision of samba that was deeply intertwined with the city. According to the song, the history of samba was told by the voice of the people who lived in the

morros—the predominantly Black hillside shanty towns—where there was a guitar in every house. The city's history itself was written on its streets by the sandals of dancers. And during *carnaval*, samba would come down from the morros to the city's center, an image that clearly evoked Rio de Janeiro's racialized geography. The lyrics also referenced Portela, one of the city's premier *escola de samba*—the large community-based organizations that had and still have a central role in carnaval parades. Based in Madureira, one of the distinct working-class neighborhoods in the north side of the city, Portela claimed a special role in the development of the escolas de samba as well as in keeping samba's traditions alive. The members of Portela joined others from the neighborhood as it organized its own fourth centennial celebrations, "Madureira 400 anos de samba" (Madureira—400 years of samba). This title, according to the members of Madureira's regional administrative office, was not supposed to be taken literally as "historical truth." It was rather a "homage to the neighborhood that most stands out in defending genuine samba."[14]

Claiming a special connection between samba and the city of Rio de Janeiro was not uncommon nor controversial even though, by 1965, samba had already become a musical genre that many people in Brazil perceived as capable of representing a shared national identity. The development of samba as a commercial genre of popular music was connected to the growth of Brazil's music industry and mass media, but those institutions remained heavily centralized in the country's capital city and relied extensively on local music talent through most of the twentieth century. The titles of the album and the festivities at Madureira, however, did not simply imply proximity between the histories of samba and Rio de Janeiro. It actually hints at a much deeper

[14] "Madureira mostra 400 anos de samba em 1965," *Jornal do Brasil,* December 8, 1964.

link, suggesting not only that samba's history begins with the founding of the city of Rio de Janeiro, but also that the city's history itself is directly connected to the creation of samba.

Contending stories about samba's origins remained a central element of its development as a genre of commercial popular music. More than a marketing strategy, the choice for this specific title placed the album and the festival into a broader public debate concerned not only with defining samba's time and place of birth but also its meaning to the invention of the idea of Brazil. In telling different versions of its origins, musicians, journalists, audiences, and scholars positioned samba as a key element to understand Brazil's transition from a racial and enslaving society into the construction of a multicultural republic.[15] The stories they tell, however, can hardly be put together into a cohesive narrative. Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Africa are all potential locations for samba's origins. Its development linked to Rio de Janeiro's cosmopolitan urbanization or to the city's isolated and underdeveloped morros. But the question of its "racial" origins remains at the center of this debate. The process that transformed samba from a music that many *cariocas* (the people from Rio de Janeiro) perceived as belonging exclusively to Black communities to a nationally

---

[15] A sample of scholars who broadly address this topic include Shaw, "São Coisas Nossas: Samba and Identity in the Vargas Era (1930-45)"; Fernandes, "'E Fez-Se o Samba': Condicionantes Intelectuais Da Música Popular No Brasil"; John Charles Chasteen, "The Prehistory of Samba: Carnival Dancing in Rio de Janeiro, 1840-1917"; Fenerick, "Noel Rosa, o Samba, e a Criação Da Música Popular Brasileira"; Fenerick, *Nem Do Morro, Nem Da Cidade: As Transformações Do Samba e a Indústria Cultural (1920-1945)*; Vianna, *O Mistério Do Samba*; Albuquerque, "O Samba No Sobrado Da Baronesa: Liberdade Negra e Autoridade Senhorial No Tempo Da Abolição"; Napolitano and Wasserman, "Desde Que o Samba é Samba: A Questão Das Origens No Debate Historiográfico Sobre a Música Popular Brasileira"; Sandroni, "Dois Sambas de 1930 e a Constituição Do Gênero: Na Pavuna e Vou Te Abandonar"; Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente: Transformações Do Samba No Rio de Janeiro, 1917-1933*; Cunha, *Ecos Da Folia: Uma História Social Do Carnaval Carioca Entre 1880 e 1920*; Abreu, *O Império Do Divino: Festas Religiosas e Cultura Popular No Rio de Janeiro, 1830-1900*; Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850*.

acclaimed genre is still the most controversial aspect of its history. Once again, the stories that explain this process seem to point to multiple, and often conflicting, directions. Samba's success beyond the "color line" is interpreted as a tale of the resilience of African culture, the strategic compromise of Black people resulting in cultural assimilation, a representation of the hybridity that characterizes the Latin American colonial and post-colonial experience, or even still, the willingness of white Brazilians to move beyond past differences in order to build a new future for the nation.

More recently, a number of scholars have pushed this debate into new possibilities beyond polarization. While recognizing the persistence of race in shaping Rio de Janeiro and Brazilian society throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, their work helps uncover the many ways that white and Black individuals and communities became entangled in the process of making samba.[16] These new findings have not however solved the paradox that lies behind samba's history. After all, even the predominant public discourses that found in samba the ideal representation for a nation beyond "racial" divisions relied on constant references to samba's "black" essence and origins. Despite the nuance that scholars have introduced to this debate, these compelling histories of samba still do not explain what was so different about the music of Black and white people to begin with, nor why they continued to be perceived as different even after samba had seemingly crossed the color line, a line that they agree was never that rigid in the first place. These many versions of samba's history, no matter how hopeful or historically accurate,

---

[16] McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*; Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*, 2013; Cunha, *"Não Tá Sopa": Sambas e Sambistas No Rio de Janeiro, de 1890 a 1930*; Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*.

could not move beyond the issue of difference because they are all bound by the same origin myth—the imagined point in time when Europe and Africa were hermetic geographical regions, representing isolated and conflicting cultures. According to this version of global history, the continuing cultural struggle of post-emancipation societies in the Americas was the result of the essential difference between Europe and Africa, representing an eternal clash between civilization and primitiveness.

The idea that samba is four-hundred years old may sound unreasonable at first, considering that most versions of its history place its origin sometime in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. But by rejecting any claims to historical accuracy, this discourse actually makes transparent the challenge of attempting to pinpointing samba's origins. It makes clear that there is nothing innate about samba that would allow us to find its true origins. Any claims about origins are only possible after establishing what samba is and what it is not, so "origin myths" are the product of that choice. The motivations behind this choice become visible only when once we move beyond the question of origins and interrogate what these stories of origin are accomplishing. Beyond its poetic intent, celebrating samba's 400 years of existence reveals a shared perception that samba and Rio de Janeiro are both developments of the same history, the one that begins with colonization. Therefore, rather than making a new argument about samba's origins, this chapter engages on another exercise of historical investigation. How would samba's history be different if we refuse to follow the chronology of difference that is built into modernity's discourse?

In order to answer this question, I offer a different "origin myth," one that does not rely on the innate cultural differences between the enslaved Africans, their descendants, and the white colonizers that lived in Rio de Janeiro. My choice for samba's origin places it alongside the emergence of other genres of popular music resulting from the musical interactions between Black

and white people in the Americas during the middle of the nineteenth century. Samba emerges alongside tango, habanera, ragtime, and other musical styles that reflected the desire of Black musicians and communities to engage with musical practices coming from Europe and that remained popular among white populations in the Americas. This origin story does not seek to erase or ignore musical difference. Rather, it becomes the starting point for examining the conditions that produced it. It also allows us to interrogate the specific ways in which engagement with different musical experiences supported and/or challenged the knowledge that difference in music expressions represented essentialized racial difference.

Defining Race

My goal in unmooring samba's history from the pervasive origin myth based on the notion of Africa and Europe as stable and opposite identities is not to produce a more accurate history of samba. Rather, I take James Clifford's "routes, not roots" approach as only the starting point, the method that allows me to interrogate how samba engendered the two aesthetic-political projects that rearticulated the meanings of nation, race, and the human in Rio de Janeiro.

In pursuing the "routes" option, I am not interested simply in identifying and deconstructing the misconstrued notions of Europe and Africa that reinforced samba's racial history. Rather, my goal is to question: what enabled them to subsist even though the material reality of samba constantly contradicted the assumption of two separate, different, and opposite cultural "matrixes"? This material approach to samba's history reveals a paradox about critiques of modernity. Abandoning the fixed concepts of Europe and Africa does not mean we can fully ignore them in our analysis. At the same time, my goal is not to analyze the formal elements of samba in order to map its different geographical influences, nor to simply trace the origin of

discourses that attached specific "racialized" meanings to sound. Instead, what I hope to do in this long historical analysis of samba is to examine the workings of what Denise Ferreira da Silva calls analytics of raciality: "the *object* racial difference is transformed into a given attribute (a thing) of human bodies and operates to provide guides for reprehensible action arising from race consciousness, race prejudice and racial ideologies."[17] Silva's argument is that it is not possible to separate the "how" from the "what" of race. The onto-epistemological character of race is not tied to a specific appearance or manifestation of the "racial" or "blackness" (i.e., samba, percussion, dance, the body…) but rather the creation of an epistemic condition that allowed for some people to engage with samba in a way that always produced the perception of human difference as an object of knowledge that represented racial difference.

Samba's continuous formal transformations make it impossible to fit the genre into a black/white divide based on any single classification rule. And yet, throughout the period studied, white cariocas were able to seamlessly engage with samba in ways that reinforced the knowledge of the existence of a "racial" condition expressed in the ways different people performed and listened to samba. This "racial" expression would be perceived according to a "natural" scale of human difference that continued to change and, therefore, continued to allow white cariocas to categorize all types of samba into this black/white binary. Even the stylistic variations of samba perceived as "hybrid" could still be mapped along this scale, the ones closest to the white side indicating a higher degree of "whiteness" and the ones closer to the black side indicating a more "pure" and African character. This engagement with samba reveals that the process of race making was profoundly dependent on the aesthetic formation of white subjects whose engagement with

[17] Silva, "Notes for a Critique of the 'Metaphysics of Race,'" 143–44.

the musical world in Rio de Janeiro was fundamental for the construction and maintenance of this analytics of raciality.[18] This scale of human difference/racial difference became powerful because it lied about its object of analysis. Although much of the scholarly research on race and music has been devoted to examining the cultural processes that assign negative meanings to specific elements identified as representing "blackness," what is at work here is a much more complex aesthetic process. The potency of this aesthetic aspect in the formation of a "racial" worldview lies precisely on its perceived condition as "natural"—that is, innate to the natural perception of formal elements of music that allows for the separation between the white/universal music and the black/racial music. Therefore, it is the formation of a "white" identity, one that is formed *in order* to produce an aesthetic experience of permanent and radical alterity with the black Other, that constitutes the site of individual racial formation. It is this process of racial formation that I am interested in investigating.

The work of Geraldine Heng helps illuminate this process. Heng, a scholar of English literature from the Middle Ages, observed anti-Jewish discourse in thirteenth century England as an important site of racial formation. Although her work directs attention to racial formation away from skin color or other biological features that have been central to the development of modern race, she argues that anti-Jewish discourse and legislation anticipate many of the same instruments that would inform and shape modern racial science and practices. Central to her thesis is that race is not defined by any substantive content—that is, the specific features that would define the "racial" other. Rather, race is "one of the primary names we have—a name we retain for the strategic, epistemological, and political commitments it recognizes—attached to a repeating

[18] See also Chuh, *The Difference Aesthetics Makes: On the Humanities "After Man."*

tendency, of the gravest import, to demarcate human beings through differences among humans that are selectively essentialized as absolute and fundamental, in order to distribute positions and powers differentially to human groups."[19] Throughout this book, Heng shows how this particular combination of strategic, epistemological, and political commitments, which were developed as a key element of Latin Christian identity and the prevalence of anti-Jewish discourse and practices during the long European Middle Ages, is then used to racialize other groups.

Although she does name this explicitly, Heng's work on the formation of these technologies of racialization actually devote a lot of attention to the importance of aesthetics in the process of race making. The literary imagination of late-Middle Ages England was full of stories that connoted a very tangible and material aspect to the theological principles that shaped anti-Jewish sentiments among Christians, from descriptions that exaggerated perceived physical difference, invented bodily disfunction like male menstruation, to the connection between specific religious rituals with the blood sacrifice of children. The repeated construction of an imagined aesthetics of the "racial" Jew was then used to mark other groups. What is significant here is not so much what particular traits defined a racial condition of otherness, but rather the entrenchment of an increasingly narrow definition of what it meant to be Christian and, even more important, an English Christian. This strategy was soon directed towards other Christian peoples who became object of English colonization: Welsh, Scottish, and Irish. The physical, cultural, and religious similarities in this case resulted in a much more fine-tuned definition of Englishness that was built in order to highlight the differences between these groups and suppress and miscegenation that could make it harder to enforce land claims of British colonizers. Heng describes the increasing

---

[19] Heng, *Invent. Race Eur. Middle Ages*, 27.

number of English laws created in the fourteenth century to regulate the English bodies, including those that required that "every Anglo-Irish settler use the English custom, fashion, mode of riding and apparel because many English ... forsaking the English language, fashion, mode of riding, laws and usages, live and govern themselves according to the manners, fashion, and language of the Irish enemies; and also have made divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemies."[20] This process of establishing a well-defined and legally encoded Christian national identity was, according to Heng, a defining movement towards the foundation of Nation-States that would shape modern European history. The expulsion or genocide of local Jewish communities was the starting point in England and, Heng argues, would also jumpstart the same process later in Spain, Portugal, and France. And it is this process of identity formation that would later shape the formation of a broader white identity, that blurred again the national lines that fragmented Latin Christendom. In particular, I am interested in how sound and music would become constitutive sites for the formation of whiteness and, in turn, the racialization of blackness as the new paradigm of modern race.

Materiality of Race and Sound

In order to understand the role of music in the shaping of the modern racial scales, it is necessary to move beyond an understanding of "race" music that equates it to "music of the races." "Black music" is not to Black people what Western music is to white people. Rather, Western music is a set of practices and discourses aligned with the coloniality of knowledge, which always intends to produce race. That is, the acts of performing Western music were dependent on, and engendered

[20] Heng, 39.

a knowledge of essentialized difference between humans, while at the same time establishing the scale from which musical difference was to be measured and classified. This does not mean that every person who engages with the broad repertoire that is often describe as Western is actively racializing peoples and cultures. Rather, that the project of Western music in its totality cannot be explained by ignoring this central aspect that informed and continues to inform its existence.

What was it about Western music that made it so productive to the logic of race? Answering this question requires taking a step back to consider the source of sound in different contexts. The invention of the first Castilian grammar provides an important lesson about the Western project of disciplining sound.[21] Although other language grammar existed in fifteenth century Europe, Nebrija produced the first systematic grammar of a vernacular language. The difference is that Castilian was a language in use by people, undisciplined, and going through constant change. He acknowledged the power of language as a tool for empire on his dedication of the project to Queen Isabella. But what made this project so powerful was not only its designed goal of teaching the Castilian language to the colonized people of the Americas, but rather the ability to discipline sound. Nebrija's goal was to create a system that allowed for every sound in the Castillan language to have a specific written representation, or as he articulated "to write as we pronounce, to pronounce as we write."[22]

---

[21] Mignolo, "Nebrija in the New World: The Question of the Letter, the Colonization of Amerindian Languages, and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition Author"; Rojinsky, "Grammatical Rule for a 'scriptural' Empire: A Reading of the Prologue to Nebrija's 'Gramática Castellana.'"

[22] Mignolo, "Nebrija in the New World: The Question of the Letter, the Colonization of Amerindian Languages, and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition Author," 188.

Some missionaries, however, were disappointed to discover that certain indigenous peoples could not reproduce a few of the sounds that Nebrija had codified. But they did not think this was a problem with the system itself, or the language. Their diagnosis was that indigenous peoples were missing "some letters."[23] The principle behind this observation is that the letters Nebrija had created to codify the Castillan language had primacy over the sound. That is, the letters were not a representation of sound. Instead, they had a transcendent existence that was independent from acts of speech. Nebrija's work was defined as the cataloguing and transcription of all sounds in existence. Therefore, anyone unable to reproduce specific sounds was at fault. Finally, his grammar also helped "estabilize" the language at the time when the Kingdom of Castile had finally accomplished its goal to remove the Jewish and Moors from the Iberic Peninsula. Nebrija then proceeded to claim a direct lineage between Castilian and Latin, the language of God. In doing so, he codified the sounds that truly belonged to this Christian linguistic genealogy, also providing the tools to make sure that no foreign elements influence the language in the future.

The power of this epistemology of purity governing Nebrija's work can be seen shaping the experiences of the first Europeans who wrote about their initial contact with the recent Portuguese colonies in Brazil. Portuguese and French historians, naturalists, and priests reinforced the connection of lawlessness and depravedness with the lack of proper alphabet. Because the indigenous peoples in this land did not have the letters F, L, and R in their alphabet, they were unable to know faith, law, and king (*rei*).[24] What was at work here is the notion that one system is offers the complete representation of all knowledge. It is using this particular linguistic system as

[23] Mignolo, 189.

[24] Cunha, "Imagens de Índios Do Brasil: O Século XVI," 97.

universal that one could quickly identify what is missing from another people's cultures and at the same time eliminate any possibility of future additions, which would be marked as an unauthorized hybrid. Therefore, even hybridity gets clearly marked alongside this racial scale. Indigenous communities who eventually adopt European practices would become a sign of the potential for transformation of other racialized individuals and peoples, while hybridity marked by any elements not previously present in the European original would be condemned for its corruptive potential.

Nebrija's grammar was developed at the time of transition from Latin Christendom to Europe. The creation of a European identity replaces the Christian as the standard of humanity but retained the same binary logic that opposed Christians with the pagans.[25] The invention of European music was part of that process and would use similar strategies that informed Nebrija's grammar, resulting in music performance becoming increasingly prescriptive. During the sixteenth century, Spanish performers wrote manuals that established a connection between music performance and an elite identity.[26] As the Spanish Crown became increasingly influent across Europe, the music and dance of their courts were also codified in manuals, used by people across Europe in order to replicate those styles.[27] And once France emerged as the new cultural leaders of Europe, the movement was reversed. However, these examples of transnational movement of ideas about performance were not based on notions of cultural exchange. Rather, the people and

[25] Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation-An Argument."

[26] Ramírez, "Ciphering Song, De-Ciphering Identity: The Libro de Cifra Nueva (1557), and the Mediation of Identity and Sound in Early Modern Spain."

[27] Goldberg, *Sonidos Negros: On the Blackness of Flamenco*.

institutions involved in creating and disseminating models of performance were doing so by defending the superiority and supremacy of their own model always in detriment of others.

The shift from music performance to composition also represents a similar move. The wide variety of improvisatory musical practices that were present in Europe during the renaissance became increasingly homogenized when, by the nineteenth century, a hierarchical model of organizing sounds—tonal harmony—and opera would conquer the entire continent.[28] What enable this project was the increasing detail of music notation, allowing composers to achieve a high level of detail on their compositions. Music performance became subordinated to the true work of art represented in the composition. Composers were allowed to be creative, but for the general public, musical activity was limited to being able to measure sound and then replicate it through performance. This practice of music actively engendered a way of listening based on precise measurement of sound and then ranking it according to a rigid scale of value. A pitch could be in tune or off tune; music was on the beat or off; and the weight of tonality would guide every listeners' experience with music.

This mode of listening would become a powerful tool for the racial project. With the shift of power from the Mediterranean to the North Atlantic, German and British scholars started to articulate new connections between language, music, national identity, and race.[29] Listening for music and language became a tool for identifying those who belonged to the nation and those who

---

[28] Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World*.

[29] Tunbridge, "Constructing a Musical Nation: German-Language Criticism in the Nineteenth Century"; Linke, "'There Is a Land Where Everything Is Pure': Linguistic Nationalism and Identity Politics in Germany"; Thurman, "Performing Lieder, Hearing Race: Debating Blackness, Whiteness, and German Identity in Interwar Central Europe"; Steinberg, *Race, Nation, History: Anglo-German Thought in the Victorian Era*.

did not. This method also ensured that a model of human—first the European man and then the rational modern man—could be established, identified, and replicated. This meant that the creation of this universal and white self was constantly imagined and designed in opposition to an "Other" that was also created in the process.[30] These listening techniques would also shape the experience of race in the Americas. Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier argues that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Latin America's modern public sphere became increasingly mediated by the aural, with sound working both as a force that shapes the modern world as well as an important medium for constructing knowledge about it.[31]

This approach to listening and music performance was tied to the notion of fixed identities. Black music, in contrast, does not simply use the same tools to redeem blackness. Rather, it is based on a different approach to performance that builds from the ground up. Musical knowledge, according to this tradition, is always experimental and embodied. Speaking on the importance of performance, Diana Taylor argues that the "physical mechanics of staging can also keep alive an organizational infrastructure, a practice or know-how, an episteme, and a politics that goes beyond the explicit topic."[32] As a performance studies scholar, Taylor is concerned with emphasizing the historical aspect performance and knowledge. Guthrie Ramsey similarly talks of Black music as

---

[30] Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music*; Bloechl, "Race, Empire, and Early Music"; Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint Music in Early Modern Manila*; Irving, "Ancient Greeks, World Music, and Early Modern Constructions of Western European Identity"; Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*; Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions*.

[31] Ochoa Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America," 807; Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia*, 3.

[32] Taylor, "Performance and/as History."

reservoirs in which cultural memory resides.[33] Samuel Floyd argued for the presence of continuities between African and American music, but rather than thinking of those continuities as a stable archive that provides an archetype of Africaness or Blackness, I believe it is more productive to understand Black music as a tradition that supports the constant search for historical knowledge. Sydney Bechet, quoted by Floyd, recognized one common characteristic among good musicians, the presence of Omar's song.[34] He is not referencing any one song specifically, but rather the "remembering song". To Bechet, hearing this song was like hearing a song that was coming from somewhere. He goes on to say "The good musician, he's playing *with* it, and he's playing *after* it. He's finishing somethings." The remembering song was important because "There's so much to remember." Bechet's focus is not on the musical object detached from social action, but rather on acts of remembering that are made actionable through music performance.

Music Studies and the Question of "Black Music"

The large absence on Black music in Anglophone music studies point towards the issues that the field has in understanding the foundational role that racial thinking has had in the entire intellectual enterprise of modern Western thought. The two-field divide (Musicology/Ethnomusicology) represents an attempt from anglophonic music studies to break away from the constrains imposed by the initial field of musicology. Developed in the nineteenth century, musicological methods focused almost entirely on the study of musical works that represented a fraction of the European musical production. Using the works of European concert music as a frame of reference to all

[33] Ramsey, *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop*.

[34] Floyd, *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States*, 5.

discussions about music, later transformations of the discipline included attempts to develop comparative methods, which consisted of creating and employing standardized methodologies to analyze different musical forms and compare them across a universal scale. With the goal of better understanding music diversity around the globe, ethnomusicologists organized a new discipline in order to distance themselves from the universal claims laid out by the field of musicology, which by the early twentieth century was already mostly concerned with studying Western art music. Behind the interest of studying different musical traditions was an engagement with the discipline of Anthropology. For the early generations of music scholars whose work was developed mostly in the discipline of Anthropology, it was fundamental to understand music beyond simply a text to be analyzed. Building from important scholarly work and theoretical approaches that engaged more centrally with the question of human differences, the transition towards the foundation of a separate discipline, Ethnomusicology, certainly contributed to the developed of music studies. However, the rigid boundaries that the two disciplines retained actually reinforced the foundational structure of a racialized world that separates the Human from the Non-Human. Although there were many efforts at breaking away from this racial paradigm, the consolidation of Musicology as the discipline that studies Western art music, music as text, and music as historical process on the one hand; and Ethnomusicology as the discipline that studies Non-Western musics, music as social practice, and music as a cultural (non-historic) process has continued to reinforce the logic of West and the Other that is defining of coloniality.[35]

Much ink has been spilled on ways to reform the disciplines. Although ethnomusicologists have continued to struggle with the ethics of ethnographical representation, and musicologists have

[35] Tomlinson, "Musicology, Anthropology, History."

committed to diversifying the field, both sides of the divide have not yet interrogated what exactly is the problem with the discourse of difference. There have been many recent efforts devoted to this particular issue, but the solutions have mainly missed what Denise Ferreira da Silva argues is the defining tool of modern racial epistemology: "the onto-epistemological context of emergence of the tools that produce racial difference responds to the fact that it signifies un/equality as both non-reducible and un-resolvable."[36] That is, rather than interrogating the sites of formation of knowledge that equate human difference with racial difference, most of these studies are concerned mainly with identifying, naming, and criticizing the specific tools that contribute to specific formations of racial categories. While this work is certainly important, its limits lie in that it takes the representation of racial difference for the actual onto-epistemological work that is involved in creating the perception that human difference equates to racial difference.

The intersection between the field of African music and Black music offers an important site to investigate these processes. In *Listening to Africa*, David Garcia discusses the paradox involved in continuous attempts to link music of the diasporas with Africa.[37] Ethnomusicologists like Herskovitz, who pursued this research agenda at the beginning of the twentieth century, developed models to "measure" the presence of elements from Africa in the music of the Americas, but in so doing, they continued to reinforce the notions of civilization that support modernity as a unique and universal stage in human development. Communities that displayed a higher degree of African culture retention were also characterized as ones with less influence of the modern world. Therefore, this scholarship continued to place Africa into the past, and communities that still

---

[36] Silva, "Notes for a Critique of the 'Metaphysics of Race,'" 144.

[37] García, *Listening for Africa: Freedom, Modernity, and the Logic of Black Music's African Origins*.

retained its culture as the ones who refused or still were not able to experiment the evolutionary push brought to the New World by the colonizers. In contrast, diaspora communities that incorporated more elements from Western music were continuously associated with the metropolis. This temporal and spatial construction that places Africa and the West in opposite places of humanity's march towards civilization is the principle that continues to direct people's experiences with black music. When our listening continues to follow this orientation, he argues, to look for Africa in Black music is to continue to make race.

Garcia's critical analysis of the shortcomings of this kind of discourse is a necessary step for advancing the field, but it also leaves an important question unanswered. What to do with the productive counter-discourses that Black communities produced imagining Africa as a site for both traditional and modern articulations of Black life-worlds? The examples are too large to name here, but in Brazil there is a significant number of groups who engage with the memory of Africa in ways that clearly challenge not only the racialized tropes of Africa itself, but also the more foundational Africa-Europe binaries that shape our perceptions about time, space, race, culture, and modernity.[38]

---

[38] Almeida, "A Tradição Das Tias Pretas Na Zona Portuária: Por Uma Questão de Memória, Espaço e Patrimônio"; Symanski and Gomes, "Iron Cosmology, Slavery, and Social Control: The Materiality of Rebellion in the Coffee Plantations of the Paraíba Valley, Southeastern Brazil"; Butler, "Masquerading Africa in the Carnival of Salvador, Bahia, Brazil 1895-1905"; Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo*; Fromont, "Envisioning Brazil's Afro-Christian Congados: The Black King and Queen Festival Lithograph of Johann Moritz Rugendas"; Gordenstein, "Planting Axé in the City: Urban Terreiros and the Growth of Candomblé in Late Nineteenth-Century"; Gomes, "Africanos, 'Naciones' y Cofradías En Rio de Janeiro, Siglos XVIII y XIX"; Albuquerque, "'A Vala Comum Da "Raça Emancipada"': Abolição e Racialização No Brasil, Breve Comentário"; Iyanaga, "Why Saints Love Samba: A Historical Perspective on Black Agency and the Rearticulation of Catholicism in Bahia, Brazil"; Iyanaga, "On Hearing Africas in the Americas: Domestic Celebrations for Catholic Saints as

There are many examples of recent scholarship on African music that has certainly moved beyond the limits of the mid-twentieth century tropes of primitivism that shaped much of Africanist cultural research in general. Among the recent examples, we can include research on both urban-popular music as well as research on the types of rural communities that maintained many practices that were so often used to illustrate the opposite side of the modern transformation supposedly ignited by the expansion of European culture.[39] Appert's and Steingo's is illuminating because, while they avoid essentializing African culture according to European cultural perspectives, they nonetheless struggle with theoretical and analytical frameworks that seem to render complex cultural expressions born out of Africa as an exception to the universal rules of culture. This becomes clear as they both struggle with rigid notions of hybridity (Appert) and nation (Steingo) that simply cannot account for the kinds of expressions they so carefully observed and discuss in their work.[40] If their work helps do attenuate much of the recent criticism of African music scholarship, particularly that of Agawu, it still does not fully account for the issue of difference that constantly supports antiblackness discourse and practices.[41]

Afro-Diasporic Religious Tradition"; Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé*; Nelson, "Apprentices of Freedom: Atlantic Histories of the Africanos Livres in Mid-Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro"; Santos, "Além Da Senzala: Arranjos Escravos de Moradia No Rio de Janeiro (1808-1850)"; Lisa Voigt, "Representing an African King in Brazil."

[39] Steingo, *Kwaito's Promise: Music and the Aesthetics of Freedom in South Africa*; Appert, *In Hip Hop Time: Music, Memory, and Social Change in Urban Senegal*; Meintjes and Lemon, *Dust of the Zulu: Ngoma Aesthetics after Apartheid*.

[40] Appert, "On Hybridity in African Popular Music: The Case of Senegalese Hip Hop"; Steingo, "The Inaudible Nation: Music and Sensory Perception in Postapartheid."

[41] Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions*. See Meintjes review of Agawu's work for an import counter-critic, "Review: Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions by Kofi Agawu."

Agawu's insistence on the erasure of difference is fragile, as it depends on the agreement on a particular set of universal criteria to analyze music that, despite his defense, is nothing but a reaffirmation of the primacy of music text and its place as the only defining site for musical analysis that can resolve the issues of difference.[42] His criticism of scholarship that is insistent on dealing with difference as a proper site of musical analysis finds resonance in the voice of Ronald Radano, who likewise dismissed the perceived difference between black and white music as symptoms only of racializing discourse.[43] Radano promptly dismisses any talk of a particular black tradition to the good intention of scholars and musicians who wish to reinforce historical connections that, despite their best efforts, simply are not evident in the formal analysis of musical examples. Even the much more sophisticated analysis of Nina Sun Eindsheim, who constructed a powerful argument emphasizing the role of both the individual who produces sound and that of the listened in the creation of the object that becomes naturalized in the discourse of sound, still dismisses the possibility that there is such a thing as a specific sound produced as result of the black experience.[44] Her convincing argument about the ability of white people to reproduce vocal timbre that had been exclusively associated to blackness is weakened by her decision to dismiss Angela Davis' interpretative framework that insist on the existence of a Blues aesthetics that is particular to Black people, instead proposing a more open "micropolitics of listening, a process that does not assume any indexical connection between voices and bodies."[45]

---

[42] Agawu, "Contesting Difference: A Critique of Africanist Ethnomusicology."

[43] Radano, *Lying up a Nation: Race and Black Music*; Radano, "The Sound of Racial Feeling."

[44] Eidsheim, *The Race of Sound: Listening, Timbre, and Vocality in African American Music*.

[45] Eidsheim, 20, 33.

The scholars have made important contributions for understanding the issue of race in music scholarship that I fear have been largely ignored by other scholars. Guthrey Ramsey articulated his challenge in trying to address the question of "black music" under the two-discipline paradigm and their complementing claims to universality.[46] At the blind spot of both musicology and ethnomusicology, the music he intended to study could hardly fit to the methods used in music scholarship. He could not map it as a stable culture, following the lead of ethnomusicology, nor understand its movement according to the chronology of evolution that shapes musicological discourse on Western Art Music. By relying on music analysis of musical text—the methods and objects of study of musicology—as the common thread across the entire book but moving beyond them, Ramsey is able to show how the music of the African American communities could not be reduced to binary opposites of urban/rural, modern/tradition, textual/ritualistic, historical/presentist, Western/non-Western. He also showed how important it was for allowing his personal experiences with music to guide the questions of the book, rather than allowing methods to dictate what kinds of knowledge he could pursue. Four years after Ramsey's book was published, Kyra Gaunt also pushed the limits of the two-discipline divide in *The Games Black Girls Play*, by moving on a parallel direction.[47] Rather than focusing on the musicological terrain of the music text, she conducted ethnographies of Black girls but refused any attempts to generate a model for Black aesthetics or Black girlhood. Breaking from the confines of the "field" allowed her to examine how these girls' everyday practices informed hip hop aesthetics.

---

[46] Ramsey, *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop*.

[47] Gaunt, *The Games Black Girls Play: Learning the Ropes from Double-Dutch to Hip-Hop*.

These two scholars have certainly impacted the field, but I fear their transgressive potential has limited by the disciplines continued commitment to universality of musical knowledge. Recent developments in the discipline continue to push for new approaches to difference in music, calling for the development of relational methodologies.[48] Although these new approaches have been productive when addressing Western music, including the emerging foci on Gender Studies, Queer Studies, Disability Studies, and Global Music History, they seem to continue to fail Black music.[49] Rather than enlarging the discipline or its methods, Ramsey's and Gaunt's work demonstrates the need to provincialize it, to develop methods that can address specific situations. Ramsey and Gaunt are successful not because they pursued a relational musicology, but rather because the knowledge that arranged the musical relations on their studies originated from the communities they examined.

What I propose moving forward is the recognition that there is a special type of difference that is constitutive of modern coloniality. Anthropologist Marilyn Strathern argues that while most anthropological work is reliant on the notion of "relations" as a foundation for the analytical work they conduct, she has called attention to the importance on inquiring into the quality of relations that orient the work being done. Her argument is that relations are not a stable and homogenous category of analysis, but rather are also the object of anthropological analysis since they are also culturally created and informative of different cultures.[50] Therefore, what I am proposing here is

---

[48] Born, "For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn"; Bloechl and Lowe, "Introduction: Rethinking Difference."

[49] Ramsey, "The Pot Liquor Principle: Developing a Black Music Criticism in American Music Studies."

[50] Strathern, "Kinship as a Relation"; Strathern, "Naturalism and the Invention of Identity"; Strathern, *Relations: An Anthropological Account*.

an analysis that focuses on the construction of the notion of difference and, in particular, the notion that racial difference is in fact natural, that is, it is simply a measure of natural phenomena and not something that is culturally constructed. Therefore, my goal is not to deconstruct notions of black and white music that diverge from the material reality of the music of the Americas, but rather understand how the existence of two different but intertwined musical traditions have been instrumentalized in the development of modern racial discourse in Brazil. Brazilian scholar Lelia Gonzalez coined the term "Amefrica Ladina" to indicate the impossibility of separating the formative cultural groups (African, Native American, and European) in the analysis of the formation of a geographically, culturally, and ethnically distinct America that emerges from the beginning of the colonial invasion.[51] According to her definition, while we can and should understand the particularities involved in the formation of different peoples who continue to claim a distinct identity connected to historical peoples that existed before the colonization process, it is impossible to point out to an independent European culture in the Americas. The point of her argument is that all processes that attempt to establish or extract a pure and normative European culture in opposition to African and Indigenous cultures in the Americas is an act of violence. Therefore, what is at stakes in the analysis of cultural formation in the Americas is not so much how different or similar these different traditions are, but rather how European and white peoples claimed the wrights to unilaterally produce the definitions that distinguish the universal from the particular, the Human from the racial.

Following the lead of Gonzalez, Ramsey, and Gaunt, I will articulate the framework that guides my analysis of Black music. Therefore, Black music is not my object of study, but rather

---

[51] Gonzalez, "A Categoria Político-Cultural de Amefricanidade."

the methodology that allows me to explore how Black communities in Rio de Janeiro understood music as a complex social and aesthetic project that was connected to a broader process of building Black life-worlds. Although I believe that this exercise of articulating a theoretical approach might be useful for other contexts, I explicitly want to avoid any claims to its universal applicability. Finally, this theoretical model is also shaped by scholars of Black studies, and more specific, inspired by the challenge that bell hooks articulates regarding Black Aesthetics:

> "Working from a base where difference and otherness are acknowledged as forces that intervene in western theorizing about aesthetics to reformulate and transform the discussion, African-Americans are empowered to break with old ways of seeing reality that suggest there is only one audience for our work and only one aesthetic measure of its value. Moving away from narrow cultural nationalism, one leaves behind as well racist assumptions that cultural productions by Black people can only have "authentic" significance and meaning for a Black audience."[52]

In this dissertation, I will consider Black Music from three separate but interlinked aspects: *Black Aesthetics*, *Black Musicology*, and *Black Musicking*.

Writing about the blues aesthetics, Amiri Baraka argued that the aesthetics was dependent of its politics.[53] Although the emphasis is largely on the political work of the aesthetics, I want to emphasize the aesthetic work of the political. That is, rather than focus on the political movements that are connected to music, my focus on Black aesthetics is on the political potential that the Black Music tradition sustains through its engagement with aesthetics. Philosopher Paul Taylor articulates Black Aesthetics drawing from Stuart Hall's concept of assembly.[54] Assembly, Taylor argues, "is the mode of inquiry that allows us to see and account for the coherence of the

---

[52] hooks, "An Aesthetic of Blackness: Strange and Oppositional," 70.

[53] Baraka, "The 'Blues Aesthetic' and the 'Black Aesthetic': Aesthetics as the Continuing Political History of a Culture."

[54] Taylor, *Black Is Beautiful: A Philosophy of Black Aesthetics*.

configuration without glossing over the respects in which it remains, in a sense, incoherent," following Hall for whom "the artwork itself appears, not in its fullness as an aesthetic object, but as constitutive element in the fabric of the wider world of ideas, movements, and events."[55] Taylor finds this approach particular fitting because it avoids the traps of essentializing culture in general, and Black culture more specifically. Recounting a story of two Black men, unknown to each other, who fashioned stars in their hairs during the middle passage, Taylor says that "they used what was at hand, both culturally and materially, to cobble together the beginnings of an African American culture. It appears that these cultures are not so much *born as assembled*" (emphasis added). This emphasizes the aesthetic not as something fixed, but for its work. And this, for Taylor, is deeply intertwined with its expressive aspect. "To do 'black aesthetics'" he says, "is to use art, criticism, or analysis to explore the role that expressive objects and practices play in creating and maintaining black life-worlds."[56] So using this framework of Black aesthetics, I examine samba to understand the ways that music performance allowed for the assembly of Black communities, institutions, and ways of living that would otherwise be impossible in a racialized society.

Following the work of Black aesthetics, I also will explore the concept of Black Musicology. I am using the term musicology not to describe knowledge about Black music, but rather Black knowledge about music. More specifically, I am interested in understanding how Black communities organized knowledge about music. In this sense, Black Musicology complements Black Aesthetics. If aesthetics is concerned with the work that art is doing for creating and maintaining Black life-worlds, musicology is the activity of arranging the knowledge

---

[55] Hall, "Assembling the 80s – The Deluge and After," 1.

[56] Taylor, *Black Is Beautiful: A Philosophy of Black Aesthetics*, 6.

that was produced in the first place. Always dialogical, Black Musicology is the science of observing the impact of Black music in the world and then selecting how to organize that knowledge for future use. It is seen in the creation of social institutions that preserve specific aspects of Black music, in the techniques that are developed and maintained, in the development of new musical styles, and in the strategies aimed at undermining racial thinking. My goal in using Black Musicology as an analytical tool is to allow for Black knowledge to shape the research project itself.

The third aspect of my theoretical framework is Black Musicking. Christopher Small articulated the term musicking to shift the emphasis on music from the object to the actions.[57] I am choosing to use term in order to connect to a genealogy of music scholars, but as it is clear, Black musicians and intellectuals have always understood the inseparability of music as text and music as action. But when Nicholas Payton articulates Black Music for Black Freedom, he goes one step further than to highlight the connection between text and action. He actually expands the notion of the musical act, to include the political act of liberation. Therefore, I am using Black Musicking precisely to insist on the need to provincialize the concept of "musicking," that is, to strip it from its universal fantasy of over-representation. This emphasis on qualifying musicking became immediately necessary considering the many circumstances that I encountered in this project when Black and white musicians performed in similar settings or using similar techniques. However, those performances did not all share the same goal, and many times they were positioned on opposite political ends. Therefore, I use Black Musicking as a framework to consider how the

[57] Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*.

specific embodied acts of musical performance were shaped by Black Musicology and participated in Black Aesthetics.

Finally, this analytical framework allows me to consider the many instances in which Black and white musicians were collaborating in musical projects. By shifting the focus from the bodies to the work that Black music does in the world, I am able to explore the role of white musicians, audiences, journalists, and other actors in the project of Black Music for Black Freedom.

CHAPTER 1: SAMBA IS BLACK: (UN)MAKING RACE IN A "RACELESS" GENRE

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the period preceding the consolidation of samba as a commercial genre of popular music. What gives unity to this period is the increasing presence of Black music in public and private spaces in Rio de Janeiro that were not perceived or constructed as exclusively Black. Not only was this music present in such spaces, but during this period white people became actively engaged in its production. They performed, composed, danced, organized events, wrote about the music in the press, and even collaborated with many Black people in creating social and legal structures that allowed samba to thrive in the city and beyond. Although the musical encounters that samba enabled many times challenged or blurred racial borders, they were never enough to eliminate the knowledge of racial difference that continued to support white people's racial project in Rio de Janeiro and throughout the county. This was made audible during the period through a significant difference in the way Black and white musicians chose to interpret the music.

Listening to the vast musical examples from this period, I will suggest that this difference in sound is connected to one of the most compelling paradoxes of the reality of race. On one hand, white people were committed to distancing themselves from the musical practices they perceived as black, and this difference enabled them to distinguish between two distinct and antagonistic versions of samba—one Brazilian, the other "black." Doing so resulted in the racialization of sound, that is, difference in sound was something people in Rio de Janeiro could perceive and attribute to the existence of essential racial difference. On the other hand, Black musicians and communities embraced discourses that characterized samba as Brazilian, while making constant artistic interventions that asserted its historical connections to Black aesthetics. In doing so, they were not assimilating to a new culture while rejecting the sounds that had become racialized as

black, nor did they cling to essentialized expressions of Blackness. Instead, Black music constantly defied narrow definitions or models, and maintaining a commitment to improvisatory practices, allowed Black musicians to explore the many expressions of their lived experiences and artistic aspirations.

Beginnings: When Polka was Congo Music and Batuque was French

During the nineteenth century, Rio de Janeiro's public spaces were filled with the music of the African enslaved, their Brazilian-born descendants, and freed Black people. Written descriptions of this music are predominantly restricted to the work of European travel writers who were emphatic about its pronounced "African" character.[58] Historians are quite careful when dealing with the genre of travel writing, aware as they are that those texts were not only impacted by the writer's partial perspective of "native" cultures but also had a direct role in creating these problematic notions of natives that would support Europe's colonial project. Although the historical scholarship that describes the music of the enslaved people in Rio de Janeiro demonstrates a careful treatment of those sources, they do not challenge the assumption that what these writers observed was indeed African. An article published by the daily newspaper *O Correio da Tarde* offers details about one event that suggests that the very category of African music needs to be interrogated if we are to engage with this music properly.[59]

The article recounts a meeting that happened over two days, beginning on Sunday and ending on the following day. Gathered at a house in order to celebrate the festivities of Kings were

---

[58] Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850*. See also Chapter 1 in Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*, 2013.

[59] "Baile do Congo," *O Correio da Tarde*, February 24, 1857.

the subjects of the Congo empire and the Queen Joanna. The Queen walked towards the altar for a short prayer and then took her seat at the throne where her faithful subjects came to kiss her hand in a sign of respect. This ceremony was a prelude to an exciting ball, or the "Baile do Congo," according to the title of the article. Kings ceremonies like this were common not only in Brazil but also throughout the Americas.[60] Many of these traditions, linked to the Congo ethnic group of enslaved Africans, became institutionalized through the creation of Black Catholic Brotherhoods. The making of Afro-Catholic expressions of faith and community building represented one of the powerful aspects of their diasporic experience.[61] But this history is not limited to the Africans in diaspora. Rather, predating chattel slavery and the colonization of Africa, it traces back to early encounters between Portugal and the Kingdom of Kongo located in Central Africa. In 1491, the Kongo monarch asked to be baptized, followed by the independent conversion of the Kingdom of Kongo to Catholicism, a process that resulted in the increased exchange between both regions.[62] Iconography from this period registers the presence of clothing and musical instruments that

---

[60] Mello e Souza, *Reis Negros No Brasil Escravista*; Sweet, "The Evolution of Ritual in the African Diaspora: Central African Kilundu in Brazil, St. Domingue, and the United States, Seventeenth–Nineteenth Centuries"; Iyanaga, "On Hearing Africas in the Americas: Domestic Celebrations for Catholic Saints as Afro-Diasporic Religious Tradition"; Fromont and Iyanaga, "Introduction: Kongo Christianity, Festive Performances, and the Making of Black Atlantic Tradition."

[61] Iyanaga, "Why Saints Love Samba: A Historical Perspective on Black Agency and the Rearticulation of Catholicism in Bahia, Brazil"; Iyanaga, "On Flogging the Dead Horse, Again: Historicity, Genealogy, and Objectivity in Richard Waterman's Approach to Music."

[62] Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic*; Clist et al., "African-European Contacts in the Kongo Kingdom (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries): New Archaeological Insights from Ngongo Mbata (Lower Congo, DRC)"; Furtado, "Black Ceremonies in Perspective: Brazil and Dahomey in the Eighteenth Century."

clearly show the direct influence of Portuguese cultural artifacts in the making of a changing Kongo identity.[63]

Black Brotherhoods often performed alongside white Catholic groups in religious ceremonies, but this particular event seems more likely to have been independently organized, considering it was a ceremony where the Congo Queen was so prominently featured.[64] The description of the hall does not resemble anything similar to a Catholic religious venue, and the charging of an entrance fee indicates it was likely collected to support the Brotherhood. The police were also present and "maintained the best order" during the event. Among the people participating, the writer mentions specifically only a group of "elegantly dressed black women" (*pretinhas vestidas com muita elegância)* but it is possible to assume that there were white people in attendance. The description of the writer's source, "a curious person who took part in the festivities," suggests a person who did not belong to the group of Congo subjects. But it is the description of the music that makes this article so pertinent for this story. People were dancing to polkas and waltzes during the ball, which culminated on a *cotillon batuque.* The presence of two genres of European salon dance music suggests that Rio de Janeiro's Black communities were comfortable with these styles of music and dance. Not only that, but the fact that they were part of a celebration in the name of Queen Joana of the Congo empire shows that we cannot interpret these genres in this context as exclusively European, at least not in a way that characterizes European culture in opposition to Africa. Moreover, although we have no detail about the performance of

[63] Lisa Voigt, "Representing an African King in Brazil."

[64] On the dynamics of Black Broterhoods, see Soares, *People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*.

the music, it is likely that Black musicians were involved, which also suggests they were comfortable enough with the stylistic elements that a white audience member was able to distinguish between polka and waltz, and also between those two styles and batuque. Batuque was a term consistently used with the goal of describing music that was black, that is, in opposition to white or European music. But once again, the wording of the article suggests these boundaries were not so rigid even at the time, considering the author explicitly describes it as a cotillon batuque. Cotillon, the French square dance that was popular throughout Europe and the Americas, was certainly not a common synonym for the word batuque, nor were the words used interchangeably.

As the history of Kongo's conversion suggests, people from Africa had long been shaped through their contact with Europeans. Their ability to shape their own identity using visual, aural, performative, and other material cultural elements that were clearly perceived as distinct and "foreign" demonstrates their willingness to recognize the humanity of their European counterparts and engage in a relation that was open to deep personal transformation. But we cannot simply understand the events described in this 1857 newspaper as a continuation of the process of cultural transformation that began in the late fifteenth century. Between those two distinct points in time, the relation between Europeans and the African diaspora in Brazil was transformed with the introduction of chattel slavery. Rather than simple continuity, the persistent use of cultural objects associated with Europeans in the social lives of the enslaved Africans can be interpreted as a choice not to reject these symbols despite the brutal violence perpetuated against them by the people who claimed to be represented by these same symbols.

An interpretation that reduces these choices to strategic assimilation fails to recognize the willingness of Brazil's enslaved and freed Black population to build paths towards restoration of

Black freedom that sustained the humanity of their enslavers. This does not mean that we must ignore the tensions that continued to characterize this oppressive relation, nor that we should privilege Black liberation movements that assure the well-being of the colonizers while denouncing other forms of Black mobilization as violent. As the Black abolitionist lawyer Luiz Gama articulated when defending an enslaved man accused of killing his enslaver, "every slave who kills his master practices a legitimate act of self-defense."[65] Rather, to recognize this one aspect of the Black experience in Brazil as representative of their fight for freedom even as other alternatives were available is to grapple with the complexity of the struggle for freedom of those who refused to give in to the same dehumanizing logics of coloniality.

On the other hand, although this description of the Baile do Congo offers evidence that the music of Black Brazilians was in fact accessible to white people, it did not prevent them from continuing to imagine their relation as essentially unequal, during slavery and beyond. For white people, black music remained a source of amusement and pleasure, but never a path for human connection. The diverse musical expressions in this event organized by enslaved Africans matches other historical sources that document the frequency of musical encounters between white and Black cariocas during the colonial period.[66] Even though the description of musical events in most nineteenth century sources is broad and undetailed, it is possible to infer that the presence of different musical traditions did not result in the erasure of traditions or forced assimilation. Instead,

---

[65] Santos, *Luiz Gama: Retratos Do Brasil Negro*.

[66] Abreu, "Festas Religiosas No Rio de Janeiro: Perspectivas de Controle e Tolerância No Século XIX"; Abreu, *O Império Do Divino: Festas Religiosas e Cultura Popular No Rio de Janeiro, 1830-1900*; Cunha, *Ecos Da Folia: Uma História Social Do Carnaval Carioca Entre 1880 e 1920*; Reis, "Batuque: African Drumming and Dance between Repression and Concession, Bahia, 1808-1855."

they suggest that there was nothing about the musical styles associated with Europe and Africa that was innately harmful to either group's identity, shared traditions, or sense of belonging. What then justifies the continued purchase of the vocabulary of difference to define the relationship between Black and white communities in Brazil and in the Americas more broadly? Reducing difference to the realm of discourse allows for the true work of race to remain invisible. Relegated to the elusive realm of the "social construct," race becomes an idea that simply needs to be challenged, when in fact its material reality is constantly being engendered through the careful disciplining of the acts of listening to and engaging with Black music.

Although the detailed description of the Baile do Congo in Rio de Janeiro's press was an exception, the city's newspapers were filled with commentary on the musical practices of Black cariocas. Unable or unwilling to engage with this music in productive ways, these other texts offer a more violent account that portray black music as generic sound which, when not restricted to marginalized spaces, became a disturbance to public life. One such account was published on the same newspaper just over one year after the Baile do Congo. On April 27, 1858 Antonio Ildefonso Gomes wrote a vehement condemnation of the current condition of the Church in Brazil and, more specifically, the liturgical ceremony (*culto*). The statement was addressed to the "Augustus and the Honorable Representatives of the Brazilian nation." It is not clear if Gomes held an official position in the clergy, but his fiery demands included a new Ministry of Worship, reinstatement of tithes, and a request for a council of ecclesiastical leaders in order to remedy the ills of the Brazilian Church. According to him, one of the main symptoms of the degeneration of the liturgy was the process that transformed "[t]he church, house of prayer, temple of the living GOD… in a *pagode*: from afar we can hear the devastating *repiques* that announce the festivities, and what is the music

of these repiques? The scandalous batuque, furrundum, samba, *bate moleque*: lustful *maxixe chorado*, banal and infame African dances."

The verbose description of the music that had invaded the church was not an attempt to be accurate or specific. In fact, I cannot provide a distinct definition for each of them and I suggest his readers could not either. But the author did not need to make an explicit reference to African dances to make his point clear. Gomes' intent was to conjure all the terms that he felt represented blackness and its complete incompatibility with the project of a white church, and he chose a vocabulary that was certainly shared at the time. In doing so, he also clearly lays out a project that would be carried out by other white Brazilians, to map out sonic blackness and maintain a rigid boundary between what was black and white. In the case of the church and religious life in general, the boundaries were so rigid as to almost completely remove any trace of perceived blackness from white religious institutions and practices. Black Brotherhoods experienced segregation and exclusion since the eighteenth century, and while they remained an important aspect of Black religious life in other parts of Brazil, they almost completely disappeared in Rio de Janeiro.[67] The same happened with the Festivities of the Divine, only in that case the diminished role of Black communities also took away the relevance of this festival in Rio de Janeiro's public and liturgical calendar.[68] *Carnaval*, a non-religious festival initially restricted to predominantly white spaces, flourished with the increasing presence of Black communities and would eventually replace the Divino as the city's most popular festivity in the twentieth century.

---

[67] Soares, *People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*.

[68] Abreu, *O Império Do Divino: Festas Religiosas e Cultura Popular No Rio de Janeiro, 1830-1900*.

Despite the efforts to maintain clear boundaries along racial lines, Black music remained present throughout the entire second half of the nineteenth century at the elite salons, where genres of European dance music became ever more entangled with the practices of Black communities from the Americas. And it is in this music that the project of mapping blackness would become more pronounced. While white elites were more than willing to engage with this music, they ensured this engagement did not diminish their ability to clearly distinguish and classify the increasing music diversity in the city according to their own categories of race.

Mapping Blackness and Africa: The Making of a European Hybrid Genre

During the 1850s, written sources document an increasing presence of tango, vaguely referring to a music and dance style, in Rio de Janeiro's elite social clubs. Since the Portuguese court had moved to the city earlier in the century, dance styles from Europe had become increasingly popular not only among the court or Brazilian elites, but also with the city's lower classes including enslaved and freed Africans. Sheet music catalogues that included compositions for solo piano or accompanied voice consistently organized the repertoire as to reflect this perceived difference between the "purely" European dance genres, like polka, waltz, mazurka, and schottische, and their hybrid variants that incorporated elements from the music of local Black communities. The list of terms used in Rio de Janeiro to represent these new genres was initially limited to tango and habanera but would expand during the 1880s to include new variants like tango brasileiro, polka-chula, polka-lundu, and maxixe.[69]

[69] Lundu (or lundum) and chula were two terms constantly at the time for the music of Black Brazilians.

The consistent use of these terms as distinguished genres from polka reveals a shared practice among elites of the cities connected by the global slave trade regarding the influence of the music of Black communities. Analyzing the sheet music collections from Brazil's Biblioteca Nacional, it becomes clear what distinguished the hybrid genres from polka. All of them shared similar formal structure based on variations of the rondo form, as well as the basic tonal principles that guided the compositions' melodic and harmonic elements. Rhythmically however, these genres departed from polka. Tango and habanera had variations of the tresillo and cinquillo as the foundational rhythm that was applied repeatedly on the left-hand accompaniment. On the Brazilian variants, a new pattern emerged in the early twentieth century.[70] Mário de Andrade labeled this two-beat rhythmic pattern "síncope característica"—sixteenth-note, eight-note, sixteenth-note followed by two eight-notes. He would also suggest that maxixe, the quintessential Brazilian genre that he understood as defined by that particular rhythmic structure, resulted from "the fusion between tango, through its rhythm, and polka, through its tempo, with an adaptation of the Luso-Brazilian syncope."[71] The term maxixe was rarely used in sheet music during the nineteenth century but in 1881, a writer for the newspaper *O Facho da Civilização* argued that maxixe was the creation of a modern society and the music that defined the experience of the aristocratic salons of its time.[72] The writer concluded his analysis of maxixe mentioning its enemies, namely samba and forrobodó. This restricted use of the term would not last long. Already in 1886, maxixe was connected to Cidade Nova in the *revista* A Mulher-Homem and by 1893, the maxixes of Cidade

[70] Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente: Transformações Do Samba No Rio de Janeiro, 1917-1933*, 28–32.

[71] Andrade, *Música, Doce Música*, 152.

[72] "O Maxixe," *O Facho da Civilização,* August 11, 1881.

Nova were considered a quintessential activity of Rio de Janeiro's cultural life.[73] The perceived distance between maxixe and samba would decrease during the 1910s and 1920s, when the terms became increasingly entangled and other forms of distinction emerged. Reporting on the music performed at the Festa da Penha, a reporter for the newspaper Gazeta de Notícias distinguished between three kinds of maxixe: one from the *clubs carnavalescos,* another from the salons, and finally a last from the Favela. For a reader at that time, the division was clear. While the clubs carnavalescos and salons were spaces of the white elites and middle class, the Favela represented the hillside communities that were growing in size due to the urban reforms that displaced many poor and Black cariocas from the city's center.[74]

Although there was never an agreement about the exact meaning of these terms, it is clear that white elites remained committed to maintaining distance from the musical practices of Black people. The making of maxixe, tango, and habanera reveal a similar process of incorporating elements perceived as derived from Black communities. Not only was the "African" element limited to rhythm, but the particular elements of African rhythm that became incorporated in these genres were limited to what one could transcribe using standard Western notation. These rhythmic ideas, almost always limited to a two-beat pattern, were used in repetitive form throughout entire compositions. Thus, by setting a very clear and measurable standard of accepted blackness, it was possible to quickly identify the "other" black music, the one that signified racial difference.

---

[73] *A Semana*, February 20, 1886, 62 (Vol. II-N. 60). Revistas were popular musical theaters.

[74] "O dia de ontem na Penha," *Gazeta de Noticias*, October 19, 1914. About Favela, see Valladares, *The Invention of the Favela*.

Black Ensembles in Early Twentieth Century Rio de Janeiro

Black musicians were part of a diverse music community in early twentieth century Rio de Janeiro and their performance experiences reflected notions of both traditional and modern music. Professional opportunities for Black musicians increased gradually during the twentieth century. In addition to the sheet music market, new military ensembles provided secure employment, the emerging recording industry was paying musicians for recorded performances, and a growing number of entertainment venues began hiring musicians for live performances. This process influenced changes in the attitudes of music performance. Traditional musical practices of Black communities were perceived as predominantly participatory, in contexts of religious or social gatherings. Mário de Andrade understood these aspects of music making as markers of an "authentic" Afro-Brazilian character which were often conflated with "rural" communities. Rio de Janeiro's Black communities were urban and increasingly in contact with international flows of popular music, prompting Andrade to initially reject their work as *sub-música* because they lacked any "musical or poetic education" and, therefore, the external influence would corrupt the folkloric quality of the music.[75]

By contrast, modern popular music in early twentieth-century Brazil comprised a range of stylistic elements and processes of music making. Stylistically, there was an emphasis on the role of composers and arrangers, the harmonic and formal development of music composition based on European dance styles like schottische, polka, waltz, and mazurka, and instrumentation based on European military bands. Performances in professional settings were increasingly presentational with delineated roles distinguishing between musicians, listeners, and dancers,

[75] See Mário de Andrade, *Música, Doce Música* (São Paulo: Editora Martins, 1976 [1933]), 280-1.

taking place in clearly demarcated spaces, and to some extent, this music disseminated through sheet music, audio recordings and, later, the radio.

During the first decade of the century, Black musicians recorded in ensembles that performed in similarly formal and professional settings. The songs these ensembles recorded were predominantly based on European dance music styles and the compositions retained their complex harmonic and formal structures. Variations of the rondo form (mostly with three distinct sections) and harmonic modulations across sections were the norm, and melodies were often complex and technically challenging. Many polkas performed by the military bands in the first two decades of the twentieth century demonstrate the fluidity of Black Brazilians' interpretation of this repertoire. The music collection available at the Instituto Moreira Sales (IMS) lists five polkas composed or conducted by Albertino Pimentel and recorded by the Banda do Corpo de Bombeiros—one of Rio de Janeiro's premier ensembles at the time, led by Black composer, conductor, and multi-instrumentalist Anacleto de Medeiros— during the century's first decade. Pimentel was, along with Medeiros, one of the few Black composers who had developed a reputation among Rio de Janeiro's elites. This limited sample of recordings contains a rhythmic diversity that is absent in the salon piano repertoire.

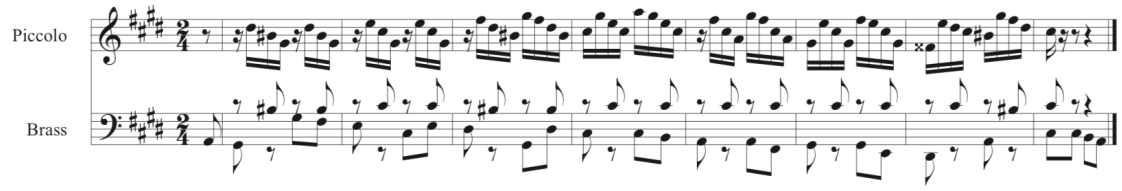
"Fantasia do luar" (Moonlight fantasia) and "Alice dengosa" (Suggestive Alice) maintain the cometric character of polkas, both in the melody and accompaniment, while "Dinheiro haja" (Let there be money) and "Carapicu" show an increasing contrametric character in their melodies. Finally, "Monteiro no sarilho" (Monteiro in the scuffle) is consistently more contrametric, both in

the melody and accompaniment.[76] This variety of rhythmic elements also appears in many other performances by the ensemble of compositions labeled as tango or polka, including "Cabeça de porco" (Pig's head), "Brejeiro" (Childish), "Corta jaca," "Noêmia," and "Turuna" (Fearless). Although it appears that these musicians were not concerned with enforcing precise distinction between genres, inconsistencies between the compositions and the IMS catalog suggests that archivists might have decided to label recordings according to contemporary conceptions of genre. From this list, "Cabeça de porco" is listed as choro on IMS's catalog, but the song is introduced as a polka in the recording, while Brejeiro and "Corta jaca" are listed as maxixe in the catalog but announced as tangos.

Polka, choro, tango, and maxixe became increasingly entangled and representing the broad musical practices of Rio de Janeiro's Black communities. More important than the emergence of these new rhythmic patterns, they were characterized by a distinct process of music interpretation. In recordings from different large ensembles, musicians shaped rhythm with a complex and subtle variety of articulation, and despite the intricate rhythms across the parts, they keep strong time while also retaining a certain flexibility with their interpretation of the sixteenth-note subdivision. These elements are evident in the music of two ensembles featuring primarily Black musicians, the Banda do Corpo de Bombeiros and the wind quintet Grupo Luiz de Souza. In "Cabeça de porco" the low brass instruments are playing downbeat-heavy patterns, but the combination of

[76] Drawing from Mieczyslaw Kolinski (1973), Simha Arom (1984) describes rhythmic structures as commetric or contrametric, depending on whether its accents or attacks coincide with the pulsation or are placed against the beat. Sandroni (2001) demonstrated the productive use of this terminology for analyzing samba, as opposed to "syncopation" which would imply the normativity of commetric rhythms.

legato and staccato articulations and a round tone ensure the ensemble's rhythmic flow. [77] The flutes, however, play intricate melodic shapes and their brash articulation give an edge to the song. The contrast between the high and low-pitched instruments is also felt in the interpretation of the pulse, with the flutes pushing the tempo against a more laid-back brass section. The composition has three sections, and in each the accompaniment material is different, including the addition of a snare drum in the C section that plays all sixteenth-notes, using accents to shape the tresillo pattern. A similar variety in accompaniment material is present in "2 de setembro".[78] A pre-composed melody is played by the trumpet and ophicleide, but both instruments take turns improvising melodic accompaniment. A euphonium plays an improvised bass line that, while based on the quarter-note, frequently uses melodic lines that add movement to the bass part. Another brass instrument (possibly a trumpet or trombone) complements the rhythmic patterns of the euphonium in the upbeats, while also adding chord notes to fill the harmony.



Example 1.1 Excerpt from "Cabeça de Porco," by Anacleto de Meideiros and Banda do Corpo de Bombeiros. First eight bars of the A section.

[77] Banda do Corpo de Bombeiros, *Cabeça de porco*, 1904. Composed by Anacleto de Medeiros. Odeon, 40.621. 78 rpm. Cabeça de porco (Pig's head) was the name of a tenement known as an important space for music making among Black communities of Rio de Janeiro, demolished during Rio de Janeiro's early urban reforms in 1893. See Brodwyn M Fischer, *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 33.

[78] Grupo Luiz de Souza, *2 de setembro*, 1906. Odeon, 40.736. 78 rpm.

Despite the importance of military and brass bands, the smaller combo based around the guitar-cavaquinho pairing would become the most common instrumentation in popular music ensembles moving forward. In the first decade of the century, only two such groups received credit for recordings, Grupo do Novo Cordão and Grupo dos Irmãos Eymard. Accounts from the period suggest a more prominent role for this type of ensemble in live performances, which became represented in recordings during the 1910s. Ensembles with this instrumentation combined for over three hundred songs recorded in that decade, including iconic groups like the one led by composer and pianist Chiquinha Gonzaga, Choro Carioca (featuring Pixinguinha on his first recordings as a flautist and composer), Grupo do Louro, led by clarinetist Lourival de Carvalho, Grupo do Cavaquinho de Ouro, named after the establishment that hosted some of the most important musical gatherings in the city, and Grupo do Pixinguinha.

A similar inconsistency in labeling genres is found in the recordings of smaller ensembles. "Choro Carioca recorded four polkas in 1911, three of them ("Nhonhô em Sarilho", "Isto não é vida", and "Daynea") have accompaniment based on cometric rhythms, but the accompaniment in "Nininha" is based on variations of the tresillo. Three other songs sound similar to "Nininha" ("São João debaixo dágua", "Morcego", and "Lulu"), but were all labeled as tango. The group recorded again in 1913, this time playing neither cometric polkas nor any songs labeled as tango. The three polkas recorded by the group that year ("Carne Assada," "Guará," and "Não tem nome") all feature improvised variations of the tresillo. This approach became the standard in most polkas, tangos, or maxixes that other similar ensembles recorded during that period, and no single rhythmic pattern emerges. This style of music would become associated exclusively with the label choro in the 1920s, when it was mostly performed as instrumental music in small ensembles. However, these

elements were present in most recordings of the first decade of the century, including vocal music or music for larger ensembles.

These small ensembles provided musicians with more freedom and despite the infrequent presence of soloistic improvisation, there was an increasing development in the variety of improvised accompaniment, not only by chordal instruments like the guitar and cavaquinho, but also by wind instruments who improvised melodic accompaniment. The ability to improvise the accompaniment depended on musicians' skills for keeping time and creating groove. The variety and the constant transformations in the accompaniment patterns suggest a dialogical construction of stylistic repertoire, developed collectively through the contribution of individual musicians, while also requiring those same individuals to be actively engaged with this community of musicians in order to maintain access to music knowledge.

Making Black Music in a Porous City

In the early twentieth century, Black musicians began to form a distinct network around Rio de Janeiro's developing music and entertainment industry. The new professional opportunities, however, did not completely replace participatory and informal performances. Instead, they both constituted spaces of Black music making. The constant circulation of musicians between these spaces was essential to the process of negotiating musical meaning and the creation of an aesthetics of Black music in Rio de Janeiro. A closer look at the career path of some of Rio's first professional Black musicians reveals the deep connections between professional and non-professional performance settings. Black musicians had prominent roles in military bands, especially in police

and fire departments.[79] Anacleto de Medeiros, for example, was a pioneer arranger and conductor. In 1896, he became the director of Rio de Janeiro's top ensemble, the Banda do Corpo de Bombeiros and was later hired as the arranger for Casa Edison, Brazil's first recording company. Luis de Souza, who played trumpet on Medeiros' group, led a very popular wind quintet during the first decade of the century, recording extensively as the Grupo do Luis de Souza, joined by Medeiros on the saxophone, Irineu de Almeida on ophicleide, Lica on euphonium, and Pedro Augusto on clarinet. Both Souza and Almeida became regular presences at the Pensão do Choro, a boarding house owned by Alfredo da Rocha Vianna.[80] Musicians often gathered in commercial establishments where they held informal and improvised music performances, similar to jam sessions, and Vianna's house became one of the most important spaces for this kind of performance.[81] In these meetings, music was performed in smaller ensembles based on a core accompaniment section of cavaquinho, guitar, and percussion, including the pandeiro and reco-reco, with additional soloist instruments, most often the flute.[82] This instrumentation was also

[79] Smaller versions of the military bands (usually a wind quintet or sextet with clarinet, trumpet, trombone, euphonium, and tuba) were also popular in this period. The accordion was also sometimes used in addition to the string instruments in the accompaniment section of smaller ensembles. Newspaper articles mention the presence of the pandeiro, a versatile percussion instrument, although the instrument was not used in any recordings until the advent of the electric recording system in the late 1920s.

[80] Diniz, *Pixinguinha: O Genio e o Tempo*, 30–31.

[81] Livingston and Garcia, *Choro: A Social History of a Brazilian Popular Music*, 43–45.

[82] Many newspapers articles mention the presence of the pandeiro, but the instrument was not used in recordings until the 1930s.

frequently used in performance of dance music dating back to the nineteenth century, indicating a continuous circulation between these different contexts of music making.[83]

A new entertainment scene developed in Rio de Janeiro's downtown, centered around *casas de chope* (pubs), movie theaters, and *teatro de revista* (revue theather). Pixinguinha's first steady job was at the *choperia* La Concha, alongside his brother Otávio Vianna, Bonfíglio de Oliveira (playing bass and trumpet), and Artur Nascimento, or Tute, who played guitar on this ensemble but was also a *bumbeiro* (bass-drum player) in the Banda do Corpo de Bombeiros. Pixinguinha joined Tute in another group, the Cinematographo Rio Branco's orchestra, led by conductor and trumpet player Paulino Sacramento, who was also a regular presence at Vianna's Pensão do Choro.[84] Sacramento composed many pieces for Rio de Janeiro's top military bands and later became known as one of the lead composers for teatro de revista, alongside Francisca (Chiquinha) Gonzaga, the most recorded composer of the first decade of the century. Derived from the French revue and vaudeville, teatro de revista became a popular genre of music-theater in late-nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro. Both lundu (music) and maxixe (dance) were featured prominently in teatro de revista, which remained an important space for Black performers until the 1940s.[85] One such performer was Eduardo das Neves, a multi-talented and versatile artist who also excelled as a

---

[83] Cazes, *Choro Do Quintal Ao Municipal*, 29; Diniz, *Pixinguinha: O Genio e o Tempo*, 31; Moura, *Tia Ciata e a Pequena África No Rio de Janeiro*, 51–52.

[84] Diniz, *Pixinguinha: O Genio e o Tempo*, 48.

[85] Lundu, polca, tango, and new combined terms (polca-lundu, polca-tango, habanera-polca-lundu) were all used to describe music played for accompanying the new style of popular dance, maxixe at the end of the nineteenth century. Beginning in 1897, the term maxixe was also used as a label for a style of music. See Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente: Transformações Do Samba No Rio de Janeiro, 1917-1933*, 81. For a definition of teatro de revista, see Cascaes, "A Música e a Dança No Teatro de Revista Carioca."

writer, poet, and composer, performed at circus bands, and was known as a *seresteiro*—roving guitar players and vocalists who performed in the city's streets at night.[86]

Black communities took a more prominent role in Rio de Janeiro's street carnaval celebrations in the beginning of twentieth century, organizing the first *ranchos carnavalescos*. Derived from ranchos de Reis (Afro-Catholic processions during Christmas), the new ranchos bridged religious and secular Black musical practices, keeping a similar processional style through the city's streets but using a new repertoire of songs.[87] They also replaced the heavy drums with ensembles that varied in size, building from the guitar-cavaquinho-percussion core, with added wind instruments ranging from one or two soloists to entire brass and reed sections.[88] Pixinguinha, Luis de Souza, guitar player Quincas Laranjeira, Bonfiglio de Oliveira and composer José Barbosa da Silva, or Sinhô—known in the 1920s as the King of Samba—were members of Filhas da Jardineira and Ameno Resedá, some of the most popular ranchos of the period.

In Filhas da Jardineira, Pixingiunha met Ernesto dos Santos (Donga) and João da Baiana, who would become his closer musical partners in the future.[89] Both became integrated to Rio de Janeiro's music community through their mothers, Tia Amélia and Tia Perciliana, who were among a group of prominent Black women (known as Tias Bahianas, or Bahian Aunts) who promoted important gatherings at their houses in the neighborhood Cidade Nova, also known as *Pequena África*. These meetings, also often called sambas, became famous for its music, which

---

[86] Abreu, "O 'Crioulo Dudu': Participação Política e Identidade Negra Nas Histórias de Um Músico Cantor (1890-1920)"; Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*, 2013.

[87] Gonçalves, "Cronistas, Folcloristas e Os Ranchos Carnavalescos: Perspectivas Sobre a Cultura Popular," 91–93.

[88] Efegê, *Ameno Resedá: O Rancho Que Foi Escola*, 18–20.

[89] Diniz, *Pixinguinha: O Genio e o Tempo*, 40.

included instrumental performances of formally-complex compositions, collectively-improvised songs accompanied by clapping and percussion instruments, and candomblé (music performed mostly in the context of Afro-Brazilian religious ceremonies). The border between musicians and participants was very fluid, and music more often performed in presentational or professional settings was, at these gatherings, deeply connected with social dance and religious rituals.

Figure 1.1 "Um samba da Cidade Nova" (A samba from Cidade Nova). Painting by Arnaldo, published on the front page of the newspaper Gazeta de Notícias, April 7, 1910. Three musicians, playing a guitar, clarinet, and euphonium, are performing for a room full of dancers.

Black women in Rio de Janeiro collectively organized, created, and sustained social spaces in which Black music could thrive. In doing so, they did more than simply provide the safe spaces, political connections, and domestic labor. They also performed an indispensable intellectual work,

by choosing to embrace this group of professional musicians, most of whom were versed predominantly in musical traditions connected to Europe. They did not only seek to incorporate these skills into their universe of knowledge, but also ensured that these musicians remained committed to other aspects of music performance that were historically tied to the African diaspora and that continued to be raced as "black."

Despite the constant presence of white musicians, samba's community was ultimately centered around practices that reflected the Black experience and a Black aesthetics, understood both as common repertoire and a set of evaluative criteria shared by Black communities in Rio de Janeiro.[90] The meetings at Tia Ciata's house represented the wide range of expressions that characterized the music experiences of this expanding class of musicians, from music that was based on more strict formal structures to collectively improvised call-and-response singing, and moving seamlessly from participatory to presentational. Musical sensibilities were shaped and connected by ritual, dance, affect, and music performance, all informed by shared Black experiences and a shared Black aesthetic. Therefore, however close the development of samba and the careers of Black professional musicians were to notions of music artistry connected to Western musical practices, my analysis of samba is based on the premise that Black professional musicians chose to develop their aesthetics among and within Rio de Janeiro's Black communities, and did so under the leadership of Black women.

[90] Hall, "What Is This 'Black' in Black Popular Culture?," 27.

What's in a Name? Black Music, "Pelo telefone," and the Problem of Genre

Despite the variety of ensemble types and styles recorded, Black ensembles only recorded music that contained formal elements associated with European dance music. However, already at that time, Black musicians were frequently performing call-and-response improvised music and dance present on a variety of experiences, rituals, and festivities. The first recording that shows the impact of these encounters in the performance of call-and-response music is Choro Carioca's "Chalréu."[91] The group recorded a total of sixteen tracks in two recording dates—nine in 1911 and seven in 1913. Only two of those have vocal parts, including "Chalréu," labeled a lundu. However, the group's instrumentation remains the same in every tune—trumpet, flute, two guitars, mandolin, cavaquinho, and euphonium. The accompaniment in "Chalréu" is similar to the other tunes, with the exception of a cow bell used during a few sections of the song. The main difference is in the form. Polkas and tangos had complex harmonies and melodies and three extended and different sections, but "Chalréu" is built on a simple chord progression that only goes through the subdominant, dominant, and tonic, and the song never modulates.

In 1914, Odeon released three tracks credited to the Grupo da Casa Odeon, "Moleque Vagabundo," "Descascando o pessoal," and "Urubu Malandro," all of which feature clarinetist Lourival de Carvalho, or Louro and his group. These are some of the first recordings labeled as samba, all featuring the core rhythm section of guitar and cavaquinho and based on simple harmonic progressions—most often I/V/I—and improvised accompaniment, similar to "Chalréu". The increasing popularity of songs in carnaval during the 1910s was followed by a change in the recordings of this type of song, moving from the single guitar to a larger accompaniment section

[91] Choro Carioca, *Chalréu*, 1913. Composed by China. Phoenix, 70.647. 78 rpm.

with guitar, cavaquinho, and percussion.[92] The accompaniment patterns, based on variations of the tresillo, that were consolidated during the 1910s, became the standard practice used in vocal music once the first samba compositions were recorded, suggesting the constant circulation between vocal, instrumental, and dance music. The formal structure of these songs, alternating between call-and-response and improvised verses, was also similar to accounts of collectively-improvised dances of enslaved Africans and a practice that continued to be perceived as an exclusive element of music racialized as black.

Some of the elements present in "Chalréu" were also present in earlier recordings of lundu, which had a similar structure of chorus and verse. The chorus melody was usually simpler and often sung by a group of singers, while a soloist sang the verse, which used different lyrics for the same melodic material. Recordings of lundu peaked around 1912 and almost completely disappeared after 1915, being replaced by the label samba.[93] There were other genres of vocal music being recorded in Brazil at the time, but lundu was the label most consistently used to signal an "Afro-Brazilian" character. However, the recordings of lundu from the first decade reflect a distancing with the performative knowledge of Black styles of popular music, similar to the pattern of appropriation by white composers in the previous century.

The genre name lundu had been used since the 1830s to label songs with a distinct contrametric character and references to Afro-Brazilian experience in its lyrics.[94] During the

---

[92] Pictures and newspaper articles indicate that ensembles had several guitar and cavaquinho players, but recorded music from the 1900s, 1910s, and 1920s seldom includes this larger ensemble, likely due to technical issues in the recording process.

[93] The IMS archives only provide estimated data about recording dates for recordings dated before 1920. Lundus peak from 1907-1912, with just under twenty songs recorded during the 1910-1915 range.

[94] Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente: Transformações Do Samba No Rio de Janeiro, 1917-1933*, 61.

nineteenth century, many white middle-class musicians began to compose music in the style of lundu, but the process of exaggerated incorporation of syncopation into their compositions had effects similar to blackface. Syncopation was used comically, as "an ingredient of characterization, as an imitation of what was understood by white ears of that period to represent musical '*negritude*.'"[95]

Singer Baiano was hired by Casa Edison, at the time Brazil's most popular recording company, and is featured in many of the first recordings of lundu.[96] His songs include overt references to emerging racialized caricatural depictions of black culture in Brazil, like in the lyrics of "A mulata da bahia" and "O capoeira." In most recordings, he is accompanied by a pianist, who seems to be executing their part based on a pre-composed lead sheet. In "Bolim bolacho," the pianist plays an introduction that sets the tempo, making extended use of the "*síncope característica*." There is a break at its conclusion, but once Baiano joins the music, the accompaniment from the piano becomes imprecise and there is no defined tempo. The song progresses with a similar feel, the material from the introduction reused as an interlude between parts, but throughout the groove is completely lost and there is no dance-like quality to the

---

[95] Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente: Transformações Do Samba No Rio de Janeiro, 1917-1933*, 56.

[96] There is some doubt about Baiano's racial identity. Marc Hertzman highlights Baiano's presence in the first record catalogs published by Casa Edison in contrast to the absence of Anacleto de Medeiros. The difference between them was their skin color, Medeiros' being significantly darker. Information about musicians' race is often missing and relying on image can be misleading as observed in two photos of Medeiros, in which the use of "makeup, hair wax, and photograph could 'whiten' him." (Hertzman, *Making Samba*, 78). If it is not possible to make definitive claims about Baiano's race, there is no data situating him among the many spaces in which Black musicians were shaping this new style, and his recordings during the first two decades of the century clearly indicate he did not master the style created in such spaces.

performance. The same is true in other lundus recorded by singers Barros, Preto de Prata, and Pepa Delgado.

Other Black singers, however, produced significantly different performances of the genre. Eduardo das Neves joined Baiano at Casa Edison and became one of the label's most popular singers. Neves circulated among different spaces for production of Black music in Rio de Janeiro and was well established among the city's network of professional musicians. The skills acquired in such settings are apparent on his performances of lundu, and he accompanies himself on the guitar making for much more interesting and organic performances. Neves is officially credited in eight of Bahiano's recordings of lundu, and his accompaniment transforms the overall felling of all tracks, which now have a steady rhythmic flow and groove through the songs. There are a few recordings made by Baiano that feature a similar guitarist. Cadete, another singer hired by Casa Edison, is accompanied by an unnamed guitarist in most of his recordings of lundu. It is possible that Eduardo das Neves is the guitarist in all of those recordings and did not receive credit.

Throughout the 1910s, recording and publishing companies often used the genre label lundu in music that incorporated some of the performative and aesthetics tropes now associated with a stereotypical Afro-Brazilian musical culture. During the next decade, there is a gradual transition in the market of recorded music, that leads to the replacement of lundu for the term samba, now associated also with a fixed musical genre and its corresponding stylistic elements. One of the most clear and impactful examples of this transition is the song "Cabocla do Canxangá," which became popular during the 1913 carnaval. The song was published in print with two different piano parts, and one uses a broken-chord pattern on the left hand throughout the entire tune, mimicking the guitar accompaniment pattern from some of the early lundu recordings. The second piano part has a different pattern, also used in the entire song—the síncope característica. Two recordings of

this song were made in the following year, differing in ensemble type. An instrumental version was recorded in 1914 by Grupo O Passos no Choro, which sounds similar to "Chalréu". The accompaniment is played by a cavaquinho and guitar, who improvise their parts to create a nice groove, over which the flautist plays the melody. On the vocal performance, however, the ensemble follows some of the practices from the old lundu recordings. The accompaniment is provided by both piano and guitar, but the piano part follows the lead sheet very closely, playing the same two-beat pattern throughout the recording. The piano and guitar clash from the start and they are never able to set a clear tempo at the introduction. Once the voices come in, the rhythmic instability increases, and the ensemble rushes and drags trying to find common ground. There was inconsistency in labeling the song. The first sheet music presents the label tango and the two recordings are labeled cateretê and batuque sertanejo. However, one of the piano parts and a newspaper article from 1913 use the term samba.[97]

The piano lead sheet and the recording of "Cabocla do Caxangá" show an increasing association between this particular rhythmic pattern and an image of Afro-Brazilian music. A few songs containing the same recurrent pattern throughout also received the label samba after "Cabocla do Caxangá." But it was the recording of the song "Pelo telefone" in 1917 that would be responsible for the increasing association between samba and this particular stylistic form associated with blackness. "Pelo telephone" (or some versions of it) had been popular in Rio de Janeiro before Donga, a Black composer, registered the song under his name in 1916.[98] Like "Cabocla do Caxangá," the popularity of the song associated with the carnival season meant that

---

[97] *Correio da Manhã*, February 3, 1913, 1.

[98] Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*, 2013.

cariocas had listened to live performances in varied settings, instrumentations, and even versions that had slightly changed lyrics, verse structure, and form. As with any kind of oral performance in non-normative settings, it is hard to trace back its original form. Although the song had become widely disseminated by the time it was published, meaning many different groups of musicians could be performing it at varied spaces and contexts, there is enough historical evidence to assume that a significant number of cariocas could associate the song to a group of Black musicians linked to Tia Ciata.[99] Behind the public debate that followed the song's success and controversies regarding ownership, there is a concern with tracing its origins and, ultimately, reinforcing its status as an authentic product of blackness. These debates, stoked once the song was registered by a single composer, Donga, and disseminated through a music record, reveal the new challenges of that cariocas faced when encountering what was perceived as "authentic" blackness in material and mediated form.

Although there are no clear mentions to blackness, this evidence points to the fact that "Pelo telephone" was perceived as an artifact directly related to carioca's Black communities, even though we have no evidence that Black musicians were involved in the actual recording. Donga was a very skillful guitarist and already a close friend of arranger Pixinguinha and yet, the recording was made by a group hired by Casa Edison. The specific musicians are not credited for this performance but judging by the recording, they were not nearly as skilled as the Donga and Pixinguinha. Singer Baiano was one of the leading recording artists at Casa Edison and he is the only one credited for this recording. Although he often recorded a song repertoire that was associated with Afro-Brazilian genres, his performance of "Pelo telephone" reveals his lack of

[99] Hertzman, 94–102.

familiarity with the style that the song was supposed to represent. His loose interpretation of the sixteenth-note subdivision never establishes the time, and, at certain instances, there are clear clashes between him and the rhythm section. A clarinet joins the singer, alternating between playing an accompaniment part or the melody in unison with the voice. The clarinetist seems to be following a lead sheet closely but his time is also not solid, and the interpretations of the melody by the clarinet and the voice clash at times—the clarinet seems to stick to a more regular and repeated phrasing of the melody, while Baiano takes a lot of freedom in his interpretation. At the end of the two instrumental interludes during the song, there is a break in the rhythm section and in both times, Baiano struggles to find his way back into the melody. As result, the rhythmic flow in the accompaniment is interrupted for a few measures before the guitarist can adjust to Baiano's new tempo and re-establish the groove. The guitar accompaniment is tentative at times, especially when trying to match the tempo changes dictated by singer Baiano and is very repetitive. The piano part, used to register the song at Biblioteca Nacional, contains the exact same accompaniment as performed by the guitarist, using the síncope característica throughout the whole tune. The energy that we hear in recordings by Black musicians is nowhere to be found in this record, and so is its groove and swing.

The consolidation of the term "samba" following the success of "Pelo telefone" has fueled speculation among scholars, who question why this particular term was used to the exclusion of others. The song had clear connections with spaces and practices of Black communities in Rio de Janeiro, but many of the elements that defined these communities are absent from the recorded performance. The stylistic diversity present in early recordings of samba is replaced by repetitive rhythmic structures that could be transposed to music notation. It is possible to speculate that the performance in this recording would sound quite similar to house performances from the piano

sheet music. Relying on their sight-reading skills, amateur pianists were given the ability to perform samba without being required to possess any knowledge of the style. This stylistic knowledge was only acquired through hours of lived experiences within samba's communities, including playing for dancers at gatherings whose participants, their music, and their behavior were racialized and considered a threat to social order. Therefore, the ability to select specific stylistic elements of samba allowed its listeners and some of its practitioners to choose which aspects of the samba world they wanted to embrace. In other words, it was possible to perform and listen to samba even when Black people and cultures were nothing but a distant source of this new commodity. Future encounters with the term samba would be filled with new meanings derived from the listening experiences provided in "Pelo telefone." The consolidation of samba as a well-defined genre is imbued in this process of appropriation, which would shape the development of the industry, narratives, style, and negotiation of musical meanings in the next decades.

Pixinguinha, Romeu Silva, and the Modern Samba Ensembles

Born at the turn of the twentieth century, Alfredo Vianna Jr.'s career overlapped and had a direct impact on the creation and transformations of samba. Known mostly by his nickname, Pixinguinha was one of the most accomplished and versatile musicians of his time, playing, recording, arranging, and composing music that represented different styles of popular music. On his way to national stardom, he led many ensembles in the late 1910s before making his first recordings as a leader with the Grupo do Pixinguinha. They recorded twelve tunes between 1919 and 1922,

including three sambas and two tangos.[100] These recordings contain some of the most compelling rhythm section playing in samba as the group, under Pixinguinha's leadership, retained the improvisatory character common to live performances, exploring the many possibilities for playing samba on this ensemble.

Among the songs recorded in the 1919 was Donga's song "Fica calmo que aparece."[101] We can clearly hear a flute and guitar. A third instrument (likely a cavaquinho) is also present, but the sound quality is distorted and for most of the time, only the rhythm can be partially distinguished. The preference for large brass instruments in recording sessions at that period was partially due to limitations in microphone technology, which demanded a larger body of sound. Although Pixinguinha's ensembles varied in number, during this period it was more often composed of eight musicians. The need for placement close to the microphone probably explains why only three musicians appear on each recording.

The composition has only three short sections that are alternated always in the same sequence, with the whole sequence repeated a total of five times. There are no changes to the arrangement: the melody is always played by the flute, and the guitar and cavaquinho remain in an accompaniment role. There are also no clear arranged parts for the accompanists as the musicians simply improvise their parts throughout the song and the same is true for the melody, which is repeated with small improvised rhythmic variations, except for one short rhythmic

---

[100] The different labels correspond to differences in form and harmony only, with no difference in accompaniment patterns between genres. Samba songs had two or three different sections, four or eight measures long, mostly moving from tonic to dominant, while the tangos had three larger sections with at least sixteen measures each and include more complex harmonic movement. There is a clear relation between the use of the labels samba and lundu, and tango and polkas.

[101] Grupo do Pixinguinha, *Fica calmo que aparece*, 1919. Composition by Donga. Odeon, 121.611, 78 rpm.

convention at the end, in which all instruments play a chromatic scale in unison before ending the tune with two short attacks on the tonic chord.

Despite the apparent simplicity of the arrangement, the entire track is full of energy and retains a danceable character through the entire tune, not once breaking the time or the groove. The group's approach to this piece indicated a standard practice for the time. Having to rely on the framework of simple compositions for live performances, musicians needed to develop the ability of improvising variations, building from common repertoire, while maintaining the intensity and rhythmic qualities perceived to be important for dancing participants at that time.

The 1922 recording of the samba "Domingo eu vou lá" shows the variety of elements used by the group in their performances.[102] This piece has only three short sections always alternated in the same sequence. There are no changes to the arrangement: the melody is always played by the flute, and the guitar and cavaquinho remain in an accompaniment role. There is also no written arrangement for the accompanists as the musicians improvise their parts throughout the song. The cavaquinho player uses the entire range of the instrument and many accompaniment devices to add interest to his part. After starting the tune with the typical chordal accompaniment, he uses a different accompaniment device in the B section, exploring two harmonic tones (probably playing the strings above the bridge), and despite playing all sixteenth-note subdivisions for a few measures, he creates interesting rhythmic patterns by using different combinations of articulations as well as the two pitches. He uses the same device a few more times during the recording, never in the same place of the tune, and he weaves the harmonics and the chordal accompaniment seamlessly. During the C section, which has a more diverse harmonic structure including the use

[102] Grupo do Pixinguinha, *Domingo eu vou lá*, 1921. By José Luis de Moares "Caninha". Odeon, 122.101. 78 rpm.

of secondary dominants, he outlines those chords with arpeggios, emphasizing the notes from each chord that are distinct from the home key scale.

The cavaquinho takes the lead on the accompaniment of this song, but the guitarist frequently interacts with him, alternating between his basic role of time keeping with quarter notes and the use of more contrasting rhythmic patterns at points of increased tension. These are not premeditated and happen at different sections of the song. Despite the apparent lack of stable or repetitive rhythmic structures, the musicians never lose time as they seem to have the pulse internalized without the need for it to be clearly stated and maintain a strong sense of the sixteenth-note subdivision throughout the performance. Pixinguinha's sense of time is particularly striking. He gives life to the melody with his command of the stylistic articulation and contributes to creating a compelling ensemble sound, as he matches up the cavaquinho in rhythmic intensity and energy. The group's recordings reveal a rhythmic edge in the performance that allows musicians to push the sixteenth-notes while also keeping a strong sense of collective groove without necessarily generating a feeling of the tempo being rushed.

Pixinguinha had enjoyed relative success during the early years of the 20th century and his recordings mentioned above highlight the beginning of a new project with the group Oito Batutas, which in addition to the flutists and leader, was also comprised of Donga, China and Raul Palmieri (acoustic guitar); Nelson Alves (cavaquinho); Luiz Pinto da Silva, Jacob Palmieri (percussion); and José Alves Lima doubling in percussion and the mandolin. Pixinguinha, Donga China, and Nelson Alves were Black, while the four others were white. They had been playing together as members of a larger twenty-piece ensemble, but the newly-founded octet started performing in this setting in 1919 at the Cine Palais , the same year of the recordings of "Fica calmo que aparece"—the trio in this recording is likely a reduced version of the octet. In 1923, the group

recorded twenty tracks released in ten 78rpm by Victor RCA. Pixinguinha's rhythm section always had a unique sound, dating back to his first recordings in 1911, and in the 1923 recordings, we have the consistent use of a percussion instrument in Brazilian recordings for the first time. Despite the widespread notion that Almirante's "Na Pavuna," recorded in late 1929 and released in 1930, was the first recording of samba to include percussion, most tracks recorded in 1923 by the Oito Batutas contain a reco-reco, featured prominently, and Pixinguinha's group had already used the instrument in two of his compositions, co-authored with Donga, recorded in 1919 by Baiano for Casa Edison, "Já te digo" and "A pombinha."

The most noticeable feature from the percussion in these tracks is the lack of any steady and rigid patterns. Five two-beat (or one 2/4 measure) rhythmic patterns appear throughout the recordings, and the percussionist in those tracks (likely Luís de Oliveira) often creates small variations, combining them freely in an improvised manner often generating larger, four-beat patterns. The percussionist almost always avoids placing any stress on the downbeats, and he improvises his phrases to complement the rest of the rhythm section. Similarly, the accompaniment patterns played by the cavaquinho and the guitar also avoid strict repetitions. In general, the rhythm section players have a strong sense of the beat and the subdivisions, and a vast knowledge of rhythmic vocabulary that was appropriate to the styles they were playing, which allowed them to create improvised accompaniments that, while different amongst each other, contributed for a unified rhythm section sound. The variety of accompaniment patterns in the rhythm section is striking, not only between sections or songs, but also between different instruments playing simultaneously, and the creative variations not only of rhythm but texture and articulation gave life to the music.

The early development of samba helped propel the Oito Batutas into national stardom, which was unprecedented for an ensemble of popular music especially considering the prominent role of Black musicians in the group. In 1922, they traveled to Paris funded by Brazilian philanthropist Arnaldo Guinle.[103] The group's trip to the cultural capital of Europe proved even more successful than expected. In Paris, comparisons were quickly drawn between the Oito Batutas and the numerous jazz ensembles (constituted primarily of African American jazz musicians) that had increasingly been touring Paris in the post-war period, with reports of collaborations between Brazilian and North American musicians, as well as a connection with the developing African diaspora-based dancing scene in Paris.[104] Even though the members of the group would change slightly, a mixed-racial makeup (the most frequent format featured four Black and four white musicians) was almost always constant. Nevertheless, the group was perceived and racialized as black.[105] Reactions in Brazil were mixed, and while some criticized the fact that Black musicians were representing national culture in Europe, others defended the group arguing they represented "our people" and "our country."

After the Oito Batutas returned to Brazil in August 1922, there was a convergence of efforts from Black artists, journalists, and anti-racist activists in shaping and celebrating modern "Black music," something unprecedented despite the prominent role Afro-Brazilian musicians had in the development of samba.[106] Under Pixinguinha's leadership, the ensemble remained centered around practices of Black music. The Batutas' expressive range represented Black community's diverse

---

[103] Cabral, *Pixinguinha: Vida e Obra*, 41.

[104] Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*, 105–6.

[105] Cabral, *Pixinguinha: Vida e Obra*, 41–43.

[106] Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*, 119.

musical experiences, from military bands to ranchos carnavalescos, and from performing at movie theaters and government ceremonies to the intimate gatherings promoted by the tias baianas. The creation of samba therefore expresses Black musicians' engagement with traditional and modern musical practices, which suggests the development of an Afro-modernist sensibility among Rio de Janeiro's Black communities, not unlike what scholars have noticed with jazz in the United States.[107]

The Batutas' success in prominent stages of the emerging modern music industry conflicted with the image that intellectuals and members of the Brazilian press had elected to promote. Before leaving Brazil, they ensemble was praised for representing the nation's *sertão* (hinterlands). This sertão was a popular trop that tied together a vision of Brazil's authentic, rural, backwards, and racialized Northern region in contrast to the modern urban centers. In the early years of the new Republic, urban elites frequently assigned blame for the country's struggles to this large contingent of (mostly Black) peasants.[108] A new discourse, however, became increasingly popular among this same group when Brazil's intellectuals tried to redeem the country's Black and backward culture as the source elements that could shape national identity. The Batutas' march towards success was welcomed by the press when they could fit the role of the *sertanejos*, but as the group began to occupy elite artistic spaces, their critics began to question their success. In turn, the group became less prominent in Rio de Janeiro's musical scene starting in 1923. Neither the Batutas nor Pixinguinha would record with the instrumentation that became

---

[107] Baker, *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance*; Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa*; Solis, "'A Unique Chunk of Jazz Reality': Authorship, Musical Work Concepts, and Thelonious Monk's Live Recordings from the Five Spot, 1958."

[108] Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil*.

increasingly associated with jazz and modern popular music. Instead, another man would lead the early recordings of jazz bands in Brazil.

Romeu Silva, a white saxophonist and band leader, inspired both by the success of the Oito Batutas and the North American bands that he saw while touring the United States, converted his orchestra to the Jazz Band Sul-Americano and switched his repertoire from adapted operas and other styles of European dance music to fox trot, maxixe, samba, and tango.[109] His group was hired to perform in many elite social clubs and house parties in Rio de Janeiro and between 1921 and 1926, it became the most recorded jazz band in Brazil, releasing over seventy-three tracks during that period, featuring the larger saxophone and trumpet sections that came to define Brazil's jazz-bands.[110] The band built a reputation as the most disciplined and elegant orchestra in Brazil, and Silva himself defined the group as "elegant, presentable in any saloon of Carioca society. No monkeyshines or debauchery, unlike a certain French or American orchestra currently playing here. We are artists, not clowns."[111] Despite the initial recognition that Black musicians, and especially Pixinguinha, Donga, and the members of Oito Batutas received, Silva was the one afforded the opportunity to record his music and represent the sound of modern Brazilian music influenced by jazz. In this process, a discourse of national music started to replace mentions to blackness in Brazilian bands, and even those labeled jazz, when compared with their North American counterparts, were presented as a more civilized alternative, precisely because they emphasized Brazilian-ness over race. Samba was becoming more widely accepted in society, but

---

[109] Cabral, *No Tempo de Ari Barroso*, 37–38.

[110] Labres Filho, "Que Jazz É Esse?: As Jazz-Bands No Rio de Janeiro Na Década de 1920," 85.

[111] Cabral, *Pixinguinha: Vida e Obra*, 38; Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*, 125.

as Silva "set an exclusive, white Brazilian nationalism against the competing 'nationalism' of the African Diaspora", there was an impact not only in rhetoric but also in the aesthetics of samba.[112]

The Jazz Band Sul-Americano included versions of fox trot in their repertoire, but also became known for their arrangements of samba. In 1925, every song by Black composer Sinhô, who the Brazilian press had already crowned as the "king of samba," was recorded by the ensemble. In these recordings, there is a clear contrast between the rhythmic fluency present in Pixinguinha's recordings and the execution of the Jazz Band Sul-Americano. In the arrangement of "Corta saia", singer Fernando de Albuquerque is accompanied almost all the time by a cavaquinho, which plays the same two-beat pattern throughout the entire tune.[113] It feels as if the cavaquinho player is resetting his pattern at the end of each measure, breaking the rhythmic flow of the accompaniment, signaling his lack of familiarity with the style. A saxophone plays a written accompaniment melodic line, similar to the improvised bass lines that guitarists would play on a typical performance of choro or samba. There is also a sense of tentativeness in the written line: rhythmic movement does not feel natural, and it is used sparsely to contrast longer notes played in the downbeats of each measure. The reeds and brass sections only play in the instrumental introduction, which is used again as interlude between each repetition of the chorus—a four-measure sequence built on the same one-measure rhythmic pattern.

On "Boca Pintada", a maxixe written by Joubert de Carvalho, the lack of rhythmic variety is even more striking. This tune is performed without vocals, and the lack of experience of the

---

[112] Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*, 125.

[113] Fernando Albuquerque, *Corta a Saia*, 1925. By Sinhô, with Romeu Silva Jazz Band Sul-Americano. Odeon, 122946, 78 rpm.

composer with the genre (Carvalho was at the time mostly famous for his fox trots) is revealed in the melody, which predominantly uses quarter and eight-notes, always emphasizing downbeats. The accompaniment is similar to the previous song: a cavaquinho keeps the same accompaniment throughout the tune, two saxophones play a melodic accompaniment that provides a little more rhythmic motion, and the rest of the band is used in the orchestration to harmonize the chords in half-notes.

During this period, a group of Black musicians from Rio de Janeiro's *favelas* introduced changes to samba's core rhythmic foundation. This new version of samba—the Samba of Estácio—was consolidated quickly, coinciding with the beginning of the golden era of samba and radio in Brazil in the 1930s. The first recorded examples of the new style of samba are from 1928. At the time, there was still no open discussion about the innovations brought by the group of sambistas from Estácio, nor were these recordings labeled any differently. On the recordings of "Me faz carinhos"[114] and "Não é isso que eu procuro"[115] (both composed by Ismael Silva and Francisco Alves), and "A malandragem"[116] (composed by Bide and Francisco Alves), there is a change in the melodic material, fitting the new style. Francisco Alves is listed as a co-author for all three songs but it is known that he leveraged his privileged position in the industry—which guaranteed that the songs would be recorded and were likely to obtain success—to purchase partial authorship rights, even though he likely did not participate in the composition process.

Francisco Alves began his singing career focusing mostly on American music but

---

[114] Francisco Alves, "Me faz carinhos," 1928. Composed by Ismael Silva, Odeon, 10.100-a, 78rpm.

[115] Francisco Alves, "Não é isso que eu procuro," 1928. Composer by Ismael Silva, Odeon, 10.251-a, 78rpm.

[116] Francisco Alves, "A malandragem," 1928. Composed by Bide, Odeon, 10.113-a, 78rpm.

expanded his repertoire to include samba, modeling his style on that of white American singers. He quickly developed his reputation as "*Rei da Voz*" (King of the Voice), built on his pitch control and potent voice, matching the qualities one would expect from a classically-trained singer. Despite the industry's preference for that style of singing, his interpretation of the melodies demonstrate his inability to properly execute the new rhythmic elements present at the melodies of all three tunes—Alves admittedly struggled to learn the melodic rhythm of compositions in this style, with his performance improving after a few years of experience.[117] The songs were all arranged to larger ensembles, similar to some of Alves' earlier recordings accompanied by the Jazz Band Sul-Americano. The instrumental introduction of all three recordings (as well as many subsequent recordings using large ensembles) still were based on the rhythmic material from the "old" version of samba. The same was true for all accompaniment material, including both the cavaquinho as well as the arranged written parts for the rest of the orchestra, which were still based on a small number of repeated two-beat patterns. There was not only an increasing gap between the type of rhythmic interpretation common in live performances by Black musicians and in recorded music by mostly white orchestras, but the arrangers and conductors also failed to develop a more fluent use of the new rhythmic repertoire, resulting in predictable and plain arrangements.

Romeu Silva's approach to samba was similar to the recording of "Pelo telefone," as it reduced the genre to a few elements that could be easily reproduced in the ensemble's many arrangements of samba. Silva's efforts to distance himself from other (Black) samba ensembles was not only rhetorical, as his musical choices reflect his concern to produce a whiter sound that would correspond to notions of organization, discipline, civility, and intellectualism in his music.

---

[117] Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente: Transformações Do Samba No Rio de Janeiro, 1917-1933*, 213.

During the 1920s, large orchestras combined for the recording of 128 sambas and sixty-six maxixes.[118] These were predominantly staffed by white musicians and all controlled by white arrangers and conductors and represented a shift from improvised to pre-composed performance that resulted in standardized representations of samba. During the final half of the 1920s, Black-led ensembles became increasingly marginalized in the industry, and the success of Francisco Alves and Romeu Silva would pave the way for a generation of other white singers, composers, and arrangers.

Conclusion

The development of a professional class of Black musicians in the early twentieth century resulted from the increasing presence of Afro-Brazilian culture in the daily lives of Rio de Janeiro's citizens, represented through sound, dances, rituals, and religious festivities. This process had initially intensified in the nineteenth century but recent developments like the emergence of new venues, public events, media technologies, and the expansion of a global industry centered on Black music and dance consolidated these new artistic professional opportunities. Samba's development represents a unique convergence of musical efforts in Brazil. A significant community of Black musicians was involved in an artistic endeavor that, while maintaining close ties to Afro-Brazilian musical practices, was also directly connected to practices of European music. At the same time, white middle-class and elites embraced practices of Afro-Brazilian communities as part of a distinct and new Brazilian identity, particularly due to samba's presence in an expanding entertainment marketplace.

---

[118] Labres Filho, "Que Jazz É Esse?: As Jazz-Bands No Rio de Janeiro Na Década de 1920," 91.

This apparent confluence of interests, however, did not result in a utopic example of racial harmony. Samba's rise into mainstream Brazilian culture was part of a broader and complex process of making national identity that saw a shift from ideologies of scientific racism and whitening projects to the embrace of *mestiçagem* as the defining quality of Brazil's population. The celebration of a multiracial society was accompanied by notions of superiority of whiteness and contrasting negative constructions of blackness.[119] Similarly, the meanings and ownership of samba were challenged constantly. Despite narratives that placed Afro-Brazilian culture at the center of samba, middle-class and white elites claimed samba as a symbol of Brazilian-ness while also significantly resignifying its style and meanings. The privileged position afforded to white musicians often allowed them disproportionate power to make aesthetic choices that impacted the development of samba and marginalized elements that defined the musical experiences of Black Brazilians. Whiteness was constantly represented in opposition to sounds and practices that were perceived and racialized as black and the hegemonic position of orchestras in the record market by the end of the 1920s suggests that white musicians were still being recognized for their ability to refine the "raw" elements found in black music.

Afro-Brazilian musicians responded to these veiled attacks against blackness in samba with non-verbal acts of resistance, by continuously challenging the genre and its inability to represent Black culture. Black musicians incorporated elements of European music into their own practices and were constantly engaged with the industry, through live performances, registering their

---

[119] Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945*; Caldwell, *Negras in Brazil: Reenvisioning Black Women, Citizenship, and the Politics of Identity*; Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil*.

compositions, and recording their music. The range of expressions that emerged in this context reveals the multiple ways in which Black musicians understood samba and its connections to Rio de Janeiro's Black musical practices. The moments in samba's history in which Black musicians challenged the community's practices do not represent ruptures, but rather express the continued desire to expand the limits of expressions of Blackness. The constant collaborations between musicians with apparently challenging agendas suggests that samba's community thrived precisely because it embraced this multiplicity of perspectives.

CHAPTER 2: INSTITUTIONALIZING CREATIVITY: APPROPRIATION OF BLACKNESS IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

Introduction

"Batuque" was a loaded term in Brazil throughout the entire nineteenth century and going into the twentieth. During the nineteenth century, different legislation across the country was passed to ban the gathering of people in houses, often specifying music, and multiple arrests were made during the nineteenth century for failure to comply with this legislation.[120] The language in these laws is confusing because the terms used for describing the music of enslaved and freed Blacks often had multiple meanings. Batuque is one such word, its meaning ranging from anything like a gathering, to a religious ceremony (especially in candomblé), or a party with music. Throughout the nineteenth century, the word became increasingly associated with percussion, although it maintained its ambiguous meaning. It was often evoked by white people when they had some kind of complaint about the public behavior of Black people, enslaved or not. The term then meant much more than a specific sound, musical practice, or instrument. It represented the racialization of sound, often accompanied by accusations of immoral, corruptive, dangerous, or even criminal behavior. The word was also frequently present in contexts where white people expressed extreme negative reactions when in contact with the music. One observer recounted his visit to the farm of an enslaver and personal friend. Upon approaching the enslaved people's quarters, he heard their batuque from afar and felt as a "foreigner in the middle of an African village, where the king Ginga

[120] These laws were not always strictly enforced, and at times and places, authorities were even encouraged to dismiss violations. See Reis, "Batuque: African Drumming and Dance Between Repression and Concession, Bahia, 1808-1855."

could order someone to behead me if I had said anything about the music."[121] White people in Bahia also mentioned feeling threatened by the sound of the batuques in the aftermaths of the Revolta dos Malês (an insurrection of enslaved Malês in Salvador, 1835) and abolition.[122]

The transition from feelings of horror, fear, and anger into the wide acceptance of percussion into Rio de Janeiro's society represents a large shift in the way white people engaged with Black music. Unlike in the past, when white elites frequently condemned the presence of percussion in music, during the 1930s there is a significant shift as the sound of percussion instruments became central to Rio de Janeiro's music industry. But far from representing the end or the decline of racialization of Black peoples and cultures, the acceptance of batuque and percussion instruments can be better understood for their use in the construction of a particular project of national identity. The idea of a miscegenated Brazil, as designed by white racists, was always constructed on the notion that Afro-Brazilian culture was permissible, as long as it maintained a clearly defined status as inferior. Listening to the batuques at this point did not always elicit fear. It was rather a necessary element for reframing whiteness as the apex of civilization. On the other hand, percussion music had been an integral part of the social lives of many Black people in Brazil. The relaxing of laws and unspoken rules that limited the expressive freedom of Black people was certainly reason for celebration among these communities.

---

[121] O Liberal (Rio de Janeiro, RJ), 4. January 11, 1852.

[122] Albuquerque, "Esperanças de Boaventuras: Construções Da África e Africanismos Na Bahia (1887-1910)"; Albuquerque, *O Jogo Da Dissimulação: Abolição e Cidadania Negra No Brasil*; Reis, "Batuque: African Drumming and Dance Between Repression and Concession, Bahia, 1808-1855"; Reis and Brakel, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil*.

In this chapter, I examine how changes to Rio de Janeiro's music industry reflected this change in attitudes towards the batuque. On one hand, white people involved in the industry collaborated to design rigid boundaries for black music in ways that limited Black musician's creativity, professional opportunities, and perhaps more importantly, constantly attempted to reinscribe blackness under a binary framework of progress and primitivism. Black musicians, on the other hand, took the opportunity to build social institutions that would provide for more opportunities for Black communities to enact citizenship.

"Na Pavuna" and Percussion in Samba

In 1929, a group of young amateur musicians recorded the song "Na Pavuna," considered at the time the first Brazilian recording to include percussion.[123] The group was created in affluent neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro by Henrique Brito, Alvinho, and Carlos Braga, and with the additions of Almirante (Henrique Foréis Domingues) and later Noel Rosa, was renamed Bando de Tangarás. Despite differences in social class, all five young men were white and attended private schools in Rio de Janeiro. The members of the group were already known for playing guitar and cavaquinho, which had become the standard instrumentation of any good ensemble playing Brazilian music.

In addition to the plucked string instruments played by the members of the group (guitar and cavaquinho), the recording of "Na Pavuna" also features pianist Carolina Cardoso de Menezes and, more prominently, three percussionists. Despite Almirante's description that the group had

[123] Bando de Tangarás, *Na Pavuna*, 1930. Composed by Almirante and Homero Dornelas, Parlophon, 13.089-a, 78 rpm.

used pandeiros, tamborins, cuícas, surdo, reco-reco, the only instruments heard in this record are likely *pandeiros* or some other kind of percussion instrument that is played without the use of sticks.[124] The piano part on the recording follows the lead sheet rigidly and the entire left-hand part is based on the *síncope característica*. The percussionists, on the other hand, improvise their performance. Except for one percussionist, who keeps a steady rhythmic ostinato based on the tresillo pattern, there are no repeated rhythmic patterns played by the other two, and yet the three instruments fit perfectly with each other and the melody, interweaving complex and improvised variations. The percussionists also employed a wide variety of timbre and accents generated by different ways they stroke their instruments, resulting in extra layers of rhythmic patterns determined not only by note duration but also by the different pitch and articulation patterns that gave shape to an almost constant flow of sixteenth-notes.

The percussionists in this groundbreaking recording did not receive credit for the performance. In an interview with journalist Sérgio Cabral, João de Barro could not remember the name of the percussionists, and Almirante only gave partial credit to the percussionists years later.[125] Curuca was referred to as an excellent *surdo* player, and Canuto, who played *tamborim* and also composed the song recorded on the B side of the 78rpm, was described as "*negro,* thin, tall, calm, very in-tune, singing softly and with deep feeling."[126] Canuto was close to the rising group of samba composers from Estácio, including Ismael Silva and Bide, and died in 1932, mostly anonymous to the public.

---

[124] Cabral, *No Tempo de Almirante: Uma História Do Rádio e Da MPB*, 55.

[125] Domingues, *No Tempo de Noel Rosa: O Nascimento Do Samba e a Era de Ouro Da Música Brasileira*, Chapter 20.

[126] Cabral, *No Tempo de Almirante: Uma História Do Rádio e Da MPB*, 65.

Almirante later claimed that the Bando de Targarás was the group responsible for introducing "a serious modification in popular music," and that "no other orchestra nor musical group had ever used that vast percussion material that gives character and flavor to Brazilian popular music."[127] Despite these claims, the percussionists who walked on that recording studio were not creating something new, but rather playing a style that had long been developing at the margins of the music industry, one that had already began to gain notoriety a few years prior to the recording.

By the end of the 1920s, a group of musicians from the neighborhood of Estácio de Sá, predominantly Black, developed a new way to perform samba. Unsatisfied with what they perceived as a lack of *dancabilidade* (danceability) of the music that was being recorded at that time, Ismael Silva, Baiaco, Brancura, Bide, Mano Aurélio, Heitor dos Prazeres, Mano Rubens, Nilton Bastos and Mano Edgar founded the Deixa Falar, the first *escola de samba* (samba school).[128] These ensembles placed heavy emphasis on percussion instruments and performed primarily at street parades. Even though the music performed in these settings was significantly different than what was being recorded or receiving any airtime in the radio, it served as a laboratory to experiment with new rhythmic possibilities, which would then be used as melodic material in new compositions. Rhythmic material from these larger ensembles were also adapted to smaller ensembles based on guitar-cavaquinho-percussion.

Yet, it was an all-white group that introduced these innovations to a growing samba audience. A few years earlier, when Almirante joined Flor do Tempo, he admitted to forcing one

---

[127] Cabral, 55.

[128] Cabral, 65; McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*, 48.

of its members out of the group due to poor skills as a pandeiro player (he extended the criticism to the entire group for their poor rhythmic skills). He began to play pandeiro in the group and it was unlikely at that time that him or any of the other members would consider including Black musicians in the ensemble, as their audience consisted mostly of white middle and upper classes. Now, with the anonymity that the audio recording could afford him, Almirante was eager to introduce what he later would call "a weird samba, which brought in its form and accompaniment the sounds of the *batuques dos negros.*"[129] Almirante was not that forthright about the presence of this element so associated with blackness at the time they released this record. His partner in the group, Candoca, explicitly denied any involvement with the batuques. During an interview with Correio da Manhã, he said the samba was inspired by his memories of the carnaval celebrations from the past.[130] It seems they both realized that the public still had reservations about certain aspects of Black music. At the same time, they understood the potential appeal that these elements could have as long as they appeared to have been transformed by the magic touch of whiteness.

This was not, however, the first recording of percussion in samba. As mentioned earlier, many military bands had already included the snare drum in recordings from the first decade of the century, while others also added cymbals in the late 1910s. Pixinguinha's group had included the reco-reco in two recordings of 1919 ("Já te digo", "A pombinha"), when his ensemble accompanied Baiano. Although Almirante was not clear, his claims to innovation could be referring to the use of low-pitch skin drums, which long had been perceived as a central element of Afro-Brazilian music practices, particularly in religious or other social contexts. However,

---

[129] Domingues, *No Tempo de Noel Rosa: O Nascimento Do Samba e a Era de Ouro Da Música Brasileira*, 63.

[130] "A música popular e seus autores," *Correio da Manha*, January 26, 1930.

Pixinguinha had also just recently recorded using similar instruments, but the contrasting reception of these songs reveals ways in which musicians and critics continued to use discourse about music to support racialized roles of white and Black musicians.

Pixinguinha recorded "Babaô Miloque" on November 22, 1929 and the record was released in the following year.[131] Its first advertising appeared on the newspaper Correio da Manhã on January 12, 1930, exactly one week prior to the first ad for “Na Pavuna.” Composed by Josué de Barros, a Black guitarist who would later accompany the singer Carmen Miranda, “Babaô Miloque” was recorded by the Orquestra Victor Brasileira, inaugurated in 1928 and led by Pixinguinha. Labeled as a “Batuque Africano,” it is the only such recording in the entire archives of the Instituto Moreira Salles. The song contains unique features of Black music that had yet to be found in a recording. The presence of percussion had been mostly limited to high-pitched instruments in the background, but in “Babaô Miloquê” the presence of a low skin-drum instrument placed at the forefront of the arrangement is an innovative and defining element of this arrangement. The song is based on Igexá, a style of music frequently played in many Afro-Brazilian religious ceremonies.

The introduction starts with the low drums playing the rhythmic pattern that defines Igexá, the agogô keeping the quarter notes, and a shaker adding sixteenth-note subdivisions. The percussionists on this recording are improvising around the arrangement, as they follow a loose version of the rhythmic patterns, enriching it with variations to rhythm, tone, and articulation. Pixinguinha orchestrated the brass instruments following the basic Igexá rhythm, the percussive

---

[131] Orquestra Victor Brasileira, *Babaô Miloquê*, 1930. Composed by Josué de Barros and arranged by Pixinguinha. Victor, 33.253-a. 78rpm.

articulation blending the brass with the drums. After two bars, a trombone plays a fragment of the melody, followed by two clarinets playing on the upbeats. The brass instruments drop out, leaving the percussion instruments as the only accompaniment of the flute. Once the rest of the ensemble returns, the melody is once again played by the trombone, and Pixinguinha's crafty arrangement includes different accompaniment material for the other brass instruments and clarinets, incorporating ideas from the percussion patterns. A singer joins the group after the band breaks, accompanied only by the percussionists. He begins reciting phrases from candomblé ceremonies, and soon after, sings a melody that also has similar material. In this song, more than ever before, Pixinguinha utilizes many elements that reference directly to Afro-Brazilian religions and rituals, aspects of the Black culture that still faced more resistance from Rio de Janeiro's upper and middle classes.

Pixinguinha had also already used many of these elements in his live performances. Hired in 1928 by Victor RCA to lead its newly founded orchestra, he performed with the ensemble in May of the same year at the Second Automobile Exposition. The performance was described as unexpected due to the appearance of a "macumba" presented through Pixinguinha's samba. The critic then describes the samba as being "composed using authentic elements of primitive rites," before transcribing the lyrics to the chorus that justified his reference to macumba: "Vamos 'saravá'! / Vamos 'saran' 'Uniulum'! / Vamos 'saravá'!" The few people who, like the critic, recognized this as a "ponto de Kalunga"—a type of song performed in specific moments at Umbanda rituals—joined the orchestra in singing the song.[132] The recording of "Babaô Miloque"

[132] O Jornal, May 11, 1928.

kindled similar critical reaction as the performance at the Exposition. A review published in Correio da Manhã on February 16, 1930 uses the same primitivistic tropes:

> [It] constitutes magnificent material to the folklorist. Imagine a group of *negros* isolated from the whites, surrounded to the costumes of their people. They gather varied and exotic instruments and begin a legitimate and electrifying *batuque*. The *negros* produce strange rhythms, stubborn melodic sketches, in a polyphony (rather a devilish and fantastic cacophony which evokes African jungles and their old inhabitants). There's a continuous squeak in one side, from the other comes a piercing whistle, and augmenting the ensemble, other original sounds, while someone in the center delivers an incredible chanting that ties up the performance. This is "Babao miloquê," astonishing with its magical character. And an unforgettable *batuque* that suggests and vibrates.

The use of descriptive terms like exotic instruments, "legitimate" *batuque*, strange rhythms, stubborn melodies, devilish cacophony, squeak, whistle, incredible chanting, are a clear sign of how music perceived as black continued to be treated as "different" and appreciated by the white critic only because of its exoticism. Perhaps more important is the imagined characterization of the musicians, "a group of *negros* isolated from whites." For this critic, the sounds of blackness could only be represented in a context of complete absence of whites and white culture. And yet, Pixinguinha is using many of the musical techniques associated with modern and hybrid popular music practices, and likely included many white musicians in this ensemble.[133] The formal structure of the arrangement and the coordination between musicians clearly signals that Pixinguinha had written the parts for each instrument, and the incorporation of brass and woodwind instruments derived from the European musical tradition also contradict notions of a

[133] There is no information about the exact ensemble that performed in either the live or recorded performances, but it is very likely that Pixinguinha used some of the musicians in the ensembles he led from 1928 to 1938. Although there is no precise information about all of the musicians in these ensembles, white musicians were a common fixture in these groups.

"pure" African character. White audience's perception of what constituted black sound continued to shift during the twentieth century. Regardless of specific definitions, blackness was continuously framed as different and related to a distant and primitive African heritage. For percussion to move from a symbol of "Africaness" to a new Brazilian identity, albeit one characterized by miscegenation, it had to be validated by white musicians, who in the process took credit not only for civilizing the drums, but also for the artistic innovation.

The recording of "Na Pavuna" propelled the success of Bando de Tangarás. Even though they had relatively little performance experience, Bando de Tangarás released seven recordings in the 1930 with Palophon, while increasing their exposure with constant invitations to perform at prestigious clubs frequented by Rio de Janeiro's elites. The group continued not to accept payments for such performances, while at the same time occupying prestigious spaces in the music industry, with one of their concerts promoted as a "completely groundbreaking concert of typical Brazilian music in one of our most important theaters."[134] In the following year, the group released fifteen recordings with two record companies, including a few tracks accompanied by Odeon's Orquestra Copacabana.

Following the increasing recording opportunities, the group also benefited from the new and popular songwriting contests. Newspaper O Globo unexpectedly elected the march "Lataria" and the samba "Batucada," both recorded by the Bando de Tangarás, as the most popular songs of the carnival season of 1931, despite the success of Ismael Silva and Nilton Bastos' "Se você jurar," and "Deixa essa mulher chorar," by Sílvio "Brancura" Fernandes—all Black composers from

[134] Cabral, *No Tempo de Almirante: Uma História Do Rádio e Da MPB*, 51.

Estácio.[135] The two Tangarás songs mentioned by the newspaper O Globo feature percussion instruments, but the percussion parts in these songs do not match the complexity and variety heard in "Na Pavuna." The positive reception of the group in mainstream media happened not despite its open association with the batucada, but because of it. Far from indicating a larger acceptance for some of samba's "African" elements, their success reveal the appeal of their own version of the batuque.

"Lataria" is a *marcha carnavalesca* (carnival march) that starts with a dialogue where the singers are asked to join the batucada. [136] Once the song starts, we hear only one high-pitched percussion instrument, keeping the beat (quarter-notes) with very sparse and repetitive variations. On the song "Batucada" there are two percussion instruments: one low-register instrument and one high-pitched instrument, the latter possibly a woodblock.[137] The instruments play a repeated pattern in unison based on quarter-notes and eighth-notes unlike anything else that was being played in samba at the time and without any variations in timbre or articulation. The rhythmic complexity and energy that gave "Na Pavuna" its vibrancy are missing in this recording, replaced by simple and repeated patterns that could easily be executed by anyone with rudimentary musical skills, not requiring any knowledge of the style. The percussion added very little to these two songs, but its presence signaled the conquering of an important element in "authentic" black performance by white musicians. The prevalence of modern percussion elements in the music of the Tangarás went away just as quickly as it appeared, but it had a lasting impression in the public

---

[135] Cabral, *No Tempo de Almirante: Uma História Do Rádio e Da MPB*, 77.

[136] Bando de Tangarás, *Lataria*, 1931. Composed by Almirante, João de Barro, Noel Rosa. Parlophon, 13.248-a, 78 rpm.

[137] Bando de Tangarás, *Batucada*, 1931. Composed by Eduardo Souto and João de Barro. Parlophon, 13256-a, 78rpm.

imaginary, associating the group with a trending modern aesthetics of samba, even if that aesthetics was never fully incorporated by the group. The group never pursued again the musical collaboration with Black musicians that afforded its success, and the then-anonymous musicians who participated in this groundbreaking recording did not benefit from its immediate profits or future professional opportunities.

Samba do Estácio, Black Musicians, and the New Industry

At the center of the changes introduced by the musicians from Estácio was a new rhythmic matrix.[138] This matrix was not a specific or defined rhythm pattern, but rather a basic rhythmic idea that governed improvised and composed rhythmic material. Sandroni contraposes this new style with earlier recordings of samba, which were based on the Tresillo paradigm.[139] In both styles, there is a predominance of rhythmic oddity (patterns that cannot be split into two equal halves), but the new paradigm was distinguished for its duration (four-beat patterns vs. two-beat patterns) and increased contrametric character.[140] In the majority of sambas recorded before this period, most syncopation would happen inside a beat, meaning downbeats were often articulated inside the two-bar phrase, and always at the beginning of a new two-bar cycle. The new Estácio paradigm puts more emphasis on the contrametric character of the phrases, with less frequent notes on downbeats, allowing for more complex and diverse rhythmic patterns to be created (see Figure 2.1).[141]

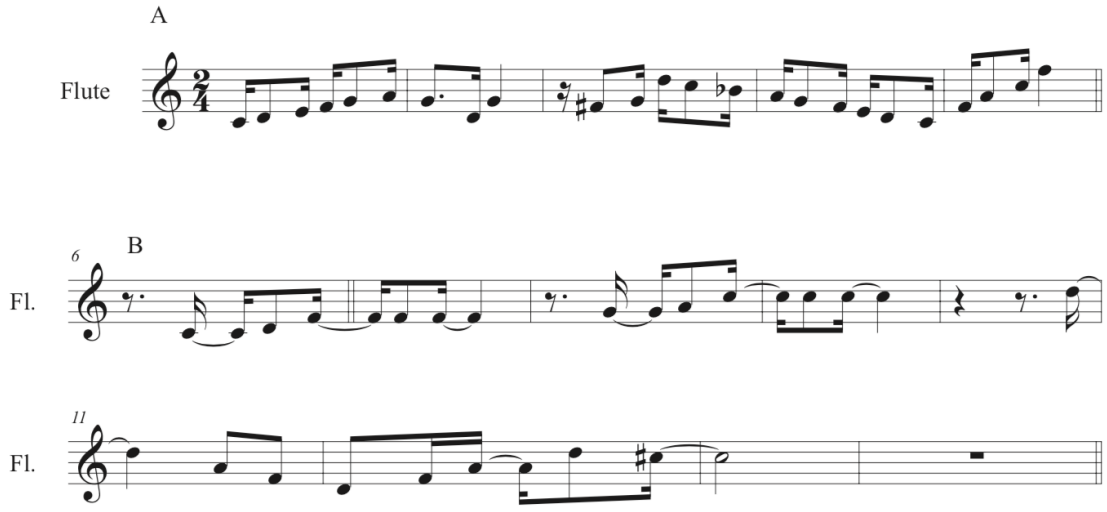
---

[138] Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente*, 32-38.

[139] Sandroni, 203-217.

[140] Simha Arom, *African Polyphony and Polyrhythm: Musical Structure and Methodology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 246.

[141] Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente*, 35.



Example 2.1 Examples of Rhythmic Structures in Samba. A) Tresillo Paradigm; B) Estácio Paradigm.

The presence of this similar rhythmic structure in a majority of samba's compositions suggest that this practice had become so internalized among some of the communities in Rio de Janeiro that music participants could intuitively compose melodies obeying this organizing principle. In this sense, it functioned as a musical system similar to language, having strong internal structures that guaranteed its continuity, but at the same time, providing a flexible framework that allowed for musicians to freely improvise around it. Communities that were invested in this music designed social institutions that ensured the continuity of practices in order to maintain this knowledge available. That is, this specific set of musical practices required constant performance in order to remain alive. The development of new social institutions that enshrined community rituals based on such performances was strategic to maintain and reproduce this knowledge. Black musicians continued to take prominent roles during carnaval, and the group of musicians responsible for introducing the rhythmic innovations to samba that characterized the Estácio style famously did so in part through the development of the first *escolas de samba*. These escolas were

community-based associations and beginning in the 1930s, would become increasingly prominent during the celebrations of Rio de Janeiro's carnaval. They maintained an important aspect of organization and knowledge production that was developed in the beginning of the century with the *ranchos carnavalescos,* centered on percussion instruments, improvised call-and-response singing, and dancing. This music was first developed and circulated through informal community networks. However, the success of compositions based on this new rhythmic model coincided with the arrival of electric recording technologies in Brazil and the exponential growth of radio, fostered by the eventual shift to a commercial model of broadcast in the 1930s. Therefore, this knowledge that was once confined only to musicians who had access to the spaces where the music was present in live performances became accessible to a much wider audience once it was recorded and transmitted through the radio.

The ability of white musicians to quickly and properly master the unique elements of Black music that became characteristic of Samba de Estácio reveals their increasing proximity with the music. Despite the bad reputation that popular music had during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the financial opportunities that accompanied the development of samba inside the music industry made this an enticing activity for white musicians. Before the 1930s, many white musicians developed strategies to profit from their access to Black culture while also maintaining a distant association with elements perceived as black. During the first three decades of the century, music recordings show many white performers consistently struggling with the intricate rhythms and lacking understanding of other stylistic elements that oriented performance. And composing songs that fit the style appeared to be an even more elusive task. During the 1930s, however, white musicians like Noel Rosa, Ari Barroso, and Radamés Gnatalli built their careers on their ability to more closely emulate the elements that were perceived as characteristic of Black music. At this

point, rather than avoiding blackness altogether, these musicians concentrated on learning how to sound "authentic" without abandoning their claims to whiteness.

As musicians from the neighborhood of Estácio introduced new changes to samba, they attempted to reclaim some elements of samba that they perceived had become marginalized by the industry. The renewed focus on percussion and escolas de samba placed dance, and more importantly, the social aspects of music making, back at the center of the genre. Pixinguinha, who had been leading large recording ensembles at Odeon and Victor since 1928, was hired by Victor RCA as a house composer and arranger in 1931. At Victor, he originally was the head of Orquestra Victor Brasileira, which had a very diverse repertoire, before creating Guarda Velha and Diabos do Céu, two ensembles with a primary focus on samba. As the leader and arranger for these groups, Pixinguinha recorded some of the most compelling arrangements of samba for large ensembles, which now included an expanded version of the conjunto regional, featuring a string section (cavaquinho, mandolin, and guitar) as well as wind section (trumpet, saxophone, and trombone), and an extensive percussion section that included many of the new instruments introduced by the *sambistas* from Estácio (afoxé, tamborim, surdo, garfo-e-faca, pandeiro, cuíca) in addition to the drum set.

Ismael Silva, the leading composer of this new style of samba, recorded only six tracks as a leader. Many of his early compositions were recorded by his partner Noel Rosa, who became one of the major first stars of Brazilian radio. In 1931, Ismael Silva had his first opportunity to record as a leader, producing two 78s for Odeon, always backed up by the conjunto regional. While Sandroni argues that there was a stylistic rupture in this period, Silva's recordings reveal the close proximities between what was now called maxixe—the old version of samba as exemplified in "Pelo telefone" and characterized by the tresillo paradigm—and the new Estácio samba. In fact,

variations of the tresillo pattern (3+3+2) are present in Silva's 1931 recording of "Samba raiado," in Benedito Lacerda's "Primeira linha" (recorded with the Grupo Gente do Morro in 1930), as well as in "Na pavuna" and in Pixinguinha's 1919 and 1921 recordings mentioned in the beginning of this chapter.[142] That pattern is usually played by low-pitched instruments (often the guitar or surdo), while the cavaquinho or a woodblock plays patterns more associated with the Estácio paradigm in Silva's and Lacerda's recordings.

Two recordings from 1930 demonstrate another layer connecting different styles of Black music being played in Rio de Janeiro at the time. Led by Getúlio Marinho, a former dancer, and Mano Eloy (Eloy Antero Dias), a singer, composer, and *pai-de-santo* (name given to male priests in Afro-Brazilian religions), the Conjunto Africano (African Ensemble) recorded one 78rpm released by Odeon. The songs "Ponto de Iansã" and "Ponto de Ogum" feature music directly connected to religious ceremonies, and despite representing a contrasting universe with that of commercial samba, still had many similar elements when compared to Ismael's recording of "Samba raiado."[143] The tresillo pattern is the basis of the clapping in both songs, a feature that was present both at religious settings as well as in secular *samba de roda* or *samba de partido-alto*, names given to music performed in dance circles accompanied by clapping and sometimes a few added string or percussion instruments. In both cases, there is also continuous interplay between the lead singer and the rest of the group in call-and-response, with some room for improvisation after the main section of the song is repeated. The main difference between them is the presence

---

[142] Ismael Silva, "Samba raiado," 1931. Composed by Marcelino de Oliveira. Odeon, 10.835-a, 78rpm. Grupo Gente do Morro, "Primeira lina," 1931. Composed by Heitor dos Prazeres. Brunswick, 10.101-a, 78 rpm.

[143] Getúlio Marinho, Eloy Antero Dias, "Ponto de Iansã," "Ponto de Ogum," 1930. With Conjunto Africano. Odeon, 10.679, 78 rpm. The song titles are references to orixás, or Afro-Brazilian deities.

of harmonic accompaniment in Silva's recording, in which the cavaquinho and guitar play a very simple tonic-dominant harmonic progression during the entire tune. As for the recording of the *Conjunto Africano,* the voices are only accompanied by clapping and percussion instruments.

Both versions are close to descriptions of the music played at the dining room and backyard (*terreiro*) of the houses of the *tias baianas,* the spaces in the house that provided a more intimate setting with less restrictions on expressions of Afro-Brazilian culture.[144] Although the melodic rhythm in most popular songs composed immediately after 1930 conformed to the Estácio paradigm, this style was still dependent on the same framework that governed the old maxixes: improvised performances that provided musicians with enough freedom to collectively create complex, intricate, and interactive rhythms based on a shared common rhythmic repertoire or language, maintaining a deep connection between music and dance.

In the beginning of the 1930s, with the introduction of electric recording technologies in Brazil, there was an overall increase in the number of recordings produced in the country, also matched in the diversity of styles present in those recordings. While there is always a certain degree of separation between community-based live performances and commercial recordings, music recorded in the 1930s offer the most accurate representation of Afro-Brazilian music up until that time, both in diversity of styles as well as in the elements of each style that were captured in recordings. Black musicians were also taking the lead in integrating elements introduced by the Estácio musicians with other formats that had been consolidated in the music industry. Pixinguinha, who had already been leading large recording ensembles at Odeon since 1928, was

---

[144] José Adriano Fenerick, *Nem do Morro, Nem da Cidade: as Transformações do Samba e a Indústria Cultural (1920-1945)* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2005), 216-224. Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente*, 102-116.

hired by Victor RCA as a house composer and arranger in 1931.

At Victor RCA, Pixinguinha would work with Black singer Silvio Caldas, who recorded most of his hit songs accompanied by the Diabos do Céu. Caldas' voice was closer to the standards set by most recording labels when compared to other singers from Estácio, like Ismael Silva. Yet, his command of the rhythmic elements was unmatched by any other popular singer of his time. In his recordings with Diabos do Céu released between 1932 and 1934, including "Na Aldeia", "O teu olhar me inspirou", "Prazer é sofrer", and "Saudades da mocidade", we hear many of the stylistic elements present at the recordings of more renowned singers Francisco Alves, Mário Reis, and Carmen Miranda. But the intimacy that Pixinguinha, Caldas, and many of the members of the ensemble had with the style are clearly apparent, resulting in an ensemble sound that retained much of the rhythmic energy and groove so characteristic of Afro-Brazilian music while also incorporating modern orchestration techniques.

Noel Rosa and the Rise of the White Sambista

The conjuntos regionais became a staple of samba, appearing in 1931 in some of Francisco Alves's recordings, including "Nem é bom falar,"[145] composed by Ismael Silva and Nilton Bastos. In this song, all accompaniment is provided by the *regional*, but the ensemble was also added to orchestras, as in the singer's recordings of "Meu batalhão" and "Ironia", both also by the same composers. Ismael Silva had over thirty compositions recorded between 1931 and 1933 and quickly became one of the most important composers of samba at the time, even though he only had three 78s released as a leader by Odeon. Francisco Alves was responsible for introducing Silva

[145] Francisco Alves, "Nem é bom falar," 1931. Odeon, 10.745-a, 78 rpm.

to one of his most important partners, Noel Rosa, a former member of Bando dos Tangarás.

The partnership between Rosa and Silva exemplifies the development of closer relationships developed between white and Black musicians in this period. The proximity between lower class neighborhoods such as Estácio (and the *morro* de São Carlos), the *favelas* of Mangueira and Salgueiro, and the middle-class neighborhoods of Vila Isabel and Tijuca, resulted in the creation of new community spaces for music making—in particular the *botequim,* neighborhood bars akin to British pubs—that allowed for a more intense exchange between musicians from different racial and social backgrounds. Many of the important musicians involved in the foundation of Deixa Falar and in the dissemination of samba do Estácio were white, including Nilton Bastos, Henrique Brito, Benedito Lacerda (one of Pixinguinha's closer partners), Russo do Pandeiro.

Noel Rosa's career was built primarily on his ability to assimilate the elements from Samba do Estácio and his music helped consolidate that style of samba and the conjuntos regionais*,* particularly with his segment *Samba e outras coisas* (Samba and other things) which was part of one of the most successful radio shows of the mid-1930s, the *Programa Casé.*[146] Rosa's rise coincided with the growth of commercial radio broadcast in Brazil, and as he became the biggest name in samba, the style reached wider and more diverse audiences, becoming a symbol of national identity. His music has been often used as an illustration of racial integration in Brazil and even Tinhorão, one of the most severe critics of musical hybridism in Brazil, praised Noel for embodying his idea of "vitalizing promiscuity" (*promiscuidade vitalizadora*), a distinctive character attribute to this period in Rio de Janeiro's history in which the urban landscape allowed

[146] McCann, *Hello Hello Brazil,* 50.

for more frequent interactions between people from different backgrounds, thus providing a perfect place for the creation of Brazilian music that was truly representative of the nation project.[147] But this vision of Brazilian music did not represent a true commitment to Black musicians. As it would become clear in the near future, an image of proximity between white and Black people was all that was necessary for sustaining the illusion of national unity sustaining the project of nation being developed at the time.

The rise of samba into a prominent space in commercial radio broadcasting during the 1930s did result in increasing professional opportunities to many Black musicians. Pixinguinha was the leading arranger for the *Programa Casé*, a show that also featured Silvio Caldas in its permanent cast—the only non-white singer to appear regularly in the show. Pixinguinha's big band-like ensembles also featured a larger proportion of Black musicians than was common at the time. Patrício Teixeira, another leading Black singer of the period, rivaled Rosa's show on Radio Mayrink Veiga.[148] While Noel Rosa was constantly framed as an icon of samba carioca—the term frequently used when referring to this new form of samba—Patrício Teixeira was presented as a folkloric singer. Pixinguinha led the group that accompanied Teixeira, consolidating the term "*conjunto regional*." Using the term *regional* was another way of marginalizing practices associated with Black groups. Some ensembles in the 1910s and 1920s incorporated "sertanejo" repertoire and clothing, a nod to Brazil's backland culture. Pixinguinha's "Grupo do Caxangá" is the most iconic example, and if at that moment, their goal was to emphasize the connections between Black cultures from Rio de Janeiro and the Northeast, the use of the term regional in the

---

[147] José Ramos Tinhorão, *Música Popular: Um Tema Em Debate* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 1997), 45.

[148] McCann, *Hello Hello Brazil*, 57.

1923s was used to highlight the difference between "traditional" music and the new modern and urban samba that was increasingly white.

Other Black musicians were faced with more hardship. Ismael da Silva and Cartola were among Rosa's main composition partners in this period, and while Silva enjoyed relative fame, he did not get many opportunities as a leader and was undercut from reaping benefits proportionate to his impact on the music, despite his leading role in the creation of local organizations that provided the space for this music to grow. Cartola did not have any commercial opportunities as a leading recording artist until the 1970s, despite being one of the musical leaders of the *Morro da Mangueira,* one of the most important samba communities. Noel Rosa's disproportional success when compared to his partners was not the only controversial aspect of his career.

In 1933, Rosa was involved in a notorious polemic with composer Wilson Batista, after responding to one of Batista's famous songs about the *malandro*—a type of anti-hero of the *favelas* who symbolized a life-style free of responsibilities and work—with stark criticism. Their dispute represented important symbolic positions of two opposing sides of a growing debate regarding the "authentic" space of samba: the *morro* and the *cidade* (the city). This dispute has been topic of much scholarly debate to this period. McCann for example, admits the complex character of Noel Rosa's nationalist identity but largely downplays the Rosa's racist comments due to his close personal relationship with other Black musicians. MaCann's defense of Rosa focuses on the composer's lyrics that apparently praised the *malandro*, an important trope to describe Black

carioca men, as "guardians of the essence of popular culture in its purest forms."[149] McCann's readings of Rosa echo much of the tone of the popular debates of the time, which framed the city's popular culture—a term almost always used to reference the city's Black population—as an invaluable resource that nonetheless needed to be redeemed by the project of the unified nation. Yet, this language also contributed to reinforce the notion that Black culture was at the same time primitive and in need of protection from change. This positioned Black musicians in a double bind. They were at the same time tasked with protecting the very tradition that would be perceived as dangerous and subversive. It was the role of white musicians like Rosa to intervene, accusing the failures of Black *malandros* while pointing out the path for their redemption, a path that would necessarily lead through the white spaces where people like him could enforce the rules of samba.

Therefore, it was not surprising that the sequence of events following the initial dispute, Noel Rosa's responses to Wilson Pereira and his attacks to the *malandro* were developed into more explicit pejorative references to Afro-Brazilian cultural elements. In his song "Feitiço da Vila," Rosa praises his neighborhood Vila Izabel for its *feitiço decente* (decent spell, a clear reference to Afro-Brazilian religious practices) and for representing a space in which samba could experience modernization aligned with Brazil's growing urban modern society. The song opens by affirming that Vila Isabel's inhabitants are unwavering in their embrace of samba. However, rather than representing a move away from racial divisions, Rosa affirms his openness to samba as a way to reinforce the contrast between the Black and white neighborhoods. In his wordplay with the

[149] McCann, *Hello Hello* Brazil, 53. See also Leandro Moreira da Luz, Bruno Flávio Lontra Fagundes and Mônica Luiza Sócio Fernandes, "The Samba Controversy between Noel Rosa and Wilson Batista: Intertextuality and the Meanders of Composition," *Bakhtiniana: Revista de Estudos do Discurso* 10, no. 2 (2015): 36-53.

neighborhood's name—a nod to Princess Isabel—Rosa reframes samba's history around the trope of the white monarch who willingly freed Brazil's slaves. In this series of musical statements, Rosa is projecting his role as the prototypical white man who directed samba in its redeeming path from the malandros towards Vila Isabel, where it now belongs.

Even though Noel Rosa and Wilson Pereira were positioning themselves as representing two different "sides," their music sounded very similar. Noel Rosa was not trying to sonically distance himself from other Black *sambistas*, quite on the contrary. His open embrace of Black music can seem at times contradictory to his late stance on the malandro, but this contradiction was not exclusively his. Rosa's actions are an expression of common views in Brazil at the time. His late career rhetoric also privileged whiteness in the construction of an exceptional kind of samba, one that was civilized, urban, and modern, and at the same time excluded the malandro and the sambistas associated with that image from this modern place now occupied by samba.

Even as the diversity of musicians involved with samba increased, the rhythmic innovations developed by the Estácio sambistas remained mostly intact and are still the defining elements of the genre in contemporary performances. Rosa's quick rise in popularity had a defining impact in consolidating those changes, but his career was cut short by his premature death in 1937, the same year Getúlio Vargas inaugurated the Estado Novo, increasing his dictatorial powers. Popular music was seen as an important political tool for his government. In 1941, Júlio Barata, at the time director of DIP (Department of Press and Propaganda), defended the government's project: "Rádio Nacional does not intend to exclude from its programing authentic popular music, as long as it is of good quality. And Noel Rosa was precisely the main representative of this genuinely Brazilian music, which is the expression of our people. He did not glorify malandragem,

nor did he focus on the lowly aspects of this city's life."[150] Noel Rosa had mastered the style of Samba do Estácio in a way that could not be matched at the time by other white singers, and his death left a void that could not be easily filled. In his absence, there was an increasing focus on orchestral arrangements of samba as a new way to fabricate whiteness in samba, coinciding with more intense efforts by the government of Estado Novo to control cultural production in Brazil.

Orchestras in Popular Music in Brazil

Popular music's shift towards orchestral arrangements represents a historical trend in Brazilian modernist culture to value classical music over popular music. The recording of "Pelo telefone" in 1917 coincides with the rise of the modernist movement in Brazil, which reached its apex in the *Semana de Arte Moderna de 1922* (Modern Art Week of 1922). The modernists, represented in music by musicologist Mário de Andrade and composer Heitor Villa-Lobos, believed in the development of a nationalist style of the arts in Brazil, one that would still be based on techniques of the great European masters while turning to folklore to inform artists who should create music that represents the "harmony" between the three races: Indigenous (*índios*), African and European. Villa-Lobos was highly recognized during his life for representing this vision of the evolution of Brazilian culture. In the same year Brazilian modernists were presenting their work in São Paulo, the *Oito Batutas* were completing their successful tour in Paris. The success of the eight-piece group featuring traditional instruments of urban popular music, such as the acoustic guitar, pandeiro and flute, was cause of concern to congressmen who urged the government to finance

[150] Alberto Moby Ribeiro da Silva, *Sinal Fechado: a música popular brasileira sobre censura*. (Rio de Janeiro: Obra Aberta, 2007), 55.

Villa-Lobos own trip to Paris, suggesting this would be the only way to prevent Europeans from believing that black musicians represented Brazilian culture.[151]

Villa-Lobos was known for incorporating elements of musical folklore in his pieces for chamber ensembles and orchestras, an approach to popular music that was more favorably received by cultural elites in Brazil. And although he was perceived to embody the ideology of the Oswald de Andrade's modernist manifesto, which emboldened Brazilian artists to "cannibalize" European influences into new work, the Oito Batutas was never recognized as a potential contributor to this project, despite the fact that their music did do exactly what the manifesto asked for. Following their return from Paris, the Batutas were criticized for claiming to represent Brazil, a claim Pixinguinha himself denied ever making.[152] One critic explicitly contrasted Villa-Lobos ability to "stylize" popular music into a universal language, with the Batutas, whom he pejoratively called "los macaquitos" (the little monkeys).[153] Although the act of cannibalizing was, at the manifesto, directed at European culture, in fact it asked for quite the opposite. That is, for white Brazilian to utilize European culture in order to deconstruct blackness into something they could use and benefit from. In the end, creativity and power were always based on the same ideas of European art that Brazilian modernists said to be confronting.

Villa-Lobos' ties with the government increased with the Estado Novo, and as part of Getulio Vargas government's efforts in disciplining the population, and he was hired to develop what was then the first national program for music education. The program relied on choral singing

---

[151] Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*, 113–14.

[152] Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*, 2013, 106–12.

[153] "Chronica Musical," *Illustracao Moderna*, June 14, 1924.

(Villa-Lobos himself composed many nationalistic choral pieces to be performed by children ensembles) and was "an educational, disciplinary, and nationalistic allegory of the journey away from blackness, through mixture, into whiteness."[154] The music education program headed by Villa-Lobos was aligned with reforms of public education started in the early twentieth century. At the center of this project was the idea of perfecting the race, and educators and intellectuals who headed this program still shared social values that equated whiteness with virtue while simultaneously depreciating other groups. "The task at hand", says the historian Jerry Dávila, "was to find new ways of creating whiteness." White Brazilian elites had an "elastic definition of degeneracy" and "did not see blackness and whiteness as mutually exclusive." The government's vision was for schools to "provide the resources of basic health and culture that could earn children, regardless of their color, the social category of white."[155]

Vargas' policies also had a direct impact on popular music. One of the first measures of DIP was investing in mass media communication, particularly through the development of state-sponsored content at Radio MES, a publicly-owned radio station linked to the Ministry of Education and Health—the same ministry overseeing the broader educational efforts mentioned above. Its director, Edgar Roquette-Pinto, believed in the power of radio to bring education and culture to the nation, focusing all artistic programming on classical music. Despite modernists' claims of embracing musical elements that represented Brazil's diverse cultural heritage, there was still a lot of resistance initially to recognize the value of urban popular music that had been dominating the music industry. By the end of 1930s, the government of Getúlio Vargas recognized

---

[154] Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945*, 162.

[155] Dávila, 6–11.

the lack of impact of Rádio MES and shifted its efforts towards Rádio Nacional, a commercial radio that was incorporated by the state in 1940. Mário de Andrade's project for the rise of art music in Brazil was relegated to a niche market but was now replaced by a new project focusing on the modernization of Brazilian popular music.

Rádio Nacional made heavy investments in its infrastructure, retaining a commercial model funded by marketing income and expanding its broadcast reach to most of Brazilian territory. While the modernists from the 1920s were mostly influenced by European art, this influence quickly shifted to the U.S. upon the growth of the Rádio Nacional, and arrangers such as Radamés Gnattali became new references for the modern sound of Brazilian music, focused on adapting samba and other styles of popular music to large ensembles (big bands and orchestras) and incorporating modern orchestration techniques made common especially through the movies. Despite a different approach to the modernizing efforts implemented by musicians who worked at Rádio Nacional, there is a very similar principle operating behind these two modernist aesthetic projects: both underline a desire to promote or establish a national aesthetics of Brazilian music, and while they were willing to incorporate musical elements coming from the lower classes, those elements needed to be "improved" by more sophisticated techniques, "imported" either from Western classical music or from North American jazz. In 1937, a music critic celebrated efforts aimed at increasing the exposure of Brazilian concert music in radio stations. To this writer, samba lacked the qualities necessary for representing the true Brazilian character, mostly because Brazil still missed "a Paul Whiteman, an Irving Berlin, or a Gershwin who can provide samba the polished treatment it direly requires."[156] Radamés Gnatalli had his career break-through not much after that

[156] "A vitória da música brasileira nos estudios brasileiros," Jornal do Brasil, June 6, 1937, 26.

date, and he would indeed be received as the force behind samba's "evolution."

The whitening of Brazilian music was not accomplished by rejecting Black music, but by "improving" it. Even as Brazilian musicians turned to jazz for their modern inspiration, there was still an emphasis on the discipline aspects of music, favoring formal composition and performance of written material versus improvisation. Álvaro Salgado, a music critic for DIP, wrote in a 1941 article: "All illiterate, brute, and rude individuals of our society are, many times, attracted by music, to our civilization… Samba, which brings in its etymology the mark of sensualism, is ugly, indecent, inharmonic, and arhythmic. However, let's be patient: let's not repudiate this brother of ours for its defects. Let's be benevolent: let's be intelligent and reach out to civilization. Let's try, slowly, to make it more educated and social".[157] Rádio Nacional had already started privileging more "sophisticated" approaches to popular music before being incorporated. After the Estado Novo took over the station, the government started to develop cultural policies similar to its efforts in education and public health, which preserved a rhetoric of national unity and inclusion of all races, while also implementing clear but veiled restrictions on Black aesthetics of popular music. Gnattali's role at Rádio Nacional was at the center of Estado Novo's cultural policies, and his production of orchestral arrangements redefined Brazilian popular music and samba in the following decade.

Radamés Gnattali

Radamés Gnattali was originally from Porto Alegre, the capital of Rio Grande do Sul. The state had received a large number of European immigrants and ranked among the highest percentage of

[157] Silva, *Sinal Fechado: A Música Popular Brasileira Sobre Censura*, 55.

white people in the nation. He started his career as a concert pianist in 1925, and despite some early success including concerts in Rio de Janeiro, he quickly realized his limited potential to develop in that career. Gnattali started composing while still a pianist, including some of his pieces on his repertoire, and since early he was recognized, next to Villa-Lobos, for composing "music that is ours, of our folklore, using our typical and original rhythms."[158] Upon failing to be hired as a professor at the National Music Institute, and with fewer opportunities to work as a concert pianist, he started venturing in the world of popular music, joining important ensembles of the period such as Romeu Silva's orchestra and playing in many movie theaters of the city. His biggest opportunity came when he was hired in 1932 by Victor RCA to join Pixinguinha's ensembles.

At Victor, he also started writing arrangements and compositions, and conducting the ensembles at times. He wrote mostly *choros* during this point of his career, taking up the pseudonym Vero when doing so (his wife's name was Vera), since "at that time, it wasn't good for classical musicians to write popular music."[159] There was also a clear distinction between his work and Pixinguinha's: "Pixinguinha worked more with "*carnavalescos*" arrangements (generic term that refers to dancing styles of popular music), which was his strength, while myself and other conductors would write romantic arrangements. In romantic music, or samba-canções, charts for Orlando Silva, I would write the arrangement and conduct, and he would play flute."[160] Pixinguinha's arrangements were often characterized by its balance between written parts for the wind instruments and the improvised rhythm section. He was also expanding the rhythmic

[158] Barbosa and Devos, *Radamés Gnattali: O Eterno Experimentador*, 28.

[159] Barbosa and Devos, 33.

[160] Barbosa and Devos, 34.

possibilities for the written portions of the arrangement, exploring different ways in which to apply characteristic rhythmic patterns of samba to the horns. Gnattali was one of Brazilian pioneers in exploring writing techniques for extended bowed string sections, but his arrangements often neglect the rhythm section frequently using simple and repetitive patterns when writing for them.

When Radamés joined Rádio Nacional, he observed the distinction between Brazilian music, played by the *conjuntos regionais*, and the foreign tango and *operetas* played by orchestras. He soon started writing music for trio (piano, cello and violin), before focusing on compositions and arrangements of samba for the orchestra. As soon as the Rádio Nacional gained financial independence and started shifting to a more commercial model, programming was created to showcase Brazilian music. An important broadcast of *A Hora do Brasil* (a state-led show that also included statements from the government) in 1937 included in its repertoire Pixinguinha's Carinhoso and Ari Barroso's No Tabuleiro da Bahiana, both arranger by Radamés Gnattali, as well as his own composition Fantasia Brasileira. All pieces were performed by the newly founded Jazz Symphonic Orchestra of the Rádio Nacional. Newspapers were excited to report that "Brazil was in the ears of the world", as the government ensured that the broadcast was transmitted abroad and established a partnership with the magazine "Turismo", which included in its edition the score and the parts for Gnattali's composition that was distributed to Brazilian embassies and delegations across the world funded by the government through DIP.[161]

The new programing of *A Hora do Brasil* received a lot of praise from critics, who not only recognized the influence of jazz and the quality of the written arrangements, but also emphasized the importance of these elements to the modernization of Brazilian music. Radamés, who was

[161] Barbosa and Devos, 40.

beginning to be compared to George Gershwin, was praised for being able to "elevate the musical culture of our people". For the newspaper Folha da Tarde, Nilo Runchel said of Radamés: "Dealing with this precious material that is the sentimental soul of Brazilians, he is extracting from the most ingenious expressions of our people the musicality of the *sertões*, converting it in an audacious harmonization worthy of Stravinsky, Groff and Gershwin."[162] Another article said that his music "transformed human noises in rhythms." Radamés was the only "popular musician" to represent Brazilian composers at the New York World Fair in 1939, next to 19th-century composers of classical music such as Carlos Gomes and Alberto Nepomuceno and his contemporaries Francisco Mignone, Heitor Villa-Lobos and Camargo Guarniere. Mário de Andrade also recognized the value of Gnattali's music, despite his issues with urban popular music and jazz. Radamés' work with sambas at the Rádio Nacional is deeply connected to the nationalist tradition that was fostered in the arts in Brazil and particularly in classical music. Gnattali continued to occupy a central role in Rádio Nacional's innovative approaches to samba, featuring his Orquestra Carioca—self-entitled "the most Brazilian of the orchestras— in his show *Nova Música Brasileira.*[163] Finally, in 1939, his arrangement of Ari Barroso's composition "Aquarela do Brasil" became the hit that consolidated his style.

"Aquarela do Brasil"

Despite claims about the innovative orchestration features in Aquarela do Brasil, particularly the idea of using the percussion rhythmic patterns on the horn sections of the orchestra, this

[162] Barbosa and Devos, 50.

[163] Bessa, "'Um Bocadinho de Cada Coisa': Trajetória e Obra de Pixinguinha," 201.

arrangement stands out for its formal complexity. The form of the song is extremely complex and irregular and undoubtedly would present a challenge for most arrangers: there are four distinct sections in addition to an instrumental rubato introduction. Each section has different melodic material and length, being ultimately tied by one motive that appears at the end of all sections except for the introduction. Gnattali's experience as a classical composer is clearly at display in this arrangement, and his treatment of this song—a balance between composition and arrangement—results in a piece that sounds like a through-composed song.

The song starts with a short eight-bar instrumental introduction used to set the key (Ab Major), and the orchestra holds the dominant chord with a flat thirteenth setting up the entrance of the singer, Franciso Alves. The voicings employed at the introduction were not completely novel for the period, but this particular orchestration and Gnattali's use of rubato and fermatas at the end of the phrases draw the focus of the arrangement to the harmonic colors he is exploring. Alves begins to sing the first section of the song (A), composed of four short phrases still in rubato. Following the initial three phrases, the orchestra answers the singer with a chord repeated three times, the last of which is held in a fermata, again highlighting the dissonances of the chord. After the third phrase ends, the orchestration becomes thicker and expands to the lower register of the ensemble, concluding the section with a secondary dominant chord (Eb7) that sets up the next section (B), introduced by a short phrase played in the drum set. Once the B section starts, the rhythm section is now accompanying the orchestra (drum set and likely a pandeiro) as the arrangement transitions from a rubato to a steady samba groove at a medium-up tempo (around 100 BPM).

The accompaniment in the orchestra starts at the reed section, and the rhythm played is very simple: starting at the downbeat, the reeds play two-bar phrases alternating between the ii and

the V chords, with a pattern of half-note, quarter-note, quarter-note. All chords are played at the downbeats of each measure, and the 2/4 pulse is only subdivided in sixteenth-notes by the drums and percussion. This pattern is repeated through the first eight bars of the section, and on bar nine, brass instruments are added to the accompaniment, once again, using a similar rhythmic pattern throughout the next following eight measures: the reeds playing at the downbeat of every other measure, holding the chords for two measures, with notes from the chords being re-articulated by brass instruments on every beat throughout the same two-measure phrase. The entire section has eighteen measures and is followed by a short four-bar interlude in which the iconic rhythmic pattern of the song appears for the first time. The pattern is four-beats long (two measures), and is built over a percussion pattern that had become associated with *Samba do Estácio*. This pattern is not built into the fabric of the arrangement; rather, it sounds like a loose reference to something that was assuming a character of "Brazilianess".

Section C is built using the same rhythmic ostinato that appeared in the transition between the preceding section. The ostinato is played by the reeds and trumpets, and the phrase is repeated identically over the first twelve measures of the section, with alterations only in the pitches to fit the chord progression. While in section B the melody clearly maintains a rhythmic pattern closer to the Estácio paradigm, at the start of the section C the melody has longer notes with a strong emphasis on the downbeat at the start of each phrase. This section once again has eighteen measures, and on the last two measures, Gnattali uses descending chromatic chords to transition from Ab major to F7. Section D expands on this motive, switching between F7 and F#7. For the second time in the arrangement, Radamés is explicitly trying to apply rhythmic patterns from percussion instruments to the horn sections, in this case, the saxophones. Once again, the pattern—this time a two-measure phrase followed by a two-measure rest—is repeated identically three

times, succeeded by a pattern of triplets in call-and-response between reeds and brass. As the harmony moves away from the sequence of chromatic chords, the accompaniment in the saxophones settles into a more downbeat-heavy pattern, with the reeds holding chords over longer durations and the trumpets playing a more active countermelody filling out the spaces left by the singer. This section is the longest of the entire song (thirty-six measures), and the final six measures are identical to the ending of section B.

After the first exposition of the entire song, the band transitions to another rubato section, modulating to Bb major before the clarinet takes over the melody of the A section. The arrangement features an entirely new exposition of the song, this time without vocals. Gnattali used predominantly the same rhythmic material from the first exposition, changing the orchestration to generate variations. The melody of the B section is harmonized in the trumpet section, with a countermelody being played by a solo trombone. The final phrase of the section is then played by the reed section, and as the harmony resolves into Bb major, Gnattali uses a sequence of dominant chords in the reeds—Bb7-B7-C7-Db7—before landing on Eb7 and modulating back to the original key of Ab major. The iconic rhythmic ostinato of section C is played by the reeds and the melody is harmonized once again in the trumpet section. The countermelody is then played by the trumpets in section D, while the melody switches between a solo saxophone and trombone. At the end of the second exposition of the song, there is another rubato transition leading to Francisco Alves's entrance at the top of the A section once again. The arrangement is repeated exactly as in the first exposition, when the new set of lyrics is presented—representing the style *samba de exaltação* (praise samba), known for its patriotic and grandiose character.

Momentum brought by the success of Gnattali's arrangement of Aquarela do Brasil led to

the creation in 1943 of the radio show *Um Milhão de Melodias*, sponsored by Coca-Cola. Radamés Gnattali consolidated his vision for modern Brazilian music as well as his model of orchestra. For the show, he created the Orquestra Brasilia, which incorporated instruments of the *conjunto regional* with jazz rhythm section of piano-bass-drums, and the brass and strings sections of modern jazz orchestras. Radamés emphasized his vision to develop a Brazilian sound while also incorporating modern elements from jazz, which according to the show's producer, Haroldo Barbosa, was done by emulating Benny Goodman's style (Saroldi and Moreira 1984, 30). Gnattali was writing an average of nine arrangements every week that included a wide range of repertoire: the orchestra reinterpreted almost every important song of the time, and reshaped samba's aesthetics. Pedro Anísio said: "Radamés Gnattali gave samba an organization—the Orquestra Brasileira. Samba had never dreamed of such an orchestra: large, complete, perfect. Radamés Gnattali arranged samba discovering riches that were never imagined for the style. With the Orquestra Brasileira, samba began traveling through the world… and achieved its legitimate title of "green-and-yellow" music, worthy and elegant representative of our people's musical spirit."[164]

Radamés's music received prime space in Brazil's leading media company and was constantly praised by the media, representing his aesthetic project for the modernization of Brazilian popular music. The model from Rádio Nacional spread out to other radio stations and recording labels—Gnattali was also hired by Continental to direct their own orchestra with musicians from Rádio Nacional. This model had a direct impact on both professional and aesthetic opportunities for Black musicians. The majority of musicians hired by Rádio Nacional were white—many of them Italian immigrants—not only in the larger orchestras but also in the

[164] Barbosa and Devos, *Radamés Gnattali, o Eterno Experimentador*, 55.

conjuntos regionais, a format historically associated with Afro-Brazilian musicians. The few Black musicians who were part of the radio's cast were not seen favorably—according to Radamés, they were all drunk (t*odos cachaças*)— and privileged regionais led by white musicians, notably Benedito Lacerda who was known for demanding extreme discipline, even by violent means. Both Gnattali and Jacob do Bandolier referred to Pixinguinha's group from the 20s as messy (*uma esculhambação*), and the demand for musical discipline led to the partnership between Radamés and Canhoto, a white guitar player who led Lacerda's group after his passing, in which Radamés treated the ensemble—a group traditionally connected to the performance of improvised popular (and black) music— as chamber music, composing the music and writing all parts for the group.[165]

Gnattali's approach to the rhythm section in the *conjuntos regionais* is very similar to what we hear in his arrangement of Aquarela do Brasil, which defined his style for years to come. In that song, the rhythm section is relegated to a background role, keeping the exact same pattern, with no variations—written or improvised—except for the rubato sections in which it drops out. There is no involvement between the rhythm section and the rest of the arrangement, and one could argue that Radamés felt the need include it only as a way of adding "Brazilianess" to the arrangement. As African American musicians were pushing the boundaries of jazz with bebop, both harmonically and rhythmically, focusing primarily on small ensembles that provided more room for improvisation to flourish, Rádio Nacional's vision for modern Brazilian music was entirely based on the music of large ensembles led by white jazz musicians. While there was never an explicit exclusion of Black musicians, this model was mostly implemented and developed by white and classically trained musicians who were in a sense fabricating whiteness in Brazilian

[165] Bessa, "'Um Bocadinho de Cada Coisa': Trajetória e Obra de Pixinguinha," 203–5.

popular music.

Conclusion

The emergence of a new style of samba composition, the samba de Estácio, coincided with the beginning of samba's golden age. The genre's popularity increased exponentially across the country. By the end of the 1930s, a robust music industry provided samba musicians with plenty of professional opportunities in radio shows, recording studios, and live performances. This period also consolidated many elements typically associated with blackness into mainstream culture. As the project of forging a new national identity that solidified the place of Black Brazilians in the nation took new heights during Getúlio Vargas' Estado Novo, samba became one of the premier symbols of this new version of Brazil.

However, many Black musicians unexpectedly saw their role diminish in this process. As more white musicians gained knowledge about samba, they took a prominent role in mediating the terms of inclusion of blackness into the nation's culture. Although a number of white musicians had mastered elements of samba performance and composition that seemed to have been restricted to Black people in the past, their success did not alleviate racial prejudice. For many white people who increasingly consumed samba, now heavily mediated by the media, these white musicians provided the right dose of authenticity and modernity. Black musicians were not completely left out of this growing industry, but saw their space increasingly reduced to representing a tradition that more often than not was framed as backwards.

Black musicians remained committed to diverse expressions of Black music. Even as they introduced innovations that would transform the genre, those new styles did not eclipse the old versions. Rather, the multiple expressions of samba that they articulated all seemed to complement

each other and generate possibilities to reimagine samba. Where blackness was becoming a more important commodity in the music industry, it seemed that white audiences were more concerned with specific representations of blackness mediated by white musicians than with connecting with the people who created that music. And as white musicians claimed ownership of modernity, their expressions of modern samba resulted in an ever-shrinking box of tradition in which to place Black musicians and communities.

CHAPTER 3: CROSSING IMAGINARY BORDERS: BLACK MUSICIANS AND THE MAKING OF RIO DE JANEIRO'S JAZZ SCENE

Introduction

On June 15, 1954, a group of musicians led by Pixinguinha and representing the Velha Guarda of samba performed at Boite Beguin in Hotel Glória. The group had performed earlier that year as part of the celebrations of São Paulo's 400th anniversary, a show promoted by Almirante, and its success provided them with new opportunities back in Rio de Janeiro, this time through the efforts of the *cronista* Lúcio Rangel. A group of intellectuals interested in popular music and jazz, including Rangel, Jorge Guinle and Sérgio Porto (authors of *Jazz Panorama* and *Pequena História do Jazz*), had been tasked by the club's owner, Eduardo Tapajóz, with establishing a weekly jam session. The club had a reputation for presenting international acts from France and the United States and adding a jam session followed the trend that began to take place specially in the South side of the city. According to Rangel, these jam sessions turned out quite miserably due to the lack of skillful jazz musicians in the city. The solution would be to postpone such meetings until the club could hire Black American musicians.[166] Still interested in offering something new for his audience, the owner was convinced to present shows of "authentic Brazilian music." Billed as the "Noite da Velha Guarda," the ensemble featured, alongside Pixinguinha, Donga, João da Bahiana, Bide da Flauta, Moreira da Silva, among other musicians from the first generation of sambistas.

The performance also coincided with the publication of the first issue of the Revista da Música Popular (RPM), another of Rangel's efforts aimed at promoting and protecting Brazilian music. The magazine stayed in circulation for another two years and expressed a growing fear

[166] Lúcio Rangel, "Em memorável noitada na "boite" do Hotel Glória, Velha Guarda." Manchete, RJ. June 26, 1954.

against the supposed encroachment of jazz in Rio de Janeiro and its impact on samba. Each issue contained a session dedicated to jazz, providing commentary that reinforced notions of its folkloric character. According to the writers who published on this magazine, jazz was invented by Black people from New Orleans, which represented the only space that it could be performed in its authentic form. The invited authors also denounced bebop as a perversion of authentic jazz, pointing out that its influence in Rio de Janeiro had similarly negative potential. The "Noite da Velha Guarda" therefore represented an alternative to the developing jazz scene that started to take over Copacabana and Ipanema. By bringing Pixinguinha's traditional approach to samba and choro—which was perceived as having maintained its original forms from the 1910s and 1920s—to a club that frequently featured foreign music, Guinle intended to stop the overreach of jazz in the city's night clubs.

Jazz was not something new in Rio de Janeiro, and this also was not the first time that music critics and intellectuals had reacted against the presence of jazz in Rio de Janeiro. Public debate concerned with the dangers of Americanization intensified during the 1920s and already in 1928 Cruz Cordeiro, the founder of the first specialized music magazine Phono-Arte and one of the regular writers for RPM, attacked Pixinguinha for his supposed use of elements from fox-trot.[167] The constant presence of jazz beyond U.S. borders prompted similar reactions throughout Latin America. The musical encounters facilitated by jazz across the continent prompted Mexican poet Manuel Maples Arce to claim jazz as a "cultural practice uniquely relevant to the Americas."[168] At the same time, however, intellectuals' admiration of jazz was accompanied by

---

[167] Cabral, *Pixinguinha: Vida e Obra*, 57.

[168] Borge, *Tropical Riffs: Latin America and the Politics of Jazz*, 33.

fears of its impact on local and national practices. The discourses that privileged national styles while also denouncing jazz as "American," "capitalist," "foreignizing," or "anti-people" highlight the tensions between discursive borders and the porousness of musical encounters. These contradictions were nowhere more visible than in Brazil, and scholar Jason Borge carefully traced the debates against and in favor of the influence of jazz during the first half of the twentieth century. Those who defended national music did so by placing Black music, both Brazilian and American, as static sources of folklore, tied to specific places and genres that needed to be preserved from foreign influences. On the other hand, the defense of jazz's influence depended on the ability of composers, always white men, to perform the intellectual labor of combining different musical cultures while preventing any "damage" to their authenticity in this process. Both perspectives continued to support racialized notions of artistry that placed white composers and intellectuals as agents of civilization and progress while portraying Black people and cultures as primitive. [169]

The renewed attention towards jazz during this period was likely due to the new approaches to samba slowly developing in a growing music scene at Rio de Janeiro's South Side (*Zona Sul*), which since the 1930s had become the destination of a growing white middle-class. Vinicius de Moraes named this music "the New Samba." Conceding that some were right in criticizing the excess of "*estrangeirismos*" (foreignness), he defended the music as being born from a new social conjuncture, the same responsible for the emergence of Sinatra, Sarah Vaughn, Stan Kenton, Perez Prado, Ari Barroso, and Dorival Caymmi.[170] "Sinatra, be-bop, boite, Copacabana, microphone:

---

[169] Borge, 89–130.

[170] Vinicius de Moraes, "O Novo Samba," in Moraes et al., *Samba Falado*. Originally published on September 27, 1953.

here's the new samba." Copacabana and Ipanema became the center of entertainment in Rio de Janeiro after the casino ban in 1946, and in the 1950s a vibrant community of musicians developed alongside the proliferation of smaller night clubs (*boîtes*). Musicians who grew up there, he argued, could not be blamed for making music different from the people who lived in the morros. Citing that popular music needed to always evolve, he praised the sophistication introduced to samba by the likes of Antônio Maria, Luis Bonfá, Paulinho Soledade, and Fernando Lobo. Moraes listed four musicians, all of them white, but only Bonfá would develop a significant music career. Absent from his list were the many Black people who built the scene of Copabana and Ipanema.

The geography of the city was often invoked to represent different categorizations of samba. Zona Sul, where the new night clubs were opening, was associated with sophistication and modernism. Zona Norte was associated with the traditional *escolas de samba* and referred to as primitive or poor. Reports of the time also shared perceived notions about musical style. Zona sul and bossa nova produced music made for listening, while at Zona Norte, the emphasis was on dancing. This characterization of modernity and tradition, mind and body, followed similar racialized tropes that disenfranchised Black musicians from their creative agency.

Dizzy Gillespie's visit to Brazil in 1956 rekindled the divisive atmosphere surrounding jazz. Announced as a leading voice of bebop, Gillespie and his eighteen-piece band were in the middle of a world, sponsored by the US State Department, which included a stop in Brazil during the month of August. Brazilian press got caught in the middle of the press before the tour even started. The newspaper *A Noite* reported that one Louisiana Senator criticized the decision by the State Department, suggesting Benny Goodman or Louis Armstrong would have been a better

choice instead of Gillespie, whose music was nothing but noise.[171] Another publication announced the visit of Gillespie and eighteen "amalucados músicos negros" (nutty Black musicians), warning its readers to cover their ears.[172] Gillespie performed on TV in addition to two concerts, one at a radio station theater, and another at Teatro República. Overall, the reception to his performances was positive, but journalists and critics were were mostly intrigued by his visits to the Escola de Samba Portela, the boite Beguin, and a reception at the headquarters of magazine Manchete, where he had the chance to meet with a group of sambistas. The Brazilian press was anxious to see the reaction of Dizzy Gillespie when encountering the different expressions of Brazilian Black music, the duel between samba and jazz. Asked if he thought he would be able to join in with any of the ensembles, Gillespie replied that the music was indeed challenging, but their common roots—Africa—probably would make that encounter possible.[173] He proceeded to record two tracks with saxophonist Cipó—two fast sambas—and was seen dancing and even trying to play the pandeiro with a group of percussionists.[174] The meeting with Pixinguinha, who was scheduled to be at the *Manchete* gathering, was highly anticipated but the Brazilian musician did not show up to that meeting.

The headlines in the *Diário da Noite* for Gillespie's performance at the Teatro República announced that "his trumpet would tell the history of jazz."[175] But Marcelo Miranda, one of the writers of RPM, was very disappointed at his version of the history of jazz. "Gillespie presented a

---

[171] "Jazz, Música Bárbara," *A Noite*, June 4, 1956, 4.

[172] "Dizzie Gillespie," *Revista da Semana*, 1956, 8.

[173] Heinz Prellwitz and Carlos Aslan, "Gillespie, o Bochechudo do Bebop," *Revista da Semana*, August 25, 1956, 54.

[174] Ary Vasconcelos, "O bop chegou!," *Cruzeiro*, August 25, 1956, 6-13.

[175] "O Piston de 'Dizzy' Contará a História do Jazz Americano," *Diário da Noite*, August 6, 1956, 8.

pitiful musical history (sic) of jazz. His performance of a Dixieland song made the audience feel like suckers… I also never heard 'When the saints come marching in' played so poorly. He should have stuck to bop, which is a better fit for his doltish style." RPM emphasized the importance of historical knowledge about jazz, publishing a sequence of articles with that goal. However, its perspective of a linear music history in fact dehistoricized musical processes with the goal of naturalizing a racialized image of black people and culture, always trapped in the primitive past. Beginning with the blues and spiritual songs, RPM went on to publish articles that told the history of the development of jazz in New Orleans, reaching its apex in King Oliver, before returning its focus on present day New Orleans.

Brazilian samba musicians' experiences with jazz were not limited to Dizzy Gillespie's short visit to Brazil. Hired by Victor in 1928 and with an ensemble at his disposal, Pixinguinha was finally able to expand from his previous experiences with the Oito Batutas and document his masterful approach to arrangements of samba, which revealed the growing influence of the big band style popularized in the United States, but nevertheless, expressed his own experiences with samba. Containing an extended percussion section and brass musicians familiar with the rhythmic intricacies of samba, the groups led by Pixinguinha created the most compelling versions of samba for large ensembles of its time, but nevertheless, were never able to match the success that other white Brazilian artists achieved.

Many of Pixinguinha's contemporaries had forged the style for which they became known at the time at night clubs in which samba and jazz were in constant contact. The gafieiras, as they became known around the 1920s, were home to some of the most popular dance events in the city, and became formative spaces for many sambistas and chorões, most likely including Pixinguinha himself. Not only that, but most of the musicians who played jazz in Rio de Janeiro during the

1950s, many of them Black, also continue to find in the gafieiras a space to develop their music beyond stylistic borders. Yes, bebop had exerted an important influence on these musicians. But nevertheless, this influence was mediated in spaces in which many Black cariocas looked for entertainment.

Perceived as the standard for modernity, jazz became an increasingly relevant aspect of Rio de Janeiro's white middle-class identity. However, in order to ascertain its whiteness, it was also necessary to deal with the increasing visibility of Black musicians who quickly dominated Rio de Janeiro's jazz scene. By reframing Rio de Janeiro's scene through cartesian representations of jazz/modernity/whiteness and samba/tradition/Blackness, white intellectuals, critics, producers, and audiences positioned jazz as a central element to the aesthetic construction of racial difference in Brazil.

In this chapter, I examine the encounters between Black Brazilian and North American musicians. Samba, like jazz, had maintained a dynamic character throughout most of its history. Lacking any rigid regulating body, a broad community of practitioners representing both genres remained responsible for cultivating traditions and pursuing new expressions based primarily. Professional musicians certainly performed an important role in this process of cultivating musical traditions, but their artistic work remained close to other spaces of communal music making among Black communities. Taking into account the diverse musical expressions that resulted from the multiple encounters between jazz and samba throughout the twentieth century, I examine the ways music allowed for the connection of these diasporic communities and the imagining of new expressions of Blackness beyond the boundaries delineated in Brazil's racialized national identity.

Ministro e Aznó, felizes, dão lições de passo para Dizzy Gillespie, que se mostrava efetivamente tonto

Enganado pelo seu ar sisudo, Aznó

ousta derrubar Dizzy. Mas o americano não desmaia, não.

E baixou Aznó descendo-se para Dizzy não perder a deixa. Passou-lhe uma rasteira. Bom aluno.

Dizzy tentou mas não foi muito feliz no pandeiro. "Qual, eu dou mesmo é para o trumpete," disse o nosso irrequieto visitante.

Pandeiro e tamborim alucinam o rei do be-bop

QUANDO o conjunto de ritmistas-passistas "Roda de Gente Bamba" começou a sua exibição, no restaurante de MANCHETE, Dizzy Gillespie ainda estava na sobremesa, a segunda, aliás, que êle é um bom garfo. Logo mais, porém, quando o ritmo esquentava, êle empurrou o prato para o lado, puxou a cadeira para a frente e começou a matrar o esorpanco com o pé.

Assim foi indo a progressão de seu entusiasmo até que, uma hora mais tarde, já sem paletó, suando e exalbadamente alegre, êle repetia, ou procurava repetir, no meio da roda, os passos mirabolantes que os bambas do excelente conjunto organizado por Lan e Francisco Imperial executavam especialmente para o músico americano.

Dizzy queixara-se de não ter encontrado no Rio a música brasileira como êle imaginava que ela devesse ser.

— No rádio, nas lojas de discos, nas festas o que se ouve é fox americano — lamentou-se êle — mal tocado, por sinal, ou então uma coisa horrorosa que não é nem brasileira, nem americana, nem nada, que são as tais "versões". Eu quero é algo genuino, realmente popular. Será que vou ter de subir no morro, para ouvir o samba verdadeiro?

MANCHETE quis poupar êsse trabalho a Dizzy (que recebeu tal ajeitado porque dá sempre a impressão de estar tonto, com a cabeça no ar, quando na verdade é até vivo demais), proporcionando-lhe a oportunidade de assistir a uma legítima batucada com surdo, cuica, pandeiro, tamborins, agogô, cabaça, reco-reco, prato e frigideira. Dizzy vibrou de gôzo diante do ritmo ("terrific") dos nossos ericonhos, e quis até tomar umas lições de pandeiro do fabuloso Elizeu. Chegou a bater direitinho alguns compassos.

Foi geral a surprêsa quando Dizzy afirmou que tinha aprendido a

12 18 de Agosto de 1956

18 de Agosto de 1956 13

Figure 3.1 "Pandeiro e tamborim alucinam o rei do be-bop," Manchete, August 18, 1956, 12-13.

Early Encounters and the Jazz Bands

Since the late nineteenth century, the music from the United States circulated widely in Rio de Janeiro. However, the increasing popularity of jazz bands during the 1910s would result in the significant increase of that traffic. "What is jazz?" Instigated by the success of the jazz-bands in Europe and across the Atlantic, this question motivated an article published in Rio de Janeiro's illustrated magazine Leitura Para Todos.[176] Alerting that jazz should not be confused with a dance or music style, the answer, according to the article, was "jazz is an orchestra just like any other, to which you can add a few new instruments to old ones and perform any kind of music," highlighting ragtime, napolitana canzonetas, waltzes from Vienna, and "even our own *modinha chorosa*."

Originally from New Orleans, the ensemble's most remarkable element, according to the writer, is the drum-set and its ability to play multiple percussion instruments at once. Although there is no mention of musicians, the illustration that accompanied this article represented every musician as white. Additionally, the placement of a featured musician in front of the ensemble playing the violin indicates an attempt to reinforce the connection between this new "jazz" ensemble and other chamber ensembles more tied to the European musical traditions, at the same time distancing the format from other types of popular ensembles led by local Black musicians.

The term jazz band seems to have first appeared in Rio de Janeiro's press in this article in 1919 and its use increased exponentially during the following decade, particularly after the return of the Oito Batutas from their tours in Europe and Argentina, when the group dissolved and one of its new iterations was renamed "Jazz Band Oito Cotubas."[177] During the 1920s, the term was

---

[176] "Musicas e dansas Americanas," *Leitura Para Todos*, Vol. 4, November 1919, 90-92.

[177] Cabral, *Pixinguinha: Vida e Obra*, 97.

used loosely to refer to ensembles containing a varied combination of brass and reed instruments like the saxophone, trumpet and trombone—already common in military bands, such as the popular police and fire department bands—and new instruments like the banjo and the drum set, which represented a clear and direct influence of North American practices.[178] These ensembles did in fact perform a variety of styles. However, jazz bands in Brazil also started to incorporate in their repertoire a wide range of styles that represented new cosmopolitan trends brought from the United States, including fox-trot—the term mostly used to refer to music that was similar to jazz in the U.S. in the 1920s.[179]

[178] Bessa, "'Um Bocadinho de Cada Coisa': Trajetória e Obra de Pixinguinha," 104; Barsalini, "Modos de Execução Da Bateria No Samba," 17–21.

[179] Charleston, one-step, and shimmy were also frequently used in reference to U.S. dance music, although there was no clear relation between musical styles and the dance.

Figure 3.2 "Musicas e dansas americanas," 1919

Pixinguinha himself composed and recorded two fox-trots with the Grupo do Pixinguinha in 1922, “Dançando” and “Ipiranga.” The group was one of the leaders in incorporating instruments from jazz bands, adding piano, banjo, trombone, and even drum sets to its arrangements, but the Batutas never got to record as a full ensemble. Pixinguinha’s iconic use of the saxophone, and the addition of the reco-reco, are the only difference between the 1923 recordings and the ones made earlier in 1919 and 1921. Despite their success and their position as Brazil’s top ensemble, the Oito Batutas faced difficulties in recording their musical innovations. The skill level, rhythmic complexity, stylistic fluency, and vibrant interaction displayed by the members of the group is not matched by any other recorded musician or group in that decade. And

yet, after recording twenty tracks in 1923, the Oito Batutas did not release any records, nor did any member of the band as a leader until Pixinguinha, was hired in 1928 as arranger and composer for Victor RCA following a brief recording session in 1926 that resulted in four tracks.

Recordings of foxtrot made in Brazil were mostly performed by white musicians, with little agreement initially on the exact stylistic elements that represented the style. On a recording from 1923, singer Carlos Lima singing José de Francisco Freitas's composition "Vênus", labeled a fox trot in the record, in which the singer is accompanied by a piano and flute.[180] The melody is based mostly on eight-note patterns, which is not the most common pattern for melodies from any of the so-called "Brazilian" styles of early 20th century, but those eight-notes in the melody are straight and the piano pattern does not resemble anything that could be associated with the piano styles coming from North America. The quality of the recording is fairly poor, but we can still recognize rhythmic patterns on the piano following a structure that was closer to other dance styles of music coming from Europe and slightly transformed by Brazilian musicians. It is fair to say that at the beginning of the 1920s, any association with jazz could be perceived as a positive marketing strategy, even if the music itself was not similar. However, as we move along the decade, there are many examples of recordings that sound considerably similar to what was being played in the United States, mostly by singer Francisco Alves and often accompanied by larger orchestras such as Orquestra Pan Americana and Simão Nacional Orquestra.[181]

---

[180] Carlos Lima, *Vênus*, 1923. Composition by José de Francisco Freitas. Odeon, 124.474, 78 rpm.

[181] Francisco Alves, Meu Céu Azul, 1928, composed by Walter Donaldson, with Simão Nacional Orquestra, Parlophon, 12874 A, 78 rpm. Alves, Muleque namorador, 1928, with Orquestra Pan American, Odeon, 10181 B, 78 rpm. Alves, Foi um sonho,1928, composed by Isaac Kolman, with Rosa Negra and Orquestra Pan American, Odeon, 10110 A, 78 rpm. Alves, Nas serras mineiras, 1929, composed by Augusto Vasseur, with Simão Nacional Orquestra, Parlophon, 13047 B, 78 rpm. Alves, Some sweet day, 1929, composed by Nat Shilkret and Lew Pollack, with

These recordings show how specific elements from jazz were incorporated in Brazil, starting with the constant presence of swing eight-notes (albeit interpreted by musicians who clearly did not have the same rhythmic fluency with swing as their North American counterparts), classical idiomatic writing for instruments such as the clarinet and the trumpet section, soli sections written for the reeds and brass, as well as a defined pattern in the rhythm section, with the tuba playing alternating between the root and fifth in half-notes (with the occasional connecting notes), the banjo keeping all quarter notes with emphasis on beats two and four and the constant use of stride piano. These arrangements also feature long instrumental introductions and solos during the tune, features that were at the time much more associated with jazz than other types of popular music from Brazil.

These examples sound similar to recordings of early New Orleans jazz, which first appeared in 1917. The Original Dixieland Jazz Band, an all-white band, was the first ever to record the predominantly African-American style. Ensembles featuring Black musicians, such as King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band and Jelly Roll Morton and His Red Hot Peppers, did not have their own recording opportunities until the 1920s. The first song labeled as fox-trot in Brazil dates to 1917, when Orquestra Pickman recorded Edwards Callypoole's "Ragging the scale."[182] Despite the label, the song was a ragtime originally released in 1915 in the United States. Francisco Alves' recordings of fox-trot sound similar to these ensembles from New Orleans. The proximity between

---

Orquestra Pan American, Odeon, 10487 B, 78 rpm. Alves, Eu não posso dar-te mais que amor, 1929, composed by Jimmy McHugh, with Orquestra Parlophon, Parlophon, 12934 B, 78 rpm. Alves, O cantor de jazz, 1929, composed by Freire Junior Parlophon, with Simão Nacional Orquestra, 13024 B, 78 rpm. Alves, Abelha da Ironia, 1933, composed by Francisco Alves and Orestes Barbosa Odeon, with Orquestra Odeon, Odeon, 11065 B, 78 rpm.

[182]Bessa, *A Escuta Singular de Pixinguinha*, 137.

the appearance of such recordings in the United States and Brazil, as well as the variety of ensembles performing this music, indicates the fast circulation, the relative popularity, and the quickness with which Brazilian musicians were able to learn this new style.

Cinema CENTRAL

Avenida Rio Branco 168 - telephone C. 4218 -- Empresa Pinfildi

Grandiosa estréa na sala de espera, da orchestra typica norte-americana «The Original American Jazz Band», sob a direcção do maestro RAUL LIPOFF

HOJE! HOJE! HOJE!

Um drama violentissimo da serie de ouro universal, pelo famoso actor

Frank Mayo

inesquecivel interprete do Dr. Lamar d'A MALHA RUBRA! Seis actos de fortissimas emoções passados nas florestas de Montreal, onde a lei é a força bruta em luta com os proprias elementos.

TRIUMPHO OU MORTE

E um desconhecido, sorrindo meigamente para a torrente do «Logar sem Deus», affronta a travessia das cataratas, sem se importar com as rochas ponteagudas que as aguas mal cobrirm.

Sexta-feira 27 ! Uma data memoravel !

O suprehendente surto da cinematographia allemã ! Os seus progressos no theatro silencioso ! O primeiro film allemão que vem ao Brasil depois da guerra e que dedicamos ás colonias syria e allemã

Rosa de Stambul

Seis actos nitidissimos girando em volta de um episodio de amor. Arte, luxo, belleza, perfeição e originalidade !

Mais tres dias apenas !

Sexta-feira 27 !

DIA 4 DE MARÇO ! Finalmente ! Guardae bem de memoria esta data. O dia das primeiras exhibições da mais gloriosa pagina do cinema: O dedo da justiça ! O episodio mais altamente dramatico da purificadora campanha do revereudo Paulo Smith !

Aos srs. exhibidores — Os films exhibidos no Cinema Central, de propriedade da Empresa Pinfildi, alugam-se á rua de S. José n. 56.

Figure 3.3 Advertisement for a concert at the waiting room of Ciinema Central, with the "Original American Jazz Band," under the direction of maestro Raul Lipoff. Correio da Manha, February 24, 1920.

Versions of jazz songs translated to Portuguese started to appear at that time, constantly interpreted by Alves, such as Walter Donaldson's "My blue heaven" recorded by Paul Whitman's band ("Meu céu azul"), and Nat Shilkret's "Some sweet day". The latter was also performed at the 1929 movie "Children of the Ritz", and with the growing influence of movies, a particular style of jazz started to consolidate as a main influence in Brazil. In 1929, Francisco Alves recorded the

song “O cantor de jazz”,[183] which stands as a literal translation of “The Jazz Singer”, also the title of the 1927 film that helped popularize the “talking picture” genre.

In “The Jazz Singer”, Al Jolson plays a young Jewish man whose interest in jazz is seen as a path to ethnic assimilation in the United States. Jolson’s performance in the movie included the use of blackface and his interpretation of “Blue Skies” also reveal a similar issue of cultural appropriation: he sings the song twice, and on the second time his character Jack claims to reinterpret the song in a “jazzy style”. According to musicologist Jeffrey Magee, Jack’s notion of jazzing was “little more than a faster tempo and some pianistic display. Otherwise, the singing style is similar to that of the first version… hardly meeting later criteria of jazz.”[184] Al Jolson’s performance fits a larger discourse in the US that placed Jewish interpretation of black music at the center of jazz. In addition to references of Jolson as the perfect representation of “Jewish and black combined,” these narratives also placed Jewish composers and their ability to incorporate elements from Western classical music in the center of the creation of jazz.[185] While there are no direct musical references in Francisco Alves’ version of “O cantor de jazz”, the influx of music performed by predominantly white jazz bands from the United States, whose influence was deeply amplified by movies, was reinforcing the rejection of blackness in jazz that had already taken roots in Brazil since the beginning of the decade. In reenacting the same elements of whiteness in samba, Brazilian white musicians joined their North American counterparts, who enjoyed equally

---

[183] Francisco Alves, *O Cantor de Jazz*, 1929. By Freire Junior, Parlophon, 13.024-a, 78rpm.

[184] Magee, “Irving Berlin’s ‘Blue Skies’: Ethnic Affiliations and Musical Transformations,” 558.

[185] Magee, 559, 565.

disproportionate access to prominent positions in the industry, in shaping the aesthetics of modern Black popular music—jazz in the United States, and samba in Brazil.

Gafieiras: Jazz and Samba Encounters in Black

While jazz bands in Rio de Janeiro became predominantly white, Black musicians who remained interested in continuing exploring with jazz found in the *gafieiras* a new space for that. The gafeiras originated from the *club dançantes* that became popular in Rio de Janeiro during the first two decades of the twentieth century. At the time, these clubs acted as the *sedes* (headquarters) of the first *ranchos carnavalescos*, associations developed among Black communities that organized the street carnival parades in that period. Among the ranchos, later called *sociedades carnavalescas,* were Ameno Resedá and Flor de Abacate, two groups deeply connected with the Pelo Telefone generation of sambistas, and Kananga do Japão, particularly known for its most famous member, Sinhô. The "King of samba" earned his reputation as a samba composer but was also an excellent pianist performing regularly at the club. One newspaper describes a party hosted at the Kananga do Japão, mentioning that it would be "brightened by Sinho's 'choro.'"[186] The use of the term choro at the time was most likely used to refer to a musical quality, but had also started to be associated with ensembles that performed instrumental music. Tango was also common at these meetings, as well as the almost ubiquitous presence of jazz bands.

The most famous clubs were located in Rio de Janeiro's downtown sprawling all the way to new middle-class neighborhoods of Glória and Flamengo. However, a quick look at the names

[186] *A Rua*, February 10, 1916.

of some of these clubs—Democraticos de Madureira, Endiabrados de Ramos, Fenianos de Campo Grande, Fenianos do Engenho de Dentro, Flor da Lira de Bangu—reveal their presence also at the *subúrbios*, predominantly Black and working-class neighborhoods that were established along the North side of the city. One of such clubs, Fenianos de Cascadura, was also known as "Gafieira." The newspaper A Razão included a note about the club on its crime pages, describing a supposedly violent act that happened at the "suburban club," which was in fact "nothing more than a "gathering of disqualified people," "maids and naïve workers prone to promiscuities."[187] According to the note, the club was a frequent issue to the local police department, which also received constant complaints from local neighbors, and that night, after another alleged act of violence perpetrated, was closed by the *delegado*. Although this story marks the first use of the word "gafieira" referring to such spaces, similar stories were frequently reported at the local press. Scenes of violence and shootings were constantly placed at the doorsteps of these clubs and its music was described as a nuisance to families that lived in the area. They resemble similar stories that newspapers published in the 1900s and 1910s about samba meetings in the *morros*, which always ended in a fight, frequently initiated after a Black woman became the reason of a dispute between two Black men. The calls for police to shut down the clubs were yet another reminiscence of practices of the past, when in the nineteenth century (as early as 1840s), newspapers frequently called the authorities to police gatherings at certain houses in which you could hear "infernal" and "savage" *batuques*. These batuques caused such an impression that one observer said he felt as a "foreigner in the

[187] A Razão (Rio de Janeiro, RJ), 4. January 19, 1920.

middle of an African village, where the king ginga could order someone to behead me if I had said anything about the music."[188]

The gafieiras increasingly became the focus of negative public discourse. Stories about crimes committed at or nearby the clubs were found regularly in Rio de Janeiro's press, as well as noise complaints. This increase was connected to changes in the city's geography, as reforms urban reforms continued to push Black people away from central areas. The shifting focus to the morros as spaces of violence coincides with the urban reforms in the first decade of the century that led to the displacement of Black people from the city's downtown to the hillside communities.[189] The process of riding the city's downtown of its Black communities was a response to the represented threat felt by this "African" presence among the white population. As public discourse about samba shifted, accompanying the celebration of racial mixture in the formation of a new Brazilian national identity, Black celebration of carnival represented the elite's desire to manage Blackness. The street processions, with all its percussive "noise", was tolerable, and even beautiful, because it was controlled. That type of performance that continued to be associated with Blackness was permitted to happen during carnival, and only then, after which that music was supposed to go back to the marginal spaces in the city occupied by Black communities. Therefore, starting in the 1930s, the gafieiras represented the last continuous source of Black sound in the city's downtown areas. As such, mentions to the *bailes* or *festas* at the gafieiras increasingly became instruments of racialization and connected to the "*malandros* and women from questionable origins that have

[188] O Liberal (Rio de Janeiro, RJ), 4. January 11, 1852.

[189] Valladares, *The Invention of the Favela*.

long infested the suburbs."[190] The connection between Black spaces, music, and dance with violence, disorder, noise, and promiscuity reveals how certain practices continued to be perceived as damaging to society, despite the increasing acceptance of samba among diverse social and racial groups in Rio de Janeiro, especially in its commodified forms.

As the samba recordings and radio performances increasingly shifted towards orchestral arrangements, the gafieiras became an important space for the continued development of samba performance that focused on smaller ensembles based on extended improvisation. And although the conjuntos regionais, based on string and percussion instruments remained popular, many ensembles also added the drum set, piano, and eventually bass. In fact, this interchangeability of instrumentation that came to characterize the music played at the gafieiras was not unlike what we observe with the Oito Batutas once they returned from Europe. Some of the first recordings made by musicians who developed their careers at the gafieiras clearly demonstrate these connections.

Trombonist Raul de Barros began performing in the 1930s but was soon leading his own ensemble, one of the most popular of the late 1940s and 1950s. His group changed in size and instrumentation during this period. His first recordings were released through Odeon in 1948. The 78rpm included two compositions by Donga, "O pobre vive de teimoso" and "Malabarista." Both tunes are recorded by a typical regional ensemble, based on the guitar-cavaquinho-percussion rhythm section, and with a clarinet accompanying Barros. Both tunes have the elements of what had become known as a choro, deriving its structure from the typical polka, with three different sections in different keys and following the rondo form. Although a formative aspect of the musical experiences of the first generation of sambistas, the instrumental choros had lost their popularity

[190] O Radical (Rio de Janeiro, RJ), 1. September 3, 1932.

during the age of radio and popular singers. Although presenting distinct individual styles, Barros' music resembles in many ways Pixinguinha's first recordings with his ensemble Oito Batutas from 1923. We hear the same rhythmic freedom, wide range of expressive articulation, and pulsating groove. These same elements were also present in Pixinguinha's 1955 LP *A Velha Guarda,* recorded with a version of the ensemble that performed with him in the "Noite da Velha Guarda" one year before. The difference at that point, however, is that Raul de Barros' ensemble now included a larger brass section as well as the addition of a piano-bass-drums rhythm section. And while Pixinguinha's repertoire continued to revolve around compositions written in first three decades of the century, Barros' 1957 *Ginga de Gafieira* also featured some songs composed in the style of samba de Estácio.

The constant circulation of musical ideas and the proximity between the styles contradict any supposedly antagonism between jazz and samba, or modern and traditional approaches to music. In fact, the Black musicians who chose to turn to jazz for inspiration were able to do so precisely because of the shared skills that are required for mastery of both jazz and samba. The ability to create multiple expressions of these encounters while maintaining a connection to traditional local practices and new hemispheric tendencies reveals the prowess of the musicians involved in this process. Therefore, understanding the musical workings of this process allows us to understand the historically contingent quality of Black music. Contrary to the preconceived notions reflected in the writings of white intellectuals at the time, there is not one (or even several) preconceived model/s of Black music. Rather, Black music is always made, through a process that creatively uses sounds and other performative elements that have been racialized as Black—that is, as arbitrarily inferior—in order to assemble new possibilities that are simultaneously connected

to historical expressions of Blackness while also dismantling the constraining racists' portrayals of Blackness that continuously attempt to enforce a racialized system of difference.

Turma da Gafieira - Transposing Samba to the Piano Trio

Since the consolidation of the Estácio paradigm, samba's groove had remained mostly unaltered until the 1950s. The groove was organized in three different rhythmic roles: *marcação*, *condução*, and *fraseado*.[191] Each of these roles were usually assigned to specific instruments of the two main ensembles, *escolas de samba* and *conjuntos regionais*. Even though most patterns repeat every four beats, samba is usually written in 2/4 measures, so each pattern lasts for two measures.

Instruments responsible for the marcação play continuous quarter notes, with a clear distinction between the first and second beats. The first beat is short and unaccented, sometimes also muffed. The second beat receives a strong accent, and the note is long. In some ensembles, especially the larger escolas de samba, there are two different surdos, each responsible for one of the beats. They are named in opposition to the metric concepts: surdo de primera (first surdo) plays on the second beat and is tuned to a lower pitch; surdo de segunda (second surdo) plays on the first beat and is usually smaller and tuned to a higher pitch. Some ensembles also carry a surdo de terceira, responsible for playing different phrases; those phrases are also incorporated into the main surdo player when playing at smaller conjuntos regionais.

High-pitched shakers (ganzás) are responsible for the condução role. These instruments keep all sixteenth-note subdivisions of the beat, sometimes adding a slight stress on the third

[191] Leandro Barsalini, "As sínteses de Edison Machado: um estudo sobre o desenvolvimento de padrões de samba na bateria." (Master's Thesis, UNICAMP, 2009), 32.

sixteenth-note of each beat. The snare drummers (tarol), also play a constant flow of sixteenth-notes. However, they create different rhythmic patterns through articulation and accents. These patterns are similar to the phrasing (fraseado), employed mostly by the repique and tamborim. The Brazilian tamborim is a small and round skin percussion instrument without any metal plates. The instrument is played using both sides of the skin, creating an open sound on the top side of the skin, and a muffed sound in the bottom side. Percussionists also maintain a constant flow of sixteenth-notes, creating rhythmic patterns by using the two different sounds produced by the instrument. These phrases usually represent the patterns that were identified by Sandroni as derived from the Estácio paradigm and established since the 1930s as the defining rhythmic element in samba.

While some instruments, like the tamborim and the tarol, combine elements of two different rhythmic roles simultaneously, no other is more versatile than the pandeiro. A round skin-drum with metal plates, the pandeiro became one of the main symbols of samba, and due to its versatility, skillful pandeiristas are able to represent the entire complexity of the samba groove alone. The pandeiro is held in one hand, which shakes the instrument with alternated rotational wrist movements. This movement generates sounds from the metal plates, which maintain a constant stream of sixteenth-notes. With the other hand, the *pandeirista* hits the drum skin using the thumb, the tip of the other fingers, or the wrist. The thumb produces a low-pitch sound, imitating the surdo. More skillful pandeiristas can also differentiate between a short and muffed sound on beat one and a more sustained sound on beat two. Alternating between the tip of the fingers and the wrist, the pandeirista is able to create phrases that mimic the tamborim.

A number of ensembles in Rio de Janeiro started adding piano, bass, and drum set to the rhythm section during the 1950s, experimenting with ways to transpose the accompaniment

patterns from the traditional samba ensembles to the jazz rhythm section. Although this instrumentation later became associated with the clubs of Ipanema and Copacabana, and eventually, bossa nova, this ensemble was already common at *gafieiras* and dancings of the city's center and Zona Norte, providing live music for dancers. These musicians also often performed at the small night clubs in the Zona Sul, where established artists found a space in which they could experiment with their music while jam sessions attracted younger musicians who explored new approaches to improvised music based on samba and jazz. These night clubs catered to Rio de Janeiro's wealthy youth, growing up in a period of relative political stability, economic growth, and increasing industrialization and urbanization. Brazilian elites had been fascinated with modernization since the beginning of the century, and in the post-war and New Deal era, U.S. American culture dominated any discussion about modernizing Brazil's society. It is not surprising then that these night clubs were modeled after similar spaces in New York and jazz became the standard that guided musical practices of this area. A young generation of musicians grew up listening to a wide variety of music in the radios and records. Samba was more accessible than ever, even for people who never stepped in a *roda de samba*, and jazz was a major influence on most Brazilian arrangers. But these clubs became an important space for experimenting with jazz's newest fad, bebop.

Bebop developed at similar clubs in New York City, based on the jam sessions, musical meetings centered on improvisation. Improvisation was always present in samba's communities, but commercial samba often curtailed these practices, to fit songs to the three-minute standard that shaped radio and recorded performances. At these clubs, Brazilian musicians could experiment not only with improvisation, but also with the limits of the genre, trying to find new possibilities to express the encounter between jazz and samba. The audiences also experimented with new

attitudes, and in addition to sets that provided music for dancing, some performances were for listening only. Exploring the boundaries between dance and contemplative music was not something entirely new in Brazil, but this music was clearly conceived as a result of the circulation of jazz in Brazil.

The group Turma da Gafieira released two recordings in 1957, "Turma da Gafieira" and "Samba in Hi-Fi", combining elements from choro, samba, samba-canção, gafieira, and jazz. The first album features only compositions by flautist Altamiro Carrilho, but the second includes a mix of Carrilho's tunes, songs by Wilson Teixeira and Dorival Caymmi, two composers associated with traditional samba, and composers who would later be associated with bossa nova, such as Tito Madi and Tom Jobim. In addition to a horn section composed by flute, saxophone, trumpet and trombone that included Raul de Souza and Cipó, the rhythm section was anchored by Edison Machado on the drums and also featured Sivuca on the accordion and Baden Powell on guitar, and bass, piano, and percussion. Both albums became a big success in sales, radio time and with critics, consolidating the Turma as the leading jazz-samba ensemble of its time.

The piano-trio rhythm section had become more popular in Brazilian music since its appearance in the orchestras at Radio Nacional, but its use was limited to a supporting role that often meant keeping time and playing repeated patterns in the background. The rhythm section for Turma da Gafieira emulates a freer approach to rhythm section playing that was common in the conjuntos regionais. Percussionists in such groups had a keen ability to create interesting variations from an extensive vocabulary of rhythmic patterns, all while keeping strong time. The bass player in the Turma's records keeps a steady pattern of quarter notes, but we hear a few attempts to create slight variations following the surdo patterns. The comping by the pianist is very inconsistent. At moments, he tries to mimic percussion instruments, breaking down the chords to create patterns

based on the sixteenth-note on the right hand while playing busy lines on the bass register with the left. The result is messy and at times distractive. However, this busier accompaniment is sometimes replaced by a cleaner approach based on bebop comping patterns, in which the pianist choses places on the measure to interject with clean chords. Those chords are often placed on the upbeats, with no regular or repeated patterns, complementing the groove created by the drums. The chords are better distributed between the left and right hands, and the cleaner execution also highlights an expressive use of harmonic colors including the upper extensions of the chords. While Brazilian musicians had already expanded from a simpler triadic harmonic vocabulary, this is the most consistent example to date of a harmonic approach that had become standard on US jazz records of the 1950s.

The focal point of this album is Edison Machado's creative drum set playing. Machado is credited as being the first drummer to play the phrases and the *condução* on the cymbals, expanding from the previous practice of restricting this role to the snare and toms in the drum set.[192] He had successfully mastered the style of drummer Luciano Perrone, a pioneer of the drum set in Brazilian music and one of the members of Radamés Gnattali first orchestra at Radio Nacional. Perrone worked alongside a strong percussion section at Radio Nacional's orchestra and began to transpose the patterns they were playing into the set, orchestrating it mostly on the toms. With a limited accompaniment role in the orchestra, Perrone's style mostly mimicked the percussionists, maintaining a steady groove through the arrangements which short interjections in specific solo breaks or hits that were part of the arrangement.

[192] Barsalini, "Síntese," 82.

Machado built from Perrone's style, switching the condução to the cymbals and adding the surdo patterns to his right foot on the bass drum, and a stripped-down version of the ganzá pattern to his left foot on the hi-hat. His drum set style is very mature for that period, and his mastery of the phrasing vocabulary is enhanced by his virtuosity, which allows him to smoothly play all sixteenth-notes using only one hand, while naturally adding accents that give shape to the stream of notes on the cymbals. The soft touch on the cymbals produce a contrast with the deeper and heavier sounds of the snare and toms, thus allowing him to orchestrate his playing to create contrast during solo sections.

These albums represent the most significant Brazilian recordings of that period using the standard form approach to improvisation that became famous with bebop. The tunes mostly follow standard 32-bar song forms, with improvisation sections played over that same form, preceded and followed by the melody. Machado's mature concept of the drum set allowed him to maintain the intensity and forward motion common in samba, while also shaping the form of the songs by using varied textures in the accompaniment patterns, and interacting with the soloists in manners similar to bebop drummers like Max Roach and Art Blakey, who represented his main influences.[193]

These recordings still represented an early stage of the process of adapting elements from jazz and samba into new musical practices, but the Turma da Gafieira became the standard to be followed by a young generation of musicians. In the 1960s, as the push for modernization of Brazilian popular music continued, the piano-trio would be at the center of the transformations of samba. The clubs of Rio de Janeiro's Zona Sul and the emerging jazz scene in São Paulo were the

[193] Barsalini, "Síntese," 77.

laboratories in which musicians experimented with the new sounds that changed the genre in the coming years.

Bebop: At the Intersection of Art and Dance Music

The term jazz has been used to describe many different types of musical practices. Initially referring to music created in early-twentieth century United States, and New Orleans more specifically, it is used today to describe music not only played in different contexts and countries, but genres that have very little resemblance to the music embraced by the jazz canon. Improvisation is often mentioned as the connecting element across different iterations of jazz, but it is not an exclusive feature from jazz, present on almost every style of popular music across the world and was even a central aspect of Western concert music until the nineteenth century.

As jazz continued to change in the twentieth century, the term became increasingly broader, more often referencing a set of performance practices rather than specific stylistic features. This shift was set into motion primarily with bebop, a style of music that musicians with deep connections to the swing bands consolidated in the 1940s. Jazz musicians were consciously challenging notions that popular music did not have any artistic value. Bebop retained many stylistic elements from the swing bands, as basic rhythm configurations of the swing groove were still present in bebop: the swing eight-notes; quarter notes played by lower-register instruments; the "spang-spang-a-lang" ride pattern; the emphasis on beats two and four on the hi-hat and sometimes the bass; and some of the accompaniment patterns, used first by arrangers in the horn sections, now the foundation of pianists' "comping". Bebop also maintained many of the dance-like qualities from swing bands, as well as its high-energy. Some of the famous tunes from the

1920s and 1930s were the foundation of bebop repertoire, including also compositions based on the chord progressions of tunes like "I Got Rhythm", "Indiana", and the standard twelve-bar blues.

Bebop's link with the swing (or dance) bands is well documented.[194] Although bebop musicians continued to cherish these experiences as part of a shared tradition with older generations of musicians, they became increasingly critical of the "entertainment" role that jazz bands had developed throughout the 1930s and its limitation to artistic freedom.[195] Despite working towards building new artistic identities, the musical styles developed in the clubs of New York City during the 1940s remained grounded on swing, groove, and even dance. However, the move away from dance venues did result in less restrictions on the way musicians interpreted groove, opening up new avenues for musical exploration. Groove music is in its nature repetitive, but for bebop musicians, groove was at the same time a fundamental aspect of their music while also a space for experimentation, improvisation, and deconstruction. This elastic approach to groove, in which not only the groove itself is stretched to new possibilities, but the very nature of the groove is continuously expanded to the point where you can no longer recognize it, is an innovation of bebop that still remains understudied.

Although groove remained a constant element in most bop rhythm sections that recorded during the 1940s and 1950s, this experimental approach already signals to future developments in rhythm section playing represented in ensembles like Miles Davis' late quintet with Herbie Hancock, Ron Carter, and Tony Williams; John Coltrane's quartet with McCoy Tyner, Jimmy

---

[194] DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History*; Shipton, *Groovin' High: The Life of Dizzy Gillespie*; Haddix, *Bird: The Life and Music of Charlie Parker*; Kelley, *Thelonious Monk: The Life and Times of an American Original*.

[195] Ramsey, *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop*.

Garrison, and Elvin Jones; or the vast array of "free jazz" artists who continued to expand the rhythmic limits of jazz.

The rhythmic experimentations introduced in bebop would result in an altogether new approach to jazz improvisation. Bebop musicians remained committed to approaches based on variations of swing. In doing so, they sustained a connection with swing both through its network of people (performers, composers, communities) and through unifying stylistic elements—the swang eight-note, the ride cymbal patterns, and the lack of metric stability, defined by the contrast between the accents on beats two and four on the hi-hat and ride cymbal, and an even articulation of all beats in the other instruments. However, bebop also started to represent a different musical process, this time not bound by a genre or style, but rather based on techniques that musicians used to manipulate rhythmic tension. Maintaining the structure of the groove as the base for the performance, rhythm section musicians, and drummers in particular, began to develop compelling ways to organize musical interaction based on this new approach to rhythmic tension, which increased or decreased depending on musicians' manipulation of the groove.

Swing remained the main reference for a groove-based style until the 1940s, but at the end of the decade and specially during the 1950s, musicians began to experiment with other styles, resulting in the increasing inclusion of straight eight-note grooves in the common repertoire. The emergence of hard bop during the mid-1950s consolidated these the presence of Afro-Cuban styles, gospel and rock music. These options would expand significantly in the future, including fusion in the 1970s and 1980s; funk and soul in the 1990s; hip hop in the 2000s. Especially since the 2000s, musicians from many countries have taken central position in contemporary jazz scenes and festivals, developing music that combines bebop's approach to the grove with popular musics from different regions. This particular genealogy of jazz, commonly referred to as post-bop, is

sustained by this shared improvisational approach. Using this aspect of improvisation as my framework for musical analysis allows an understanding of the processes of music transformation beyond the boundaries of genre, historical periods, and geographical locations.

Bebop musicians created a powerful system of improvisation that allowed for African American musicians to explore composition in a time-space that defined improvisation. Improvised solos had been a part of jazz repertoire since its inception. From Louis Armstrong, who creatively explored all the possibilities of interpreting melodies, to Coleman Hawkins, who already employed a very sophisticated harmonic pallet, solo improvisation in the first four decades of the century were somewhat confined by formal structures. Duke Ellington expanded drastically on the possibilities for treating jazz composition by playing with form, masterfully using improvised solos as a compositional element in through-composed pieces. However, despite the constant and central presence of solos in jazz, before bebop, soloists had limited space and possibilities to affect the overall arc of the pieces.

In bebop, form is mostly reduced to a simple structure derived from popular songs. Focusing on the twelve-bar blues and other standard thirty-two bar forms, soloists were now charged with not only creating new melodies, but also shaping entire tunes. The songs chosen for their performances were all familiar, and once a musician is truly comfortable with form, improvisation takes on a new dimension. Jazz musicians can visualize form while improvising, being able to anticipate musical events that will happen at the end of four, eight, or even a full chorus ahead. Interaction between musicians now expands beyond the groove.

The experience from dance halls gave bebop musicians the necessary skills for these adventurous performances. Groove can only happen once musicians in a group develop a deep internalized feeling of time and are able to create intricate rhythms in combination with each other.

After years developing this strong rhythmically foundation, these musicians could begin to remove the stricter foundations of jazz groove. The quarter note is only played repeatedly by the bass player. The continuous bass-drum patterns are replaced by the famous "bombs," and the strumming guitar is replaced by pianists who are set free to create diverse rhythmic accompaniment. Even the ride-cymbal patterns, which have notes on all downbeats, have a striking combination of lightness and drive that contribute to keep the intensity of the group while maintaining a lightness that allows for the rhythms to float against each other.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, some jazz musicians toured Brazil, but their physical presence was not as significant as the constant presence of phonograms. Through these records, U.S. Black musicians were given just enough space to produce a significant mark on Brazil's music culture. The creative power of their music shifted the aesthetic boundaries of Brazilian popular music in such way that an entire community and musical scene, developed at the heart of Rio de Janeiro's most privileged and elitist neighborhoods, was taken over by Black Brazilian musicians who seized the opportunity to reinvent samba as a space for the performance of Black music, in all its forms and shapes. Johnny Alf, a Black Brazilian pianist, was the pioneer in developing a style of samba based on cool jazz which would influence the majority of white bossa nova musicians. Many others Black musicians took similar prominent roles in the development of the modern scene of Rio de Janeiro's Zona Sul, including wind players Cipó and Paulo Moura, brass players Raul de Souza and Edson Maciel, guitarist Bola Sete, Baden Powel, and Rosinha de Valença, pianist Dom Salvador, drummer Dom "Um" Romão, composer Moacir Santos, and singers Elza Soares, Leny Andrade, Jorge Ben, Jair Rodrigues, and Wilson Simonal. Afro-Brazilians' engagement with jazz reveals a distinct but common Afro-modernist sensibility crafted both locally and transnationally through shared musical practices. Even in the absence of common

and explicit political discourses, the circulation of music, especially through the phonogram, connected diasporic communities and their efforts aimed at enacting Black personhood.

Reinventing the Drumming Tradition in Samba

Edison Machado remained relatively unknown to the public after his recordings with the Turma da Gafieira, but his style had an immediate impact among other drummers. As ensembles were stripping the orchestral arrangements in favor of more condensed approach based on the piano or guitar trio, Machado's style became one of the main references in Brazil in addition to U.S. jazz drummers. The influence of his style was already present on João Gilberto's 1959 album Chega de Saudade. Drummer Milton Banana limits his *condução* entirely to the cymbals, also using the brushes in similar ways as Machado did on some of the samba-canção tracks recorded with the Turma da Gafieira. But in addition to the technical innovations, Machado's most important contribution was the shifting role of the drummer on the small ensemble. He developed a personal voice on the instrument that craftily combined his vast repertoire of samba, his impeccable technique, and a creative approach to the rhythm section that emulated the most innovative groups of jazz from the 1960s.

In 1964, Machado recorded and released the LP *Edison Machado É Samba Novo* (Edison Machado is New Samba), featuring his own voice-less ensemble. "Nanã" is the opening track and also Machado's opening statement to his new style of drumming. The song opens with a loud crash on the cymbals answered by the piano and two trombones playing a low ostinato that implies a triple meter. Machado continues to accentuate the top of the implied two-bar phrase until the melody comes in on the tenor sax and trumpet, only to reveal the quadruple meter of the song. Machado, followed by the trombones, continues to play this hemiola throughout the A section,

driving the energy of the group with his confident playing that pushes the rhythm forward despite it being pulled to different directions by the different implied meters. A sustained note on the trumpet and drums leads into the B section, setting the new feel with his commanding groove. The group goes back to the original groove when returning to the A section, which then transitions to a soft 6/8 groove on the third and final section of the melody. The song's simple form and melody are brought to life with this arrangement for the band, but mostly, due to the unexpected and impressive combination of power, precision, and spontaneity that Machado brings in his playing.

After the first exposition of the melody, Raul de Souza begins a fiery solo showing dexterity not expected from a trombonist. The solo is short and soon joined by J. T. Meirelles on the tenor sax, with a flurry of double-time melodies that builds up from Souza's powerful initial statement. The melody returns quickly during the C section before an unexpected drum solo takes over. The entire group stops playing and Machado breaks the groove, playing a simple, and yet powerful melody on the toms. He keeps the energy up with the constant interjections on the cymbals, his growling picked up on the recording adding intensity to the solo. Unlike the typical percussion solo in samba, he does not keep a steady groove and although he keeps the time steady throughout the solo, his exploratory approach creates an expectation that the music is about to fall apart. This feeling increases throughout his solo, but the piano and trombones come in immediately as Machado stops playing, all in time and pushing the music forward once again with the same initial ostinato.

The melody is played again, following the same arrangement of its first statement. This time however, in addition to playing the hemiola against the melody, Machado introducing one of the trademarks of his style as he weaves in rhythmic patterns usually played by the tamborins, articulating those phrases on the cymbals while emphasizing the accents on the rim. The song ends

with a fade out, and at two minutes and thirty-seven seconds, the listener hardly has time to process all of the new elements to playing samba that are introduced in this short track.

The second song of the album starts again with a crash on the cymbals, this time accompanied only by the bass and the alto saxophone playing the melody. Unlike the "Nanã," a composition built on longer sections of static harmony, "Só por amor" uses many of the new chord progressions that Brazilian musicians learned from jazz and that became so popular to the public with bossa nova. Unlike a typical bossa nova tune, however, this track starts with no chordal instruments and only the bass playing chord roots and the harmonic complexity of the tune is only implied at the beginning. Instead of highlighting the modern harmonic sound, the focus is once again on the drum set. The tempo is slow, at about sixty-five beats per minute, but Machado's clear execution of every sixteenth-note on the cymbal, with distinct articulations derived from the accents typically played at the tamborim or pandeiro, create an unexpected rhythmic vibrancy to a tune so slow. He adds loud interjections on the toms and snare drums to match the accents of the cymbals, and this becomes more than enough to create a compelling sound, even though he is only accompanied by the bass, keeping a steady quarter note.

After eight bars, the piano joins the band, first with long chords on the downbeats, but soon moves along to match some of the accents played in the drums. The accompaniment is clean and incorporates the harmonic colors that became popular with bebop. Abandoning the roots to the bass, he can then focus on defining the chords tones, and alternates between closed and open positions, eventually switching to the higher register of the piano during the B section of the tune. A written horn accompaniment adds a different texture to the song, and the sophisticated writing weaves in counter melodies with more static chordal accompaniment. A pedal on the bridge gives the song a floating quality, and Machado gives shape to this section by orchestrating the trombone

accompaniment figures on the cymbals, before going back to the groove. He also masterfully dictates the dynamic shifts throughout the tune in perfect synchrony with the horns.

The album offers a glimpse into Machado's vision for his music. Although every track includes improvised solos, those are often cut short and all tracks stay under three minutes of duration, unlike their live performances as noted by the critic Robert Celeries.[196] The compositions and arrangements emulate hard bop's concern with groove and harmonic sophistication. The ensemble creates a cohesive sound that emerges from the combination of clearly defined roles in the rhythm section with strong soloists. The tracks also feature the ensemble's versatility to navigate original compositions and songs that were part of samba's traditional repertoire, and the group explores the many possibilities to interpret modern samba. While there is unity between the songs in the album, each of them has a unique character that gives the album a fresh quality. But despite the ensemble's overall strength, Machado's playing is what makes this innovative album possible.

Despite the short solos, his innovative approach to accompaniment reflects a complex process of synthesis of jazz into his own individual style. Rather than copying phrases or stylistic devices, Machado dives deep into the improvisation process of drummers like Max Roach, Art Blakey, and Elvin Jones. Like them, Machado deconstructs samba's groove, and builds something new that is reflective of his individual style, the conceptual framework developed in bebop and hard bop, and the rhythmic repertoire from samba. This ability to find the connections between Black music of the U.S. and Brazil, crafted through local musical practices, connected music communities across the Atlantic through music circulation. By centering the modern sound around

---

[196] *Correio da Manhã*, December 6, 1964.

his drum set playing, which clearly evolved from samba's percussion tradition and jazz Black drummers, Machado is making a powerful statement. João Gilberto, Tom Jobim, and other musicians involved in the creation of bossa nova, never denied the importance of samba, its rhythm, and its Black heritage in their music. However, it is clear that these aspects of samba's history are sidelined on their artistic project, and their music is conceived as if there was a need to modernize, or educate, those elements of samba in order to push the music forward. The music of Edison Machado's group frontally challenges these modernist tropes, placing Blackness at the center of samba's modern aesthetics, and creating a new historical narrative of samba, one in which the sounds that defined the musical experiences of Rio de Janeiro's Black communities are the foundation for its continuous transformations.

Leny Andrade and the Making of Samba's Modern Black Singer

Leny Andrade started her career on the radio at the age of nine and emerged as one of the most talented singers and soloists of her generation. She recorded her first single only four years later in 1957, and in 1961 made her first debut at the Manhattan club. Her first LP was released on the same year she started singing at Copacabana's clubs, but still did not reflect the style that she would develop there. In *A Sensação*, Andrade is accompanied by an orchestra in all twelve tracks and the arrangements are at a crossroads between Elza Soares' modern samba and Silvya Telles' approach to bossa nova and samba canção. Andrade's performance is irreproachable, but it is clear that some of the choices of songs and style of arrangements, likely made by producers, did not fit her style.

Despite her early success, Leny Andrade maintained a relatively quiet profile, and instead of developing her career on the radio and TV, she focused her work at the boites of Copacabana where she had more freedom to experiment with her music. Andrade's two following albums,

released in 1964 and 1965, were recorded live at the clubs that she performed regularly to sell-out crowds. The freedom afforded to her in these settings allowed her style to flourish and she seamlessly integrates with the rhythm sections that replace the large orchestras. She is accompanied by a rhythm section of piano, bass, and drums in both albums and performances reflect the improvised approach that was common in the boites, although time constraints still limited solos to a much shorter space than what would be normally expected in otherwise live performances.

"A Arte Maior de Leny Andrade," recorded at the Manhattan Club, features Tenorio Jr. on piano, Zezinho on bass, and Milton Banana on the drums. The songs are all presented in similar fashion, with simple head arrangements, in which few ideas are predetermined (usually introductions and endings), but most of the performance is improvised. Still, they are able to create compelling interpretations of the songs. Leny Andrade is attuned with the rest of the band, following the pianist in rubato intros, clearly dictating the tempo changes, and with extreme range and volume control, she directs the musicians in the ensemble who are sensible to create matching colors and textures in their own playing.

The group's interpretation of "Consolação," written by Baden Powell and Vinicius de Moraes, is one of the most compelling performances of the set. The bass player starts the tune with a repeated ostinato based on the minor pentatonic scale, accompanied only by the drummer playing on the cymbal bell and the snare rim. Andrade comes in with the melody shortly after, the soft and airy timbre of her voice matching the quietness of the drums and bass. The bass ostinato implies a single chord through the entire section, and while the dynamic range of the ensemble stays the same, there is a lot happening to keep the listeners' attention. Despite the steady tempo on the rhythm section, Leny plays with the melody and moves the beginning and ending points of the

phrases creating a tension that is never fully resolved until she finishes the first section of the melody.

When approaching the end of the section, Milton Banana starts to increase the energy of his playing, and Leny responds to it by going from a very low note on her register, to a pointed high note that matches up the rising intensity of the drums. Banana does a roll on the snare preparing for the big hit that will launch the group forward, and Andrade hits the melody note with him extreme precision. As they both hit the last sixteenth-note of the measure, the piano joins them as the group moves to a more traditional samba groove. In contrast to the first section, now the chords move more often, albeit in a simple chord progression. The bass and piano are now complementing the groove, and on the drums, Banana has enough freedom to improvise phrases that continue to drive the energy up. As they approach the end of this section, the ensemble drops off after a break and Andrade is left alone, singing the melody with clarity to dictate the tempo, and after she is joined by the rhythm section again, the ensemble brings the energy down once again as they go back to the top of the form.

The ensemble plays through the form of the song one more time, and even though there is no new element introduced to the arrangement, the ensemble organically creates movement and contrast, as musicians are very sensitive to each other and create a compelling ensemble sound. The arc of song remains the same, a quieter A section, followed by a more intense B section, and when Leny repeats the final phrase of the melody, the group improvises a coda before ending the tune. Despite brining the energy down at this point, the performance maintains an edge, and as each instrument gets quieter, Andrade begins to improvise variations of the melody, exploring with different colors, textures, and range of her voice. The crowd is captivated by the performance, and

you can hear a few people clapping and finally the whole room storms in before the tune was even over.

Leny Andrade's performance on this album is riveting and displays not only her impeccable vocal technique, but also her sensibility to interact with her ensemble and the many musical skills she acquired as an improvising musician that allowed her to create compelling renditions of popular songs on the fly, building from and with the rhythm section's playing. Despite the nationalist attacks on the influence of jazz on Brazilian popular music, Leny develops her unique artistic voice precisely at the encounter between jazz and samba that were made possible in these spaces. The influence of Elza Soares on her music is evident, and her identification with that style suggests that both of them understood their Blackness in the light of this modern approach to singing and playing samba. And at a time when the many restrictions of the music industry curbed the improvisatory character of samba, both Elza Soares and Leny Andrade found in jazz the avenue to reconnect their commercial careers with improvisation, which still occupied a central role in live performances of the genre.

Raul de Souza, Black Brazilian Virtuoso

Jazz music featured soloistic improvisation since the beginning of the twentieth century. Louis Armstrong earned his reputation as a talented singer, entertainer, and soloist who modeled his style after his mentor, trumpeter King Oliver. Big bands also prominently featured soloists as a central focus of the arrangements, and Benny Goodman captivated audiences not only for leading his band, but also for his clarinet playing. Coleman Hawkins' career started in swing bands, and influenced by Armstrong, his personal style would become the embodiment of the virtuoso soloists that was emulated by so many young musicians in the 1930s and 1940s, becoming central to the

development of bebop. Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Bud Powell, leaders of a new generation of jazz musicians who honed their crafts in the small clubs of New York City, forged their musical identities as soloists positioned between art and vernacular music. They were distinguished by their impressive combination of skill, speed, power, rhythmic intensity, complex harmonic vocabulary, and deep knowledge of the Black musical traditions.

Popular music in Brazil had developed as a predominantly instrumental practice, but with the development of the music industry and especially due to radio programing, there was a shift in focus to vocal repertoire. Singers like Francisco Alves, Mário Reis, Noel Rosa, Carmen Miranda, Lúcio Alves, Dick Farney, Nelson Gonçalves, João Donato, Elza Soares, and Elis Regina became superstars in Brazil. There was still plenty of work for non-singers, who staffed the orchestras and regional ensembles of recording companies and radio stations. If at the beginning of the century, instrumentalists were at the center of the creation samba, they were now fulfilling anonymous positions at ensembles, often not credited for their work. Pixinguinha was the main soloists of the first three decades of the century, and while he was able to maintain his reputation as one of the finest Brazilian musicians until his death, his popularity would never match that of the famous singers of the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

Radamés Gnattali and Tom Jobim draw heavily from North American arrangers, and the Bossa Nova movement incorporated the cool approach to samba. In these cases, white jazz musicians set the standards that was then emulated by Brazilians, and their take on jazz relied primarily on practices of European concert music: written arrangements, restricted improvisation, controlled dynamics, and emphasis on orchestration, color and harmony. If radio orchestrators looked at Paul Whiteman, Benny Goodman, and Stan Kenton, and bossa nova musicians imitated the style of Chet Baker, Stan Getz, and Gerry Mulligan, the emergence of modern samba at Rio

de Janeiro's night clubs and the focus on the soloists signaled a shift that focused now on African American jazz musicians and a style that was deeply connected to Black vernacular music and came to represent Blackness in jazz during the 1950s and 1960s, hard bop. More structured arrangements were replaced by simpler head-solo-head forms.

The growing popularity of bebop in Brazil rekindled the fascination with the virtuoso soloist. At the night clubs of Rio de Janeiro, one could easily find ensembles playing the type of music that required musicians skillful in the art of improvisation. A number of Brazilian musicians crafted their skills as soloists at the many jam session hosted in Rio de Janeiro's night clubs, and bebop-based solos began to take a larger role in live performances of samba in clubs around Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. As the recordings of the group Turma da Gafieira show, Brazilian musicians started to follow the type of formal structure that defined bebop: a simple melody played one time before musicians took turns improvising over the chord changes of that song, only returning to the melody after extended solo sections. Recordings of instrumental ensembles of the period did not fully capture these performances, as most if not all restricted songs to a range of three to five minutes. Nevertheless, we hear the influence of bebop solo techniques as Brazilians shaped their artistic voices after styles that became famous in the United States. And no one had mastered this style as well as Raulzinho.

Raul de Souza, or Raulzinho as he was often called, started his career on gafieira bands and was a central figure on the group Turma da Gafieira. As most horn players, Raulzinho never matched the popularity or success of singers or even composers and songwriters like Tom Jobim or Sérgio Mendes. Nevertheless, he developed a strong reputation among musicians from the samba-jazz communities. His first major recording was with the group led by pianist Sérgio Mendes, who in 1964 released the album "Sérgio Mendes & Bossa Rio." The group had

participated in the Bossa Nova Carnegie Hall show, and after Mendes' short tour in the United States, he reassembled the group in 1963, regularly appearing at night clubs of Copacabana during the following year.

The repertoire for the album was based on music that was being played at the clubs and included compositions by Tom Jobim, Sérgio Mendes, and Moacir Santos. Every tune contained the harmonic vocabulary that already characterized jazz repertoire in the 1940s and 1950s and became consolidated in Brazil with bossa nova's success. Even though the reference to bossa nova was clear in the choice of tunes, the group offered a unique interpretation that, like Elza Soares' first recordings, also troubled the borders between traditional and modern samba. In addition to the always powerful Edison Machado on the drum set, a unique combination of horn instruments, featuring two trombones and one tenor saxophone, gave the ensemble a presence that was missing on most bossa nova groups.

Raul de Souza and his fellow trombonist Edson Maciel represented a tradition of Black brass musicians that started in the beginning of the century in military bands and continued to that date. Both trombone players fit perfectly with the rest of the group, and although they were able to explore the soft and velvety sound of the trombone, they added a unique combination of power, crisp articulation, and rhythmic precision that drove the ensemble's energy to unprecedented levels for a Brazilian group playing modern samba.

Raul de Souza was introduced to a larger audience through this album, but the size of the ensemble as well as the nature of the arrangements limited the space for his solos. In 1965, Raulzinho released "A Vontade Mesmo," his first album as a leader, offering a glimpse into his soloist abilities. He is accompanied by the Sambalanço Trio, an ensemble led by pianist César Camargo Mariano from São Paulo, with Humberto Clayber on the bass and Airto Moreira on the

drums. Unlike the arrangements for Mendes' album, every track on "A Vontade Mesmo" has simpler head-arrangements with simple pre-determined introductions and endings. The tracks are still short, not much longer than three minutes each, which means no solo is longer than a single chorus. Even with limited space, we can hear Raulzinho's virtuoso style.

The repertoire includes tunes that became standards among the samba-jazz community which featured similar harmonic progressions that had become predominant in jazz with the development of bebop. In "Estamos Aí," Raulzinho displays his ability to navigate through the fast moving and complex harmonic changes of the tune. The song starts in C major, but immediately moves up a half step to Db Major, and does not return to the home key until the end of this section, before modulating to the median and the dominant, those transitions happening quickly with a fast harmonic rhythm of two chords per measure. Immediately after returning to C major at the top of the B section, the tune modulates again to the subdominant, but instead of resolving there, there is a sequence of secondary dominants proceeded by their subdominants, leading us back to the home key.

Raulzinho demonstrates total command of the harmonic progression, and despite the fast tempo (approximately 120 beats per minute), he is able to improvise intricate melodies based on the sixteenth-notes that emphasize the different harmonic colors present in the song's chord changes. He gives shape to the phrases through clear articulation, and despite the obvious influence of soloists who based their styles on swing, Souza is able to combine rhythmic elements of samba into his playing. His strong internal time allows the drummer the freedom to create his own variations of the groove that builds intensity while maintaining the freedom and lightness of the ensemble sound.

Conclusion

Ideas about samba's tradition and authenticity had long shaped the public discourse about the genre. However, the increasing influence of jazz in Rio de Janeiro during the 1950s and the consolidation of a new generation of Black musicians whose careers were linked to jazz clubs in the South side of the city shifted the debate. Critics interested in policing the boundaries of samba were not only worried with the potential threat that hybridism represented for the maintenance of a Brazilian tradition. They were also hoping to maintain different forms of Black music confined in separate geographic and temporal spaces. RPM articulated a vision of jazz that maintained it trapped to its past traditions, unable to change, and permanently linked to the enslaved condition of its practitioners. In addition, they hoped that the impossibility of productive musical exchanges between Black people in Brazil and the United States would reinforce a perception of distance between both diasporic communities. According to these white critics, Black Brazilians should be discouraged to engage with jazz because they did not share the same experiences with racism. The alleged lack of racial violence in Brazil suggested that Afro-Brazilians' loyalties should be with their nation, never with the African diaspora.

Despite the alarmist tones that dominated debates about the influence of jazz in Brazil, Black American music continued to draw the interests of Black Brazilians. Hard bop musicians, expanding from the bebop tradition, developed a unique approach to improvisation in which groove and swing were understood both a as connection to the historical social character of jazz and as a space for individual artistic expression and experimentation. The encounters between jazz and samba in Rio de Janeiro allowed for the creation of new Afro-modernist expressions of samba. Building from shared musical skills and focusing on conceptual approaches to improvisation instead of mimicking stylistic elements, Black Brazilian musicians could fully realize artistic

projects reflecting their own musical experiences in Brazil while also connecting to broader hemispherical practices of Black music.

CHAPTER 4: MODERN SAMBA IN THE AGE OF BOSSA NOVA

Introduction

In August 1958, Odeon released a 78rpm featuring one of its recently signed artists, singer João Gilberto. For his first session, Gilberto recorded two songs, his own composition Bim Bom and Antonio Carlos Jobim's song "Chega de Saudade."[197] Jobim was, at the time, a well-established arranger at Odeon and his career as a songwriting was starting to take off. Gilberto, however, was unknown to most of the Brazilian public. Shortly after beginning his career in 1949 at the Rádio Sociedade Bahiana in Salvador, Bahia, the young singer moved to Rio de Janeiro. Although promising, his career did not progress as expected. After working as a crooner with the vocal group "Garotos da Lua" for Rádio Tupi, he recorded his first album as a solo artist in 1952 for the label Copacabana and was signed by Rádio Todamérica in 1953.[198] A series of negative experiences inside the industry frustrated his first attempt to make it into Rio de Janeiro's scene.

He returned to the city in 1957 and following a performance with singer Vanja Orico, received a positive review that seemed to indicate things might end up differently this time around. Lauded as a sensible new talent, he was distinguished for his "desire to be different… João Gilberto returns to Rio's popular art, skillfully playing his guitar, and producing his very unique, subtle, secure and simple way of singing with notable harmony and musicality. Full of bossa, trying to make different art, without any imitations, João Gilberto has conquered again Brazilian popular music."[199] The author concluded the review noting that Gilberto's refusal to shout or copy the style

---

[197] João Gilberto, *Chega de Saudade*, 1958, Odeon, 14.360, 78 rpm.

[198] "Notas soltas," *Revista do Rádio*, September 15, 1953, 36. "Muito simples e emocionante o casamento de João Gilberto," *Revista do Rádio*, August 15, 1959, 17.

[199] "Vanja e João," Jornal do Brasil, December 7, 1957, 8.

of popular singers was the reason he had so few chances to perform at the radio, television, or to record his music. The 1958 recording session was his best opportunity in years to change this.

In the upcoming months, Gilberto received positive reviews at *Correio da Manhã*, *Radiolândia, Aquis,* and *O Semanário* and by the end of the year, the 78rpm was among the top selling albums in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The success of Gilberto's version of "Chega de saudade" prompted new recording opportunities for the singer that culminated in the LP with the same name, released in March of the following year. The album sold thirty-five thousand copies in a short time, and before the year was over, Gilberto had quickly become one of the most famous young singers in the country.[200]

Later that year, a young Black singer caught the attention of Rio de Janeiro's press after releasing her first 78rpm album in December of 1959, also with Odeon. Elza Soares began her career in 1957, singing at gafieiras before being hired as a *corista* (non-lead singer and dancer) in musical theater productions. A widowed single-mother of four, Soares took the offer to tour Argentina and Uruguay because it was her chance to "exchange the bikinis for the microphone," a reference to the costumes she had to wear at the theater productions.[201] Although fulfilled as a *sambista* during her time abroad, she returned to Brazil after a year because of her children. After trying-out for radio and tv shows, she landed a gig at Texas Bar, one of the modern night clubs of Copacabana. The neighborhood had become the hotbed of music innovation in Rio de Janeiro and was the place to go for musicians and listeners looking for modern Brazilian music. The first review she received praised her unique singing style and ability to imitate a trumpet in her solos,

---

[200] Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music That Seduced the World*, 139.

[201] "Campeã da bossa-nova é viúva e mãe de 7 filhos," Revista do Rádio, vol. 554, 1960, 23.

but only after qualifying her as "a *darky* woman who shakes" ("*uma escurinha rebolativa*").[202] The pejorative comment, which did not receive any public pushback, is an example of the subtle tactics used to hide the violence of this kind of public speech. The ambiguous use of the diminutive "escurinha" would allow the writer, in case confronted, to claim that she meant to use this as an endearment term. And the emphasis on Soares' dancing body in a club where singers would be expected to focus on their singing alone suggests she would have to struggle to be taken seriously as an artist, irrespective of her professionalism.

Gilberto and Soares did not share much in common other than the fact that they were both up-and-coming stars signed by Odeon, one of the country's top record labels. Soares had started working at factories from a very young age. Her father arranged her marriage when she was twelve to a violent man, and before she left Rio de Janeiro on tour at the age of 22, she already had given birth to seven children, three of whom had died of hunger.[203] She was promised a lead singing position at the musical theater gig, prompting her to leave her previous gig as a crooner with the ensemble "Garam," but was instead placed in a background role. She remained in the show because of the money but continued to look for more opportunities to develop her career. When finally hired as a singer with the Mercedes Batista ensemble, the manager stole the musician's wages during their tour in Argentina. She was able to find work as a singer there but was unable to save any money, and returned to Brazil one year later in order to take care of her four kids after her father had passed away, trying to secure any gigs she could in order to provide for her children.[204]

---

[202] Mister Eco, "Madrugada," Diario Carioca, October 21, 1959, 6.

[203] Carlos Leonam, "Elza Soares na primeira do singular," *Manchete*, May 18, 1963, 57.

[204] "Elza Soares," *Radiolândia*, February 6, 1960, 32.

Gilberto, in contrast, came from an affluent family in the interior of Bahia and moved to Rio de Janeiro on a stipend from his father. Although extremely talented, he had frequent issues with other musicians, producers, and club owners due to his lack of professionalism. He missed recording sessions and radio performances, was late to rehearsals, and frequently ignored any criticism of his style. His recreational use of marijuana developed into an addiction problem, prompting his father to stop sending him money. He was constantly in debt, failing to make rent payments, but still refused gigs because they did not conform to his artistic demands, prompting him to rely on the support of a network of friends hoping he would eventually turn things around.[205] None of this should disavow him, but it is clear that he had opportunities that were not afforded to Black musicians at the time. His behavior fits perfectly with the *malandro* stereotype, a term used more often to describe (black) *sambistas* as a drunk, lazy, and always potentially dangerous. Black musicians were often targeted by the police due to anti-vagrancy laws imposed in Rio de Janeiro in the aftermath of abolition.[206] During his years in Rio de Janeiro, however, Gilberto never faced any legal consequences nor public attacks due to his behavior. It is hard to imagine a similar outcome had Gilberto not been a white man.

Despite differences in their histories and styles, the two singers were signed with Odeon by its new artistic director Aloysio de Oliveira, who was invested in exploring new music targeting a youth audience. His bets on João Gilberto and Elza Soares would pay off, and as they became symbols of modern samba, their careers would soon get entangled. On December 13, 1959, Rádio Globo broadcasted a show featuring a new group called "Turma da Bossa Nova" (The Bossa Nova

---

[205] Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music That Seduced the World*, 31–106.

[206] Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*, 31–65.

Gang), which was said to represent modern samba.[207] João Gilberto and Elza Soares were part of the lineup that included two ensembles—Luiz Eça's quartet (also the artistic director) and Roberto Menescal's group—and singers Silvinha Teles, Tecla, Alaíde Costa, Climeni, Nara Leão, Maria Norma, Carlos Lira, Normando, and Chico Feitosa. Later in the same month, the group participated in a special concert celebrating Rádio Globo's fifteenth anniversary, an event titled "Noite do Samba Moderno" (Night of the Modern Samba), following American singer Billy Eckestein.[208] All but Elza Soares and Alaíde Costa were white.

The concert at Rádio Globo helped solidify the reputation of this group of young musicians as leading representatives of an emerging musical movement, the "samba 'Bossa Nova.'"[209] Gilberto was lauded as the creator of the new style. Described by Tom Jobim as a "bahiano bossa nova" in the backcover of the LP *Chega de Saudade*, a title repeated in the press, he would soon be frequently referred to as the *cantor bossa nova* (singer bossa nova), and invited to present "**his** bossa nova" (my emphasis) at the Country, Rio de Janeiro's "most private club."[210] And he was made the face of this new style by weekly magazine Manchete, in an article entitled "Bossa Nova," published in December of 1959.[211] João Gilberto appears on the cover, by the beach, with his guitar, surprisingly out of focus behind a white blonde girl who takes most of the space in the picture. Calling him "the king of bossa nova," the article shows him at the beach again with his

---

[207] "Turma da Bossa Nova," *Radiolandia*, December 26, 1959, 16.

[208] "Rádio Globo completou 15 anos cercada da simpatia popular," *Radiolandia*, January 2, 1960, 15-17.

[209] "Rádio Globo completou 15 anos cercada da simpatia popular," *Radiolandia*, January 2, 1960, 15-17.

[210] "Bahiano Bossa Nova," *Diário Carioca*, March 08, 1959, 24. Kléber Lopes, "Society & Adjacências," *A Luta Democrática*, November 11, 1959, 6. Jean Pouchard, "Espetacular sucesso de João Gilberto, Piscina da Country abarrotada de "society."

[211] Aluísio Flores, "Bossa Nova," *Manchete*, December 5, 1959, 98-100.

guitar, this time around surrounded by a group of young women. The caption on one of the pictures reads “Samba goes down the *morro* to the beaches,” revealing a perception of hermetic separation between Black and white communities, musicians, and aesthetics. At the morros, Rio de Janeiro’s hillside slum communities, samba was black, mystic, traditional. João Gilberto was portrayed as a symbol for “bossa nova’s authors, young kids from the South Zone, concerned with removing from samba its smell of drama and desperation.” With Gilberto and his guitar at the beach, which represented the city’s new middle-class neighborhoods, samba could be modern, light, hip, and a magnet to women.

Elza Soares was also recognized as a leading voice of this modern way of performing samba. Backed up by a strong performance by the orchestra, Soares’ combination of power, swing, pitch control, and charisma in her interpretation of “Se Acaso Você Chegasse” produced an unexpected effect on its listeners. The clear influence of jazz in the orchestral arrangement and harmonic sophistication, and the allusions to Louis Armstrong in her voice technique characterized this track as one of the most modern and innovative interpretations of samba of its time. However, it differed a lot from the pattern that Gilberto began to establish, a model other aspiring bossa nova musicians were already reproducing. His voice was soft and sounded like he was whispering at his listeners. The instrumental playing in general followed the same intention, and there was a concern with blending the voice with the rest of the ensemble. The groove on his recordings was always very constricted and his guitar playing, which eventually became the defining element of the style, was built on predictable rhythmic phrasing. The ensemble backing up Soares explored the percussive and bright sound of the brass-heavy orchestration and the drum set, present in “Chega de Saudade” and a defining element of both ensembles that performed at the “Noite do Samba Moderno,” was replaced by the more traditional pandeiro. Bossa nova musicians seemed to be

making intentional aesthetic choices that signaled a clear rupture with elements associated with traditional samba, but Soares' music blurred some of the perceived lines between tradition and modernity and the press had trouble defining her style. One critic noted that her performance of the classic Lupicinio Rodrigues 's 1938 samba composition "Se acaso você chegasse" was done with an "absolute 'bossa nova' dressing."[212] She was defined as the "'bossa nova' of 'be-bop' samba," and praised for her versatility and ability to represent all of samba's facets, her music appropriate for dancing and listening.[213]

Yet it was race that ultimately defined her. She had a quick rise to stardom in Brazil and was soon invited to perform at some of the music shows produced by TV Record that were becoming increasingly popular, her successful performances consolidating her position as one of the most important singers of the early 1960s. After one of those shows in the beginning of 1960, she received the nickname "Bossa Negra."[214] The reason, according to one critic, was her special way of singing, "a kind of green-and-yellow 'be-bop'" while also representing authentic samba.[215] When comparing her to Maysa, a white singer, another critic wrote of their South American tour: "There are two kinds of bossa gathered abroad: the 'nova', with Maysa and the 'negra', with Elza Soares."[216] Soares' style was modern enough to be placed next to other bossa nova artists, but her blackness became a qualifying element that separated her from the "normal" bossa nova. Soares' constant TV appearances added exposure to her body. The new media partially explains the press'

---

[212] Alberto Rego, "Discos," *Diário Carioca*, December 1, 1959, 6.

[213] "Os Melhores da Semana (Rádio)," Radiolandia, February 20, 1960, 24. "Comentando Lançamentos," *A Noite*, December 22, 1960, 22.

[214] "Notinhas," Radiolândia, March 19, 1960, 31.

[215] "Bossa Negra do Samba Brasileiro Vai Ser Divulgada no Velho Mundo," *Última Hora*, March 2, 1961, 10.

[216] "Bossa Negra no Uruguai e a 'nova' na Argentina," *Última Hora*, June 19, 1961, 13.

racialization of her body, but sound had an important impact on this emphasis as well. Being perceived at the same time as Black and modern, Soares' blackness became a dissonant element of her performance and drew attention for seemingly being "out of place."

The contrasting reactions to Soares's and Gilberto's music exposes the ways in which stylistic variations of samba were often racialized in subtle ways, even though discourses about samba constantly emphasized its ability to represent a unified and race-less (or mestiço) Brazilian identity. The early developments in the careers of Elza Soares and João Gilberto also illustrate the tensions that would persist in the following years, when bossa nova became a polarizing force in the development of samba. Debates about the influence of jazz and competing notions of modernity and tradition continued to shape Brazilians' experiences with Black music, this time mostly mediated by the musical challenges posed by bossa nova. This chapter examines the ways musicians, critics, intellectuals, producers, and audiences initiated and responded to musical changes occurring during this period. Analyzing musical examples and criticism of bossa nova and cool jazz, it suggests that the development of these styles as distinct musical phenomena was an important tool for sustaining racial thinking in the Americas. The constant use of language that connect Bossa nova, cool jazz, and vanguard art to a genealogy of Western music reveals not an objective measure of Europeanness present in the music, but rather a shared perception of Europe as the marker of colonial modernity, one that could only be found in the music of white musicians.

Figure 4.1 João Gilberto at the beach, caption on the picture reads "Samba goes down from the morro to the beach."

Figure 4.2 Elza Soares, the "Bossa Negra," shown in the right by her shanty home in one of Rio de Janeiro's favelas, next to her children.

What is Samba Bossa Nova?

The cover of the weekly magazine *Manchete* in December of 1959 displayed not only João Gilberto and his guitar, but also a question. “O que é o samba ‘bossa nova?’” (What is samba ‘bossa nova’”) At this point, many cariocas were certainly beginning to ask the same question, and Manchete offered an opportunity to hear the answers from João Gilberto himself, at the time crowned the king of bossa nova by *Manchete*, his title soon to be changed to “pope” of the new style. However, the article provided very few answers. Gilberto offered a very abstract definition of bossa nova, which according to him had less to do with the music itself, and more with a spirit of innovation and pursuit of beauty. Journalist Aluísio Flores could not provide any more specific

answers either, but he pointed out a few crucial clues into understanding the movement, focusing not so much on the music but on its creators. He emphasized the group of students who gathered in apartments at the Zona Sul and their quest to modernize samba. During the following year, it became clear that João Gilberto would remain at the center of bossa nova. Along with Tom Jobim, the two were named the "popes" of bossa nova.

On January 31, 1960, Jornal do Brasil ran a second story on the group of students. Columnist Miriam Leite de Alencar arrived at a conclusion. "Modern music has only one name: Bossa Nova."[217] Ronaldo Boscoli, a journalist who was trying to develop a music career, defended bossa nova as music for a cultural elite, just like jazz in the US, and distinguishing it from samba de morro and samba de salão (gafieira). A vision for modern samba began to take form around Gilberto's music, particularly focusing on the way he incorporated cool aesthetics from jazz. João Gilberto represented a path for music innovation that critics and musicians started to trace back to Noel Rosa, Ari Barroso, and Almirante, the white middle-class musicians who started pioneer careers as samba artists in the 1930s and were seen as agents of modernization.[218] At the same time, Jobim became a reference as orchestrator, equated with George Gershwin and Paul Whiteman.[219]

There was a long history of white musicians and composers who mastered certain aspects of samba's rhythmic elements and leveraged this knowledge to develop successful careers in an

---

[217] Miriam Leite de Alencar, "Modern music has only one name: Bossa Nova," *Jornal do Brasil*, January 31, 1960, 8.

[218] José Ramos Tinhorão, "Liçoes de Samba - XIII," Jornal do Brasil, March 30, 1962, 15. José Ramos Tinhorão, "Liçoes de Samba - XIII," Jornal do Brasil, March 30, 1962, 14. Roberto Menescal, "Panorama da Bossa Nova: Roberto Menescal," *Jornal do Brasil*, June 23, 1965, 26.

[219] "Panorama da Bossa Nova: Aluísio de Oliveira I ," *Jornal do Brasil*, May 12, 1965, 23.

industry that revolved around Black music and culture. Bossa nova's connection to samba follows this historied practice. Although bossa nova musicians never fully rejected samba as part of their artistic projects, their music was continuously framed as something separate and unique. The musical connection with samba was primarily based on maintaining samba's melodic rhythm as a central element of new compositions. Some musicians also included many songs considered part of samba's more "traditional" repertoire. Turning to white jazz musicians as inspiration was part of a trend among Rio de Janeiro's middle-class. In the late 1940s, Rio de Janeiro's white middle-class turned to developing trends in jazz. They created fan clubs, which became an important institution to establish the standards of modernity that would shape the production of samba in years to come. In regular gatherings at family houses or at the club's headquarters, Rio de Janeiro's youth established its own jazz canon, focusing mostly on white jazz musicians including Frank Sinatra, Bing Crosby, Dick Haymes, George Shearing, and Stan Kenton. Dick Farney, born Farnésio Dutra e Silva, returned from a short but successful period in the US in 1949 and became a symbol of this musical style. The Farney/Sinatra Fan Club was one of the most important of its kind, and along with the Kenton Progressive Club, organized jam sessions. Those sessions were restricted to members of the club, predominantly white middle-class cariocas, with the exception of the few young Black musicians whose talents were needed for the performances. In such sessions, it was common for white musicians to explicitly imitate the style of American singers. A blackface presentation in the style of Al Jolston was the highlight of one of those concerts (Figure 4.3).

O show do Sinatra-Farney Fan Club

tado por Maria do Carmo, juntamente com côro dos Sinatra's Farney, com Mascarenhas ao piano e Derek na bateria. Prosseguindo, Thecla, nos deu duas grandes interpretações de "Aquelas Palavras" e "Old Devil Moon", com Johnny Alf ao piano.

Ouvimos, então, Luiz Carlos, que fez formidáveis imitações de diversos locutores. Assistimos, após, o 3.º quadro "A Rumba Selvagem", sendo a dansarina principal: Freda, que foi secundada por: Regina, Thecla, Ruth, Maria José, Mickey, João e Walter, quadro êste bem interpretado e que alcançou grande sucesso. Mais 3 números de canto, espetaculares, por Johnny Alf que se acompanhou em "Stormy whether" e "Stepin out with my baby", sendo alvo de frenéticos aplausos, o que fez com que interpretasse outro número que foi "Naughty Angeline".

E para finalizar os quadros, um número bem brasileiro, "Ritmos de nossa terra", no qual tivemos como prinipal Yvonne, e mais: Regina Thecla, Cybelle, e Maria Theresa, que interpretaram "Tico-tico no fubá". Este notável choro é interrompido por um excitante frevo, e surge no palco Fernando, que nos seus passos característicos o interpreta maravilhosamente.

Finalmente, a surpresa por todos esperada: Dick Farney, que convidado a vir ao palco, sob palmas e aclamações, atendeu a vários pedidos da platéia com grandiosas interpretações de seu variadíssimo repertório, e fazendo imitações perfeitas de vários cantores norte-americanos. Finalizando, Dick cantou "Copacabana", com o côro de todos os jovens do Sinatra-Farney, o que constituiu a apoteôse final.

Foram oferecidas 2 flamulas da A.A.B.B.: uma a Dick Farney, e outra ao Sinatra-Farney juntamente com uma belissima corbeille.

Esta foi a noite alegre que nos foi oferecida pelo grupo de jovens do Sinatra-Farney Fan Club, e que alcançou absoluto sucesso entre nós. E a única recompensa que poderíamos dar a êsses adeptos de Sinatra e Farney, seria a de pedir junto a diretoria da A.A.B.B. para que reprizassem êste magnífico "show".

Figure 4.3 "O show do Sinatra-Farney Fan Club," Fon Fon, August 27, 1949.

João Gilberto built from this model to shape his career. His repertoire contained many songs by Ary Barroso and Dorival Caymmi, two songwriters who represented samba's golden age tradition. But the singer always made sure his imprint would shape every detail of the songs he performed. One year before the release of Chega de Saudade, Barroso and Caymmi were invited by Aloysio de Oliveira to record a new album. Tom Jobim, bossa nova's premier arranger and composer, also collaborated with Caymmi on the 1964 album *Caymmi Visita Jobim* and singled out both composers as the greatest names in Brazilian popular music.[220] This alternate canon is characterized by the absence of composers associated with Black communities in Rio de Janeiro. All composers from the younger generation included in Gilberto's repertoire, however, were white, including Newton Mendonça, Tito Madi, Tom Jobim, Carlos Lyra, and Roberto Bôscoli.

The frequent addition of songs by Ary Barroso and Dorival Caymmi in bossa nova recordings suggests an intent to connect with samba's past, even though the group of young musicians often framed their music around innovation. Barroso was a white composer and radio show host, but Caymmi was the only Black composer who was frequently featured in bossa nova albums, in part because, although he was originally from Bahia—the state most linked to Afro-Brazilian culture—his music was perceived in contrast to candomblé, associated with his home state, and samba de morro, connected to Rio de Janeiro's Black sambistas. He experienced a significant increase in recordings in the late 1950s and became a reference for the new modern samba-canção repertoire with the arrangements of his songs by Tom Jobim. At the end of the decade, Caymmi later godfather his most important interpreter, young Bahian João Gilberto on his way to national stardom as the face of bossa nova.

---

[220] Pedro Bloch, "Tom em tom menor," *Manchete*, February 1, 1964, 73.

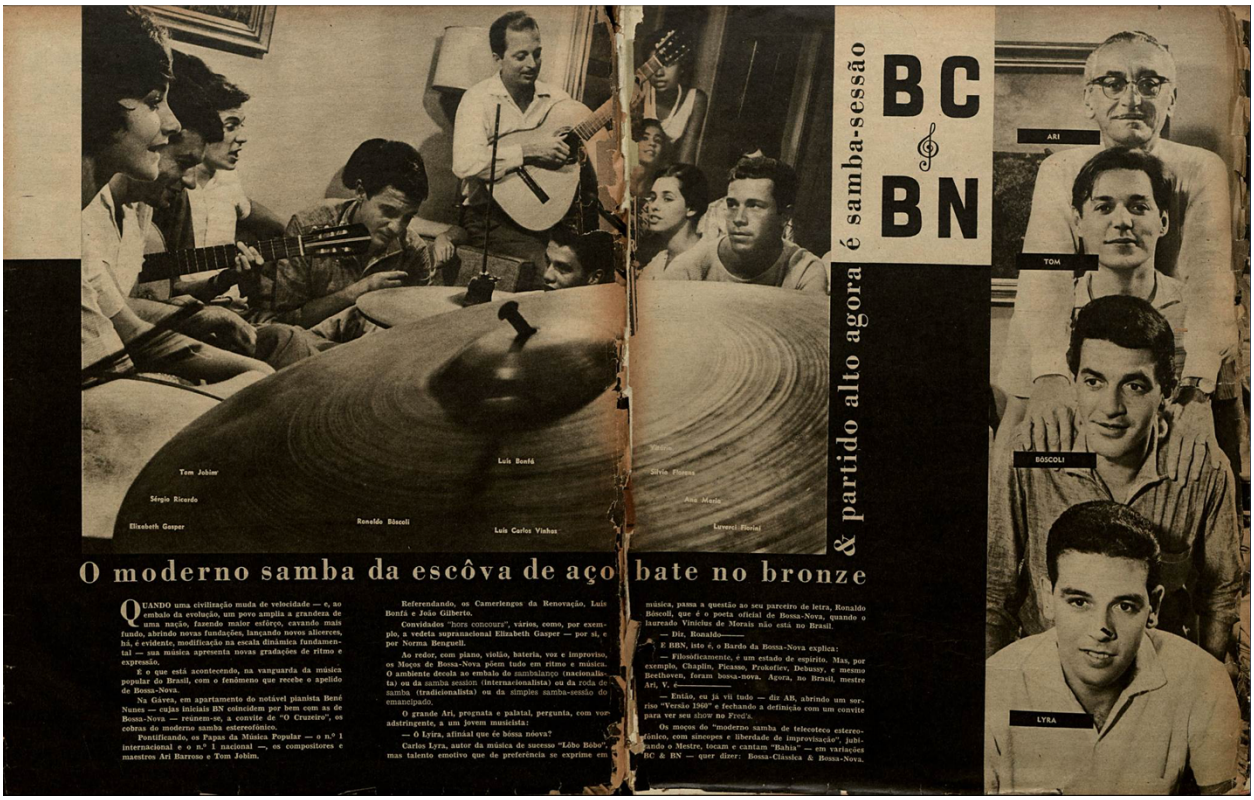


Figure 4.4 "O moderno samba de escova de aço bate no bronze & partido alto agora é samba-sessão," Manchete, February 13, 1960, 101-102.

João Gilberto & Bossa Nova

João Gilberto was not the first nor the last white singer to become famous for his performances of samba. Two decades earlier, however, white singers struggled much more trying to learn the intricacies of samba songs. Francisco Alves emerged as the most prominent singer in the late 1920s, and although he gradually mastered the rhythmic foundation of such melodies, his interpretation retained a stiff character that marked his inability to totally assimilate the style. Even singers Mário Reis and Noel Rosa, who started their careers alongside the consolidation of the Estácio's style of compositions struggled when compared to Black singers such as Sílvio Caldas. Although Gilberto grew up in Juazeiro, in the interior of the state of Bahia, the predominance of

samba on radio programming across the country during his childhood meant that the style that once could only be assimilated through close contact with samba's communities in Rio de Janeiro now was readily accessible to young musicians across the country. Gilberto's main influence during his youth was Black singer Orlando Silva.[221] It took years before João Gilberto could solidify his career, but since his move to Rio de Janeiro, he was in constant contact with professional musicians whose work revolved around commercial samba. His work with vocal ensembles in the early 1950s puts him in close contact with samba's song repertoire, through which he could continue to develop his skills as a samba singer.

Tom Jobim's arrangement of his own song "Foi a noite," recorded by Sylvia Telles in 1956, marks the beginning of Aloysio de Oliveira's trajectory with Bossa Nova. The new director of Odeon records was impressed by the song, which according to him, could not be restricted to the most common genre definitions of the time—samba, samba-canção, or bolero.[222] The song did actually fit many of the elements of a typical samba-canção of the period, from the slow tempo, to the accompaniment pattern—a steady stream unaccented sixteenth-notes on the snare drum, the constant quarter-note played by the bass, and a simple pattern (1-2-1) played by the guitar. Yet, it did not carry the typical overdramatic character of most samba-canção arrangements of the period, which at the time was perceived as an unwanted influence of bolero. While maintaining the centrality of the string on the arrangements, Jobim created a sophisticated version of the song that caught Oliveira's attention.

---

[221] Castro, *Chega de Saudade: A História e as Histórias Da Bossa Nova*, 24–25.

[222] "Panorama da Bossa Nova: Aluísio de Oliveira II," Jornal do Brasil, May 19, 1965, 25.

Gilberto was invited by Tom Jobim to record on the album he was producing with singer Elizeth Cardoso, featuring only Jobim's compositions. Jobim was trying to expand from the ideas he had explored in "Foi a noite," and found in Gilberto's guitar the ideal complement for his writing. The opening track of the LP, "Chega de saudade," contained many of the elements that became associated with bossa nova. The song opens with an introduction played by trombone and guitar, and the listener is immediately introduced to what became the most iconic element of bossa nova: João Gilberto's guitar accompaniment. Gilberto combined a clean and soft touch with a concise note-choice for his voicings, using two or three notes added to the root (most often emphasizing the third, seventh, and upper structures). Using simple rhythmic patterns that signaled to some of samba's common rhythmic phrases, his accompaniment was predictive enough that Jobim could conceive of his arrangement without worrying about the guitar part. Gilberto mastered the ability to create small variations that added interest to his part without compromising the stability of the accompaniment required for the complex arrangements, and although the guitar part was complete by itself, it also left enough space that Jobim could fill with his orchestration, adding different colors to the arrangement.

Gilberto's guitar is present in five of the thirteen tracks of the album, but in only two we hear this innovative approach—"Chega de saudade" and "Outra vez".[223] In the other three songs, "Eu não existo sem você," "Caminho de pedra," and "Luciana," he follows a more typical accompaniment pattern of samba-canção (for the first two songs) and waltz (in "Luciana"). The album, released in 1958, was not a major success but paved the way for the production of Gilberto's first recordings as a leader since 1952. The 78 rpm was released by Odeon in August of

[223] Castro, 177.

1958 and contained Jobim's "Chega de saudade" and "Bim-bom," composed by the guitar player. The success of the 78rpm justified new investments on the singer, and an extended recording session resulted in the album *Chega de Saudade* released in March of 1959, adding ten new songs to the two previously issued. He recorded two more albums with Odeon, *O Amor, o sorriso e a flor* (1960)—named after the famous Bossa Nova concert from earlier that year—and *João Gilberto* (1961). These three albums represent the style that became associated with Bossa Nova and was later emulated by other musicians.

Influenced by modern jazz repertoire, Brazilian songwriters started to integrate new elements into their compositions, expanding the harmonic colors to include modulations to distant tonalities and the more recurrent use of sevenths, ninths, and thirteenths—a feature also matched in the melodies. Johnny Alf's "Falseta" and "Rapaz de bem," and Dorival Caymmi's "Marina" represent early iterations of this new trend, but in the second half of the decade, two young composers, Tom Jobim and Carlos Lyra caught the attention of press and the industry for their new compositions. Combined, both composers wrote half of the songs that João Gilberto selected for *Chega de Saudade*, in partnership with up-and-coming lyricists Ronaldo Bôscoli and Newton Mendonça, and the veteran Vinicius de Moraes.

The LP's A side features only songs by these young composers and Gilberto's own "Ho-bá-lá-lá," but on the B side, he included four songs considered to represent a more "traditional" samba repertoire. Three of those were composed during the 1940s: "Aos pés da cruz," "Rosa

morena," and "Morena boca de ouro."[224] The fourth song, "É luxo só," was first recorded in 1957. Songwriting, in the cases of jazz and samba, is connected to performance. Performers follow more closely the melody and form of the song, but each act of performance allows musicians the freedom to explore with different timbre, orchestration, reharmonization, and other arrangement procedures that reorganizes the form and sometimes can also add new sections like introductions, interludes, and codas. In *Chega de Saudade,* the difference in composition styles does not reflect a different interpretation and Gilberto's style comes across regardless of the compositions. For that reason, I will focus most of my analysis to the performance and arrangements rather than the songs' compositional aspects.

Professional musicians in Rio de Janeiro were expected to master an informal songbook that constituted the basic repertoire of ensembles performing at events, radios, and night clubs. Although the majority of the "traditional" songs selected by João Gilberto were recorded only once in the 1940s, they all regained popularity in the mid-1950s when they appeared in the recordings made by instrumental ensembles, many of which were part of the developing jazz scene in Rio's Zona Sul. This suggests that they were frequently performed in live shows next to some of the "modern" songs by composers who would later become associated with bossa nova. It is possible that Gilberto knew the original recordings of the songs and heard other versions on the radio, and it is also very likely that he was listening to and possibly performing these songs in the context of Rio de Janeiro's modern night clubs. The recordings of the instrumental groups reveal the presence

[224] "Aos pés da cruz," composed by Marino Pinto with lyrics by Zé da Zilda and first recorded by Orlando Silva in 1942. "Rosa morena," composed by Dorival Caymmi and first recorded by Anjos da Lua in 1942. "Morena boca de ouro," composed by Ary Barroso and first recorded in 1944 by Nilo Sérgio.

of many features associated with jazz, including improvised solos over the song form, the piano-bass-drums rhythm section, and the increasing experimentation with harmonic colors that defined contemporary jazz practices. João Gilberto's style revealed in *Chega de Saudade* was in fact quite unique and innovative, but nonetheless it was developed along with shared practices of Rio de Janeiro's music community.

From the conception of the arrangements to the execution, the album is characterized by an incredible attention to detail, highlighting Gilberto's sophisticated use of harmony, timbre, and dynamics. Tom Jobim's orchestration is much sparser when compared to his previous works, including the album *Canção do Amor Demais*, featuring singer Elizeth Cardoso and considered by many in the press at the time as a precursor to bossa nova. The different versions of the song "Chega de saudade" show a shifting focus from Jobim's orchestration to Gilberto's voice and guitar. On Elizeth Cardoso's version, the introduction starts with a trombone accompanied by Gilberto's guitar, but they are soon joined by strings, wind, and brass. The large orchestral sound gives way to a more intimist texture, when Gilberto accompanies Cardoso by himself, soon joined by two male voices singing a countermelody in unison. A drum set join the ensemble on the bridge and the drum break leads the ensemble back to the top of the tune, now joined by the bass and two trombones (one playing the melody and the other, a counterpoint). The strings, now with the addition of a harp, create a dramatic transition to the bridge, when Elizeth Cardoso rejoins the ensemble and the songs concludes with a short coda that has the wind instruments playing short rhythms along with the drum set.

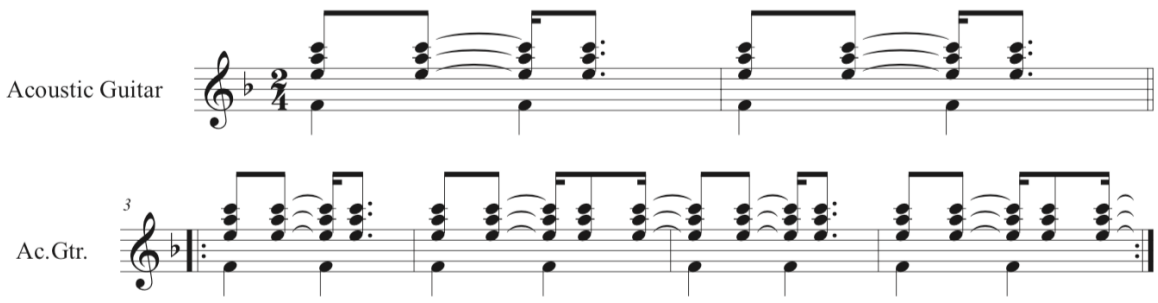
In contrast, Gilberto's version of "Chega de saudade" features a much simpler arrangement. He plays through the song form only once and is constantly accompanied by the drums. A flute plays the introduction melody, and the instrument is not used again throughout the

song. Jobim adds a countermelody at the end of the A section, now using a trombone. The trombone's round and gentle timbre blends perfectly with Gilberto's guitar, highlighting the upper extensions of the chords. Jobim plays a short phrase on the piano leading to the B section of the song, when he adds strings playing a much more contained melody in contrast to the dramatic chords used on Cardoso's arrangement. The strings are weaved in and out of the arrangement with much discretion, and hold long notes with very little movement, both rhythmic and melodic. Overall, the performance is centered around Gilberto's voice and guitar, with the drums gently adding a constant flow of sixteenth-notes producing a bit more of movement. The sparse addition of strings and horns is used for color only, representing a clear departure from the orchestral arrangements of the 1940s and 1950s when they carried the song's accompaniment. Jobim uses the same approach to the arrangement of two other songs on the album, "Brigas, nunca mais" and "Desafinado."

All other songs feature predominantly Gilberto on the guitar and Milton Banana on the drums, either unaccompanied or with the addition of short and sparse phrases arranged for the piano, flute, or trombone. The duo's approach to accompaniment became one of the iconic aspects of the album, soon to become central to other bossa nova musicians. Gilberto's guitar accompaniment is consistent throughout almost entire songs, by playing the bass with the right thumb, maintaining a steady quarter-note pattern, and the chords with the other fingers of the same hand, using a simple four-beat rhythmic pattern. He adds some variations to the rhythm in the chords, but on almost every tune he returns to a "base" rhythmic pattern. Milton Banana adds a constant stream of sixteenth-notes on the snare drum, never striking it but instead using the brushes with lateral movements, and adding small accents on the second and third notes of each beat almost constantly. He also uses the snare rim to add phrases that build from typical tamborim patterns.

During the 1950s began, musicians increasingly experimented with ways to transpose the rhythmic patterns played by percussion to other formats of the rhythm-section. The use of steady sixteenth-note on the drums had become the standard at least two years earlier when Edison Machado started to use the cymbals on the drum set for that purpose. And many other pianists and guitarists had been experimenting with ways to incorporate comping techniques from jazz with the rhythmic patterns that were unique to samba. These ensembles developed in Rio de Janeiro's night clubs, often in the context where they were providing dance music, so their music was often livelier and more energetic, if not also sometimes disorganized and almost clumsy, a result of the initial period of experimentation with this instrumentation.

Gilberto's approach to the guitar accompaniment was not as rigid or strict as other examples of white musicians who came before him, but nonetheless, it reveals a certain level of predetermined repetition that departs from practices of Black musicians. Throughout the three albums, one rhythmic figure appears constantly, either in a two-beat phrase, or in a four-beat phrase created by anticipating the first attack in one sixteenth-note, thus moving it from the downbeat of the first beat, to the fourth sixteenth-note of the fourth beat (Music Example 1). In "Amor em paz," he almost never departs from the two-beat pattern, which is mimicked by Milton Banana on the rim of the snare drum. Not coincidentally, these two songs are among the ones with the busiest orchestral arrangements, so Gilberto's guitar is used in a similar role of other samba-canção recordings. The development of the modern samba-canção is connected to increasing influence of bolero in Brazil, both characterized by the slow tempos, more regular rhythmic patterns, the overpowering presence of dense string arrangements, and the often propension to overly dramatic interpretation. Brazilian arrangers also incorporated the modern arrangement techniques for strings that had become so popular in Hollywood movies during that period.



Example 4.1 João Gilberto's guitar pattern

Both bossa nova and samba-canção relied on a similar top-down model developed by producers in radio stations and recording companies, in which most of the artistic decisions were made by arrangers. Therefore, the reliance on accompaniment practices that reduced or almost completely eliminated improvisation is directly connected to notions of modern music that emphasize the role of white composers and arrangers to modernize (black) samba. White arrangers had become more prominent since the 1920s with the growth in popularity of the jazz bands and the work of Radamés Gnatalli developing the orchestral model that became the staple of Rádio Nacional. However, many of these ensembles struggled to integrate the rhythm section based on the piano trio in addition to percussion into the orchestral arrangements. Now, with a more established approach to transposing the percussion parts into a single (and homogenized) drum set, and Gilberto's combination of rich harmonies and clear and repetitive rhythm patterns, this arranger-composer model could flourish

The songs featuring only guitar and drums more clearly highlight the difference between Gilberto's style and samba-canção, which during the late 1940s and early 1950s represented the modern approach to samba. In songs like "Aos pés da cruz," "Só em teus braços," and "Outra vez," Gilberto switches from the two-beat to the four-beat patterns, adding a little more variation

throughout. He includes a more consistent use of rhythmic variations when performing songs that were composed in the 1940s, a possible indication that he recognized they represented a different aesthetics. In addition to his ability to add variations to his base accompaniment, his clear and strong sense of tempo and a light touch that provided a flow to the groove even when continually articulating the chords on the downbeats distinguished Gilberto from his counterparts.

The Composer of Bossa Nova: Tom Jobim and New Orchestral Samba

Following the success of *Chega de Saudade,* Gilberto's continue to develop a similar artistic concept in his next albums, but several songs feature a much more involved orchestral arrangement. The albums *O Amor, o Sorriso e a Flor* (1960) and *João Gilberto* (1961) represent a perfect marriage between João Gilberto's ability to reinvent the songs around his voice and guitar and Jobim's skills as a composer, who treats arrangements as through-composed pieces and uses Gilberto's performance as the foundation for his pieces. This happens specially on the arrangements of Jobim's own compositions, including "Só Em Teus Braços," "Meditação," "Corcovado," "Discussão," "O amor em paz," and "Insensatez."

Although orchestral arrangements had been a large part of samba's repertoire since the 1930s, Jobim's approach introduced new aspects to this practice. Samba's characteristic rhythmic phrasing is assigned to the drum set and guitar, so Jobim can use the strings and horns instead to create different colors, textures. He also integrates the orchestral arrangement around Gilberto's guitar, which is takes a central role in the harmonic material of the arrangements. This frees up Jobim to use the orchestra more sparsely and remove the thick chords—which, at this period, were consistently perceived as exaggerated—replacing them with more elegant counter melodies. This approach also solves technical issues involved with performing more complex and contrametric

rhythmic phrases in the orchestra. In Jobim's first arrangement of "Chega de Saudade" recorded by Elizeth Cardoso, he assigned rhythms from the melody to the strings and horns. Those were supposed to be performed in unison with the voice in a succession of upbeats. During the recording session, Gilberto decided to also match those rhythms on his guitar, thus removing any reference to the downbeats. The final version of the song still contains the mistakes from the string and horn sections, who could not keep the time without a more clear and stablished reference. In the future, Jobim simplified his arrangements for the orchestra, almost completely removing any rhythmic phrasing that would be more challenging for musicians coming from a Western art music background.

This approach would prove effective also to facilitate Jobim's career in the United States and he released *The Composer of Desafinado Play*, his first album as a leader, in 1963 with Verve. Recorded in New York City, the music maintains much of the same qualities as heard in Gilberto's previous recordings, despite the fact that drummer Edison Machado was the only other Brazilian on the ensemble. Jobim plays piano and guitar on the recordings (he overdubs the instruments) and completing the rhythm section is U.S. bass player George Duvivier. The rhythm section playing is consistent with the approach presented in Gilberto's earlier records, maintaining an even more predictable and homogenous groove throughout all songs of the album. Jobim is clearly influenced by Gilberto's guitar style, but he simplifies those patterns even more, relying mostly on a one-measure pattern with some variations that consist of removing or adding a few more attacks. Even when departing a bit more from this base pattern, Jobim relies consistently on playing on the downbeats of every measure.

Although Gilberto's style was already a more simplified version of the accompaniment patterns usually found in samba, he showed the ability to shape his accompaniment on the melodies

of each song. Jobim did not have such control, and the result is a homogenous and stale rhythm section sound that changes little during a song, or even from different songs in the album. Machado, known as one of the most energetic and creative drummers of his generation, is limited to simple time keeping. Matching Jobim's guitar playing, he seldom includes variations on his playing, maintaining all sixteenth-notes on the hi-hat (sometimes with a slight accent on the third note of each four-note grouping), and playing simple patterns on the rim of the snare, usually based on some of the new patterns that became associated with Gilberto's style. Rounding up the rhythm section, Duvivier also has a similar limited role, and his bass lines are mostly limited to quarter notes, with an even articulation that gives the bass no significant shape. On the few songs that he plays a slightly different rhythmic patterns, those are always planned, and he sustains the exact same pattern throughout sections of a song, indicating that they may have been included in the written arrangement of the tune.

The overall sound of the ensemble follows the rhythm section. Very little rhythmic movement, steady dynamics, and soft and round articulations. Jobim's piano is featured prominently in many songs as the featured instrument playing the melodies. Although Jobim had worked for many years as a pianist in Rio de Janeiro's night clubs, his success as a composer and arranger eventually took him away from the piano and his lack of recent performance experience is apparent on this album. He almost never plays any chords, only single-note melodies. His interpretation is found lacking as he seems to avoid adding any expressive contour to the melodies, and the same is true when the melodies are orchestrated to the flutes. The arrangement's focus is solely on adding harmonic colors to the songs, through lush and elegant orchestrations that sound similar to Jobim's own arrangements.

There is nothing in Ogerman's arrangements that suggest a dialogue with elements from samba. With the exception of the few instances where the melody is played by one of the orchestral instruments, the rhythmic movement in the written parts is all based on eight-notes or triplets. In fact, when compared to his other arrangements—Ogerman wrote extensively for jazz and rhythm and blues albums—there is very little contrast. Across genres, Ogerman's arrangement style is much closer to the arranging techniques that emerge in film-scoring than to big band music. He shows little or no attention to the rhythm section regardless of the genre, and in general there is a similar approach to it: the rhythm section provides the background to his arrangements and the development of musical ideas is all based on changing harmonic and orchestration textures.

Aesthetics and the Genealogy of Whiteness

Bossa Nova music was part of a diverse musical scene that explored with jazz, improvisation, complex harmonies. And yet, the style presented on Gilberto's album was singled out as *the* representation of the style, soon to be copied by other young, white musicians like Carlos Lyra, Ronaldo Boscoli, and Roberto Menescal, who were credited for successfully incorporating elements of jazz into this modernizing effort. Conductor Júlio Medaglia defended the minimalistic aesthetics of bossa nova, arguing that popular music "had been walking towards an expression of chamber music, of detail, progressive elaboration, called Bossa Nova." Calling João Gilberto's LP "Chega de Saudade" the "bible of Bossa Nova," he attributes the changes that this album produced to a desire from music itself to assimilate new values, naturalizing this particular artistic project. He argues that "Chega de Saudade" had the renewing elements that Brazilian popular music needed at that time, and points to the musicians who abandoned these ideas as returning to "samba

rasgado or the path of sophistication based on jazz, with a thousand different vocal mannerism, that even the American jazz had surpassed years ago."[225]

Miriam Lima de Alencar positioned bossa nova in a lineage of white artists, stating that "Bossa Nova has always existed, Noel Rosa already talked about it in his lyrics. I consider Bossa Nova everything that is beyond its time, that which is vanguard. In my opinion, Bach was already Bossa Nova, just like Debussy, Villa-Lobos, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Niemayer, Picasso."[226] This direct genealogy is not based on specific aesthetic elements. Rather, it is the idea of the transcendent artists, always a white man, that becomes the connecting thread. In 1968, Augusto Campos, a Brazilian poet and writer, published the book *O balanço da bossa e outras bossas*, a collection of previously published critical essays on bossa nova. These essays, written by a "diverse group of writers—a musicologist, a conductor, a composer and an 'erudite' poet, but all of whom were enthusiasts of popular music" had, according to Campos, a shared interest on an evolutionary perspective of popular music. Clarifying that he wasn't against all forms of traditional music, he defends the "Velha Guarda," a term created and used most often by Black musicians, while mentioning two white musicians who were active in the early 1930s: Noel Rosa and Mário Reis.[227] Rosa and Reis are invoked as representation of the innovative spirit already present in samba's past. They are presented as a contrast to the "old" that never changes. This interpretation of samba's history positions Black musicians as always trapped in the past and privileges white

---

[225] Campos, "Balanço Da Bossa e Outras Bossas," 75. "Samba rasgado" is an expression, often derogatory, that refers to simple, non-refined samba.

[226] Miriam Leite de Alencar, "Modern music has only one name: Bossa Nova," *Jornal do Brasil*, January 31, 1960, 8.

[227] Campos, 14.

musicians as innovators, even though the historical record shows that both Rosa and Reis built their careers on innovations introduced by Black musicians.

The book's critical commentary on bossa nova reveals listening techniques aimed at measuring and essentializing musical difference. Brasil Rocha Brito contrasts cool jazz with hot jazz, claiming that the cool interpreters were musicians with known technical capabilities, and despite the use of improvisation, they often shaped their music using compositional tools extracted from the "erudite" tradition. "Cool jazz is elaborate, constrained, anti-contrasting. It doesn't seek emotional highs or lows."[228] Rather than responding to the music, Brito's analysis reveals an essentialized understanding of hot and cool that guided his listening. Once established that the cool approach to popular music, almost always performed by white musicians, represents a far superior and evolved musical aesthetics, the essayists in this collection move further to demonstrate its place within the genealogy of Western art music. By emphasizing the common concern with silence, Brito connects bossa nova with the music of "Debussy, the impressionists, and Webern,"[229] examples of vanguard art music. This shared approach to music was not engineered, he states, but rather the result of an "almost intuitive proximity, a true convergency of sensibility." American cool jazz had elevated popular music to the same level of art music, something Jobim's predicted would happen naturally everywhere. Brazilian popular music was at least half-century behind, Brito argued, but this situation had changed with the new techniques introduced in bossa nova.

By insisting on a concept of time that necessarily needs to move towards progress, Brito and the other writers demonstrate their commitment to colonial modernity that continues to see in

---

[228] Campos, 18–19.

[229] Campos, 25–26.

European culture the drive for progress, with this progress now accessible to some colonial subjects at the expense of the continuous racialization of Black people. This becomes expressed even more clear in Caetano Veloso's essay. He defended the thesis that Brazilian music needed a return to the evolutionary path that Gilberto had started, arguing that Gilberto is the exact moment in which that happened: "the knowledge of musical modernity utilized in the recreation, renovation, the step forward of Brazilian popular music."

Gilberto Mendes riffed on Caetano Veloso's notion of evolutionary thread to criticize Elis Regina. A white singer, Regina became notorious for her collaborations with Black singer Jair Rodrigues and their TV show, "O Fino da Bossa." Both Regina and Rodrigues shared artistic director roles and were accompanied by the house piano-bass-drums rhythm section, a staple element of the modern jazz sound, while also featuring the music of Black composers and young Black musicians as invited guests. Although Regina was not alone in creating this different aesthetic approach to modern Brazilian popular music, she was the most prominent white musician involved, and therefore singled out by Mendes for not fulfilling her role in contributing to the "evolution" of Brazilian music. Mendes refers to her performative "excesses" and trance-like interpretations as symptom of her rejection of bossa nova, and therefore, her inability to continue Gilberto's legacy of musical evolution. Regina is at fault, according to Mendes, for the declining popularity of bossa nova, arguing that by trying to please too broad of an audience, she had abandoned her post as the flag-master of bossa nova, leaving behind also the musical concepts that embodied the style, and turned into an overexaggerated and rigid performances.

Bossa Nova and Cool Jazz

Bossa nova's success kindled new types of collaborations between US and Brazilian artists. In the past, Brazilian music was one more example of the exotic tropics, ultimately represented through the iconic singer Carmen Miranda. Although Miranda was white, she built her career as a blackface performer in Brazil and even after dropping this aspect of her act, her American career continued to be shaped by her use of stereotypical imagery of Black Brazilian women. Aloysio de Oliveira, one of Miranda's band members who accompanied the singer to the U.S., would take on a decisive role at Odeon Records upon returning to Brazil following the singer's death, propelling Jobim's career as a composer and arranger, supporting the production of Gilberto's first album, and subsequently opening his own record label, ELENCO, responsible for releasing most of the albums that defined bossa nova.

Unlike during his time with Miranda, when Oliveira was involved in the creation of exotic representations of Brazilian music, with Bossa nova, he helped shape a new vision of cosmopolitan Rio de Janeiro, built from a shared notion of whiteness. US jazz artists turned to BN to produce some of top-selling albums in the years of 1962 and 1963. Although initially Black jazz musicians like Dizzy Gillespie, Cannonball Aderley, and Quincy Jones released albums featuring Brazil's modern style, Bossa Nova quickly became associated with white musicians.

Bossa nova's connection with cool jazz became more evident in collaborative records made in the 1960s. The style first caught the attention of flutists Bud Shank, pianist Clare Fischer, and guitarist Charlie Byrd, who were the first U.S. American musicians to record bossa nova songs, combining to release three albums in 1962. On the following year, the trend expanded and several bossa nova-themed albums were continually placed in Billboard's weekly charts. The list of artists involved had expanded to include musicians like Quincy Jones, Cannonball Adderley, and Dizzy

Gillespie, but in the majority, white jazz musicians associated with cool jazz were at the forefront of this movement. No other album however received the same critical appraise as Getz/Gilberto, recorded in 1963 and released in 1964 by Verve, winning five Grammy awards in 1965 including best album and best jazz album.

Many of these artists expressed similar views on bossa nova to the ones found in Brazilian press. According to Brubeck, "Of all the exotic elements that have come into jazz recently it is Bossa nova that strikes the fancy of musicians and public alike. It happened, I believe, because Bossa nova contained within it much of our own heritage, but spoken with a difference—a new Bossa." Brubeck's ability to recognize this common heritage highlights the power of music in helping produce a shared notion of whiteness throughout the Americas. Paul Winter went further, naming this shared heritage. In "The sound of Ipanema," he acknowledges not only Ipanema's privileged position as a space of modernity, but also links Carlos Lyra, one of the neighborhood's representative musicians, with Jerome Kern and French Impressionists. He says that Lyra's music has a strong yet subtle feeling of samba, and that like Gershwin, he had drawn from the Negro folk music of his country, thus reinforcing the power of whiteness to always control outside influences, never to be taken by it completely. Emphasizing Lyra's role as "a composer first, only then a guitarist," he further establishes a connection between him and Villa-Lobos, characterizing both of their music as expressing the "distinctive flavor of Brazilian culture, which has come from the blending of three cultural heritages: African, Indian, and European." The sound of the samba schools, present in one of Herbie Mann's tracks, is framed as an example of "near-primitive outburst of percussion," representing Africa and reinforcing the aesthetic racial divides between hot and cool. And finally, Paul Winter's ability to connect jazz and art is attributed to his educational credentials. In Brazil, education, a sign of respectability and wealth, was tied to

morality when bossa nova was defined as "a group of young people, who are bohemians only in spirit, since they study, work, and almost don't drink."

This was not an isolated phenomenon. A few years earlier, the emergence of cool jazz in the United States raised similar questions about race and aesthetics. Although Miles Davis' album "*The Birth of the Cool*" is a landmark in cool jazz, the style—characterized by the increasing influence of concepts from Western art music—became increasingly associated with young white musicians, from Stan Kenton, to Chet Baker and Stan Getz. The connections between cool jazz and bossa nova represent a similar attitude from white musicians who had positioned themselves in opposition to certain musical practices that were perceived as black. The fact that Black musicians had been closely involved in many of the styles that later became perceived as white shows that the processes that resulted in racial mappings of stylistic variations of samba did not need to account for the presence/absence of Black musicians. In fact, the ability of audiences, journalists, critics and musicians to produce discourses that implied clear racial boundaries that did not reflect musical practices shows the continuous force of the racial aesthetic of whiteness. The many white cariocas who continued to build from the racialized notions of tradition/modernity were not oblivious to this vastly conflicting lived musical reality. Black musicians expanded and explored different ways to create within the vast performative archive of samba in a moment that jazz was again increasingly visibile and popular among Rio de Janeiro's audiences. Yet, the archive of newspaper articles and music recordings show that white cariocas continued to map this diverse musical scene according to the same strict racial scales that allowed modern music to be always perceived as white. Thus, their aesthetic experiences with this diverse musical scene frequently constituted a site for the entrenchment of a white identity that denied any possibilities for overcoming racial alterity.

Conclusion

Despite the efforts to create narratives that privileged white Brazilian musicians in the creation of Bossa nova, the historical records reveal that Black musicians took prominent roles in the development of the modern scene of Rio de Janeiro's Zona Sul. Ingrid Monson notices something similar the United States, highlighting the importance of musicians like Miles Davis, Johnny Hodges, Lester Young, and Nat King Cole to the stylistic developments that would later characterize (white) cool jazz. [230] In trying to define what would represent such a white sound within jazz repertoire, she proposes the predominance of "two main aesthetic streams—American popular song and classical music." But as in the case of Brazil, those elements were always equally present in the music of Black musicians. In fact, if we position tonal harmony as one of the central and defining elements of classical music, the music of many twentieth-century Black musicians is decidedly closer to the Western canon that composers like Villa-Lobos, Debussy, Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and Cage. We must then ask, how much Europeanness does music need to be recognized as Western? And how much Africaness does it need to represent the African Diaspora?

The Europeaness that was so often invoked in these examples stems not from any particular musical element, but rather from a de-historicizing impulse that characterizes the entire discourse of colonial modernity. White authoritative figures—including composers, music critics, producers, and audiences—remained committed to listen for race and to assign racialized meaning to any and all sound. They did so by emptying sound from any kind of meaning that had been historically and collectively created by Black communities. The continuous acts of listening for race, alterity, essence, and the modern shaped how musical meaning was produced. This case shows that

---

[230] Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa*, 76–78.

listening is not an ephemeral act. It is rather a historical process that is contested and relational. Therefore, more than understand listening as a collective act external to sound production, I argue that we need an ethics of listening that recognizes Black and other racialized communities as producers of historical knowledge, and that we allow these multiple ways of understanding the historical process to fundamentally change our epistemology of culture and production of meaning.

CONCLUSION

Despite the short-lived success of Bossa Nova, the critics' emphasis on its role in modernizing popular music beyond the rigid structures of tradition and nationality would have lasting impacts in the national music scene. The continuous ordering of varied styles of samba informed by a rigid but unpronounced racial scale of musical variation contributed to an ever-increasing distancing of the different variations of the genre and its audiences. As the industry, critics, and audiences continued to ignore or reject any possibility for Black expressions of samba that did not fit the Black/national/traditional vs. white/foreign/modern binary, samba's ability to reach a restless audience began to dwindle. By the late 1960s, young white singers who turned to rock consolidated an important market share of the changing music industry. Some Black singers like Elza Soares and Wilson Simonal remained committed to exploring styles of samba that refused to follow increasingly polarized discourses about traditional and modern samba. Despite their efforts, the new market segmentations would consolidate these rigid stylistic boundaries, and as traditional samba lost its "national" appeal, younger Black artists were not able to convince record labels, increasingly tied to multinational corporations, to support their new stylistic approaches to samba.

Samba's long reign as the musical genre that defined the nation's industry was coming to an end. Rio de Janeiro's Black communities remained invested in samba as a community practice, but after the turn of the decade, samba would never again have the same kind of impact on the nation's musical culture. Despite its importance to Black musicians and local communities, the musical and political boundaries enforced by diverse actors of the music industry would become even more rigid as the military dictatorial regime increased control of public discourse regarding race in Brazil. The use of traditional samba by the military government to sustain an increasingly

hypocritical message of racial democracy at a time when there was little hope about the end of the authoritarian regime may have contributed to draining the final energy that Rio de Janeiro's Black communities had to supporting samba's symbolic place as a symbol of hope for racial reconciliation. Notwithstanding the increasing repression, Rio de Janeiro's poor and Black favelas quickly turned to U.S. funk and soul music, interested now by the powerful combination of Black Power politics and Black is Beautiful aesthetics. If in samba blackness was tolerated as long as it appeared disciplined, the transgressive aesthetics of Black is Beautiful was soon emulated by many of the city's Black citizens. Ironically, Rio de Janeiro's press soon recorded a number of interventions against the presence of "foreign" music amongst the city's Black communities. Among white supporters and opponents of the military regime, progressives and conservatives, anti-imperialists and those who preferred a more globally integrated nation, there was unanimous consensus that samba was the much-preferred expression of Black music.[231]

The turn towards Black Power and the artistic expressions that were tied to the movement were not a sign of alienation of Rio de Janeiro's Black communities, nor simple assimilation to foreign trends. Samba had been part of a bold project that envisioned new pathways for the sustenance of Black life-worlds in Brazil. Rio de Janeiro's Black intellectuals along with others from São Paulo had since the beginning of the twentieth century tried to articulate a vision of blackness that claimed its place within the nation.[232] Doing so, they strategically focused on notions of common belonging. Already in the 1950s, a new generation of intellectuals—now

---

[231] Alberto, "When Rio Was Black: Soul Music, National Culture, and the Politics of Racial Comparison in 1970s Brazil."

[232] Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*.

including those from the state with the largest proportion of Black citizens, Bahia—became more vocal about the country's failure to address issues of racial inequality and started to challenge the limits of discourses of national fraternity attached to samba. The increasing tensions were heightened by new research reports released in the 1950s and 60s that began to unmask to harsh realities of racial inequality behind the fake façades of harmony and the increasing repression of the dictatorial regime.[233] Abdias do Nascimento, who had already begun to emphasize the need to recenter Africa (*Afro-centrismo*) in the cultural expressions of Black Brazilians, articulated in the end of the 1960s a powerful critique of the national projects of erasure of Black culture, history, and knowledge. Calling out the government for the genocide of Afro-Brazilians, Nascimento's sharp critique emphasized the "*epistemicidio*" (epistemicide) that characterized the nation's project of "managing" blackness until it was no more.[234]

Nascimento's intellectual work ushered in a new generation of Black scholars and activists who addressed more explicitly the continuing failures of Brazilian society to face its history of racial violence and present inequalities. But just as important, it exposed the failed attempts to universalize citizenship under a single Brazilian identity that supposedly would represent a new and racially-diverse people, when in fact it only elevated whiteness into the universal standard from which all expressions of Brazilian-ness would be judged, in the process violently delegitimizing all other forms of identity. This process would culminate in the new language of the 1988 Constitution that followed re-democratization, a constitution that recognized the specific rights of Afro-Brazilians.

---

[233] Alberto and Hoffnung-Garskof, "'Racial Democracy' and Racial Inclusion: Hemispheric Histories."

[234] Nascimento, *Brazil, Mixture or Massacre?: Essays in the Genocide of a Black People*.

If this political process helps us understand the decreasing popularity of samba, it does not mean that the genre lost its importance for Rio de Janeiro's Black communities, nor that it lost its political force. Rather, it points to the end of a long cycle that began in the early nineteenth century, when samba was a generic term used across the country to designate musical practices perceived as black and, therefore, racialized. Samba would become associated more strictly with the music of urban Black cariocas, and as the Atlantic music industry developed new forms of musical production, samba became the label that represented Brazil's unique genre emerging locally and with global reach in this context. No other musical genre would have the same impact on Brazil's music industry, which developed in great part attached to samba's success. From the 1930s until the 1960s, samba dominated the domestic music industry and throughout this entire period, shaped the country's discourse and attitudes about race.

Samba's influence in the realm of racial and national ideologies was much more profound than simply an idea. The impact of samba on Brazilians', and more specially, cariocas' life was profound, shaping individuals' and communities' social lives, political commitments, aesthetic aspirations, and identity formations. By telling this long history of samba, my goal was to show how even the more complex analysis of the formal, stylistic, and social variations of the genre cannot account for the profound visions of human relations that were being established and challenged through samba. Rather, it is only when we understand the power of race, in its ability to form individuals deeply committed to a worldview of permanent alterity, that we can truly appreciate the impact of the creative work of Black individuals and communities in refusing to sustain a world where human difference is always read as a sign of division. Instead, the Black women and men involved in the creation of samba were committed to restoring the humanity of bodies racialized as black, to build a shared genre that included the different expressions of Black

musical creativity that belonged to the city's Black community and to the broader African diaspora, all while subverting the racial logics of alterity and creating something that was Black and Brazilian at the same time.

Samba's history is not one history, it is two. It is a history that begins with one of the most extreme acts of violence that we have in record, and that continues along in two parallel paths. As one of the spaces where the enslaved Africans could self-fashion a restored Black identity, samba was a house that Black people built and that was opened to all Brazilians who wanted to join them in the work of creating Black Freedom as one fundamental pillar of human development. The undeniable truth of this history is that, although white Brazilians answered the invitation, so many of them who visited this space refused to co-belong with the other people at the House for Black Freedom. Instead, they chose to create a new story, one that used the proximity afforded by samba's open doors to reinforce their knowledge of music as an object that expresses essential racial difference. It is at the tension of these two stories that samba's history develops and connects to the histories of so many other people around the globe who fight to release humanity from the grips of the Human and its one-world.

REFERENCES

Abreu, Martha. “Festas Religiosas No Rio de Janeiro: Perspectivas de Controle e Tolerância No Século XIX.” *Revista Estudos Históricos* 7, no. 14 (1994): 205–30.

———. “O ‘Crioulo Dudu’: Participação Política e Identidade Negra Nas Histórias de Um Músico Cantor (1890-1920).” *Topoi* 11, no. 20 (2010): 92–113.

———. *O Império Do Divino: Festas Religiosas e Cultura Popular No Rio de Janeiro, 1830-1900*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1999.

Agawu, Kofi. “Contesting Difference: A Critique of Africanist Ethnomusicology.” In *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, edited by Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton, 117–26. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Agawu, V. Kofi. *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Alberto, Paulina L. *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

———. “When Rio Was Black: Soul Music, National Culture, and the Politics of Racial Comparison in 1970s Brazil.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89, no. 1 (2009): 3–39. https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-2008-043.

Alberto, Paulina L, and Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof. “‘Racial Democracy’ and Racial Inclusion: Hemispheric Histories.” In *Afro-Latin American Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Alejandro de la Fuente and George Reid Andrews, 264–316. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Albuquerque, Wlamyra. “‘A Vala Comum Da “Raça Emancipada”’: Abolição e Racialização No

Brasil, Breve Comentário." *História Social* 19 (1994): 91–108.

———. "O Samba No Sobrado Da Baronesa: Liberdade Negra e Autoridade Senhorial No Tempo Da Abolição." *Revista Brasileira de História* 38, no. 79 (2018): 173–92.

Almeida, Angélica Ferrarez. "A Tradição Das Tias Pretas Na Zona Portuária: Por Uma Questão de Memória, Espaço e Patrimônio." PUC-RJ, 2013.

Andrade, Mario. *Música, Doce Música*. São Paulo: L.G. Miranda Editor, 1934.

Appert, Catherine M. *In Hip Hop Time: Music, Memory, and Social Change in Urban Senegal*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Appert, Catherine M. "On Hybridity in African Popular Music: The Case of Senegalese Hip Hop." *Ethnomusicology* 60, no. 2 (2016): 279–99.

Baker, Geoffrey. *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Baker, Houston A. *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Baraka, Amiri. "The 'Blues Aesthetic' and the 'Black Aesthetic': Aesthetics as the Continuing Political History of a Culture." *Black Music Research Journal* 11, no. 2 (1991): 101–9.

Barbosa, Valdinha, and Anne Marie Devos. *Radamés Gnattali: O Eterno Experimentador*. Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE, 1985.

Bennett, Herman L. *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

Bloechl, Olivia. "Race, Empire, and Early Music," 2015. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139208451.003.

Bloechl, Olivia Ashley. *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Bloechl, Olivia, and Melanie Lowe. “Introduction: Rethinking Difference.” In *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*, edited by Olivia Bloechl, Melanie Lowe, and Jeffrey Kallberg, 1–52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139208451.001.

Born, Georgina. “For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn.” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 2 (2010): 205–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2010.506265.

Butler, Kim D. “Masquerading Africa in the Carnival of Salvador, Bahia, Brazil 1895-1905.” *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 10, no. 2 (2017): 203–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/17528631.2016.1189690.

Cabral, Sérgio. *No Tempo de Almirante: Uma História Do Rádio e Da MPB*. Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves Editora, 1990.

———. *Pixinguinha: Vida e Obra*. Rio de Janeiro: MEC Funarte, 1978.

Caldwell, Kia L. *Negras in Brazil: Reenvisioning Black Women, Citizenship, and the Politics of Identity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007.

Carneiro, Sueli. “Enegrecer o Feminismo: A Situação Da Mulher Negra Na América Latina a Partir de Uma Perspectiva de Gênero.” Portal Geledés, 2011. https://www.geledes.org.br/enegrecer-o-feminismo-situacao-da-mulher-negra-na-america-latina-partir-de-uma-perspectiva-de-genero/.

Cascaes, Laura Silvana Ribeiro. “A Música e a Dança No Teatro de Revista Carioca.” *Música Popular Em Revista* 1, no. 2 (2013).

Cazes, Henrique. *Choro Do Quintal Ao Municipal*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora 34, 2010.

Christopher Small. *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1999.

Chuh, Kandice. *The Difference Aesthetics Makes: On the Humanities "After Man."* Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.

Clist, Bernard, Els Cranshof, Gilles-Maurice De Schryver, Davy Herremans, Karlis Karklins, Igor Matonda, Fanny Steyaert, and Koen Bostoen. "African-European Contacts in the Kongo Kingdom (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries): New Archaeological Insights from Ngongo Mbata (Lower Congo, DRC)." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 19, no. 3 (2015): 464–501. https://doi.org/10.1007/sl.

Cunha, Manuela Carneiro da. "Imagens de Índios Do Brasil: O Século XVI." *Estudos Avançados* 4, no. 10 (December 1990): 91–110. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-40141990000300005.

Cunha, Maria Clementina Pereira. *Ecos Da Folia: Uma História Social Do Carnaval Carioca Entre 1880 e 1920*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001.

———. *"Não Tá Sopa": Sambas e Sambistas No Rio de Janeiro, de 1890 a 1930*. Campinas: Editora Unicamp, 2015.

Davila, Jerry. "Expanding Perspectives on Race in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 35, no. 3 (2000): 188–98.

Dávila, Jerry. *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

DeVeaux, Scott Knowles. *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Diniz, André. *Pixinguinha: O Genio e o Tempo*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra, 2011.

Domingues, Henrique Foréis. *No Tempo de Noel Rosa: O Nascimento Do Samba e a Era de*

Ouro Da Música Brasileira. Rio de Janeiro: Sonora Editora, Kindle Edition, 2014.

Efegê, Jota. *Ameno Resedá: O Rancho Que Foi Escola*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Letras e Artes, 1965.

Eidsheim, Nina Sun. *The Race of Sound: Listening, Timbre, and Vocality in African American Music*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.

Escobar, Arturo. "Worlds and Knowledge Otherwise: The Latin American Modernity/ Coloniality Research Program." *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (2007): 179–210. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162506.

Fenerick, José Adriano. *Nem Do Morro, Nem Da Cidade: As Transformações Do Samba e a Indústria Cultural (1920-1945)*. São Paulo: Annablume, 2005.

———. "Noel Rosa, o Samba, e a Criação Da Música Popular Brasileira." *Revista Eletrônica História Em Reflexão* 1, no. 1 (2007): 1–25.

Fernandes, Dmitri Cerboncini. "'E Fez-Se o Samba': Condicionantes Intelectuais Da Música Popular No Brasil." *Latin American Music Review* 32, no. 1 (2011): 39–58.

Ferreira da Silva, Denise. *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007. https://doi.org/10.5749/j.ctttssr9.8.

Floyd, Samuel A. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Fromont, Cécile. "Envisioning Brazil's Afro-Christian Congados: The Black King and Queen Festival Lithograph of Johann Moritz Rugendas." In *Afro-Catholic Festivals in the Americas: Performance, Representation, and the Making of Black Atlantic Tradition*, edited by Cécile Fromont, 117–39. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2019.

———. *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo*. Chapel Hill:

The University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Fromont, Cécile, and Michael Iyanaga. “Introduction: Kongo Christianity, Festive Performances, and the Making of Black Atlantic Tradition.” In *Afro-Catholic Festivals in the Americas: Performance, Representation, and the Making of Black Atlantic Tradition*, edited by Cécile Fromont, 1–22. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2019.

Furtado, Junia Ferreira. “Black Ceremonies in Perspective: Brazil and Dahomey in the Eighteenth Century.” In *Afro-Catholic Festivals in the Americas: Performance, Representation, and the Making of Black Atlantic Tradition*, edited by Cécile Fromont, 92–116. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2019.

García, David F. *Listening for Africa: Freedom, Modernity, and the Logic of Black Music’s African Origins*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

Gaunt, Kyra Danielle. *The Games Black Girls Play: Learning the Ropes from Double-Dutch to Hip-Hop*. New York: New York University Press, 2006.

Gilroy, Paul. “After the Great White Error … The Great Black Mirage.” In *Race, Nature, and the Politics of Difference*, edited by Donald S. Moore, Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian, 73–98. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822384656-002.

———. *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture beyond the Color Line*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

———. *Postcolonial Melancholy*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Goldberg, K. Meira. *Sonidos Negros: On the Blackness of Flamenco*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Gomes, Flavio. “Africanos, ‘Naciones’ y Cofradías En Rio de Janeiro, Siglos XVIII y XIX.” *Boletín Americanista* 63, no. 2 (2011): 167–88.

Gonçalves, Renata de Sá. “Cronistas, Folcloristas e Os Ranchos Carnavalescos: Perspectivas Sobre a Cultura Popular.” *Estudos Históricos* 32, no. 2 (2003): 89–105.

Gonzalez, Lélia. “A Categoria Político-Cultural de Amefricanidade.” *Tempo Brasileiro*, no. 92/93 (1988): 69–82. https://doi.org/10.1111/risa.12972.

Gordenstein, Samuel Lira. “Planting Axé in the City: Urban Terreiros and the Growth of Candomblé in Late Nineteenth-Century.” *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 5, no. 2 (2016): 71–101. https://doi.org/10.1080/21619441.2016.1204791.

Haddix, Chuck. *Bird: The Life and Music of Charlie Parker*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2013.

Hall, Stuart. “Assembling the 80s – The Deluge and After.” In *Shades of Black*, edited by David A. Bailey, Ian Baucom, and Sonia Boyce. Durham: Duke University Press, n.d.

———. “What Is This ‘Black’ in Black Popular Culture?” *Social Justice* 20, no. 1 (1993): 104–14.

Heng, Geraldine. *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Hertzman, Marc A. *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*. *Making Samba*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.

———. *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.

hooks, bell. “An Aesthetic of Blackness: Strange and Oppositional.” *Lenox Avenue: A Journal of Interarts Inquiry* 1 (1995): 65–72.

Irving, D. R. M. *Colonial Counterpoint Music in Early Modern Manila*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195378269.001.0001.

Irving, David R. M. “Ancient Greeks, World Music, and Early Modern Constructions of Western European Identity.” In *Studies on a Global History of Music*, edited by Reinhard Strohm, 21–41. London: Routledge, 2018.

Iyanaga, Michael. “On Flogging the Dead Horse, Again: Historicity, Genealogy, and Objectivity in Richard Waterman’s Approach to Music.” *Ethnomusicology* 59, no. 2 (2015): 173–201. https://doi.org/10.5406/ethnomusicology.59.2.0173.

———. “On Hearing Africas in the Americas: Domestic Celebrations for Catholic Saints as Afro-Diasporic Religious Tradition.” In *Afro-Catholic Festivals in the Americas: Performance, Representation, and the Making of Black Atlantic Tradition*, edited by Cécile Fromont, 165–90. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2019.

———. “Why Saints Love Samba: A Historical Perspective on Black Agency and the Rearticulation of Catholicism in Bahia, Brazil.” *Black Music Research Journal* 35, no. 1 (2015): 119–47. https://doi.org/10.5406/blacmusiresej.35.1.0119.

John Charles Chasteen. “The Prehistory of Samba: Carnival Dancing in Rio de Janeiro, 1840-1917.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 29–47.

Karasch, Mary C. *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Kelley, Robin D. G. *Thelonious Monk: The Life and Times of an American Original*. New York: Free Press, 2010.

Labres Filho, Jair Paulo. “Que Jazz É Esse?: As Jazz-Bands No Rio de Janeiro Na Década de 1920.” Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2014.

Linke, Uli. “‘There Is a Land Where Everything Is Pure’: Linguistic Nationalism and Identity Politics in Germany.” In *Race, Nature, and the Politics of Difference*, edited by Donald S.

Moore, Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian, 149–74. Duke University Press, 2003. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822384656-005.

Lisa Voigt. “Representing an African King in Brazil.” In *Afro-Catholic Festivals in the Americas: Performance, Representation, and the Making of Black Atlantic Tradition*, edited by Cécile Fromont, 75–91. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2019.

Livingston, Tamara Elena, and Thomas George Caracas. Garcia. *Choro: A Social History of a Brazilian Popular Music*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.

Matory, James Lorand. *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Mbembe, Achille. *Critique of Black Reason*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

McCann, Bryan. *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Meintjes, Louise. “Review: Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions by Kofi Agawu.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59, no. 3 (2006): 769–77.

Meintjes, Louise, and T. J. Lemon. *Dust of the Zulu: Ngoma Aesthetics after Apartheid*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

Mello e Souza, Marina de. *Reis Negros No Brasil Escravista*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2002.

Mignolo, Walter D. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

Mignolo, Walter D., and Catherine E. Walsh. *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.

Mignolo, Walter D. “Nebrija in the New World: The Question of the Letter, the Colonization of

Amerindian Languages, and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition Author." *L'Homme* 32, no. 122/124 (1992): 185–207.

Monson, Ingrid T. *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Moura, Roberto. *Tia Ciata e a Pequena África No Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1983.

Napolitano, M., and M.C. Wasserman. "Desde Que o Samba é Samba: A Questão Das Origens No Debate Historiográfico Sobre a Música Popular Brasileira." *Rev.Bras.Hist.* 20, no. 39 (2008): 167–89.

Nascimento, Abdias do. *Brazil, Mixture or Massacre?: Essays in the Genocide of a Black People*. Fitchburg: Majority Press, 1989.

Nelson, Jennifer. "Apprentices of Freedom: Atlantic Histories of the Africanos Livres in Mid-Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro." *Itinerario* 39, no. 2 (2015): 349–69. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115315000509.

Ochoa Gautier, Ana M. "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification and the Aural Public Sphere in Latin America." *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (2006): 803–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630601031022.

Quijano, Aníbal. "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality." *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (2007): 168–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601164353.

Radano, Ronald. "The Sound of Racial Feeling." *Daedalus* 142, no. 4 (2013): 126–34.

Radano, Ronald Michael. *Lying up a Nation: Race and Black Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Ramírez, Carlos R. "Ciphering Song, De-Ciphering Identity: The Libro de Cifra Nueva (1557), and the Mediation of Identity and Sound in Early Modern Spain." Cornell University, 2019.

Ramsey, Guthrie P. *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

———. "The Pot Liquor Principle: Developing a Black Music Criticism in American Music Studies." *Journal of Black Studies* 35, no. 2 (2004): 210–23. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934704266723.

Reis, João José. "Batuque: African Drumming and Dance between Repression and Concession, Bahia, 1808-1855." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 24, no. 2 (2005): 201–14.

Rojinsky, David M. "Grammatical Rule for a 'scriptural' Empire: A Reading of the Prologue to Nebrija's 'Gramática Castellana.'" *Hispanic Journal*. Vol. 21, 2000.

Sandroni, Carlos. "Dois Sambas de 1930 e a Constituição Do Gênero: Na Pavuna e Vou Te Abandonar." *Cadernos Do Colóquio* 4, no. 1 (2001): 8–21.

———. *Feitiço Decente: Transformações Do Samba No Rio de Janeiro, 1917-1933*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editora, 2001.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. *The End of the Cognitive Empire: The Coming of Age of Epistemologies of the South*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.

Santos, Luiz Carlos dos. *Luiz Gama: Retratos Do Brasil Negro*. São Paulo: Selo Negro Edições, 2010.

Santos, Ynaê L. "Além Da Senzala: Arranjos Escravos de Moradia No Rio de Janeiro (1808-1850)." Universidade de São Paulo, 2006.

Seigel, Micol. *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

Shaw, Lisa. "São Coisas Nossas: Samba and Identity in the Vargas Era (1930-45)." *Portuguese Studies* 14 (1998): 152–69.

Shipton, Alyn. *Groovin' High: The Life of Dizzy Gillespie*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Silva, Denise Ferreira da. "Notes for a Critique of the 'Metaphysics of Race.'" *Theory, Culture & Society* 28, no. 1 (2011): 138–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276410387625.

Soares, Mariza de Carvalho. *People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

Solis, Gabriel. "'A Unique Chunk of Jazz Reality': Authorship, Musical Work Concepts, and Thelonious Monk's Live Recordings from the Five Spot, 1958." *Ethnomusicology* 48, no. 3 (2004): 315–47. https://doi.org/papers3://publication/uuid/241FF138-1EB8-4227-9F42-4DAAC713A7B2.

Steinberg, Oded Y. *Race, Nation, History: Anglo-German Thought in the Victorian Era*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.

Steingo, Gavin. *Kwaito's Promise: Music and the Aesthetics of Freedom in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

———. "The Inaudible Nation: Music and Sensory Perception in Postapartheid." *Cultural Critique* 95 (2017): 71–100. https://doi.org/10.5749/culturalcritique.95.2017.0071.

Strathern, Marilyn. "Kinship as a Relation." *L'Homme* 210 (2014): 43–61.

———. "Naturalism and the Invention of Identity." *Social Analysis* 61, no. 2 (2017): 15–30. https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2017.610202.

———. *Relations: An Anthropological Account*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2020.

Sweet, James H. "The Evolution of Ritual in the African Diaspora: Central African Kilundu in Brazil, St. Domingue, and the United States, Seventeenth–Nineteenth Centuries." In *Diasporic Africa: A Reader*, edited by Michael A. Gomez, 117–46. New York City: New

York University Press, 2006.

Symanski, Luís Cláudio P., and Flávio S. Gomes. “Iron Cosmology, Slavery, and Social Control: The Materiality of Rebellion in the Coffee Plantations of the Paraíba Valley, Southeastern Brazil.” *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 5, no. 2 (2016): 174–97. https://doi.org/10.1080/21619441.2016.1204794.

Taylor, Diana. “Performance and/as History.” *TDR: The Drama Review* 50, no. 1 (2006): 67–86.

Taylor, Paul C. *Black Is Beautiful: A Philosophy of Black Aesthetics*. Hoboken: Wiley, 2016.

Taylor, Timothy Dean. *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

Thurman, Kira. “Performing Lieder, Hearing Race: Debating Blackness, Whiteness, and German Identity in Interwar Central Europe.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72, no. 3 (2019): 825–65. https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2019.72.3.825.

Tomlinson, Gary. “Musicology, Anthropology, History.” In *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, 2013. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203821015.

Tunbridge, Laura. “Constructing a Musical Nation: German-Language Criticism in the Nineteenth Century.” In *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism*, edited by Christopher Dingle, 170–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139795425.010.

Valladares, Licia do Prado. *The Invention of the Favela*. Translated by Robert N. Anderson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Vianna, Hermano. *O Mistério Do Samba*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editora, 1995.

Weinstein, Barbara. *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.

Wynter, Sylvia. “Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation-An Argument.” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 257–337.