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Cantos da Floresta (Forest Songs) : exchanging and sharing indigenous music in Brazil

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Chapter 1: An Overview of Uses of Brazilian Indigenous Musical Material

Early accounts of indigenous music

Indigenous musical and cultural practices have remained unknown to the Brazilian people for nearly four centuries. The massive presence of European roots in Brazilian culture, coupled with the rare transcriptions and few sound recordings that were made of indigenous songs, were presumably responsible for the delay in considering this native culture and its materials as a reference for Brazilian musicians.

During the colonial era (1500-1822), music was an effective means of converting the natives⁵. The Jesuits⁶, in order to catechize the indigenous groups, forced them to assimilate values of European culture and demonized their spiritual practices. They were taught christian hymns⁷ and European instruments, replacing their traditional repertoires. Father Simão de Vasconcelos writes about this situation in his book *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu* (Chronicle of the Company of Jesus) in 1865:

It is also good to mention what the indigenous people do. These peoples are so much easier in accepting the Faith of the true God the less committed they are to the false; because none of them know or love he who can gain their affection. Their idols are the awry rites of their gentility, a multitude of women, wine, hatred, omens, witchcraft, and gluttony of human flesh: with these vanquished, no aversion is left for the things of the Faith. Once these difficulties are surpassed, there is much to praise God, seeing the care with which these people treat the christians, celebrating the Divine Festivals and customs. They are very fond of music; those who are chosen as singers of the Church cherish the opportunity and spend days and nights learning and teaching others. They were skilled in all musical instruments: shawms, flutes, trumpets, bass drums, horns and bassoons: with them they benefit in organ singing Vespers, Completes, Masses, Processions, as solemnly as the Portuguese (VASCONCELOS, 1865: 120, my translation).

⁵ According to musicologist Marcos Holler: "The priests in Brazil quickly perceived music as an effective means of seduction and persuasion of the natives, and although the Society of Jesus had arisen amidst the austere spirit of Counter-Reformation, and its regulations were little affected by the musical practice, references to music in religious ceremonies and profane events, mainly performed by natives, are found in reports from a short time after the arrival of the Jesuits in Brazil until their expulsion in 1759" (HOLLER, 2005: 3, my translation).

⁶ The Jesuit Missions in America – also called Jesuit Reductions – were the indigenous settlements organized and administered by the Jesuit priests in the New World as part of their civilizing and evangelizing work. The Jesuits were responsible for the founding of the first educational institutions in Brazil. The main centers of colonial exploration had colleges administered by them. All access of knowledge of the time was controlled by the Church. These missions prospered to the point that in the mid-eighteenth century, the Jesuits became suspects of attempting to create an independent empire, which was one of the arguments used in the intense defamatory campaign they suffered in America and Europe and which eventually resulted in their Expulsion of the colonies from 1759 and the dissolution of their Order in Brazil in 1773. The Mission system collapsed, causing the dispersion of the indigenous peoples.

⁷ Paulo Castagna, in his article *A música como instrumento de catequese no Brasil dos séculos XVI e XVII* (Music as an instrument of catechesis in sixteenth and seventeenth century Brazil), states that "the teaching of prayers and other christian writings were done in the Brazilian-Portuguese language" (CASTAGNA, 1994: 1, my translation).

De Vasconcelos considered singing the most effective way of “converting the Gentile”, since no other activity satisfied them so much. The head of the first Jesuit Mission in America, Manuel da Nóbrega, ordered the indigenous people to be taught; prayers for “the holy faith have entered their souls.” He believed that through the softness of song the natives would learn of the heavenly world. The musicologist Paulo Castagna wrote about the music education during the Jesuit times:



Figure 1 Illustration by Keller Leuzinger (18th c.) depicting a Jesuit and indigenous persons at a Mass in what is now the Amazon (Biblioteca Nacional).

Music education was always intense during the Jesuits' presence in Brazil, playing a strong role in the ministry with the natives. From the insistence on this “art”, indians⁸ would be able to reproduce all the basic musical manifestations of the christian cult, the “nheengaribas⁹” or “musicians of the earth”, as they would be known among the Portuguese missionaries (CASTAGNA, 1994: 1, my translation).

For this reason, we were convinced of the idea that all Brazilian indigenous groups lost their culture and their music because of the Jesuit interventions, which is not true. Many groups maintained their culture with their rituals and others changed.

The first transcription of Brazilian indigenous music was made in 1585 by the French priest Jean de

⁸ A discussion of terminology referring to ‘indian’ and ‘indigenous’ is in the Appendix.

⁹ *Nheengariba* is the term used for ‘musicians of the land’ or ‘native musicians’.

Léry¹⁰, who noted down the Tupinambá songs 'Canidé iouue' and 'Sabath'¹¹ in simplified form for his book *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil* (Voyage to the land of Brazil) – which later would be used by Villa-Lobos in his first composition using indigenous references¹². De Léry describes one of the chants he heard in the village during a long ceremony about a macaw with a *caninde*¹³ name, whose yellow and blue plumage had charmed the missionary:

[...] The savages often allude to this bird in their songs, saying and repeating: *canidé-iune*¹⁴, *canidé-iune heyra-ueh*, for in their language *june* or *jupe* means yellow. [...] I had been absorbed in the chorus, listening to the chords of this huge crowd and above all the cadence and the refrain repeated to each couplet: *He, he ayre, heyrá, heyrayre, heyra, heyre, uêh*. And even today when I remember this scene I feel my heart pound. [...] Finally they hit their right foot harder on the ground and after spitting forward, unanimously, they pronounced two or three times in a hoarse voice: *He, hyá, hyá, hyá* (de LÉRY, 1961: 136, my translation).

¹⁰ Jean de Léry (1536-1613) was a French priest, a Calvinist missionary who in 1556 joined an expedition to Antarctica, a French colony established in Rio de Janeiro between 1555 and 1560, the year in which the French were expelled by the Portuguese. His coming to Brazil had the objective of collaborating in this colonial enterprise implanted by the explorer Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon. De Léry's book *Histoire d'un Voyage faict en la terre du Brésil* was much read in his time as a travel and adventure book that was translated into Dutch, German and Latin. De Léry was not a renowned intellectual or a scientist. The writing of this book was at the insistence of friends who asked him to narrate the adventures and emotions lived in the two years he was in Brazil. His influence helped to create, in the sixteenth century European imagery, the idea of Brazil as the country of cannibals, due to the illustrations with scenes of anthropophagy. His book was not the first one to illustrate indigenous life in America. Before him, there were Hans Staden (1535) and André Thevet (1557).

¹¹ Note that the spelling of the titles of the Tupinambá tunes is different in the Villa-Lobos catalog reviewed by Marun (2010) and published by Max Eschig as 'Canidê Iounê-Sabath' but in the Villa-Lobos Catalog (2009), it is written as 'Canide Ioune-Sabath', without accent. Jean de Léry wrote 'Canidé iouue' or 'Canidé iouue' in the different versions published. 'Sabath' is a second tune that was considered part of the arrangement by Villa-Lobos always put together with a hyphen.

¹² This melody was used in *Os Três Poemas Indígenas* (Three Indigenous Poems) composed in Rio de Janeiro in 1926 and were dedicated to Roquette-Pinto and published by Max Eschig (MARUN, 2010). A historical version of 'Canidê-Ioune' with Quarteto do Coral Orfeão Villa-Lobos is available in the Appendix.

¹³ The word *canindé* comes from the Tupi-Guarani *kanindé* and has several meanings: it can be a type of macaw (in Portuguese it is written as 'canindé') and is also a name for a river, a city and an indigenous people probably the Tarairiu, who lived in the central region of Ceará.

¹⁴ Note that in the English translation the French "ioune" is changed into "iune". That makes sense because the French "ou" sounds like the English "u". The same with Sabath with only one 'b' and not two.

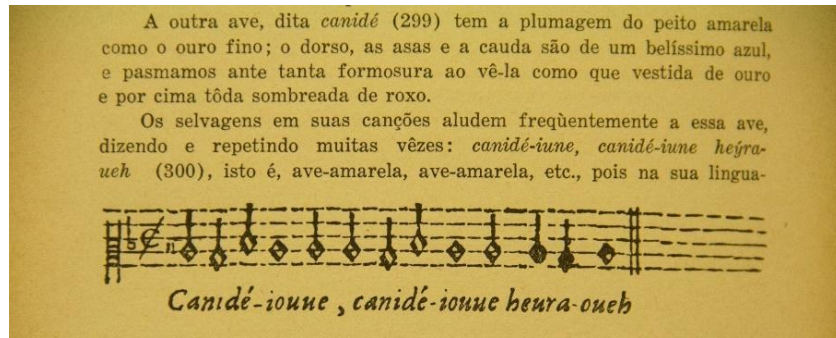


Figure 2 Transcription of 'Canidé iouue' written by Jean de Léry in 1585.

Ex. 1) Canidé iouue, (1ª versão, 1585)

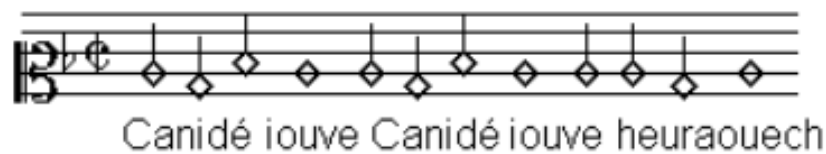


Figure 3 Another version of 'Canidé iouue' transcribed by Jean de Léry.

For many centuries, researcher-travelers¹⁵ rarely paid attention to indigenous music, and when they did, with a few rare exceptions, it was to criticize the lack of musicality. When they encountered these indigenous peoples, they used pejorative adjectives to (dis)qualify their musical manifestations. Terms such as *monotonous*, *strident*, *deafening*, *unpleasant*, *noisy*, *slurred* and *twangy* appeared frequently in their descriptions, as can be seen in the reports that were listed by musicologist Helza Camêu¹⁶, in the 1940s¹⁷.

¹⁵ The term "researcher-travelers" was coined to refer to those who visited Brazil in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the intention of knowing aspects of local flora and fauna or converting indigenous peoples. It would not be correct to call them ethnologists, as that term did not exist at the time.

¹⁶ Helza Camêu was responsible for the first publication of studies on indigenous music; she compiled a vast material of these reports. Her book *Introdução à música indígena brasileira* ("Introduction to Brazilian indigenous Music") constitutes a landmark in the study of historical references to indigenous musical cultures since the sixteenth century. Her research was based on relevant historical documents as well as material collected in the field by anthropologists from the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, such as Darcy Ribeiro, with whom she collaborated very closely. In this book, Camêu complains about the lack of indigenous song transcriptions and at the end of the book she transcribed several musical examples from the Kadiweu, Urubu-Kaapor and Tembê, collected by Darcy Ribeiro between the years 1948 and 1951, in addition to the Maxacali and Urubu songs collected by Max Boudin, also between 1948 and 1951, as well as the Kaiowá tunes collected by Egon Schaden in 1949, in a supplement.

¹⁷ It is important to emphasize that the process of colonization in Brazil had attracted adventurers eager to discover these "other" lands filled with exotic and unknown elements. Religious workers also came to the country to convert the indigenous peoples as well as researchers seeking to collect specimens of native Brazilian flora. What these people had in common is a racist discourse structured in a binary and opposing way; the contrast between "civilized" (the "whites") and "savages" (people of African and

Father João de Aspicuelta Navarro described in one of these reports a scene from the Tapuia people in Porto Seguro in 1555: "[...] the Natives were painted [...] dancing and wringing and twisting their mouths and howling like dogs" (NAVARRO, in: CAMÊU, 1977: 25, my translation).

In a 1775 letter, José Pinto da Fonseca commented on the instruments and voices of the Javajé: "[...] unpleasant horns accompanied by anguished shouts" (FONSECA, in: CAMÊU, 1977: 33, my translation).

Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, naturalist and ethnologist, described his personal impression of the Botocudos¹⁸ music between 1815 and 1817: "[...] the song resembles a slurred noise, which oscillates between three or four notes, sometimes rising, sometimes falling, coming from deep within the chest... Everything seemed to me as being a simple voiced sound without words" (WIED-NEUWIED, in: CAMÊU, 1977: 34 my translation).

As far back as the early nineteenth century, the researchers, accustomed to European musicality, did not like the Amerindian sonorities very much.

Austrian researchers Johann Baptist Ritter von Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius¹⁹ made an expedition between 1817 and 1821 to research the local fauna and flora and also annotated folk and indigenous melodies, registering them in the appendix of the book *Travel through Brazil* under the title of *Brasilianische Volkslieder und Indianische Melodien*²⁰ (Brazilian folk songs and indigenous melodies). In the absence of mechanical means of recording, the transcription of these melodies into musical notation was their way of graphically representing the musical practice of some indigenous groups, such as the Coroados and the Puris (SPIX and MARTIUS, 1938).

indigenous origin). "White" culture was related to the intellectual aspects: discernment, knowledge, presence of government, and laws that ruled social and sexual life; "nature" (black/indigenous) was related to the instinctual aspects: frank manifestation of emotions in the place of reason, absence of government and laws to regulate social and sexual life (OLIVEIRA, 2003: 28). In this view, an extensive literature was created to corroborate these ideas that, today, are refuted.

¹⁸ *Botocudos* was a generic term used to denote the indigenous groups that used lip plates, but in this case, it is probable that he is mentioning the Krenak.

¹⁹ On a trip between 1817 and 1820, botanist Martius and zoologist Spix traveled thousands of miles through the country visiting São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Bahia, Pernambuco, Piauí, Maranhão, Pará and Amazonas.

²⁰ The score of this appendix contains 13 transcriptions of urban melodies from Minas Gerais and São Paulo, six of which are indigenous, indicated as belonging to the Coroados, Puris Miranha, Mura, and a group from Rio Negro. The cover of the appendix is similar to the cover sheets of "*música ligera*" (light music) editions and the collections of *romanzas*, *mélodies* and *lieder* of the time, as if it were an independent work of the travel account. The format of its publication reveals the intention to make it an edition similar to any other of written music intended for reproduction (MERHY, 2010).



Figure 4 Dance of the Coroados and Puris. Musical Annex to the book *Viagem pelo Brasil* by Spix and Martius, 1823.

In 1818, these researchers made the following description of a Tukano and Baniwa ritual: "Instead of using reeds, now the chant of the dancers sounded in unison, and the women's yapping voices were making a dreadful squeal. [...] The song no more sounded like the simple snoring of men, since the sopranos shrieking melody, joined the abominable bawl" (SPIX and MARTIUS in: CAMÊU, 1977: 35, my translation).

Guido Boggiani, an Italian painter, draftsman and ethnologist, thus summed up the Kadiweu's singing in 1892: "The singing is a way of talking, because it is closer to the imitation of screams or roars of animals rather than to any song in the way we understand" (BOGGIANI in: CAMÊU, 1977, my translation).

From these transcriptions we cannot know how this music sounded and what its meanings were. According to Camêu, indigenous music was seen with prejudice by researcher-travelers when they came in contact with it: "they use impossible comparisons, absurd assumptions, and come to appalling conclusions, making comments which nowadays are unacceptable" (CAMÊU, 1977: 14, my translation).

In dealing with music, they do not admit that indigenous peoples are able to create a melodic line and when they find it, they immediately remember to confront it with other songs, or to determine it as a consequence of any influence whatsoever. In many cases they do not think of [...] questioning the capacity of the one who collected it or recorded it. What is always noticeable is the distrust, the unwillingness to accept the fact in itself, to admit that indigenous people have their own standards and values (CAMÊU, 1977: 45, my translation).

Speculating on the reason for this "intolerance" to indigenous sounds, I would say that in addition to reflecting a cultural strangeness, this view is due to the evolutionist biases of the nineteenth century that influenced the mentality of many researchers until the middle of the twentieth century. In this period, indigenous culture was seen as something "primitive", "inferior", and lacking in quality. In the twenty-first century, the adjectives used by those missionaries and travelers would be unacceptable, though

unfortunately, many of them still permeate the judgements of present-day society. The historian José D'Assunção Barros also comments on this difficulty in understanding the peculiarities of sounds from the indigenous repertoire:

For Western ears, unable to open themselves to another standard of listening which escapes their paradigm of sound precision is the deficiency in the emission of sound, it is the intrusion of noise affecting melodic purity, it is "musical primitivism." Joseph Yasser has already observed that "primitives" are not able to produce a definite pitch / height of sound "without appealing to the uncertain portamento of one indefinite sound to another" (Yasser 1938: 98). It would be hard to admit that inaccurate approximations or detours around a note are more of the order of effect than of defect (BARROS, 2011: 18, my translation).

In songs presenting parameters very distant from those defined by European or North American music, especially that of media culture, the first reaction could be one of resistance and rejection. To this very day, there is great difficulty in listening to indigenous songs, which still sound strange to the ears of people of European origin.

The scarce existence of sound recordings is haunting, considering the quantity of indigenous peoples living in Brazil²¹. To make access even more difficult, the transcriptions carried out by ethnomusicologists usually do not account for the sound particularities of these songs. The indigenous sonorities have characteristics that do not fit in the conventions used by the western score, created to write music of European origin. Indigenous music is structured with features such as portamentos, glissandos and intonations, microtones that do not fit into Western music's tempered tuning. The rhythmic part, in several cases, also suffers problems when written down, because it is common to find meters that do not fit in the time signatures to which we are accustomed. Musical phrases vary widely because they are connected to the dance movements, or they are free expressions with breathing pauses of the singer that 'escape' from the mathematical straightness of the score. In addition, there are nuances of interpretation, such as the use of nasal, guttural, blown, and spoken-singing that also hamper musical transcription.

When we attempt to listen to music from a cultural tradition we are not accustomed to, the interference between sound imageries, instead of complementing one another, may be a deforming force. This or that sound that a culture's standard of hearing does not consider part of pure musical sound, but as a noise which should simply be forgotten, may be extremely important to another's culture. What white man calls noise, the indigenous may feel as sound; the quarter-tone portamento which the European considers a "tuning error", the Brazilian native considers an integral and fundamental part of their music; the noises of the forest, which to the European seem to interrupt the "musical spectacle", are to the indigenous a most welcome guest. How to separate music from sound in the passage from one culture to another, if each culture redefines for itself what is noise and what is music? (BARROS, 2011: 17, my translation).

In addition to this difficulty in transcription, art in the indigenous world also needs to be understood within a broader and more complex context, since it is a "process of building worlds" (LAGROU, 2010: 20), a

²¹ Rafael de Menezes Bastos discusses this issue in his article *Como o conhecimento etnomusicológico é produzido?* (How is ethnomusicological knowledge produced?, 2009).

symbolic system capable of creating different languages. However, this deeper understanding of this sonic universe was only properly studied in the twentieth century, starting in the 1970s, when ethnomusicology was taking its first steps in Brazil²².

At the beginning of the twentieth century, wax cylinder recordings of indigenous tunes were made by German traveler-researchers Fritz Krause (1881-1963)²³, Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1872-1924) and Emil Snethlage (1897-1939) and then sent to the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin. In 1912, the Brazilian physician and ethnologist Edgard Roquette-Pinto²⁴ made an expedition in the Comissão Rondon to the Serra do Norte and Chapada dos Paresi²⁵, northwest of Cuiabá, gathering data on the Paresi and Nambikwara groups, published in the 1917 *Rondônia* book. In his research, Roquette-Pinto (1884-1954) used a camera and a tape recorder, rare and expensive objects at that time, making it possible to register some of these indigenous groups' songs²⁶ that were transcribed in his book.

Some of this sound material was kept stored and unavailable to the public for decades, and it only became available to us through the production of the CD *Rondônia 1912, Historical Recordings of Roquette-Pinto*, produced by the National Museum²⁷ and released one century later, which demonstrates the difficult access to these collections.

²² Even today the knowledge acquired in conservatories and music schools does not encompass necessary aspects for the understanding of Brazilian Native's music, since these institutions are based on the precepts of European music. The indigenous repertoire presents different musical systems and for this reason must be understood through other references. It is common to hear that indigenous music 'has no melody, no harmony, is not tuned'. In reality, it has all these elements, although articulated in a different way. The ancient studies on indigenous music were clad in this Eurocentric garb, since most of the researchers were foreigners, and few had the musical culture necessary to properly analyze what they heard. Those who had some musical knowledge always compared native to European music. Until the 1970s, we still see evolutionary precepts in interpretations, with descriptions that prioritized the appearance of instruments, scales and notes in detriment to the anthropological context of the music.

²³ See text about these historical recordings of indigenous songs in Appendix Chapter 1-2.

²⁴ Edgard Roquette-Pinto (1884-1954, born in Rio de Janeiro) was a medical examiner, teacher, writer, ethnologist, writer and member of the Brazilian Academy of Literature. He is considered the "father of broadcasting" in Brazil and creator of Radio Society of Rio de Janeiro. He collaborated with the Mission of Rondon (1912), where he filmed and recorded the songs of Nambiquara and the Paresí peoples.

²⁵ At that time, they used to write the name of this group with 'c', but nowadays it is with 's': Paresí (ISA, 2017).

²⁶ See scores of Rondônia book in Appendix Chapter 1-6.

²⁷ The booklet of this CD is available on the website of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro / LACED and the audios are available in Soundcloud. The pdf of the booklet is in Appendix Chapter 1-6.

VOM ROROIMA ZUM ORINOCO

ERGEBNISSE EINER REISE IN NORDBRASIL
UND VENEZUELA IN DEN JAHREN 1911–1913

UNTERNOMMEN UND HERAUSGEGEBEN
IM AUFTRAGE UND MIT MITTELN DES
BAESSLER-INSTITUTS IN BERLIN

VON

THEODOR KOCH-GRÜNBERG



ERSTER BAND

SCHILDERUNG DER REISE

MIT 6 VOLLTAPELN UND 109 ABBILDUNGEN IN LICHTDRUCK

DIETRICH REIMER (ERNST VOHSEN)
IN BERLIN 1917

Figure 5 German cover for Koch-Grünberg's book, 1917.

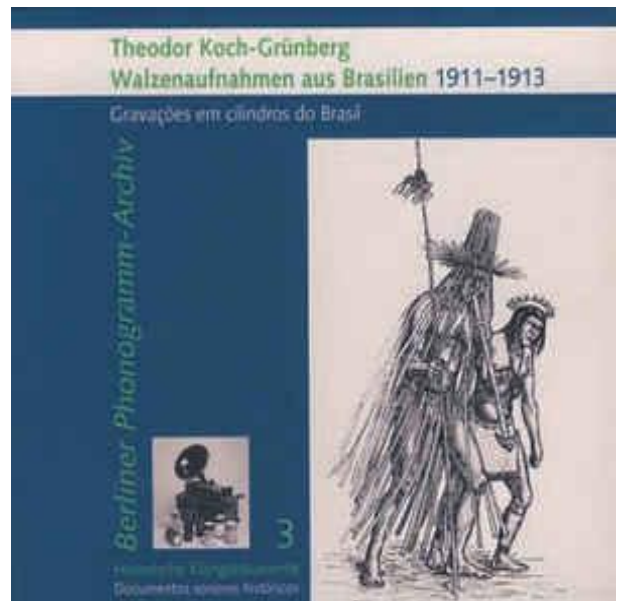


Figure 6 Cover for the CD containing Koch-Grünberg's recordings, released in 2008.

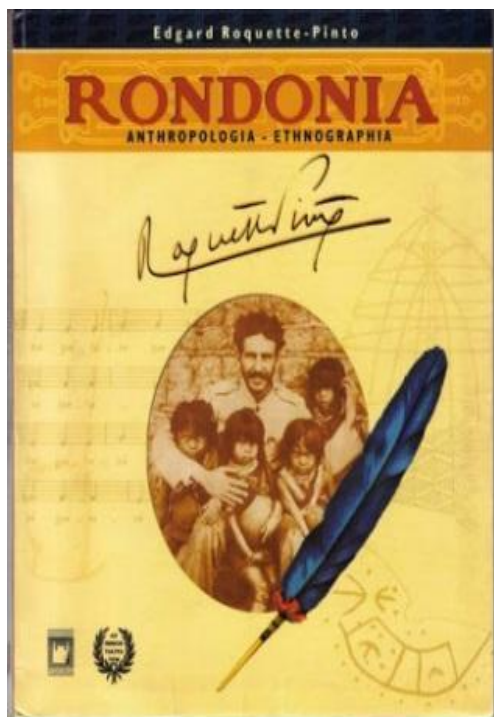


Figure 7 Cover for Roquette-Pinto's book, *Rondônia*, published in 1912.

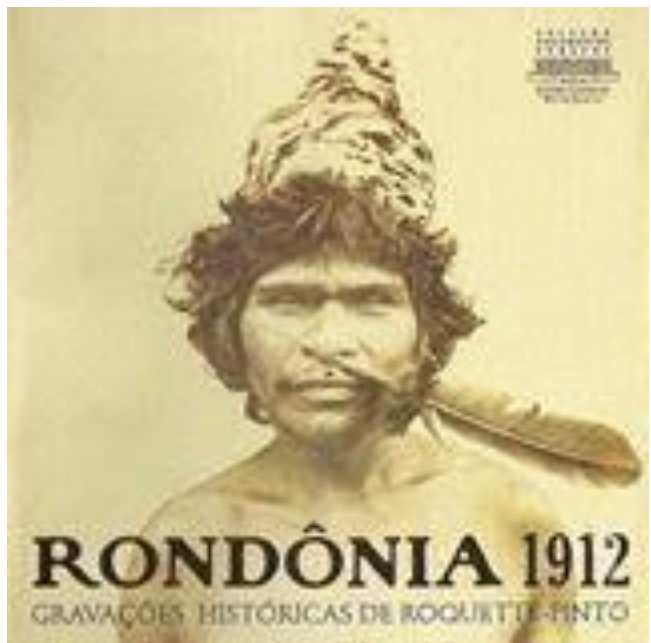


Figure 8 Cover for the CD *Rondônia* (2008) by Roquette-Pinto.

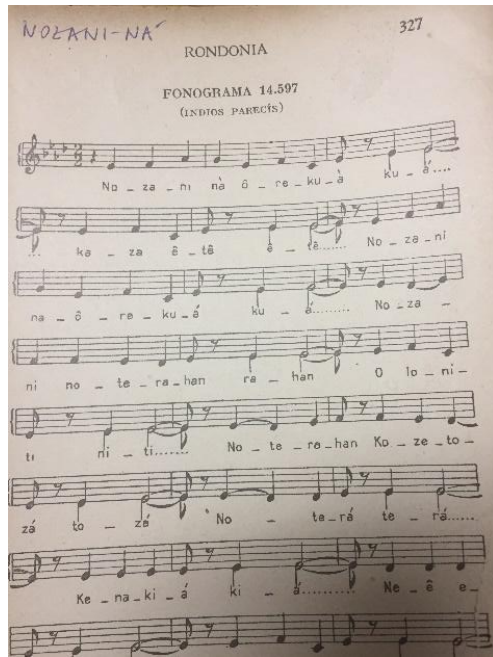


Figure 9 Score for 'Nozani-ná' transcribed in the book *Rondônia* by Roquette-Pinto, 1912.

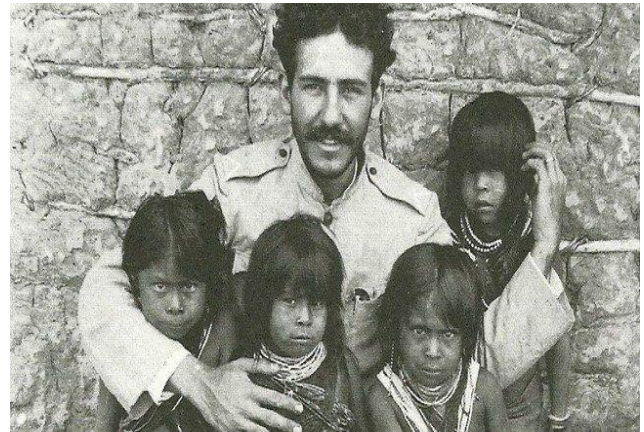


Figure 10 Roquette-Pinto with indigenous children during Rondon's expedition, 1912.

In the remaining of this chapter, I will analyze projects of Brazilian musicians who used indigenous melodies in their compositions or were openly inspired by native cultural imagery. After examining these influences, it becomes clear that, aside from Villa-Lobos, artists from the popular music scene such as Egberto Gismonti, Milton Nascimento, Caetano Veloso, Maestro Sá Britto and Marlui Miranda are the musicians who most prominently were inspired by the indigenous sonorities. Some classical composers will also be discussed.

Each of these musicians developed a singular relationship with the indigenous repertoire, demonstrating a variety of approaches and a shift in the process of expanding the visibility of the original cultures. Each of these artists' approach will bring us to reflect on the phenomenon of appropriation and hybridism, as well as their political engagements.

This chapter's goal is to reference and contextualize indigenous elements used in these songs, while considering the process of appropriation. In the next chapter, I will detail the projects developed in association with the Mawaca ensemble as well as the reverberations in other projects. The description of these projects aims to clarify the context, meaning and cultural constructions developed during the course of 'cultural independence' from European standards. A large part of the sources used, though belonging to alternative mediums, such as interviews, statements from videos, blogs, newspapers and magazines, consistently contributes as reference material in documenting a significant part of the history of Brazilian Popular Music (MPB).

With the purpose of developing an analysis of the cultural reinterpretation and the use of musical structures by particular indigenous groups, there are three ways that traditional music can be “transmuted into modern music” as part of “reinterpretative phenomena” proposed by the Hungarian composer and music researcher Béla Bartók in the 1930s.

1. Using an intact folk melody (with no change of sound or lyrics) and creating a new arrangement, close to a quotation.
2. Producing an imitation or extension of traditional tunes with the intent of stimulating folk music.
3. Completely assimilating the language of folk music and incorporating these elements into the composer’s style as an integral aspect of his musical vocabulary (BARTÓK, 1985: 45, my translation).

Building upon these three premises, I intend to examine the way indigenous music was used in the history of Brazilian popular music, though not in a thoroughly detailed manner, for each case qualifies for an independent dissertation. To establish a comprehensible context for these stories, brief historical explanations for each main political period are included, dividing the period of study into three historic moments: the Getúlio Vargas’ era (from 1930 to 1945); the Dictatorship (1964 to 1985) and the emerging Democracy of the late 1980s. The musicians are directly or indirectly influenced by these periods, which are presented as a backdrop and in no way, can be seen as complete depiction of Brazil’s history. My focus is specifically on the indigenous aspects and how they are portrayed, seen and imagined; how the use of elements from native groups reverberates within the work of the artists.

In the timeline below, we can see that musicians who used, or worked with, indigenous music are few, considering the extended period since the nineteenth century up to the present.

TIMELINE CHAPTER 1

16th	19th	20th			
		Getulio Vargas			
	1836-1896		1912-1958		
Jean de Léry	Carlos Gomes	Roquette-Pinto	Villa-Lobos 1887-1959		
Canidé Ioune	18870 - Il Guarany	1910 - Rondonia	1914 - Danças características Africanas		
		Paresi, Nambiquara songs recording	1917 - Uirapuru		
			1917 - Amazonas		
			1919 - Ena mokocê e Nozani ná		
			1929 - Canções Típicas Brasileiras		
			1930 - Canções indígenas - Ualaloce e Kamalalo, 1930		
			1934 - Mandú Carará		
			1937 - Descoberta do Brasil (Ualolocê)		
			1941- Cantos de Cairé		
			1952 - Duas Lendas Ameríndias em		
			1953 - Sinfonia ameríndia com coros		
			1958 - A Floresta do Amazonas		
20th					
Dictatorship					
1970	1971	1974	1975	1978-1990	1982
Marlos Nobre	Guerra-Peixe	Sergio Vasconcelos	Caetano Veloso	Egberto Gismonti	Milton nascimento
Yanomami	Série Xavante	Moacaretá	Asa, asa Um Índio	1978 Sol do Meio Dia	Txai
Democracy					
1993	1995-2006	1995-2005	1996		
Kilza Setti	Marlui Miranda	Priscila Ernel	Sepultura		
1993 Ore Ru Namandu					
Ete Tenondegua	1995 - Ihu	1995 - Symphony Imã Etê	1996 - CD Roots (Xavante)		
1995 Hökrepoj	1997 - Kewere	2005 - DVD Ti Etê			
	2003 - CD Tuyuka				
	2005- Ponte entre os povos				
	2006 - Neuneneu				
	2015 - Fala de Bicho, Fala de Gente				
Democracy					
2000	2001-2004	2008	2008-2017		
Edino Krieger	Sá Brito	Renata Rosa	Mawaca		
2000 - Terra Brasilis	2001 - Project Mehinaku	2008 - Manto dos Sonhos Kariri Xoxo	2008 CD Rupestres		
	2004 - Project Caiapo		2009 DVD Rupestres		
			2011 - Tour Cantos da Floresta		
			2014 A Grande Pedra		
			2015 - Floresta Canta		
			2017 - Cantos da Floresta		

The nineteenth century – From Colony to Republic

In 1800 Brazil was still a colony of Portugal. With the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family, in 1808, the country gained new status, becoming the headquarters of the Portuguese Crown. In 1815 Brasil was raised to the status of kingdom and in 1822 Brazil's independence was declared. In 1831 began the regency period with Dom Pedro II. Indigenous people who were inhabiting the land were prohibited from possessing it, and were systematically expelled. Around 1870, there were indianologists, i.e. 'scholars of indigenous customs', who adhered to an evolutionary view, identifying the native as a representation of primitive man²⁸. These researchers had difficulties to reconcile the idealized image of the archeological native with the actual, living native. The writer and researcher João Barboza Rodrigues – who was in the Amazon on a scientific mission of the imperial government (1872-1875) – "though he sought to defend the original customs of the 'civilized

²⁸ In different areas of knowledge, General Couto de Magalhães, the botanist Barboza Rodrigues and the doctors Melo Moraes Morais Filho and Nina Rodrigues showed interest in the customs, songs and folklore which are more ethnographic than literary.

native' – who he calls tapuio (or tapuyo) – from the dominant influences of white civilization, he does not hide his prejudice about the race's inferiority":

The *tapuyo*, in other words, the *gentio* who was either born into the Portuguese environment, or civilized according to it, no matter how educated he may be, it is always amidst this Portuguese tradition that he may thrive, and since his intelligence is insufficiently developed, the system employed by civilization atrophies him, that is why he accepts all ideas without criticism, or even discernment (Barboza in: RIBEIRO, C., 2006: 1, my translation).

In 1888, Brazil finally abolished slavery. From 1890 onward, many immigrants came to Brazil to replace slave labor.

The indigenist politics in the nineteenth century, as pointed out by the anthropologist Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, was focused on the fallacy of the discourse of the disappearance of the indigenous populations, but many of them were living in the backlands, towns and villages of Brazil and continuously claiming their rights, but their voice was not heard. The Marquis of Pombal proposed an assimilationist politic that served the construction of nationalism, created in a European way, where there is no place for multiple cultures. Despite the differences, the proposal is to incorporate indigenous as 'civilized citizens' to serve the Empire as "efficient workers". Speeches and images about the indigenous were forged to construct an idealized Brazil for foreigners (CARNEIRO, 1992). One of them was José de Alencar's book, *O Guarany*²⁹, an epic narrative published in 1957 that became very popular³⁰. De Alencar was responsible for the construction of a very romanticized image of the indigenous peoples who 'belonged to a remote past'.

In the second half of the nineteenth century music in Brazil was very focused on the Italian opera, such as *La Traviata* and *Norma*, staged many times in Brazil by European companies. It was rare to have place for Brazilian composers, *modinha* was the only popular genre allowed to be performed in the courtly soirees. Until the end of the nineteenth century, except for the transcriptions by Jean de Léry and Spix and Martius, there were few references to indigenous music³¹ that could be used to support the composers, aside from

²⁹ De Alencar's book is compulsory reading in Brazilian schools and was transformed into a movie, a comic story and Carlos Gomes' opera. It is a love story about an Aymoré indigenous leader that falls in love with a white woman. See more about it on <https://guiadoestudante.abril.com.br/estudo/o-guarani-resumo-da-obra-de-jose-de-alencar/>.

³⁰ To understand this period in Brazilian history better I recommend reading the book *Native and National in Brazil Indigeneity after Independence* by Tracy Devine Guzmán published by The University of North Carolina Press in 2013.

³¹ There were very few studies about indigenous music in Brazil at the end of nineteenth century such as the ones by Nicolau Badariot (1889), Karl von den Steinen (1897) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1881) but they were published after Carlos Gomes composed *O Guarany*. The researches about the music and cultural aspects gained momentum in the beginning of the twentieth century with researchers such as Roquette-Pinto (1912), Koch-Grünberg (1911-1913), Arnold Deuber (1926), Erich von Hornbostel (1923), Heinrich Manizer (1934), Karl Izikowitz (1935), Serafim Leite (1936) as mentioned by Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo in his thesis "Scale, rhythm and melody in the music of Brazilian indians" presented for the competition for the chair of National Folklore at the National

imagination, as seen with Carlos Gomes, a composer deeply influenced by the Italian opera and nationalism.

CARLOS GOMES (1836-1896)

Carlos Gomes was an exponent of the romantic style. With the support of the Brazilian emperor Pedro II, he traveled to Italy to study and received the title of Maestro at the Conservatoire of Milan in 1866. He was the first Brazilian composer whose work was presented in the Scala Theater in Milan and after that he built an important career in Europe. He was patron of the Brazilian Academy of Music and his name was inscribed in the Book of Heroes of Brazil. His most famous oeuvre was the opera 'Il Guarany'³² (1870) that will be the focus of this analysis.

'Il Guarany' was inspired by José de Alencar's romance and the indigenous element is revealed by a romanticized framing of a native with European traits, infused with nationalism³³. This approach to the indigenous ideal was built on two Romantic paradigms: "the artist as genius and hero who reveals his greatness through example; and Europe as the greatest cultural and artistic reference" (FREITAS, 2009, my translation).

The main character in Gomes' opera, Peri, is portrayed as a romanticized native hero. In the words of José de Alencar, author of the romance on which the libretto was based, he was "a Portuguese knight in the body of a savage" and "though ignorant, the son of the forest, was a king; had the strength of royalty" (ALENCAR, 1984, my translation). It is a conception that seeks to portray the creation of a country through a foreign aesthetic, founded on the norms of European music such as the Italian opera, the ruling paradigm of that time. 'Il Guarany' was sung entirely in Italian, in the style of bel canto, and at a certain moment, ballet dancers performed a minuet during what would be the 'indigenous scene'³⁴.

School of Music in the University of Brazil. The text was translated by Peter Fry and revised by Rafael José de Menezes Bastos for Vibrant Magazine in 2011.

³² The original title is written as *Il Guarany* but in Portuguese is named *O Guarani*. The opera was premiered at the Scala Theater in Milan in 1870 with great success and was later featured in several important theaters in Europe.

³³ "The Brazilian nature, in this case, is not in the doing, but in the being. The exemplary Brazilian essence would consist of resembling the cultured European standards, consequently elevating Brazil to the same level of culture and erudition" (FREITAS, 2009: 1, my translation).

³⁴ Footage of this ballet can be found in the documentary *Índio de Casaca* and a modern version at the Paz Theater in Belém (See appendices).



Figure 11 Frontispiece for the score of *Il Guarany* by Carlos Gomes.



Figure 12 Characterization of the indigenous character Peri for *Il Guarany* at the Teatro alla Scala in Milan.

According to his daughter Ítala Gomes Vaz de Carvalho (1935), Carlos Gomes had attempted to use reproductions of some indigenous instruments such as “*torés, tembis, inubias*”³⁵ in certain sections of his work, for the “very Brazilian moments” of the opera such as the Aymoré dances in the third act. She mentioned that her father searched for instruments in Italy that could imitate the native horns and went to an organ factory in Bergamo but found the tubes “too heavy for the choir singers to carry at Teatro Scalla” (CARVALHO, 1935: 87). Then he found another factory in Milan and asked them to build the instruments under his supervision, indicating the “artist’s intention to lend nativist traits” to his opera (GUIMARÃES, 1870). There is no mention of these indigenous instruments in the manuscript of *Il Guarany*³⁶ nor audio recordings with them, which indicates that Carlos Gomes intention was more scenic than musical. The opera was composed in a completely Verdian style and the concept of the native was entirely romanticized, although his daughter suggested that some dissonant chords as well as certain melodies sounded “wild and evocative of the jungles” with “the patriotic heart of a real native descendent, a genuine Brazilian!” (CARVALHO, 1935: 88).

In the twentieth century the opera was criticized: (though even today its overture is used in the official Brazilian government newscast, *A Voz do Brasil*):

Carlos Gomes, due to the “divorce” between the elite and general populace, ended up “aesthetically impaired”, since he was “forced” to “disregard the voices of the land.” On the one hand, in José de Alencar’s book *O Guarani*, it was possible, according to Renato Almeida, to clearly distinguish the difference between languages used by the natives and the whites;

³⁵ *Inubia* is a type of recorder made originally from bamboo (*taboca*) but nowadays is used in ‘*Caboclinhos* party’ and is made of aluminium.

³⁶ The manuscripts are available at IMSLP website. See link in the Bibliography.

and on the other, in Carlos Gomes' *O Guarani*³⁷, the natives' singing was based on the same modulations of the tonal system and the Italian arias, therefore denying its own history, that is, the songs of the Brazilian natives which reflect an "audacious freedom", symbolic of "our jungles" (CONTIER, 1994: 38, my translation).

Musical Example 2b. Carlos Gomes's *Il Guarany*, "Passo Selvaggio" (Act III)



Musical Example 2c. Carlos Gomes's *Il Guarany*, "Gran marcia-baccanale indiano" (Act III)



Figure 13 Examples of the portrayal of the Aimorés in the opera *Il Guarany*: Passo Selvaggio'.

After considerable success and many honors, Gomes' opus was completely refuted as being 'outdated', as something "that should be destroyed so that Brazilian art could be open to the new" (FREITAS, 2009: 1, my translation). Gomes' music³⁸ began to represent the exact opposite of what Brazilian modernists such as Mário de Andrade and Oswald de Andrade promoted in the first half of the twentieth century as representative of the irreverence and rebelliousness towards European models that will be discussed further on.

Twentieth century – Republic and new ideas

In November 1889 Brazil became a Republic still under the military president Deodoro da Fonseca³⁹. At this time, there was an institutional interest in establishing progressive goals and populating Brazil's

³⁷ In many cases, *Il Guarany* is written as in Portuguese spelling *O Guarani*.

³⁸ During the Modern Art Week, in 1922, Gomes was accused of extreme conservativeness. Menotti del Picchia proclaimed "death to Peri", expressing that the "mental Peri, the Peri consciousness, the Peri art, that is, put simply, the conservatism, the neophobia, the enslavement to the past, the subservience to the past, the subservience to the obsolete' should be destroyed". Oswald de Andrade simply declared that "Carlos Gomes is horrible", and his music is "expressionless, phoney and nefarious". But Mário de Andrade declares him the most inspired musician Brazil has ever produced, though he asserts that his time has passed: "his music holds little interest and doesn't correspond to today's musical requirements or the modern sensibility" (WISNIK, in: FREITAS, 2009: 1, my translation).

³⁹ A brief explanation about the historical events of this time is available on Britannica website <https://www.britannica.com/place/Brazil/The-collapse-of-the-empire>.

central region, considered 'sparsely inhabited'. This project, which started with the 1913 expedition of marshall Rondon (who was accompanied by Theodore Roosevelt), gained support and began the "March to the West", whose main objective was occupying and developing inland Brazil. The occupation of the central western region was also intended as a preliminary step towards the occupation of the Amazon. The goals of the March to the West were to create a demographic policy encouraging the migration of people from other states to these underpopulated areas (without considering the region's many indigenous groups): the creation of roads, agricultural colonies and incentives for agricultural production in that region. Much of this proposal came to fruition. The March to the West founded 43 towns, built 19 landing sites, contacted more than 5,000 indigenous people, and covered 1,500 kilometers of open trails and rivers during a period lasting 40 years. The project cut through the whole country, as shown in the map below, but also created a series of issues by invading indigenous ancestral lands, from where many original inhabitants⁴⁰ were evicted.



Figure 14 Original subtitle: After the distribution of clothes, indigenous indian looked like inhabitants of civilized cities.
Photo: Rondon Commission, 1910.

Since the Rondon Commission started its work, news sent by telegraph and films covering the expedition were widely publicized⁴¹ by the government. But in the nineteen-forties, stories about indigenous groups "being discovered" became more frequent in the press, which reported with great flourish the progress of the Roncador-Xingu Expedition, organized by the Villas-Bôas brothers⁴². The black and white

⁴⁰ More about this moment can be found in the website of the *Projeto Memória Rondon a construção do Brasil e a causa indígena* (Memory Project Rondon: the construction of Brazil and the indigenous cause) and in Roberto Baruzzi and Carmen Junqueira's book *Parque Indígena do Xingu: saúde, cultura e história* (Indigenous Park of Xingu: health, culture and history), 2005.

⁴¹ Journalist and writer Jorge Ferreira covered the Expedition of the brothers Cláudio and Orlando Villas-Bôas, who contacted the Txukarramãe for the second time. An excerpt from what remains of the 14-minute film is available on internet: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MWdaXLycm-s>.

⁴² The Villas-Bôas brothers were Orlando, Cláudio, Leonardo. Álvaro was the fourth brother but did not participate in the expeditions. They lead the Roncador-Xingu expedition, starting in 1943, to map the central region of the country, considered an

scenes seized the average citizen's imagination: an “undisturbed backcountry”, which was inhabited by groups living in perfect harmony with nature, but that should be “integrated” and transformed in “civilized inhabitants”. However, what really happened resulted in widespread disease outbreaks and violent conflicts in the defense of lands and rights. As a result, in 1961, the same Villas-Bôas brothers created a land reserve with the intention of protecting the natives, a place they named the Xingu National Park, where 16 groups live to this day, among them the Kamayurá, Yawalapiti, Waura, Kalapalo, Aweti and Ikpeng.



Figure 15 Map of the March to the West during the New State government.



Figure 16 Orlando Villas-Bôas medicating Mengire of Panará descent, 1965.

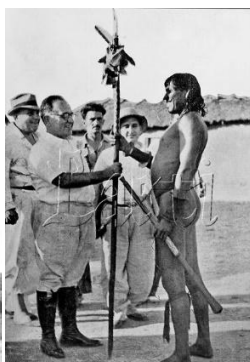


Figure 17 Getúlio Vargas and a Karajá native greet one another.

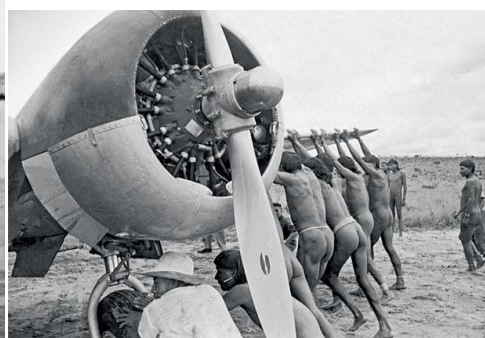


Figure 18 Natives pushing an airplane.

inhospitable ‘no man’s land’, for until their arrival the existence of Indigenous groups residing in the area was not known. They acted cautiously against military designs and the action of speculators, always in defense of the local natives. In 1961, with the help of the anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro, Orlando and his brothers helped consolidate the Indigenous Xingu Park. The Park is divided into High, Mid, and Lower. Orlando was twice nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his work with the groups from the Xingu.

It is important to emphasize that even with the attention focused on these indigenous expeditions, manifestations of African heritage in music became more common in popular culture (although viewed with prejudice) and became a foundation for Brazilian music. *Samba* was soon to be acclaimed in the 1930s the traditional genre *par excellence* and the unique representation of national identity⁴³.

During the nationalist period (1920-1945) there was a need to 'found' a national Brazilian identity⁴⁴, and in this period, there was a small increase in interest in folk music, stimulated by the writer Mário de Andrade, one of the leading modernist intellectuals. Mário de Andrade was a multitalented artist, active in diverse fields, such as literature, fine arts and music. He emphasized the need for artists to free themselves from the "cultural slavery" they endured. It was up to them to break the habit of imitating European cultural models and build an autonomous culture that reflects the unique Brazilian psyche (REILLY, 2000: 4). Mário de Andrade always encouraged composers to use Brazilian traditional tunes in their work, showing them, folk melodies collected throughout Brazil during his research, mainly focused on African heritage.

Mário de Andrade did not work extensively with indigenous music, but rather with the repertoires of Afro-Brazilian tradition and Portuguese origin, but he did use indigenous imagery in one of his most important books, *Macunaíma*, which references research on the Taulipang and Arecuná's myths, that were compiled by the German ethnologist Koch-Grünberg (1917). Mário de Andrade was more enthusiastic about the mythological aspects than the music of indigenous groups, though he encouraged Villa-Lobos to use the melodies collected by Roquette-Pinto, which led to notable changes in the composer's musical oeuvre⁴⁵.

VILLA-LOBOS (1887–1959)

After Carlos Gomes, it was only in the beginning of the twentieth century that Heitor Villa-Lobos

⁴³ There was a wave of exoticism and regionalism that invaded Rio de Janeiro, justifying the interest in "popular music" and folklore, despite all the Europeanization. Since the romantic period, intellectuals approximated to the popular musicians, which prevented the simple opposition between elites and popular culture. This was the way found to explain the "easy" acceptance of *samba* – as well as "positive *mestiço* music", that merged African and Portuguese heritages – as the "national music" (ABREU, 2001).

⁴⁴ There is a vast literature on the matter of nationality in Brazilian arts, starting with Mário de Andrade's *Ensaio sobre a Música Brasileira* (Essay about Brazilian Music), but this subject will not be approached in this thesis.

⁴⁵ It is worth noting that Mário de Andrade, though having motivated Villa-Lobos to use indigenous elements in his work, also criticized the composer's posture, tormented by the temptation of making himself seem more exotic to assure success outside Brazil. He named this the "Guassú Coefficient". In his *Ensaio sobre a Música Brasileira* (1928), Mário de Andrade comments about the European craving for a Third World full of "exotic fun" to break the monotony. "Europe was completed and organized in a stadium of civilizations and looks for strange elements to be freed from itself. Because we have no social greatness to impose ourselves on the Old World, nor the philosophical intensity present in Asia, nor economic potency as in North America, what Europe gains from us is elements of universal exhibition: exotic fun" (DE ANDRADE, 1972: 2, my translation).

expressed interest in developing a “Brazilian music *par excellence*”. In this period, Marechal Cândido Rondon’s expeditions to “unexplored lands”⁴⁶ were intensely publicized in the national press, revealing the existence of indigenous groups who were thought to be extinct, since many of them had never been contacted previously. Due to this great interest, Villa-Lobos sought out Roquette-Pinto’s field recordings. He visited the National Museum several times to listen to these phonograms, recorded on wax cylinders with sounds from the Paresi and Nambikwara groups, which had an important influence on the compositions that are examined later in this chapter.⁴⁷

The ethnomusicologist Gabriel Moreira believes that the intense use of indigenous tunes by Villa-Lobos is not only due to the composer’s personal preferences, but also results from his friendship with Roquette-Pinto and his direct access to the latter’s field recordings. Additionally, there was a “widespread penchant in Europe (especially in France) for “exotic” South American music” (PEPPERCORN in: MOREIRA, 2000: 186, my translation).

Villa-Lobos is considered the most representative and creative composer of Brazilian classical music. The ‘indigenous element’ present in his work was responsible for his consecration as the most profound embodiment of Brazilian music abroad (MOREIRA, 2013). He has used indigenous and folkloric themes collected by de Léry, Roquette-Pinto, Sodré Viana and Barboza Rodrigues⁴⁸, as well as material from Mário de Andrade’s *Missão das Pesquisas Folclóricas* (Folkloric Researches Mission) collected during his expeditions

⁴⁶ These lands were considered uninhabited but Rondon and his team encountered many indigenous groups in the Central Western region of the country. Scenes of the *Comissão Rondon* expedition are available on the internet under the name *Documentário sobre a Comissão Rondon retrata cultura indígena, fauna e flora da Amazônia*. There is also the silent film, *Marechal Cândido Rondon – Ao Redor do Brasil*, one of Brazil’s first ethnographic documentaries, filmed by Major Afonso Reis. The movie has scenes from some of the expeditions in the central regions lead by Rondon and his crew with heavily nationalist tones of the Vargas’ Government.

⁴⁷ In 1910, during the first years of the Republic Era, the presence of the SPI – Indian Protection Service indicates an important change in indigenous politics, removing the church’s responsibility towards ‘protecting’ the natives. Legislation was made to guarantee respect towards the natives, their culture and their right to own land, but the great westward expansion of telegraph lines and railways lead to frightening encounters for the indigenous population. The newspapers registered atrocious massacres and murders resulting from conflicts between natives and settlers. On the one hand, part of society saw the indigenous people as hostile groups that obstructed development and should be exterminated; on the other, people were horrified by the massacres and fought the racist theories which suggested that the solution of the conflict was the extermination of indigenous peoples (COSTA, 1987).

⁴⁸ João Barboza Rodrigues (1842-1909) was a Brazilian scientist who visited the Amazon during an expedition for the imperial government (1872-1875). He directed the Botanical Garden of Manaus, inaugurated in 1883 under the patronage of Princess Isabel, and is the author of *Poranduba Amazonense* (a book read by Villa-Lobos) and of *O canto e a dança silvícola* (The chant and *silvícola* dance), published in 1881 in *Revista Brasileira de Música* (Brazilian Music Magazine), Volume 9, one of the first articles on indigenous music published in Brazil written by a Brazilian man.

to the Brazilian northeast and Amazonian regions in the 1930s (MOREIRA, G., 2010).

Villa-Lobos earned the nickname of *Índio de Casaca* (Indian wearing white-tie-tails) in Paris, during the period between wars, when he presented his work to the French elite. This was the way he found to set himself apart from the French musical identity (SCHIC, 1987). Moreira comments on the composer's performance during his stay in Paris:

It is undeniable that much of Villa-Lobos celebrity in Brazil and abroad was due to the warm reception of his work in the Paris of *Année[s] Folles* (FLETCHET, 2004). He was first recognized as a Brazilian composer in Paris [...] and then recognized as an icon of Brazilian music in his own country (GUÉRIOS, 2009). Although this Brazilianness has manifested itself in several ways in his career – such as the preference for Brazilian folklore in the 1930s, as to Indigenous music in the 1920s (although I emphasize the existence of many connections and interactions between these two themes in the *villalobean* work) – it was the construction of this Brazilian character, intrinsically linked to the concept of *savage* that settled into the general impression that one has of the composer and his music (MOREIRA, 2013: 2, my translation).

Although he never had met indigenous peoples, Villa-Lobos enjoyed disclosing false stories of a “real meeting with indians in the jungle” and that he was “almost devoured by natives” (PEPPERCORN, 1992: 213). In creating these fantasies, he implies that he enjoyed being seen as an exotic figure, or perhaps intended to ironize the French view of Brazil, still based on the imagery established during the sixteenth century, with the stories of de Léry about the cannibalism of the Tupinambá, or with the book by Hans Staden⁴⁹ (1557) which became a bestseller in Europe, and, with the help of the highly suggestive illustrations of anthropophagic rituals provided by Théodore de Bry.

⁴⁹ The book *Two Trips to Brazil*, written by the German researcher Hans Staden, was one of the first reports on Brazil, first published in 1557 in Marburg. The author recounts what he experienced on this trip, describing the landscapes, unexplored riches, rituals of Tupinamba cannibalism and other customs of indigenous peoples. The book originally has a long title: *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen*, Andreas Kolbe 1557, Marburg. (The true history and description from a land of savage naked man-eaters, located in the New World of America).



Figure 19 Engraving by Theodor de Bry for Hans Staden's account of his 1557 captivity.

Art critic Jorge Coli analyzes how Villa-Lobos created an extravagant image of himself, spreading dubious rumors about his own history, “constructing fables, inventing a past, and assigning false dates to works in order to give them a pioneering character”. “He decided to become a 'tropical' composer in Paris, noting the vogue for barbarian exoticism that flourished there in the 1920s (COLI, 2007, my translation).

Marcel Beauvils, through the testimony of Casadesus and Vasco Mariz, in an article by Lucie Delarue-Mardrus, narrates unbelievable stories told by Villa-Lobos in Paris: he would have been taken prisoner of the indians. He used the occasion to learn by heart the beautiful songs of the savages who tortured him. To someone who asked him if, by any chance, he would have practiced anthropophagy on these occasions, he confessed having eaten the flesh of a child with the indians. He would have played western music in a phonograph and the indians rushed to destroy the apparatus. But replacing the record, the machine transmitted indian songs and immediately became some divinity: before it, the whole village prostrates in adoration. It merges irony, imagery, blague, and imposture. How far can our confidence of the composer's testimonies go, regarding his period of formation, while all sources are not checked? (COLI, 2007: 74).

Villa-Lobos was “exploring” the imaginary created by Hans Staden and Jean de Léry. Besides that, he sought to emphasize what the Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Velho always affirmed: “the role of the contribution of different ethnic and cultural groups in the constitution of Brazilian society” (VELHO, 1977: 5). However, musicologist Gerard Béhague, in 1994, pointed out the implicit dangers in attempting to establish the Brazilian image by merging the contributions of black people, indigenous people and Portuguese, which might lead to simplifications and generalizations that were not representative of actual Brazil. In spite of this, in 1928, there were many intellectuals praising the nationalist verve of Villa-Lobos, as can be seen below in

the article by the Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier⁵⁰, mentioning Villa-Lobos' masterpieces:

Sunday afternoon. In the studio of Villa-Lobos [...] the admirable pianist Tomás Terán⁵¹ sits at the piano. He prestigiously plays one of Villa-Lobos's *Cirandas* suites [...] And the formidable voice of America, with its wild rhythms, its primitive melodies, its contrasts and shocks which evoke humanity's childhood, sounds forth in the heat of a summer afternoon, through a music of the utmost refinement and actuality. The enchantment works its effect. The piano hammers – drum sticks? – strike a thousand sonorous vines⁵², transmitting echoes across the virgin continent (CARPENTIER (1928), in: GUÉRIOS, 2006: 19, my translation).

While Carpentier exalted the “charm” of Villa-Lobos' music, he also worried about the “evil of exoticism” that affects some artists:

The evil of exoticism is an evil that often affects the artists of our America. We have a lot of German pines, which dreamed of the native palms. But the opposite also occurs: we are palm trees, sometimes we grow in wild places, but we strive to disguise ourselves as a snow-covered pine (CARPENTIER, 1928: 25 in: FELIPPE, 2011: 3, my translation).

Realizing that he could not compete with European composers from the 1920s Parisian scene, Villa-Lobos might have felt the need to differentiate himself by seeking to 'sound exotic' to the European ears. His work reflects precisely the friction between these two worlds, the European (considered culturally superior, which should make him a serious composer) and his 'mixed-blood origin', which he constantly asserted in his interviews.

The use of indigenous themes may have been the 'touchstone' in Villa-Lobos's work, since no other composer had yet used elements of those cultures. According to the researcher Paulo Renato Guérios, the use of indigenous elements in his compositions is what inscribed Villa-Lobos in the cultural movement of Modernism:

In fact, Villa-Lobos had works of nationalistic interest long before. The *Suíte Popular Brasileira para violão* (Brazilian Popular Suite for acoustic guitar), for example, is composed of popular elements, mainly *choro* and *modinha*, and for a popular instrument, a decade before his trip to Europe. But this definitive turn that led to books like *Rondônia* and to compose important works with indigenous themes, and highlighting the same themes, can be observed only after his return from Paris in 1924 (GUÉRIOS, 2003, my translation).

⁵⁰ It broadens the reflection about some characteristics that would have subjected Latin American culture to European standards, for instance the evil of exoticism. Also having the objective of assisting in the divulgation of the work of the Brazilian author in Paris in his head, Carpentier inserts it within a larger background of musical composition in Europe (CARPENTIER, 1928: 25 in: FELIPPE, 2011: 3).

⁵¹ Tomás Terán was a pianist who became a close friend of Villa-Lobos. The composer dedicated *Chôros n. 8* to Terán, who played one of the two pianos at the premiere. He also dedicated the first movement of *Bachianas Brasileiras n. 4* to the Spanish pianist. Terán introduced Villa-Lobos to Segovia in Paris in 1923.

⁵² Vines should be probably understood as *cipó*, from the Tupi-Guarani linguistic branch: *ici-fila*; *pó-fileira*. Generic name of every plant, of thin and flexible rods, that can be used to tie; climbing plants that hang from trees (CHIARADIA, 2008).

The French composer Darius Milhaud, who was in Brazil in the 1920s and composed some pieces inspired by Rio de Janeiro's popular urban themes, commented on the lack of attention of the classical composers to the popular music and on the way some elements of folk music were used:

It is regrettable that all the compositions of Brazilian musicians, from the symphonic or chamber music works of Mr. [Alberto] Nepomuceno and Mr. [Henry] Oswald to the impressionist sonatas of Mr. [Oswaldo] Guerra or the orchestral works of Mr. Villa-Lobos (a young man of robust temperament, full of daring), are a reflection of the different stages that followed in Europe from Brahms to Debussy and demonstrates how the national element is not expressed in a vivid and original way. The influence of Brazilian folklore, so rich in rhythms and such a particular melodic line, is rarely felt in the works of Rio's composers. When a popular theme or the rhythm of a dance is used in a musical work, this indigenous element is warped because the author sees it through the lens of Wagner or Saint-Saëns, whether he is sixty, or through Debussy's, if he is only thirty (MILHAUD, 1920: 61, my translation).

The ethnomusicologists Acácio Piedade and Gabriel Moreira affirm that Villa-Lobos "returned from his trip to Europe much more interested in Brazil than when he left" (MOREIRA and PIEDADE, 2010: 6). When he returned to Rio, Villa-Lobos began visiting the National Museum to listen to the phonograms of indigenous themes recorded by Roquette-Pinto with such regularity as to almost damage the wax cylinders. Roquette-Pinto's daughter, Beatriz, in the documentary *Índio de Casaca*, comments that her father had said: "My daughter, Villa-Lobos is destroying the phonograms from hearing them so often, but it is worth it because he is harmonizing them and thus they will stay forever"⁵³. Acácio Piedade, in his article Rhetoricity in the music of Villa-Lobos: musical topics in Brazilian early 20th-century music, considered that Villa-Lobos used different topics⁵⁴ to forge his work, two of them are the tópicos de floresta (forest topics) and the tópicos indígenas (indigenous topics).

The *Índigena* in Villa Lobos is not like the romantized Indigenous world of 'Il Guarany', an opera composed in 1870 by Carlos Gomes in which the idea of the noble savage is prominent. In Villa Lobos, the *Índigena* universe is one of the dense and remote forest, much wilder and savage and, at the same time, one that is coherent with the ideal of the Modernist movement of 1922. The Indigenous here is much freer, it is the anarchic indian of Mario de Andrade's roman *Macunaíma*. Villa Lobos himself was called a "white indian", a wild composer to the eyes of Europe. The fact is that the Indigenous universe of topics is very important in Villa Lobos general style, and particularly in some of his pieces he employs so-called Indigenous melodies taken as "authentic", like in the *Três Danças Características (africanas e indígenas)*, where he uses a song of the Caripuna indians, which he supposedly collected himself in their village (PIEADADE, 2013: 5).

Apart from the themes 'Canidé-louue' and 'Sabath' collected by de Léry⁵⁵, Villa-Lobos began to use some melodies from the indigenous recordings of the Paresi and Nambikwara in a diversity of ways, be it as

⁵³ Beatriz's statement can be found in documentary *Índio de Casaca*, 1987.

⁵⁴ Acacio Piedade uses the the idea of "universe of topics used by Agawu as musical-symbolic sets that can be isolated from each other within a larger musicality, such as a national one. It is a generic term to put together some musical structures and cultural-literary separate from other universes. The elements of these groups of topics can be used to promote a greater rhetoricity in the musical text" (PIEADADE, 2013: 3).

⁵⁵ The Tupinambá chants 'Canidé-ioune' and 'He-Heura' (which appear under the name 'Sabath') were documented in 1585 by de Léry in his classic *Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la terre du Brésil*, mentioned earlier.

a leitmotiv in his compositions, harmonizing them, or superimposing pieces on other references. 'Nozani-ná', 'Ualalocê', 'Mokocê cê-maká'⁵⁶ can be considered arrangements based on these indigenous melodies, and not exactly as "new" compositions. They were performed for thousands at the grandiose meetings of the Canto Orfeônico (Orpheonic Choir School)⁵⁷. But 'Nozani-ná' is especially important to Villa-Lobos, as he uses this same melody many times in his compositions, be it as a citation, a collage or a theme and variation as we will see later.

34 NAHIM MARUN

Chansons Typiques Brésiliennes (Canções Típicas Brasileiras)

Tabela 3. Canções Típicas Brasileiras, data da composição/publicação, gênero e texto

Mokocê cê-maká	1919, 1929, Éditions Max Eschig	canção indígena	recolhida por Roquette Pinto
Nozani ná	1919, 1929, Éditions Max Eschig	canção indígena	recolhida por Roquette Pinto
Papai Curumiassu	1919, 1929, Éditions Max Eschig	canção de caboclo	não informado
Xangô	1919, 1929, Éditions Max Eschig	canto religioso marumba	não informado

ENA-MÔ-KOCÊ

(s.d.)

canto solista, SMATB e percussão

AUTÓGRAFO (MVL):

rascunho, incompleto, s.d. - ?? x ?? - 2 p.

DURAÇÃO: 2'

PUBLICAÇÕES: DEDF-SEMA

COPYRIGHT: © ??? HVL

OBSERVAÇÕES:

- Canção dos índios Parecis da Serra do Norte, em Mato Grosso, recolhida por Edgard Roquette Pinto;
- versão para canto e piano e para canto e orquestra, sob o título "Mokocê Cê-maká". Vide "Canções Típicas Brasileiras" em, respectivamente, B.III.1 e B.III.3.



Villa-Lobos. Mokocê cê-maká, Introdução, versão orquestral. Manuscrito, Biblioteca Nacional da França, Paris.



Villa-Lobos. Mokocê cê-maká, compasso 8. Éditions Max Eschig, Paris, 1929.

⁵⁶ In Villa-Lobos oeuvre, two different ways to spell this tune appear: The version for solo voice, choir and percussion was titled as "Ena-mô-kocê" but in the suite *Canções Típicas Brasileiras* is it written "Mokocê cê-maká" and there are two versions: one for piano solo and other for small ensemble and voice (flute, oboe, english horn, bassoon, viola and bass). In this second version, for some unknown reason, Villa-Lobos wrote in the vocal score all the letters with an accent which seems that is a way to indicate the pronunciation to make it easier for the singer, since it was an unknown language (MARUN, 2010: 34-37).

⁵⁷ In the 1930s, Villa-Lobos was tasked with implementing choir practice in schools, uniting discipline, public spirit and artistic education and performing in large stadiums for thousands of youths.



Figure 20 Villa-Lobos playing cuica.



Figure 21 Villa-Lobos conducting a choir of thousands in a stadium during the Orpheonic Choir presentation.

Following are comments on some of the most important pieces⁵⁸ in which Villa-Lobos utilized indigenous themes, starting with *Danças Características Africanas* (1914-1916)⁵⁹, or *Danças Indígenas*, divided in three parts: “I. Farrapós II. Kankukus and III. Kankikis”, named after “mixed-blood” indigenous groups of Mato Grosso, whose music has “barbaric African rhythms” (composer’s note in his manuscript). Notably in this piece, Villa-Lobos treats the African and Brazilian indigenous as a single cultural entity that makes “barbarian” music.

The piece *Amazonas*, composed in 1917 but only premiered in Paris 12 years later, in 1929, does not offer (recognized) indigenous themes in its structure, but uses some unusual instruments such as the indigenous *maracás*, the *matraca*, and zithers, expressing proclivity towards obtaining different sounds even within an established symphonic practice. Possibly inspired by Futurist composers such as Luigi Russolo, who used experimental musical instruments, and Edgar Varèse who included an atypical percussion set in his instrumentation, Villa-Lobos felt impelled to explore some of these popular urban or indigenous instruments in his compositions. With it, composer Marco Scarassatti believes Villa-Lobos is “desecrating the sacred European orchestral tradition”:

the addition of instruments originated from indigenous and popular culture by Villa-Lobos is significant not only in terms of

⁵⁸ A complete list in chronological order of Villa-Lobos’ work using indigenous elements can be found in the Appendices.

⁵⁹ The Caripuna are considered a mixed-blood people, which might explain the double title of the African and indigenous dances (*Danças Africanas* and *Danças Indígenas*).

the sonority achieved, for desecrating the sacred European orchestral tradition, with the use of these “primitive” instruments, but also for a comparatively almost irrelevant detail, the use of an indigenous hunting tool which was not an instrument itself in its cultural context but which Villa-Lobos includes in an orchestration (SCARASSATTI, 2012: 145, my translation).

In some pieces⁶⁰ Villa-Lobos adds the *pio*⁶¹ to the orchestration, an indigenous hunting tool which, according to researcher and percussionist Luís D’Anunciação, was actually a friction rod that sounds like a bird’s chirping with no defined pitch.

A hunting tool that generates sound used by the Indians and adopted as a musical instrument by Villa-Lobos [...]. It is a thin rod of around 35 to 45 centimeters, prepared with its own resin to promote friction and produce the required sound. Friction is made with a piece of kid leather or flannel produced with the same resin. It is a friction rod (ANUNCIAÇÃO, 2006: 36, my translation).

In his book *Os instrumentos típicos brasileiros na obra de Villa-Lobos*, Anunciação mentions that in Villa-Lobos’ rehearsals, he left the baton aside to show to the orchestra’s musicians how to play the *pio*, because he did not want a sound similar to a bird’s chirping, but something special (ANUNCIAÇÃO, 2006: 35).

Besides the *pio*, the “turtle-drum” instrument found among the Wai Wai, Arara and Karajá peoples was used by Villa-Lobos in some of his pieces. In his book *Percussão Orquestral Brasileira: Problemas editoriais e interpretativos* (2012) (Brazilian Orchestral Percussion: Editorial and Interpretative problems), Eduardo Giancesella, percussionist of OSEP Orchestra (São Paulo State Symphonic Orchestra), states that the “turtle-drum” (played with a drumstick) is commonly replaced by a log drum, for ecological reasons and availability (GIANESELLA, 2012: 186, my translation).

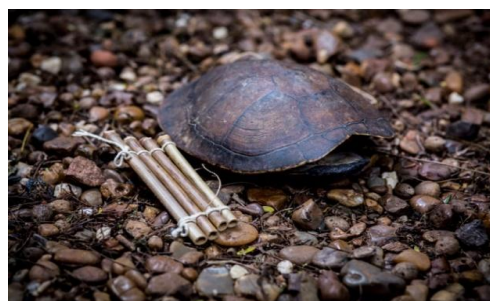


Figure 22a Turtle-drum – instrument used by Natives of Rio Negro made from a *tracajá* shell.



Figure 22b Pio – indigenous instrument used by Villa-Lobos.

⁶⁰ Choro n. 9, Symphonie n. 10, Descobrimento do Brasil and Magdalena.

⁶¹ *Pio* is a sound object used for hunting by some indigenous groups.

Villa-Lobos opens *Chôros n. 8*⁶² (1925) with the sound of a *caracaxá*, an indigenous instrument similar to a shaker (*chocalho*)⁶³. The original instrument was described as a large dried seed pod but faced with the challenge of obtaining this from nature, Villa-Lobos ordered a rectangular wooden shaker, more suitable in symphonic orchestras.

The *caracaxá* is nothing more than an enormous seedpod from a kind of giant pea plant, dried and full of hard seeds (which is usually replaced by a shaker made of coconut husk) (VILLA-LOBOS, in: SCARASSATTI, 2012).



Figure 23 Favas used as instrument.

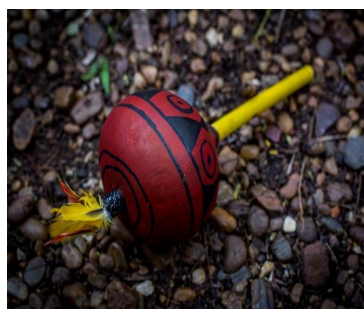


Figure 24 Indigenous shaker (*maracá*).

In reality, the resulting sound is akin to an indigenous *maracá*, but another type of industrially produced shaker is used in orchestras, different from the rectangular ones Villa-Lobos conceived. The sound effect is similar.

The percussion in *Chôros n. 8*⁶⁴ is surprising due to variety the timbres used as well as the polyrhythms. "Concerning the aspect of the timbre, it is interesting to note not only the vast diversity of percussions used by Villa-Lobos, but also his inventive combinations of this percussion" (SCARASSATTI, 2014: 127). In 1927, at its premiere in Paris, this piece was called "*Le huou huitème*" due to its extravagant rhythms and some unconventional playing techniques, as well as its superposition of multiple rhythms and opposed tonalities (APPLEBY, 2002: 85-86). It was described as Villa-Lobos' "most Fauvist and "modern" composition of the 1920's, formally the most irregular, most violent and the most "tropical" of all of his work, whose main characteristic is its almost complete atonality and dissonance" (TARASTI, 1995: 118, my translation).

Several other percussion instruments used in the characteristic genre of *samba*, such as the *tambor*, *surdo*⁶⁵, *camisã*⁶⁶, triangle and *reco-reco*, were added on top of instruments of indigenous origin. The historian José D'Assunção Barros states that "with these indigenous references, Villa-Lobos musically asserts

⁶² According to the Villa-Lobos catalog of works for this composition an extensive list of Brazilian percussion instruments such as drum, tambourine, light box, triangle, cymbals, metal rattle (small and large), *reco-reco*, *caracaxá* (*chocalho*/shaker of oxen or rattle of wood), *puíta* and ratchet are requested.

⁶³ *Caracaxá* can be heard at the beginning of *Chôros n. 8* in OSESP's recording.

⁶⁴ In old Portuguese, *Chôros* were written with a circumflex accent but nowadays, it is written as *Choros* without accent.

⁶⁵ *Surdo* is a cylindrical low-pitched drum made of wood traditionally used in samba schools, that have an average of 25 to 35 drums. Its main function in samba is the marking of the first beat.

⁶⁶ *Camisã* is a musical instrument used in *rodas de samba* in Rio de Janeiro.

his project of simultaneously combining the urban spirit of Rio's Carnival and the liberation of instinctive sonorities from indigenous festivities" (BARROS, 2014: 125, my translation).

1

A TOMÁS TERÁN
CHÔROS (Nº 8) H. VILLA-LOBOS
Rio, 1925

Un peu modéré (♩ = 63)

Flautin

2 Flautas

2 Oboes

Corno Inglês

4 Clarinetas

Clarineta baixo sib

Saxophoneo alto mi

2 Fagottes

Contrafagotte

4 Cornos em fa

3 Pistons sib

Trombones I, II, III

IV e Tuba

Tympanos

Bombo, Pratos, Tamtam, Triângulos, Tamborin de provincia, Caixa rullante (caixa clara), Instr. typicos brasil.: Xucalhos de metal, Caracachás, Réco-réco, Puita, Matrica, Caraxá, Celesta

Solo

Solo

Solo Xucalho en bois (Caracaxá)

mf p f mf p f mf p f mf p f mf p f mf p f

Figure 25 Score for *Chôros n. 8* by Villa-Lobos with an introduction played with the *caracaxá*, 1925.



Figure 26 Percussion set belonging to the Minas Gerais orchestra, with a tambo-tambu, cuica and bumbo for Chôros n. 6.

According to Marco Scarassatti, Villa-Lobos uses these instruments to “reach his own unique sonority, evidently associated to his singular use of orchestration and other cited elements such as regional themes and popular rhythms”.

These unique instruments of non-European origins weave into the symphonic texture. This gesture, aligned with the anthropophagic esthetic, adds instruments typical of musical manifestations from cultural contexts throughout Brazil to the composer’s palette. As a result of this compositional choice, we find this instrumentation used in the work of succeeding composers such as Francisco Mignone (1897–1986), Cesar Guerra-Peixe (1914–1993), Claudio Santoro (1919–1989), Mozart Camargo Guarnieri (1907–1993) and others (SCARASSATTI, 2012: 152, my translation).

Were these instruments used only in a desire to ‘sound exotic’ or was Villa-Lobos seeking different sounds for his symphonies?

Returning to the use of indigenous melodies, Villa-Lobos used the chromatic melody of ‘Êná môkôcê cê máká’ – the Paresi tune collected by Roquette-Pinto⁶⁷ – in different works as: *Canções Típicas Brasileiras* n.1 for voice and piano, for orchestra and voice (1919); in *Chôros* n. 7, for wind septet (1924); in *Chôros* n. 10, for orchestra and choir (1926) and in *Introdução aos Chôros* for symphonic orchestra (1929). In these pieces, the composer seeks to ‘break away’ from the tonal system, using decreasing glissandos that invoke the concept of microtonality, as well as piano clusters. The pianist Homero Magalhães finds this theme in the compilation *Prole do Bebê* n. 2, in the pieces ‘Cachorrinho de Borracha’ (in the contralto’s part), in part B of ‘Cavalinho de Pau’, in the chromatic part of ‘Boisinho de Chumbo’ and in the tenor line from ‘Lobozinho de Vidro’ (MAGALHÃES, 1994: 182-183, my translation).

⁶⁷ This tune was recorded by Roquette-Pinto though there is no transcription in the book *Rondônia*.



Figure 27 Chromatic melody from 'Mokocê cê-maká' by Villa-Lobos, 1919.

Another tune often used by Villa-Lobos is the Paresi chant 'Nozani-ná'⁶⁸, transformed into a duet for voice and piano, and into the chamber version of *Canções Típicas Brasileiras* as well as an adaptation for Orpheonic Choir. The musicologist Gabriel Moreira mentions the *ostinato* in this piece, with repetitions and reiterations to harmonize this indigenous theme:

We notice in Nozani-ná, from 'Canções Típicas Brasileiras', the ostinato as a principle for applying repetition in his piano pieces. By harmonizing and defining an ambience for the Paresi chant, Villa-Lobos uses quite a repetitive piano accompaniment, which as repetition and reiteration in various temporal scope; namely, the ostinato on quavers and the lengthy right-hand notes, which repeat in longer cycles (MOREIRA, 2013: 3, my translation).

Ex.5 – Bricolagem de versos da canção indígena *Nozani-Ná*, nos *Choros nº3* de Villa-Lobos.

Figure 28 Score for *Chôros n. 3* with a citation of 'Nozani-ná' by Villa-Lobos, 1925.

⁶⁸ It is written in the original score that this is "Canto dos Índios Parecis da Serra do Norte (Mato Grosso)" (Paresi Indians' chant from North Mountain (Mato Grosso) with the phonogram N°14597 from the National Museum of Rio Janeiro" (VILLA-LOBOS, 1929).



Figure 29 Score for 'Nozani-ná' for voice and piano by Villa-Lobos, 1929.

In 1925, Villa-Lobos used the same tune in his piece *Chôros n. 3*, written for male choir and wind septet (clarinet, bassoon, saxophone, three horns and trombone). Under the codename *Pica-Pau* (Woodpecker), this piece made use of an orchestration that sounds like a woodpecker tapping on wood. In the manuscript, Villa-Lobos dedicated the piece to Brazilian modernist poet Oswald de Andrade and to the painter Tarsila do Amaral, then de Andrade's wife.

Again, the Paresi tune 'Nozani-ná' is quoted in 'Rudepoema'⁶⁹, composed in 1926, considered to be Villa-Lobos' greatest and most challenging piano solo piece. It was especially composed for the pianist Arthur Rubinstein, who spread the composer's music abroad. The piece, in a continuous movement of approximately twenty minutes, was described as the "meeting of 'The Rite of Spring' with the Brazilian jungle." The piece also cites the melody of 'Mokocê-cê-maka'. In contrast to pianist Homero Magalhães, Villa-Lobos' interpreter Sônia Rubinsky, in a 2014 e-mail interview, says she does not consider that 'Rudepoema' has great indigenous influence, but is predominantly "African and urban music", quoting themes from Brazilian popular culture.

⁶⁹ *Rudepoema* was later orchestrated by the composer and has had its premiere in 1942. Two versions are available on internet: one by Rubinstein and other by Sonia Rubinski.

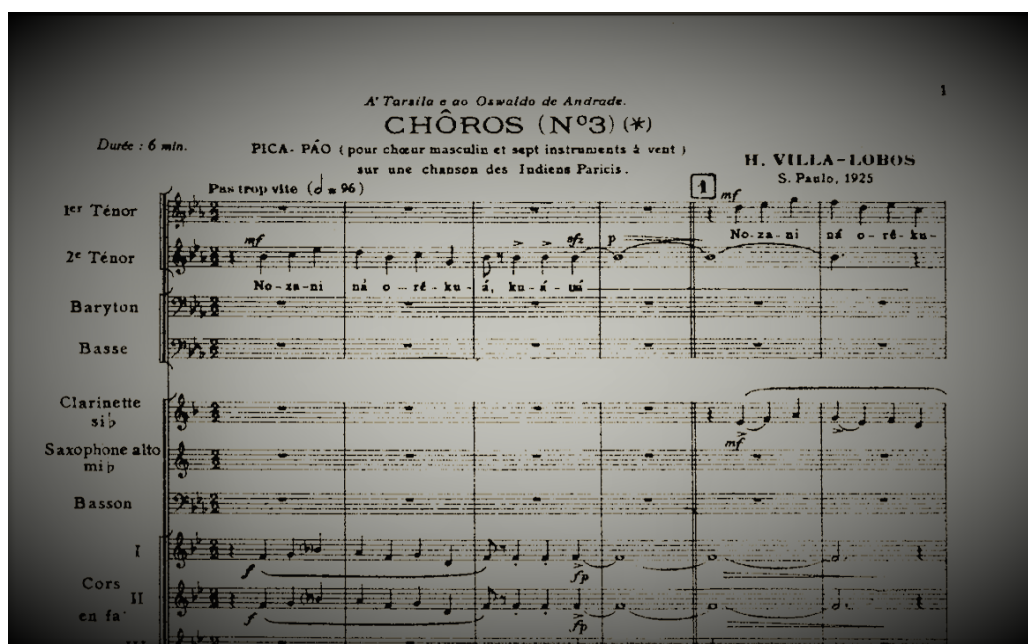


Figure 30 Score for *Chôros n. 3* with a citation of 'Nozani-ná' by Villa-Lobos, 1925.

Villa-Lobos chose to use, at several moments, parallel fifths that seem to evoke a 'certain indigenous rusticity' as seeking an 'exotic simplicity'. According to Moreira:

[...] the option for rhythmic and melodic parallelisms (which is not restricted just to fifth intervals) seems to evoke an 'active' human technical simplicity, one of the important items of the Western imaginary about the indian: the rusticity of his technical means and the results of its artistic construction. Just as polished stone hatchets and earthenware vases, to Europeans, are souvenirs of indigenous culture, so are the 'simple' songs of these peoples – which convey the idea of technical simplicity, seen objectively in the lack of complexity of the resulting materials. It is precisely through this exotic simplicity that is built the aura that is of such artistic value, and Villa-Lobos seems to have successfully seized this symbolic element in his indigenous thematic composition (MOREIRA, 2013: 30).

The composer Silvio Ferraz considers this work essential in Villa-Lobos's "construction of language", one of his better-done compositions. Despite the reputation of being careless with his scores, Villa-Lobos worked on this piece in a thorough way, exploring contemporary techniques, probably influenced by Stravinsky, Milhaud and Varèse with whom he was in contact in Paris.

'Rudepoema' is a composition that covers a long period of gestation. From the earliest drafts to its final version, 'Rudepoema's genesis runs through Villa-Lobos's Parisian decade, the period from 1921 to 1927 in which the composer lives at No. 11 of Place Saint Michel in Quartier Latin. And 'Rudepoema' was born in counterpoint and constant dialogue with other works. It is in this period that we will see the birth of works such as the second and third books of *A Prole do Bebê*, the *Chôros*, *Suíte Sugestiva* and *Noneto*, among other works of recognized value in the construction of Villalobean musical notation (FERRAZ, 2012: 3, my translation).

In 1926, Villa-Lobos composed *Três Poemas Indígenas* (Three indigenous Poems), which were, in fact,

the first arrangements based on indigenous melodies (called 'ambiances' by Villa-Lobos)⁷⁰. He dedicated this work to Roquette-Pinto. Once again, the songs 'Canidé-Ioune' and 'Sabath' were used in the first poem of this composition for choir and orchestra, which also got an *a cappella* version for the collection titled *Canto Orfeônico* (Orpheonic Choir). Based on an ostinato of a single note, Villa-Lobos emphasized the "great melodic and rhythmic clarity and the concept of simplicity that lined his 'musical indian'" (MOREIRA, 2013: 32). The second poem, titled 'Teiru'⁷¹, is based on the tune of the same name used in the Paresi funerary traditions and was composed for male choir, later being orchestrated⁷². And in the third, 'Iara', he has set a poem about the indigenous legend of Iara, by Mário de Andrade, into music.

Between 1929 and 1930, Villa-Lobos composed the suite *Canções Indígenas* (Indigenous Songs) using the themes 'Ualalocê' and 'Kamalaô', for choir, with tunes based on the Paresi melodies⁷³ and 'Pai do Mato' based on a poem by Mário de Andrade. Still in 1930 the composer created the work *Canto do Pajé*⁷⁴ in a *marcha-rancho* (carnival march) rhythm and made use of indigenous expressions such as *Tupã* and *Anhangá*.

The 'Ualalocê' tune was also used in the third movement of the third suite *Descoberta do Brasil*, composed in 1937, which refers to the time when the settlers arrived in the indigenous lands. In the fourth suite of this piece, Villa-Lobos used the Paresi theme as *leitmotiv* (as a lament for the fall of the tree used to make the christian cross) in opposition to an ambrosian chant. While a male choir sings the christian melody statically, 'Ualalocê' is sung syncopated by the female choir in ancient Tupi.

In 1934, Villa-Lobos composed the secular cantata *Mandú Çarará* for mixed choir, children's choir and orchestra based on several indigenous legends of the Solimões river collected by Barbosa Rodrigues and published in *Poranduba Amazonense* (1881). The adult "represents" the mythical figure of the *Curupira* forest, in a taciturn style that contrasts with the lightness and joy of the children's choir, which explores the onomatopoeia of the Nheengatu language, spoken in the Amazon till the present day. The exuberance of the

⁷⁰ There is an extensive analysis of this piece in the dissertation *Elementos Indígenas na obra de Villa-Lobos*, by Gabriel Moreira. (MOREIRA, 2010).

⁷¹ Version of 'Teiru', with the *Quarteto Coral Orfeão Villa-Lobos de Teiru* in *Native Brazilian Music* (org. by Leopold Stokowski).

⁷² "Orchestration is a very important element in the elaboration of Villa-Lobos' indigenous music, as a rhetorical element that portrays the forest. Villa-Lobos was a very skilled orchestrator; Olivier Messiaen considered him the greatest orchestrator of the twentieth century" (SALLES, 2009a). "The richness of the orchestration of works such as *Amazonas*, *Rudá*, *Uirapuru* and *Floresta do Amazonas*, is an attempt to evoke, in the imagination of the European audience, the magnitude and richness of Brazilian forests" (MOREIRA, 2013: 34).

⁷³ Phonograms 14.594 and 14.595 from Rondônia registered by Roquette-Pinto.

⁷⁴ This same piece has been arranged for female choir for the collection *Canto Orfeônico* (Vol.1, No.19).

forest is reflected in the various orchestral sound layers (MUSEU VILLA-LOBOS, n.d.).

The music critic Gabriel Alencar believes the symphonic work *Uirapuru*⁷⁵ (1917) is “a greatly innovative representation of the Amazonian world, using atonal elements, unusual modulations, instruments imitating animal sounds and constantly changing rhythms as a way of differentiating itself from European aesthetics”, which proves Villa-Lobos’ interest in forging a particular musical grammar (ALENCAR, 2010: 6).

... some musical aspects are important for a better understanding of Brazilian music, which became part of the Brazilian image both nationally and internationally. The instrumentation used by Villa-Lobos in the piece was typically European, making no great difference; however, the use of instruments such as the oboe, the English horn and the piano itself to reproduce the “sounds of the forest” (small birds, rodents, insects – all clearly illustrated by the composer) keeping in mind the flute to reproduce the song of the uirapuru. Another key feature is the rhythmic and tonal modulations that permeate the music. The non-use of a constant rhythm may have two reasons: one is the attempt to break with the European model – or rather, an attempt to appropriate the European model and begin to shape it according to the characteristics of Brazilian music itself – and another one would be the retraction of the heterogeneity of the rhythms of the forest (the animals, the flora, the indigenous people, etc.). Regarding the tonality, it escapes from the traditional European model: Villa-Lobos creates non-traditional modulations to give more liveliness and novelty to his music, which makes it, once again, exotic to the ears of the foreigner (and even to national ears) and is equipped with “erudition” and notable Brazilian characteristics in concert music too (ALENCAR, 2010: 6, emphasis added, my translation).

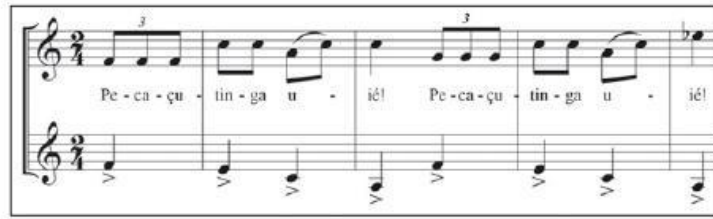
In 1941, the artist composed three choral pieces entitled *Cantos de Çairé*⁷⁶ probably inspired by themes of the Tapajós natives, placed in volume 2 of the compilation *Canto orfeônico: marchas, canções, cantos: cívicos, marciais, folclóricos e artísticos para formação consciente da apreciação do bom gosto na música brasileira*⁷⁷ (Orpheonic Choir: marches, songs and civic chants, martial, folkloric and artistic, for the conscious formation and appreciation of the good taste in Brazilian music).

According to musicologist Nahim Marun's studies on Villa-Lobos, the melodies inspired by indigenous songs are always short, asymmetrical phrases which avoid archetypal tonal solutions which may indicate that he wanted to get rid of the European phrase and form (MARUN, 2010: 20, my translation).

⁷⁵ *Uirapuru* is a mythological bird, considered the God of Love in the Amazonian region. Its singing is similar to a flute melody. The piece was premiered in Buenos Aires in 1935, with Villa-Lobos conducting the Orchestra and Ballet of the Colón Theater, in the presence of President Getúlio Vargas.

⁷⁶ ‘Çairé’ is a party that mixes elements of people of Tupi origin with popular catholicism in Santarém, in the state of Pará, whose first register dates back to 1762. A version of Çairé has been interpreted by the Coral Meninas Cantoras de Nova Petrópolis in Appendix Chapter 1-4.

⁷⁷ For this material specially made for the practice of the Orpheonic Choir, Villa-Lobos composed the piece *Evocação para coro a 2 vozes, Vocalismo n. 17* and *Izi*, making use of Amerindian themes, though without reference to where they were extracted.



Ex.8 – Cantos de Çairé Nº1 (c.1-4) de Villa-Lobos: figurações rítmicas de semínimas.

Figure 31 Excerpt from Canto de Çairê. Source: Moreira.

In 1952, Villa-Lobos composed *Duas Lendas Ameríndias em Nheengatu* – *O Iurupari*⁷⁸ and *o Menino*, for choir in the *nheengatu* language. In these pieces, one observes the constant use of fourths and fifths to dissipate suggestions of tonality.

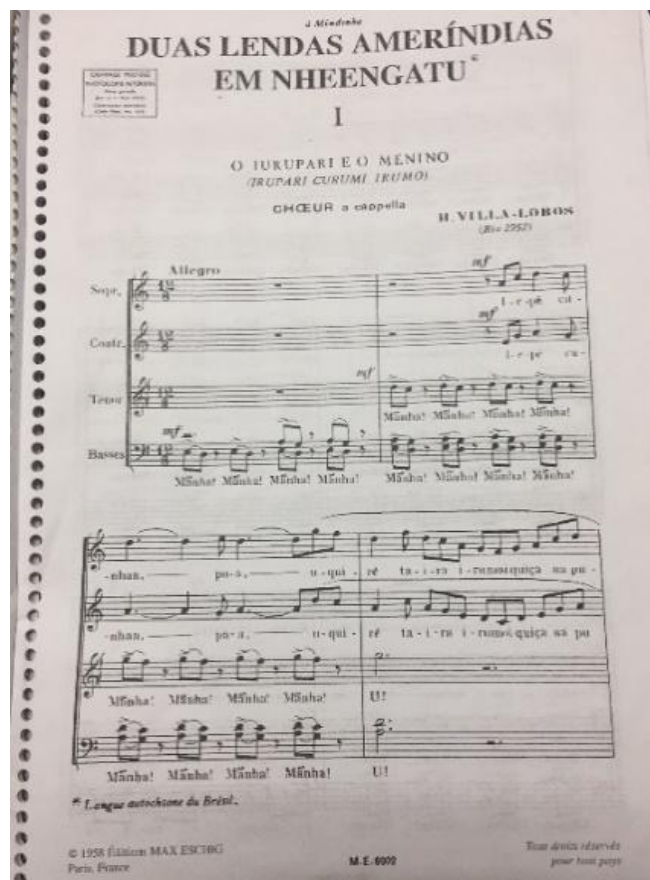


Figure 32 Score of Villa-Lobos' 'Duas Lendas Ameríndias', 1952.

In the following year, 1953, as a commission for the Fourth Centenary of the city of São Paulo, Villa-Lobos finished the *Sumé pater patrium: Sinfonia ameríndia com coros (Oratório)* (Amerindian Symphony with choirs – Oratorio). The piece was divided into 5 movements: Allegro: 'A terra e os seres' (The Earth and its Creatures), Lento: 'Grito de guerra' (War Cry), Scherzo (Allegretto scherzando): 'Iurupichuna', Lento: 'A voz

⁷⁸ 'Iurupari' (or *Jurupari*) is a reference to a myth from the Rio Negro area.

da terra e a aparição de Anchieta' (The voice of the Earth and the apparition of Anchieta) and Poco Allegro. The Scherzo references the Jurupixuna people, known for their ritualistic masks. It was first recorded on CD for the label Naxos in 2011, performed by the Choir and Symphony Orchestra of the State of São Paulo, conducted by Isaac Karabtchevsky.

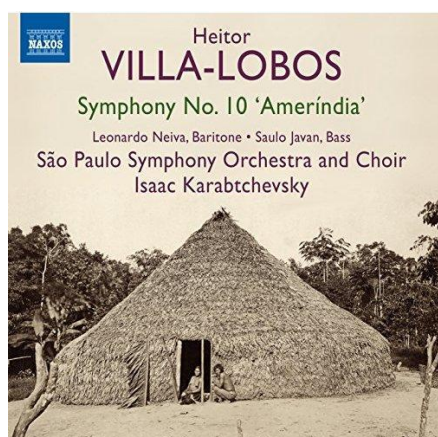


Figure 33 Cover of Villa-Lobos' Sinfonia n. 10, released in 2011.



Figure 34 Jurupixuna Mask (Iuripichuna).

Villa-Lobos' last work, the symphonic poem 'A Floresta do Amazonas' (Amazon Forest)⁷⁹, composed in 1958, was certainly inspired by his experience with Amerindian themes, revealed in the titles of each part: '1 – The forest; 2 – Dance of the indigenous people; 3 – In the middle of the forest; 4 – Forest Bird – Chant 1; 5 – Dance of the nature; 6 – Forest Bird – Chant 2; 7 – Forest Chant – Chant 1; 8 – Conspiracy and warrior dance; 9 – Sailboat; 10 – On the way to the hunt; 11 – Forest Bird – Chant 3; 12 – Sunset; 13 – The indigenous men seeking for the girl; 14 – Forest birds – Chant 4; 15 – Headhunters; 16 – Love Song; 17 – Sentimental melody; 18 – Fire in the forest'. Part of this work was used on the soundtrack of the American movie 'Green Mansions'⁸⁰. In fact, the original score was not used in the film. Another composer, Bronislaw Kaper, was commissioned to compose a new soundtrack, based on the themes of the score written by Villa-Lobos (MUSEU VILLA-LOBOS, n.d.).

Villa-Lobos' musical production is impressive and provides us some guidance for understanding the composer's interest in indigenous music, and his growing use and research of it after his trip to Europe. He

⁷⁹ Both Orquestra Sinfônica Petrobras and Coro Sinfônico do Rio de Janeiro interpretations of *A Floresta do Amazonas* are available on internet. Villa-Lobos himself recorded the world premiere for United Artists Records with Bidu Sayão as a soloist along with the Air Symphony (formerly the NBC Symphony Orchestra) in New York. It was recorded in stereo in 1959, a few months before his death, and released on LP and coil-to-reel tape. Apparently, it was never reissued on CD.

⁸⁰ The feature was released in Brazil under the title 'A flor que não morreu' (The flower that did not die). The soundtrack was commissioned by the American film company MGM (Metro Goldwyn Mayer) and was based on the novel written by William H. Hudson, directed by Mel Ferrer, starring Audrey Hepburn and Anthony Perkins.

used both “original” materials and complete melody citations, as well as theme harmonizations (Bartók's first form of appropriation). As a compositional resource, he also appropriated elements of the indigenous language and explored them in an imaginative way, creating his own sound aesthetics (third form of appropriation mentioned by Bartók). In part 1 of the article *O estilo indígena de Villa-Lobos* (Villa-Lobos' indigenous style), Moreira comments on how Villa-Lobos made use of indigenous material and how he gave (or did not give) credits to the themes.

In any of the three modes of constructing a melody of an indigenous character, there is usually some kind of intertextuality in the composition, which justifies it as indigenous (as a composition that was not totally 'invented' by Villa-Lobos). When there is an indigenous melody transcribed, the composer cited details about the primary source (Ex.1). In such cases, (as in *Três poemas indígenas* and 'Nozani-na' das canções indígenas) the degree of authenticity proved in the heading of the score justifies calling it indigenous; when there is no direct source citation (Ex.2), Villa-Lobos composed it on a text by Mário de Andrade, thus supporting his position not as a composer (or inventor) of the song he calls indigenous – which would be in fact, a contradiction – but of 'musicizer', *harmonizer, maintaining the same posture that he had with the originally indigenous melodies*. This could be seen also by the necessity to cite somewhat obscure sources to escape from the act of creating or thoroughly inventing a melody that must be indigenous. The fact that must be emphasized here is that *Villa-Lobos made use of transcribed indigenous melodies, even if not entirely in his native-themed compositions*. In the works that he did not use them literally, he relied on them to extract elements *to evoke the indigenous sonority*, making an internal reference to his own compositions in which he used transcriptions more strictly (MOREIRA, 2013: 21, emphasis added).



Ex.1 – Localização geográfica e temporal da melodia indígena no cabeçalho de *Canide Ioune - Sabath* dos *Três Poemas Indígenas* de Villa-Lobos remetendo às coletas de melodias indígenas do missionário francês Jean de Léry (LÉRY, 1585).

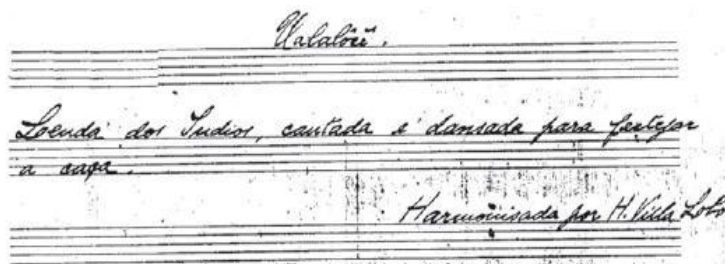
Figure 35 Example 1 Caption of Villa-Lobos' 'Canide-Ioune'⁸¹, based on a tune collected by de Léry. Source: Moreira, 2013.

⁸¹ Here 'Canide' is written without accent but in the catalogue the word has an accent.



Ex.2 – Cabeçalho autógrafo de *Pai-do-Mato*, primeira *Canção Indígena* de Villa-Lobos, com melodia de caráter indígena criada sobre poema de Mário de Andrade.

Figure 36 Example 2 Caption of Villa-Lobos' 'Pai-do-Mato', 1930. Source: Moreira, 2013.



Ex.3 – Cabeçalho do autógrafo de *Ualalocê*, segunda *Canção Indígena*. Nele está escrito "Lenda dos Índios, Cantada e dançada (sic) para festejar a caça. Harmonizada por Villa-Lobos". Citações dessa natureza são comuns na *Coleção Escolar* e nos *Cadernos de Canto Orfeônico*, ambos da década de 1930.

Figure 37 Caption of Villa-Lobos' manuscript of 'Ualalocê', 1930. Translation: Legend of the indigenous peoples sung and danced to celebrate the hunting harmonized by Villa-Lobos. Citations like that are common in the Orpheonic Choir scores. Source: Moreira, 2013.

Moreira also presents a classification and a discussion of musical procedures of indigenous representation in the music of Villa-Lobos and groups the composer's compositional procedures into seven main categories:

- Use of melodies and texts of indigenous character in the songs;
- Notes in sequence, modalism and stable pulse in melodic construction;
- Structures with fourth and fifth intervals;
- Parallelism – as a technical simplicity to show the "virgin nature" of indigenous music;
- Ostinato – it indicates the importance of this musical element in the construction of the indigenous universe, evoking the "static" and exotic native way of life, without the notion of historicity, attempting to show the distance from the melodic and harmonic elements of the Europeans;
- Melodic fluidity – the melody which flows on drones and dense textures that would represent the indigenous sound;
- Grandiloquent texture – elaborated music and exuberant texture made to create an indigenous environment by imitating birds and sounds of rivers, as well as other elements of the forest. The use of rattles (*Noneto*, *Chôros* n. 10) was present as an attempt to obtain the ethos of indigenous culture and other timbre resources (MOREIRA, 2013).

The tools and resources used by Villa-Lobos in dealing with indigenous material were praised by the ethnomusicologist Manuel Veiga, who considered his symphonic poems as been "daring works by breaking

with the conventions and musical treatises of composition of the time, particularly those concerning orchestration". Confirming the thinking of Ferraz, this new grammar created by Villa-Lobos is in part due to the contact with themes of popular and indigenous references that stimulated him to expand his language to new territories. For the ethnomusicologist Manuel Veiga, Villa-Lobos was unique in the way he dealt with these indigenous sound sources, using them as a free creator and not in the way of an anthropologist or ethnomusicologist (VEIGA, 2011: 1).

But indigenous music is just grand frescoes in which imagination worth more than reality. Illusive, they constructed a Brazilian identity more related to a becoming than to a being, which could serve us in a confrontation with reality. That Villa-Lobos we honor is the creator of a work that makes us feel Brazilian in its own way, not as an anthropologist or an ethnomusicologist, which he was not. The truth that composers take as a starting point for their works does not have a prosaic commitment to the right and wrong of musicologists, but with the coherence of what they produce. Indirectly they reflect life itself (VEIGA, 2011: 1-2, my translation).

Villa-Lobos' liberty led him towards interesting creative paths, but his concern for 'being Brazilian' and enthusiasm for Brazilian exuberance gave his speech a proud tone, appropriate for the moment the country was in. The opening sentence on the composer's website is:

Yes, I am Brazilian, and very Brazilian. In my music, I sing the rivers and the seas of this great country. I do not muzzle the tropical exuberance of our forests and our skies, which instinctively I transpose to everything I write (VILLA-LOBOS, website: n.d.)⁸²

Due to this proudly nationalistic verve, broadly connected to the Vargas' Era, the musical analysis of Villa-Lobos' works was obstructed and overshadowed by ideological critiques that labeled him uniquely as a nationalist (FERRAZ, 2012). However, it is important to emphasize that his work has great coherence and that, according to Ferraz, despite Villa-Lobos' unorthodox attitudes, he opened promising compositional paths which connected him with the vanguards of the 1950s and created a language that influenced several composers like Egberto Gismonti, Tom Jobim and others.

After the first draft of the romantic genius born in the Amazonian jungles of the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro, a new moment began to be sketched when, with updated musical analysis tools, the analysts changed their positions and Villa-Lobos became notorious as a meticulous composer, a mathematician who glimpsed symmetries in the simplest musical scale and used the most elaborate mechanisms, making quotes on his own and citing the vanguards of the 50's. If such readings lasted initially, and if there was an eloquence to the great Brazilian composer, there was also much criticism of its production, especially when it deviated from the national project, as the poet Mário de Andrade did several times (FERRAZ, 2012: 2, my translation).

Villa-Lobos died in 1959 and his works are still played all over the world, especially the pieces for piano and guitar. To this day, new arrangements of his music are made, with different instrumentations and approaches, once again revealing its importance for Brazilian music. In 2014, the BBC Symphony Orchestra and the Barbican joined forces for a most impressive series of "Total Immersion" events in London focusing

⁸² Museu Villa-Lobos' website opening sentence.

on Villa-Lobos' works (BBC, 2014).

Military Dictatorship – Repression and fear



Figure 38 Dictatorship in Brazil, 1964.

From 1964 to 1985, Brazil was under a dictatorship, after the Military Coup of 1964 and the installation of an Authoritarian State with developmentalist tendencies. A heavy censorship was imposed, and the torture of leftist militants was authorized, forcing many artists and intellectuals into exile⁸³. During this period, Brazilian government attempted to consolidate the process of modernization, established during the Revolution of 1930, creating incentives for industrialization.⁸⁴ The developmentalist operations greatly impacted the indigenous groups and became a serious issue, raising worldwide protest. The expansion towards the center and the north of the country resulted in new contacts with indigenous groups, which were widely covered by sensationalist news, and emphasized the natives' 'primitivism'. At the same time, objections arose to the issues caused by these contacts, such as epidemics, confrontations and mass

⁸³ In official reports artists such as Chico Buarque de Holanda, Geraldo Vandré, Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Milton Nascimento and Edu Lobo were named as enemies of the military regime because their lyrics criticized the militarism, concentration of income and of the ownership of agricultural land, the censorship, police repression, political and economic alignment with the USA, as well as the treatment given to minorities seen as a threat to public order (LIMA, P. e BRITO, R., 2011).

⁸⁴ For further reading in english on the subject, there is the American anthropologist Shelton Davis' book, *Vítimas do Milagre: Os índios e o desenvolvimento no Brasil* (1998), which covers the impact of the Brazilian government's developmentalist project on the indigenous populations during the 1970s. The analysis is based mostly on material published in the Brazilian and international press. Davis examines the repercussions of accusations against employees of the now obsolete SPI – Indigenous Peoples Protection Service.

migrations⁸⁵.

Between the 1950s and 1970s there was a hiatus in the use of indigenous themes in works by popular and erudite composers. But in 1972, the LP *Xingu: Cantos e Ritmos* was released, containing music recorded by the brothers Villas-Bôas of different indigenous groups⁸⁶ collected during their expeditions to Mato Grosso. This album contained twenty-two tracks with songs from the Kuarup funeral ritual, from the Jawari and the Iamuricumã celebration of femininity, including songs with the *jakuí* flute, *taquaras* and children's songs among others. It sought to show the diverse musical panorama present in the Xingu region. Unfortunately, the information with this LP was not very clear and little is known about the way these songs were recorded. The LP *Xingu* was influential in successive creative endeavors, being referenced by musicians studied in this thesis. Published by a commercial label⁸⁷, the album was amply advertised and the songs from the Xingu spread to a diversity of musical scenes such as MPB⁸⁸, *rock* and concert music.



⁸⁵ During the populist period, the advance towards the “uninhabited” western reaches of the country gained importance. In successive governments, acting under the pretense of development to expand the frontier of this progressivist “civilization”, pursuing new food sources and mitigation of growing populational tensions in urban centers. The regime after 1964 strengthened these tendencies. However, the military project exhibited significant differences to previous programs. The geopolitical concerns present during the populist governments gained a new dimension with the dictatorship: guaranteeing national security was a priority and complete integration of Brazilian territory became urgent. The economic priority was the modernization and expansion of agricultural businesses, focussed on external markets, to guarantee subsidies for the industrialization. The dictatorial government counted on substantial national, and especially international, private funds. The state offered fiscal incentives to agricultural businesses who wished to act in the so-called Legal Amazon. The military regime made great investments in infrastructure in the region, especially transportation (LIMA and BRITO, 2011: 32).

⁸⁶ 22 tracks were recorded, including the song from Upper and Lower Xingu, regions where the Villas-Bôas brothers worked intensely.

⁸⁷ The record label responsible for this edition of the LP was Philips, Dutch company installed in Brazil in 1972, whose first released albums were from artists such as Tom Jobim, Raul Seixas, Nara Leão and Caetano Veloso. Later, the label became Polygram.

⁸⁸ MPB derived from Popular Brazilian Music. See Glossary.

Figure 39 Cover of *Xingu: Cantos e Ritmos*, 1972.

Caetano Veloso used the melody from side B's track 11, 'Flauta Juruna Duende' (Lower Xingu), adding lyrics to create the song 'Asa', the first "partnership" between indigenous and non-indigenous musicians, though this was non-consensual. This piece will be analyzed in the following section of this chapter. The Juruna flute track had already aroused special interest from Orlando Villas-Bôas, who commented with the journalist Valdir Zwetsch who went to Xingu to photograph the indigenous communities, Orlando enthusiastically remarks: "Listen to this! Doesn't it sound like jazz?" (ZWETSCH, 2006).



Figure 40 Image extracted from a video of a Juruna musician playing the same melody recorded by Villas-Bôas, Simone de Athayde, 2008.

Composer Edino Krieger used the Juruna flute melody in his composition *Terra Brasilis*, as well as the Taquara tune played on side A's track 8, 'Cerimonial para afugentar maus espíritos' (Ceremony to Ward Off Evil Spirits). Sérgio de Vasconcellos used the *Flauta Juruna*, that he titled as 'Auãñ', from side B's track 8 in his work 'Moacaretá'⁸⁹. Marlui Miranda recorded the song 'Oi Paraná' (track 4, side B) many times, also present in the CD *Caiapó*⁹⁰, produced by Sá Brito, which will be studied next; Egberto Gismonti always mentioned his wish to see the *jakuí* flutes he heard on this LP. The 1980s rock group, Os Titãs, cited the *taquara* theme in the opening track of the album *Cabeça Dinossauro* (Dinosaur Head). During a bus tour, Paulo Miklos, one of the band's members, played this tune from a cassette copy of the LP *Xingu*. They went mad with that 'weird' melody. According to them the "opening percussion from the opening track to *Cabeça Dinossauro*"⁹¹, was adapted from a ritual of the Xingu peoples, it reveals the beginning of the end", (BLUM, 2016), referring to

⁸⁹ About this piece, see Sá Brito section.

⁹⁰ About this project, see Sá Brito section.

⁹¹ At 1'15" of the first track of the CD 'Cabeça Dinossauro' it is possible to listen to the citation of the *taquara* recorded at the LP *Xingu*.

the 'Ceremony to Ward Off Evil Spirits'. Disappointed with the bad situation in Brazil, which was just withdrawing from the military dictatorship, Charles Gavin, the band's drummer, recalls that "the atmosphere was of disillusionment, a dystopic scenario"; during an interview with the newspaper *O Globo* he remarks:

Right then and there, someone sang about that (indigenous) base: "Cabeça dinossauro/ Cabeça dinossauro/ Cabeça, cabeça, cabeça dinossauro". Minutes later, the complete lyrics were ready. Violent, primal and with a sarcasm that borders on nonsense, the song that emerged on the road was like a synthesis of the classic album *Cabeça Dinossauro* (Gavin in: LICHOTE and REIS, 2016, my translation).

It is worth noting that the song which inspired the band Os Titãs was played with so-called 'giant flutes': clarinets made of *taquara*, a type of bamboo, exhibiting a deep, potent timbre. The melody of these flutes is built on an alternate system, with an augmented fourth, presenting 'quite an intense' atmosphere caused by an unresolved tritone. This uncomfortable impression occurs frequently in many workshops I minister, when listening to indigenous sounds. Many participants tend to think of this music as sounding like rock or heavy metal and believe it to be made by an electronic instrument.⁹²



Figure 41 *Taquara* from Xingu photographed by Valdir Zwetsch, 1970.

Taratararu
Taquara

Transcrição: Magda Pucci e Berenice de Almeida
Baseado na gravação do LP Cantos e Ritmos do Xingu

Yudjá (Juruna)

Figure 42 Transcription of the tune 'Taquara' from the LP *Xingu*, transcription for the book *Cantos da Floresta*, 2017.

⁹² The recording for the woodwinds that ward off spirits was reproduced on the CD with the *Outras terras, outros sons* book, and on the CD that accompanies the book *A Floresta Canta*, both of my own authorship (see Appendices).

Seven years later, the *Paiter Merewa* (1978) LP was released, with chants from the Paiter Suruí group from Rondônia recorded by the anthropologist Betty Mindlin and the singer Marlui Miranda. This LP inaugurates Marlui's field research, which would go on for the next decades.

In the following chapter, the importance of this LP shall be commented, where I heard the song 'Koitxãgareh', which also marked my entry into indigenous music⁹³.

Two other indigenous music LPs were released but did not reach the same popularity as the *Xingu* LP, such as Harald Schultz anthology *Musica degli indiani de Brasile*, released in 1979 and containing songs from the Karajá, Javaé, Krahô, Tikuna, Juruna (Yudjá), Suyá, Trumai and Txucarramãe peoples; and the LP *Arte vocal dos Suyá* (1982), the result of twenty years of Anthony Seeger's research and recordings from the 1970s.

In 1977, the first Brazilian book featuring a study and transcriptions from indigenous tunes was released by the musicologist Helza Camêu⁹⁴. The book *Introdução ao Estudo da Música indígena Brasileira* (Introduction to the Study of Brazilian Indigenous Music) presented many aspects of Guarani, Guaicuru, Kadiweu, Urubu and Maxacali music and Camêu's work was based on the recordings made by the anthropologists from the Museu Nacional during their research in the 1950s, such as Darcy Ribeiro, Egon Schaden and Max Boudin. This book represents ethnomusicology's early days in Brazil, which would grow with the studies on Suyá (now commonly known as Kisêdjê) music by Anthony Seeger and Rafael de Menezes Bastos with his semiotic-driven study⁹⁵ on Kamayurá music.

It is worth observing that these movements based on Brazilian indigenous groups is in most part due

⁹³ See Chapter 2.

⁹⁴ Before Helza Camêu's book, there was an article (called thesis) by Luis Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo published in 1938, for the competition for the chair of National Folklore at the National School of Music of the University of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro. Two hundred copies of this thesis have been printed numbered from 1 to 200. Those numbered 1 to 50 were sent to the National School of Music of the University of Brazil in accordance with Article 5 of Law No. 114 of 11 November 1935. Those numbered 51 to 200 are available for circulation but may not be sold. Note by de Menezes in: AZEVEDO, 1935.

⁹⁵ De Menezes Bastos' work *Musicológica Kamayurá* was initially submitted as a master's Dissertation in October 1976 for the Post-Graduation in social anthropology at the University of Brasília, with Peter Silverwood-Cope, David Price and Roque de Barros Laraia acting as Research Advisors. It was published for the first time by the National Indigenous Groups Foundation (FUNAI) in 1978, with a limited print run which sold out quickly and according to Seeger, "was passed hand-in-hand" and "kept as a treasure by those who were able to secure their own copy" (Seeger 1999, 13). In 1999 the work gained its second edition, which according to de Menezes Bastos was an almost verbatim copy of the first, published by the Federal University of Santa Catarina, where the author holds tenure since 1984.

to repercussions from the Villas-Bôas brothers' expedition and its impact on the artists and intellectuals. Xingu was 'en vogue'.

It is important to notice that the studies on indigenous peoples began to gain strength in a period when the Brazilian government would systematically order the torture and extermination of several indigenous groups⁹⁶, as revealed by the *Relatório Figueiredo* (Figueiredo Report, 1967), discovered in 2013 in the *Museu do Índio*. During that period, the Villas-Bôas brothers' journeys to uncharted territories around Brazil were extensively covered in national magazines, radio, newspapers and video documentaries, even garnering international attention, an example of which is Adrian Cowell's BBC London piece 'The Tribe that Hides from Man'⁹⁷. These documentaries portrayed the explorers as heroes who risked their lives to "understand the primitive man of the Brazilian wilds". In 1969 an important article by Normal Lewis titled 'Genocide – From the fire and sword to arsenic and bullets civilisation was sent to Six Million Ondinas to Extinction' was published in the Sunday Times, exposing the atrocities against indigenous populations in Brazil⁹⁸. The same director also produced a movie profiling Orlando Villas-Bôas, demonstrating his popularity.

⁹⁶ The Figueiredo Report, after being lost for 45 years, revealed the mass assassination, torture, slavery, bacteriological warfare, sexual abuse and theft of land against Brazil's indigenous peoples. As a result, several groups were decimated, mainly by agricultural estate owners and employees of the now extinct Indigenous Protection Service (SPI). The report, which was supposedly destroyed in a fire at the Ministry of Agriculture, was found in 2013 in the Indigenous Museum (Museu do Índio) in Rio de Janeiro, with almost 7 thousand pages preserved and containing 29 of the 30 original tomes. For more information see the article by CANEDO.

⁹⁷ Produced in 1960, the documentary 'The Tribe that Hides from Man' demonstrates the Villas-Bôas brothers' effort to contact the Paraná, an isolated indigenous group, also known as Kreen-Akarore. The opening of a new road near Kreen-Akarore territory threatens their survival. The video profiling Orlando titled 'Kingdom in the Jungle II – Xingu – Villas-Bôas' shows these moments.

⁹⁸ Information obtained from the books: *Savages: 'The Life and Killing of the Yanomami'* by Dennison Berwick (1992) and *Memórias sertanistas: Cem anos de indigenismo no Brasil* by Felipe Milanez (2016).



Figure 43 Sunday Times article on indigenous genocide 1969.



Figure 44 Orlando Villas-Bôas with indigenous people of the Xingu, 1960s.

It was during these uneasy circumstances that musical movements such *Clube da Esquina* and *Tropicália* emerged, voicing the critical period Brazil was experiencing.

Caetano Veloso was part of the *Tropicália*⁹⁹ movement; after becoming aware of the indigenous peoples' plight through news coverage and listening to a Yudjá (Juruna) melody, he decides to add his lyrics to the tune, creating the song 'Asa' (Jóia LP, 1975). Moved by what he saw and heard, Caetano also composed a sort of prophetic song titled 'Índio'. Disturbed by the Avá-Canoeiro genocide¹⁰⁰, Milton Nascimento composed six songs for his LPs *Geraes* and *Clube da Esquina 2*, a poetic allusion to the indigenous peoples' grave conditions. During this time, Egberto Gismonti visits a Yawalapiti village and was captivated with the local music, inspiring him to record the LP 'Sol do Meio Dia' (1978). Three classical composers built on

⁹⁹ *Tropicália* or *Tropicalismo* was founded with the album *Tropicália ou Panis et Circensis*, a collective endeavor by musicians such as Gilberto Gil, Os Mutantes, Torquato Neto, Rogério Duprat, Capinam, Tom Zé and Gal Costa.

¹⁰⁰ The Avá-Canoeiro people suffered a series of confrontations which almost led to their extinction. More information on these violent encounters can be found in the Avá-Canoeiro notes on ISA – Socio-environmental Institute website and in the article *Os Avá-Canoeiro do Araguaia e o tempo do cativo* by Patrícia de Mendonça Rodrigues (RODRIGUES, 2013).

Brazilian indigenous tunes: Marlos Nobre with 'Yanomami' (1970) for choir, tenor and acoustic guitar, César Guerra-Peixe with his 'Série Xavante' (1971) for mixed choir, and Sérgio Vasconcellos Corrêa with his piece 'Moacaretá' (1974), based on tunes from the Tukano and Miranda's peoples.

CAETANO VELOSO (b.1942)

Sixteen years after Villa-Lobos passed away, a different new example of appropriation of indigenous melodies arose, authored by the singer and composer of popular music from Bahia, Caetano Veloso. This is the first, though non-consensual¹⁰¹, "partnership" between an indigenous person and a non-native.



Figure 45 Caetano Veloso in the 1970s.

Considered one of the most influential Brazilian artists since the 1960s, Caetano Veloso was responsible for innovating the Brazilian music scene in 1968. Always a bold performer, he enjoyed the controversy that arose from his extravagant clothing and mocking interviews¹⁰². In 1969 Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil were accused of disrespect to the national anthem and were arrested together, and after their release they decided to go in exile in London¹⁰³.

¹⁰¹ More about appropriation in Chapter 3.

¹⁰² In 1968, faced with the strengthening of the Brazil's military regime, Caetano composes *É Proibido Proibir* (It is forbidden to forbid), which gained him national fame due to his audacity in speaking about repression in the country during an important MPB festival. His presentation was greatly booed for using distorted guitars from the rock band Os Mutantes, considered incoherent by the militant left who saw North American imperialism as something to be fought. Guitars represented North America's dominant culture. Caetano Veloso was open to North American counterculture and was not intimidated by the radical left's surveillance. Faced by the strong censorship and the jury's conservative attitude, Caetano, amidst the crowd's booing and after finding out his song had been declassified, shouted in a national broadcast "You are not understanding anything!", a marking episode in the history of Brazilian Popular Music.

¹⁰³ In December 1968, Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil were arrested in Rio and had their heads shaved. Both were released in February 1969, and went to Salvador, where they were kept under confinement, without appearing or giving public declarations. In

In the 1970s, Caetano Veloso created a trilogy of experimental albums¹⁰⁴, and the third of them, *Jóia*¹⁰⁵ (1976), has “feelings of MPB (Brazilian Popular Music), folk and experimental music, full of chord instrument arrangements and musical nuances which support the atmosphere of communion with nature and the world, according to Douglas Ribeiro, author of the blog Uvarau. “An amazing album with poetic lyrics and a particular rhythm and ambience. A special piece.” (RIBEIRO, D., 2014, n.p., my translation).

On this LP, Caetano presents ‘Asa’, a melody from the Yudjá¹⁰⁶ group – better known as the Juruna, from the Lower Xingu – and adds lyrics to the tune. Caetano was probably charmed with the asymmetric melody from the Yudjá flutist, adding to it a poem that describes the movement of birds in a Concretist¹⁰⁷ style:

Pássaro in/Pássaro pairando/

Pássaro momento/Pássaro ar/Pássaro ímpar/

Parou pousar/Parou repousar/Pássaro som/Pássaro parado/

Pássaro silêncio/Pássaro ir/Pássaro ritmo/

Passar voou/Passar avoou/

July of 1969, after two farewell concerts in Castro Alves Theater, on the 20 and 21st, Veloso and Gil left with their wives to exile in England.

¹⁰⁴ The second piece of this trilogy was the polemic *Araçá Azul* (1973), which was surprising due to its anti commercial profile, exhibiting a large number of returns, and was taken off the catalogue and released again only in 1987.

¹⁰⁵ The LP *Jóia* was the seventh in Caetano’s career, its cover was censored for showing the composer and his wife, Dedé with their son, all naked with illustrations of colorful doves covering their privates. The censorship considered the cover offensive and required that all the copies be removed from stores. Threatened with the loss of guardianship over his child, Caetano was forced to remake the cover, leaving only the doves.

¹⁰⁶ The Yudjá people demonstrate their special talent in playing the flute, after years away from their lands and under no condition to build their instruments due to the lack of the required natural materials; they began a project in 2005 with the support of the Basel Museum of Ancient Art in Switzerland, through the Yarikayu Association and the Socioambiental Institute. The project developed techniques to reproduce dozens of woodwind instruments (among which were flutes, clarinets, horns and others) and taught young persons to play them. The project’s results can be found in the catalogue of the instruments of the Yudjá people organized by researcher Simone de Athayde and is available on the internet.

¹⁰⁷ The Concretist movement rises in Brazil with the publication of the magazine *Noigandres* by the three poets Décio Pignatari, Haroldo de Campos and Augusto de Campos. The Concretist poem is called a poem-object for using visual and stylistic resources such as the elimination of verses and incorporation of geometric figures. The Concretist poems possess semantic weight but differentiate themselves by emphasizing visual content and the sound of words.



Figure 46 Original cover for Caetano Veloso's LP *Jóia*, in 1975.

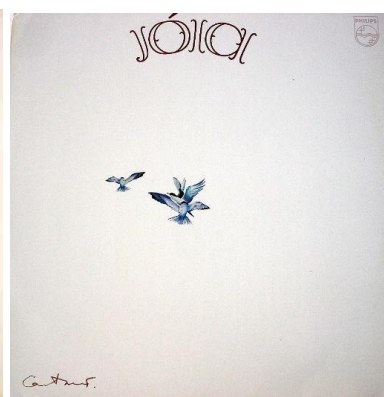


Figure 47 Cover for the LP *Jóia* after censorship.

Veloso mentioned in a 1979 interview with the poet Regis Bonvicino that this experimental phase “is not a class A act, *Xingu chic*, for example, like what Egberto Gismonti is doing. And another thing, it’s not Xingu. I’m more for Oswald de Andrade than Mário de Andrade or the Brazilian Bossas Academy.” (Caetano Veloso, in: BONVICINO, 1979, my translation). This clearly demonstrates Veloso’s anti-academic posture focussed on cultural anthropophagy as imagined by Oswald de Andrade. In a recent interview, Veloso comments on his preference for Oswald de Andrade’s more “anarchist and provocative” ideas¹⁰⁸, in detriment to those of Mário de Andrade. Tropicalist imagery was anchored on Oswald de Andrade’s work, and even though Mário de Andrade was at the forefront of Modernism, he was not a reference to the movement.

I used to hear about Mário de Andrade since school. A colleague [...] told me that around 1962 there was an even more interesting figure in The Modern Arts Week, Oswald de Andrade, more provocative and anarchistic. [...] Oswald himself only came to me in the production of “O Rei da Vela” by theater group Oficina in 1967. I remarked to Augusto [de Campos] how impressed I was with the piece. He told me that was one of the least important things by Oswald and sent me some of his work: “Pau Brasil”, the manifestos, “Miramar [Memórias Sentimentais de João]”, all of that. It was a revelation; Oswald seemed to synthesize the whirlwind going on inside my head since 1966, since “Terra em Transe” [from 1967]. I read and re-read “Miramar” and “Serafim Ponte Grande”, but continued to now stand “Macunaíma” (Caetano Veloso in: LEAL and SOMBRA, 2017, my translation).

And like the good “anthropophage” he said he was, Caetano does not mention the partnership with the Juruna (also called Yudjá) musician¹⁰⁹ when recording this song for the LP *Jóia*, omitting the due credits. Possibly due to his “Oswaldian” verve he did not even mention the source of the song, the LP *Cantos e Ritmos*

¹⁰⁸ Oswald de Andrade envisaged anthropophagy as a technique of cultural contact grounded in the systematic and creative incorporation of otherness into one’s own identity, which, by definition, becomes a continuous process of self-fashioning and self-confrontation through the endless incorporation of new shapes and the crossing of previous boundaries.

¹⁰⁹ The tune was played by a Juruna/Yudjá flutist and was filmed by Simone de Athayde. The video is available on internet and in Appendix Chapter 1-4, under the title *Yudja flute from Brazilian Amazon*.

do Xingu which caused a problem in the following decades.

Thirty years later, the composer apologized for his omission and recognized that the melody was the flutist's and not his, and that the song should be registered under a partnership with the Yudjá people. Caetano Veloso also argued that the label should have paid royalties to the Yudjá community, something he could not be responsible for. He also stated publicly that he would like to register this song correctly. In an excerpt from an interview for the site Radiola Urbana he explains:

It is not mere melodic similitude. I put the words over the music from the Lower Xingu Indians [...] in an instance such as with the Juruna flute I believe credits should have been given the label and printed in the album's back cover [...]. How about we fix all this? (Caetano Veloso in: INSTITUTO SOCIOAMBIENTAL, 2005, my translation).

Caetano Veloso also declares that the error occurred due to the same lack of organization and knowledge that was caused by the labels that wrongly credited him with the authorship of the song 'Marinheiro Só', a traditional song from the Bahian Recôncavo. But because he recorded the song, the composition was credited to him. This type of misunderstanding unfortunately happens too often with traditional music from popular culture. The copyright laws commonly define that for traditional oral songs (with no defined authorship or belonging to a traditional group) the interpreter (singer or instrumentalist) is considered the legal owner the song.

The ethnomusicologists Mats Johansson and Ola Berge offer an analysis of the controversy and the frequently tense relations between interpreters and authors of traditional music in their article *Who owns an interpretation? – Legal and Symbolic Ownership of Norwegian Folk Music*:

A complementary notion is that traditional musicians are considered to be creators in the sense that they contribute to the ongoing process of shaping and refining the tunes and songs that are the content of the tradition. Such a process of creating something new out of the old is at the core of what traditional music making is all about. However, this form of creation does not legally qualify as composition, meaning that the performers are not entitled to any economic compensation from performing rights societies. Instead, what is being "traded" is symbolic capital, regulated by complex informal rules" (JOHANSSON and BERGE, 2010: 33).

Nowadays it is noticeable how the songs are also 'symbolic capital' (BOURDIEU, 1994) and though they originate from certain groups, they are only considered 'real' when turned into products, such as in a LP or CD, with some form of commercial support. So, what nowadays seems outrageous unjustified exploitation was, in reality, a common practice during the past decades due to ambiguous copyright laws.

During the 1920-1930s, Villa-Lobos sometimes noted the indigenous origins of elements in his scores, but did not pay royalties, as this was not done during that period. But Caetano exposed the problem of 'appropriation' and by apologizing he revealed that on that occasion he was not worried about the relevance of this issue. Nowadays, the matter is seen differently, and the change of mindset compared to 50 years ago is evident. There is a noticeable effort in considering copyrights, even collective ones, for music and material

culture from indigenous and Afro-Brazilian groups. Nonetheless, copyright laws for traditional music continues to be a source of much controversy. More about this subject can be found in the third chapter.

Caetano Veloso also composed the song titled 'Índio', a poem describing a physically and symbolically 'preserved' native as someone who cosmologically arises as an unidentified object from sidereal space, as a victim of "cultural deterritorialization"¹¹⁰ (DELEUZE and GUATTARI, 1974: 45; HAESBAERT, 2015: 56). Peri, the same character from de Alencar's novel (turned into the opera *Il Guarany* by Gomes), is portrayed as the "courageous indian", a super-man that is also metaphorically compared to the Chinese martial-artist Bruce Lee, as well as the boxing champion Muhammad Ali. Veloso announced the return of this native man as a hero, but did not romanticize him as Alencar does, portraying him a messianic being who arrives to "purge the lands of all evils and unite the worlds of the natives, Tao, Islam, Hindu and Candombé". This way, the song 'Índio' could be considered as a postmodern epic in this free translation:

<i>Um índio descenderá de uma estrela colorida, brilhante</i>	<i>A native will descend from a colored star, shining</i>
<i>De uma estrela que virá numa velocidade estonteante</i>	<i>From a star that comes with astounding speed</i>
<i>E pousará no coração do hemisfério sul</i>	<i>Landing in the heart of the southern hemisphere</i>
<i>Na América, num claro instante</i>	<i>In America, a clear instant</i>
<i>Depois de exterminada a última nação indígena</i>	<i>After the last indigenous nation is extinguished</i>
<i>E o espírito dos pássaros das fontes de água límpida</i>	<i>And the spirit of the birds of clear water fonts</i>
<i>Mais avançado que a mais avançada das mais avançadas das tecnologias</i>	<i>More advanced than the most advanced of the most advanced technologies</i>
<i>Virá</i>	<i>Comes</i>
<i>Impávido que nem Muhammad Ali</i>	<i>Undaunted like Muhammad Ali</i>
<i>Virá que eu vi / Apaixonadamente como Peri</i>	<i>Comes as I see Lovingly like Peri</i>
<i>Virá que eu vi</i>	<i>Comes as I see</i>

¹¹⁰ Deterritorialization is a mark of so-called postmodern society, dominated by mobility and flows, by the uprooting and cultural hybridism. According to the geographer Haesbaert, deterritorialization is also a "territorial precarization of subaltern groups", those who effectively live a loss of physical control and symbolic references over their territories. As no individual can live without territory, as precarious and temporary as they may be, deterritorialization, in this case, can be confused with territorial precarization. This way, there would be a generic meaning to deterritorialization as the destruction or transformation of territories (being both areas of political and economic dominance and cultural and symbolic appropriation), and in a stricter sense, bound to the territorial precarization of those who have substantially lost their "control and/or territorial identities" (HAESBAERT, 2015: 56, my translation). This phenomenon occurs nowadays in a large part of indigenous groups who have their territories invaded, such as the Guarani Kaiowá of Mato Grosso do Sul.

<i>Tranquilo e infalível como Bruce Lee</i>	<i>Calm and unerring like Bruce Lee</i>
<i>Virá que eu vi</i>	<i>Comes as I see</i>
<i>O axé do afoxé Filhos de Gandhi¹¹¹</i>	<i>The axé of afoxé Sons of Gandhi</i>
<i>Virá / Um índio preservado em pleno corpo físico</i>	<i>Comes. A Native entirely preserved in physical form</i>
<i>Em todo sólido, todo gás e todo líquido</i>	<i>In all solids, all gases and all liquids</i>
<i>Em átomos, palavras, alma, cor</i>	<i>In atoms, words, soul, color</i>
<i>Em gesto, em cheiro, em sombra, em luz, em som magnífico</i>	<i>In gesture, in scent, in shadow, in light, in magnificent sound</i>
<i>Num ponto equidistante entre o Atlântico e o Pacífico</i>	<i>In an equidistant point between the Atlantic and the Pacific</i>
<i>Do objeto-sim resplandecente descerá o índio</i>	<i>From the object-yes, the gleaming indian descends</i>
<i>E as coisas que eu sei que ele dirá, fará</i>	<i>And the things I know he says, he will do</i>
<i>Não sei dizer assim de um modo explícito</i>	<i>I do not know how to say this explicitly</i>
<i>Virá / Impávido que nem Muhammad Ali</i>	<i>Comes / Undaunted like Muhammed Ali</i>
<i>Virá que eu vi / Apaixonadamente como Peri</i>	<i>Comes as I see / Lovingly like Peri</i>
<i>Virá que eu vi / Tranquilo e infalível como Bruce Lee</i>	<i>Comes as I see / Calm and unerring like Bruce Lee</i>
<i>Virá que eu vi / O axé do afoxé Filhos de Gandhi</i>	<i>Comes as I see / The axé of afoxé Sons of Gandhi</i>
<i>Virá</i>	<i>Comes</i>
<i>E aquilo que nesse momento se revelará aos povos /</i>	<i>And what in this moment will be revealed to the peoples /</i>
<i>Surpreenderá a todos não por ser exótico</i>	<i>Will surprise all not for being exotic</i>
<i>Mas pelo fato de poder ter sempre estado oculto</i>	<i>But by the fact that it could always have stayed occult</i>
<i>Quando terá sido o óbvio</i>	<i>When it will have been obvious.</i>

As a Tropicalist artist, Caetano Veloso blended references and disarticulates this “identified indian” from something belonging to a mythic past to present times. Though not typically considered committed to the indigenous cause, the composer used the image of the native as a metaphor to deconstruct the issues of

¹¹¹ One of the oldest and the most important Afro-Brazilian groups in the Carnival of Bahia, which counts on approximately 10,000 members. The *afoxé Filhos de Gandhi* (‘Sons of Gandhi’) was founded by port dockers of the city in 1949. Created exclusively by men and inspired by the principles of nonviolence and peace of the Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi, the bloc brings the tradition of the African religion through the rhythm of the *agôgô* in their songs of *Ijexá* in the Yoruba language. They used white tunics and turbans to symbolize the Indian robes.

a possible national identity that incorporates the old romanticized images and references from other cultures.

Different from what we see with Milton Nascimento, who through his project *Txai* explicitly revealed the desire to denounce the adverse circumstances the Brazilian indigenous population suffered, Caetano Veloso did not get involved directly with this cause. His relations with the indigenous peoples, though displaying political motivations, is more focused on a poetic-philosophical standpoint.

Many singers recorded the song 'Índio', and each interpretation exhibits its own particularities and different arrangements¹¹². It is still sung today, maybe as an unfulfilled prophecy, for indigenous rights are still far from being respected.

EGBERTO GISMONTI (b. 1947)



Figure 48 Egberto Gismonti playing acoustic guitar.

Still in the 1970s, contrary to Tropicalist tendencies, we find a classically trained virtuoso multi-instrumentalist and composer, whose life was to be changed by the contact with an indigenous group from the Xingu, the Yawalapiti. Egberto Gismonti is going to be analyzed next. Gismonti demonstrated his interest for indigenous imagery in his album *Sol do Meio Dia* released in 1978 by ECM/EMI-Odeon. He did not truly use indigenous tunes in this album but preferred to write compositions inspired by their way of life.

After studying dodecaphonic music with Jean Barraqué and musical analysis with Nadia Boulanger in France, as well as composition with the Italian Luigi Dallapiccola, Gismonti directed his career towards musical research and experimentation using complex structures and very unusual instruments. He dedicated

¹¹² For a list of versions of 'Um Índio' with Doce Bárbaros, Milton Nascimento, Carla Sandroni, Ney Matogrosso, Frejat and Maria Bethânia see the audio section in the bibliography.

himself almost exclusively to instrumental music, with a tendency towards jazz, in the style of North American pianist Keith Jarrett, with influences from Brazilian elements, such as *maracatu*, *baião*, and Villa-Lobos' music. Since the 1970s, Egberto Gismonti became unanimously admired by those who enjoy Brazilian instrumental music, and had toured many times in Europe, playing with several renowned jazz musicians. Most of his albums were recorded by European labels because in Brazil his style was deemed as not being commercial¹¹³.

Towards the end of the 1970s, during the Dictatorship, Gismonti demonstrated his desire to go to Xingu Park and hear the *jakuí* flutes¹¹⁴, after having heard about them so often in the media, and probably because he also heard the LP *Cantos e Ritmos do Xingu*. In 1977, the independent music production agency, Trindade, set up a remarkable performance with a presentation by Ballet Stagium, dancing for an audience of 800 natives accompanied by the soundtrack of Gismonti. After the presentation, Egberto spent forty days in the Yawalapiti¹¹⁵ village, where he had the opportunity of living with musician and shaman Sapain. They became friends and communicated solely through music, as they did not share a common tongue.

During this period Egberto heard and learned several melodies played on the wooden *jakuí* flute and got impressed with the slight tempo displacements. In a meeting with activist and writer Ailton Krenak during the 2016 Arts Biennial of São Paulo, Gismonti gave an account of his time in the Xingu:

In the house of flutes, they sing the *jakuí*, the spirit flute. [...] They spin one behind another. They play a polyrhythm. [...] The left foot stomping at the beat, and the right barefoot rakes the ground. The song makes another rhythm, which has nothing to do with the pulsation of the feet. I panicked because I was faced with all I had studied, not only in Brazil, but also in France. I thought by myself: "This here was much richer than *The Rite of Spring*". *I panicked because I learned the extent of my ignorance*. They all spun and spun, for 40 or 50 minutes, and the music did not repeat, because there was a tempo dephasing of each one. [...] It's as if we put three old analogic recorders and played the same tape with varying speeds. [...] After a time the differences (dephasing) would end up together. And when this happened they smiled. *They are singing the spirit*. Now they had found the spirit. *That music does not have a time signature from a score or (follows) a metronome*. It was natural to sing the same thing [...] When I returned (from the village) I decided to dedicate an album to Sapain (Egberto Gismonti, recorded at Biennale of São Paulo, 2016, emphasis added).

Towards the end of his time with the Yawalapiti, Gismonti won a *kuluta*, a flute (a small one for beginners), because the *jakuí* can only be played by the initiated, and he was able to reproduce some of the

¹¹³ He recorded fifteen albums between 1977 and 1993 through the German label ECM, ten of which were released in Brazil by BMG in 1995. Through his label *Carmo*, Egberto reacquired his initial repertoire and is one of the rare examples of Brazilian composers who own their own collection.

¹¹⁴ See the audio section of the bibliography.

¹¹⁵ Upper Xingu people that speak the Macro-Jê linguistic branch of the Arawak family. The Yawalapiti has the habit of exchanging utensils with the Aweti, with whom they also exchange women. They still live in the traditional style, fishing and hunting and planting corn, sweet potatoes and manioc. They share common habits and rituals of the Upper Xingu area.

melodies he learned during this period, but did not feel comfortable to use them:

I know a bunch of musical things they taught me, but I don't feel competent enough to use them, because I know them only from a musical viewpoint. I take notes of them, but I do not understand what they represent. And if I start playing the jakuí, it loses its purpose and becomes only music, but it is much more. (Egberto Gismonti, recording made at the São Paulo Biennale, 2016).

This contact with Yawalapiti was crucial for the development of his album *Sol do Meio Dia*, in which he wished to honour the shaman Sapain. In this project, Gismonti composed several tunes inspired by his time in the Xingu and enjoyed the collaboration of many great musicians from the German label ECM, such as Norwegian saxophonist Jan Garbarek, North American percussionist Collin Walcott, guitar player Ralph Towner and Brazilian percussionist Naná Vasconcelos. Gismonti added titles to his suite-compositions which referred to the Yawalapiti village atmosphere as: 'Celebration for the building of the village', 'Dance of spirits', 'The voice of spirits', among others. The LP cover showed a photo of the trail he followed every day to arrive at the village, and on the inside cover there was an image of the *oca* (indigenous longhouse) where he heard the *jakuí* flutes and wrote a dedication: "to Sapain and the Xingu Indians, whose teachings during my time in the jungle were very important. Their color and mysteries; the sun, the moon, the rain and winds, the river and fishes, the sky and birds, but above all the integration of the musician, the music and the instrument in an indivisible whole" (GISMONTI, 1978, my translation).



Figure 49 Shaman Sapain nowadays. Photo: Renato Soares.



Figure 50 A traditional oca in Yawalapiti village. Photo: ISA.

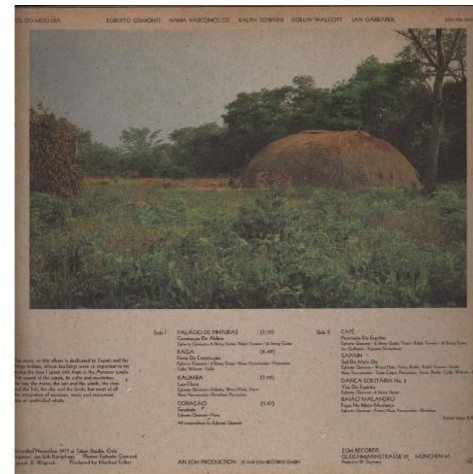


Figure 51 Cover for the LP Sol do Meio Dia by Egberto Gismonti, 1978. Figure 52 inside cover for the LP Sol da Meia Dia by Egberto Gismonti, 1978.

In this short interpretation of the songs of this album, I highlight with * the titles related to everyday situations of the Yawalapiti village.

The album Sol do Meio-dia

In the opening track – ‘Palácio de Pinturas – *Construção da Aldeia’ (Palace of Paintings – Building of the Village), Egberto Gismonti and Ralph Towner improvised with the twelve-string guitars, creating a musical ambience for what will follow.

On the second track, Egberto used two terms to title the piece: ‘Raga’ – referring to an Indian texture created by the Collin Walcott’s *tablas* – and ‘*Festa de Construção’ (Construction Celebration), addressing a village’s important moment of the building of a new *oca*. With an eight-string-guitar, Egberto improvised together with the percussionist Naná Vasconcelos, playing the *caxixis*, an Afro-Brazilian instrument that maintains the beat for the profusion of notes from the Indian *tablas*.

In the third track, ‘Kalimba – *Lua Cheia’ (Kalimba – Full Moon), Naná Vasconcelos explores the sound of the *berimbau*, plays with the sounds and focuses on something more free flowing, with no rigid structures, using several percussion instruments while Egberto plays the *kalimba* (*mbira*), of African origin. Later, the composer uses the Xingu flute that was given to him during his stay in the village, but his improvisations suggests modal scales, nearer to the sounds of a *pífano* – a northeastern Brazilian fife. The composer also uses vocal resources, open voicings and phonemes with no meaning.

In track five, recorded as a 24’50” suite, he united several compositions: ‘Café – Procissão do Espírito’ / ‘*Sapain – *Sol do Meio Dia’ / ‘Dança Solitária No. 2 – *Voz do Espírito’ / ‘Baião Malandro – Fogo na Mata/Mudança’. The composer mixed diverse musical references, including an homage to the elder shaman

Sapain.

In the first part of the suite 'Café – Procissão do Espírito' (Coffee, Spirit Procession), Egberto Gismonti brings bossa-nova references in the guitar, mixed with vocals similar to Milton Nascimento's style of singing, exhibiting references from Minas Gerais. The theme is played on Jan Garbarek's soprano sax and is accompanied by Ralph Towner's twelve-string guitar.

The second part, 'Sapain – Sol do Meio Dia' begins with the use of vocal sounds produced by bottlenecks, exploring dissonant clusters, and later works on an alternated system, characteristic to Brazilian indigenous peoples, though this resource seems to align with a song from Herbie Hancock's 'Watermelon Man' introduction recorded at the CD *Head Hunter*, which uses the same procedure to imitate the music of pygmies¹¹⁶. It is possible that Gismonti tried to create the same effect of the indigenous flutes heard in the Yawalapiti village. In sequence, Gismonti played a theme on the flute, which sounds more like a *pífano* (Brazilian fife), while Naná improvises with vocals and at the talking drum.

In the third part of the suite, 'Dança Solitária No. 2 – *Voz do Espírito', Egberto Gismonti plays the same theme from the suite 'Café' on the eight-string guitar, as a solo.

In the introduction to the fourth part, 'Baião Malandro – Fogo na Mata/Mudança', Gismonti uses an ostinato and a cut-out melody that refers to a fire in the jungle, using effects from Vasconcelos' *berimbau*.

The feeling in *O Sol da Meia Noite* album is jazzy, but with interventions that create soundscapes and a looser percussion. African traces are added by Naná Vasconcelos, always alternating with improvisations, like in most CDs by the label ECM. There are no indigenous references in the style of composition, though the album exhibits improvised sounds from the flute Sapain gifted to Gismonti and that seem to evoke the ambience of the village. The saxophonist Jan Garbarek nears the sound of European jazz, while Gismonti brings his particular style, with well-constructed melodies and syncopated rhythms, at one time in an elaborate jazz style, at another moment using modal and fluid harmonies.

In a conversation recorded in São Paulo's 2016 Biennial, Gismonti comments that he had the intention to record the songs with the same daily routine Sapain played, always in accordance to the sun's position: "it was a song for midday, for four in the evening, for the end evening, for dawn". Later he confessed that following this schedule in Norway made little sense, not only due to the difference in time zone, but because he noticed that this relationship to the position of the sun had a sacred significance he would never

¹¹⁶ See Chapter 3.

be able to add to his LP.

Another example of music related to the indigenous universe composed by Gismonti is the instrumental theme 'Quarup¹¹⁷ Worship Ceremony' on the CD *The Altitude of the Sun* (1976), recorded with the North American saxophonist and flutist Paul Horn. Gismonti titles this theme with the name of an important funeral ritual of the Xingu peoples, the Kuarup. In this theme Gismonti plays an indigenous flute, improvising with jazz elements in layers, using percussion effects. Though it does not present any specific indigenous tune, he clearly demonstrates how he captured the Xingu's soundscape. Once again, he used impressions to create music that does not exactly sound indigenous but exhibits vague elements from these cultures.

In 1989, Gismonti composed the soundtrack for Ruy Guerra's movie, *Kuarup*¹¹⁸, revealing his commitment to indigenous themes. Merely observing the titles of the songs for this soundtrack, we notice how much he was inspired by this set of themes:

- *Senhores da terra* (owners of the land);
- *Anta* (tapir)
- *Urucum* (a tincture used for body painting)
- *A força da floresta* (the strength of the forest)
- *A dança da floresta* (the dance of the forest)
- *Águas* (waters)
- *A morte da floresta* (the death of the forest)
- *Som da floresta* (the sound of the forest)
- *Jogos da floresta* (the games of the forest)

¹¹⁷ This term can be written with different spelling: Kuarup or Kuaryp or Quarup.

¹¹⁸ From the work of Antônio Callado, the film *Kuarup* narrates the story of the priest Nando during the 1950s; after leaving an isolated monastery in Recife, he begins working as a missionary in Upper Xingu. Involved in political intrigues and suffering from sexual desires, he leaves the church, becoming an indigenist and later, in the 1960s, fights against the military regime implanted during 1964.

Besides the aforementioned albums, Gismonti performed with Marlui Miranda, producing her first album in 1979, which included a song called 'Estrela do Indaiá' and a reinterpretation of three chants from the Krahô¹¹⁹. In 2004, Gismonti also collaborated with Maestro Sá Brito for the album *Caiapó Metutire*, which will be mentioned later on. In one of the tracks for this project, Gismonti composes a song named 'Meucumere', where he plays the *kuluta* flute and an instrument called *bambuzal*, similar to the Chinese *sheng*¹²⁰.

Gismonti displays a profound respect for indigenous philosophy and their way of life. Though he is very interested in the indigenous aesthetic, he preferred not to use these elements in the same manner as Villa-Lobos or citing and harmonizing these melodies. His way of treating this material was by writing original music inspired by the impressions he had during his visit to the Xingu. Still, Gismonti used, and still uses, in his presentations, some Xingu flutes and always states his time in the village was especially influential in his life.

MARLOS NOBRE (b. 1939)

The erudite (contemporary classical) composer Marlos Nobre¹²¹, whose oeuvre was created mainly in the years 1970-1980¹²², is known for his mixing elements of traditional music from Pernambuco with concert music. He composed the piece *Yanomami* for mixed choir and guitar op.47, in 1970, when the media commented on the imminent extinction of the Yanomami people due to problems with mining and diseases. The work is inspired by a funeral ritual of a *cacique* (a chieftain). The tenor soloist "represents" the dead *pajé* (an elder shaman). At the moment when it is perceived that the *cacique* dies, Marlos Nobre creates a dodecaphonic motet, which is very difficult to interpret.

¹¹⁹ 'Três Cantos Nativos dos Índios Krahô' were arranged by Marcos Leite (1953-2002) in 1982 and published by Earthsongs in 1996. They are free adaptation of chants from Krahô. The meaning of the text is unknown, and the words are treating merely as phonemes by the composer. Marcos Leite was one of the greatest personalities of the Brazilian choir scene during the second half of the twentieth century. His work among the Garganta Profunda group (later renamed *Vocal Garganta*) established a standard for quality in what is known as 'scenic choir' in the country and abroad. This arrangement is one of the Brazilian choral compositions more often interpreted around the world nowadays.

¹²⁰ See about *kuluta* flute in the next chapter.

¹²¹ Marlos Nobre won the Tomás Luis de Victoria Prize in 2005, a sort of Prince of Asturias Prize for Spanish classical music awarded to Latin American and Iberian composers, and a book about his life and work was published: *El sonido del realismo mágico*, paid by the foundation that granted the laurel. The book is accompanied by a CD, which contains recordings taken from other albums.

¹²² In 1971, he directed Radio MEC – Ministry of Education and Culture – and the National Institute of Music of Funarte – National Foundation for the Arts (1976). Between 1985 and 1987, he was president of the International Music Council of Unesco in Paris and directed the Cultural Foundation of Brasília in 1988 as well as the Cultural Foundation of the Federal District between the years 1986 to 1990. He currently chairs the Brazilian Academy of Music.

Influenced by Ernesto Nazareth¹²³ and Villa-Lobos, Marlos Nobre's compositional vision is based on the ideas of Mário de Andrade, who encouraged composers to use themes of popular culture, and also influenced by Stravinsky, Messiaen, Schoenberg and Stockhausen. *Yanomami* was considered one of the best pieces for guitar by a non-guitarist composer and is appreciated by virtuosos around the world. According to guitarist Gilson Antunes¹²⁴, *Yanomami*:

[...] follows the Villalobian composition tradition, intelligently using the open strings and open and closed chords of the guitar – without limiting the guitar to common uses of techniques already established, and which are usually used by guitarist composers (ANTUNES, n.d., my translation).

The piece includes a variety of contemporary vocal techniques, such as wide glissandos, guttural sounds, clusters and obvious dissonances.

Among the extensive work of Marlos Nobre, this seems to be the only one that refers to the indigenous world, which once again indicates that the presence of Afro-Brazilian rhythms in compositions of the period was more significant.

GUERRA-PEIXE (1914 – 1993)

In the same period, in 1971, Guerra-Peixe wrote *Série Xavante*¹²⁵ for mixed choir. Although he began his career as a twelve-tone composer in the 1940s, he soon began to adopt a 'nationalist' position, deciding to deepen his study of Brazilian northeastern musical traditions, such as maracatus, xangôs, frevos, and fife bands, which were his main interest. In addition to this research, he also made symphonic arrangements for popular songs by composers such as Chico Buarque and Tom Jobim. *Série Xavante* is the only work by Guerra-Peixe with an indigenous theme and was based on four moments of the Xavante ritual for youth initiation called *Wapté Minhono*, carried out to the present day: I. Ritual of ear piercing; II. Song of the young women; III. Singing of the boys; IV. Buriti race. According to the composer, the lyrics of the song were extracted from the album and documentary of the Brazilian Ethno-Musical Collection – CEMB – São Paulo. The composer comments:

The syllables are mere meaningless onomatopoeic effects, and the *maestro* can modify or substitute them as he wishes, without any constraint. The author only intended to imitate phonemes recorded in an anthropological recording [...] is a

¹²³ A composer of light music (*maxixe, choro, samba, polka, mazurka*) of the belle époque.

¹²⁴ The work was recorded by the label SIGNUM Classics in England with the Cervantes Choir of London, Brazilian guitarist Fábio Zanon and conducted by Carlos Fernandez Aransay.

¹²⁵ A recording of this work can be found on internet interpreted by Madrigal Renascentista de Belo Horizonte, conducted by Afrânio Lacerda.

work without any commitment to the source of origin and therefore without any value as a document for the songs of the Xavante people (GUERRA-PEIXE, composer's website, my translation).

This is another case in which the origin of indigenous material does not seem to be relevant to the composer, who only tries to sound indigenous, with no concern for referring to the source, the name of the people or any worry about the specifics of a particular group or context.

www.superpartituras.com.br

Série Xavante
Para Coro Misto

Com fragmentos de uma coletânea de canções dos ameríndios Xavante

Guerra-Peixe

I - Ritual da perfuração da orelha

Andantino (♩ = c. 56)

Soprano

Contralto

Tenore

Baixo

mf (tenza vibrato, come clarone) *dim.*

U U U U U

pp

U U U U U

Allegro con fuoco (♩ = c. 144)

Soprano

Contralto

Tenore

Baixo

f *gritando*

HA HA HA HA

f *gritando*

HA HA HA HA

f

VA NA VA NA DOB DOB UA

f

HE HE HE HE HE HE HE E HE HE HE

sempre marcato

www.sesc.com.br/sescpartituras

Figure 53 Score of *Série Xavante* by Guerra-Peixe.

SÉRGIO DE VASCONCELLOS CORRÊA (b.1934)

A disciple of the Brazilian composer Camargo Guarnieri, Vasconcellos received dozens of prizes abroad and in composition contests and his works were published in the United States, Germany and Belgium. He also acts as teacher and conductor. He has composed two pieces with the same title, *Moacaretá* (1974), based on several indigenous melodies¹²⁶. Although he is considered a nationalist composer and his work presents several references of *catira*, popular Christmas carols and popular dances in the interior of São Paulo, where he was born, Vasconcellos refutes this label and says that he always “distrusted composers who have made folk or Popular music” (VASCONCELLOS CORRÊA, 2000, n.d.).

The *Moacaretá* pieces were composed in 1974 and are, in reality, two different songs: a fugue for choir

¹²⁶ Companhia Bachiana Brasileira, under the direction of Ricardo Rocha, made the only known recording of this work in 1994.

and a suite for flutes. The word *Moacaretá* refers to a tribal council formed by the eldest, in charge of transmitting the cultural values and history of its people to the young. The piece *Moacaretá* for choir is a modal fugue based on three indigenous themes: 'Canidé-loune' – 'Sabath', collected by de Léry in 1530; Paresi's 'Nozani-na' and a tune of an unidentified group, perhaps Coroados. The *Moacaretá* piece for flute quartet is based on five indigenous tunes: the first one is a Tukano theme, from Rio Negro¹²⁷; the second and third ones are called 'Dança dos Miranha', based on the melodies compiled by Spix and Martius in the nineteenth century; and the fourth is a melody for the Juruna flute called *Auã*¹²⁸, based on a track from the LP *Cantos e Ritmos do Xingu*; finally, a modal fugue. The Tukano tune is a melody played by two flutes in minor seconds, which attempts to reproduce the microtones from indigenous flutes.

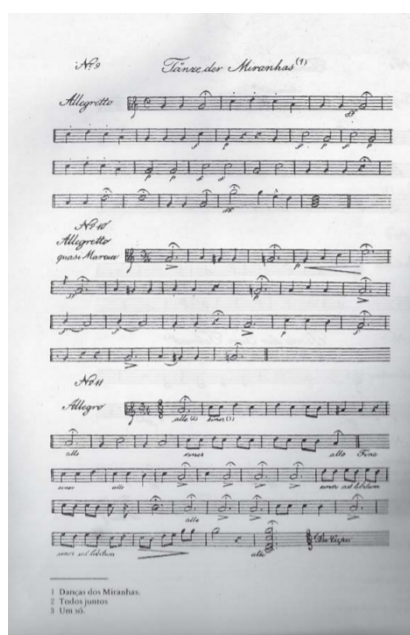


Figure 54 Tanz der Miranhas transcribed by Spix and Martius.

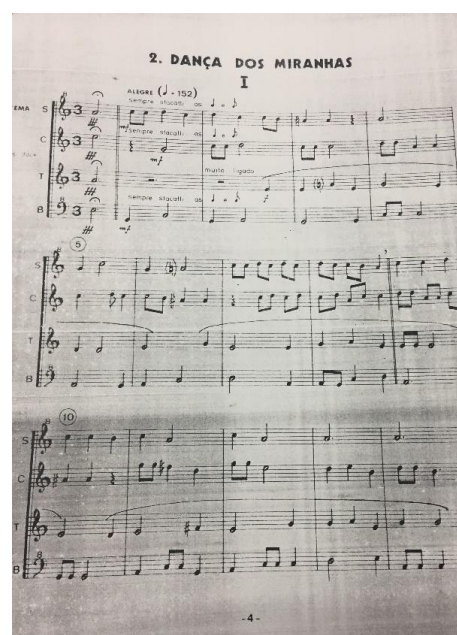


Figure 55 Score of the second movement of *Moacaretá*, with use of the Miranha tune.

These pieces seem to be the only ones that the author composed making use of indigenous themes. It is important to recall that Vasconcellos also composed *Hino dos Bandeirantes*, in a marching rhythm. This piece won a contest of the State of São Paulo in 1979 but it should be mentioned that in the midst of Brazil's dictatorial period, this composition demonstrates the lack of awareness of the composer of indigenous issues, since everything indicates that he did not have any problem to compose a hymn in honor of the *Bandeirantes*,

¹²⁷ The first theme can be listened in a live recording on the internet, with Claudia Freixedas and Marília Macedo playing the flutes under the name *Doces Diálogos – Primeiro tema Tukano da Suíte Moacaretá para flautas*.

¹²⁸ A recording of this piece played by flutist Priscila Gama is available on the internet.

Portuguese “lords” who came to Brazil to enslave and kill thousands of indigenous people¹²⁹.

It is interesting to observe that, in the second half of the 1970s, there was a probable connection between the creation of those musical works commented above with the widespread mediatization of the conflicts caused by the mining companies in the Yanomami lands and the almost complete disappearance of the Avá-Canoeiro people causing an awareness about the indigenous situation.

Democracy – Transformations



Figure 56 Democracy in Brazil

With the fall of the military government in 1985, after twenty years of dictatorship, Brazil transitioned to a democracy. It was a period of great economic instability, with extreme uncontrolled inflation¹³⁰. The

¹²⁹ At the beginning of the colonial period in Brazil, the Portuguese government sought to expand the Brazilian territory, exploring the backlands. Their actions were marked by extreme violence, such as the “hunting of rebel Natives” and fugitive slaves, contributing to the maintenance of the slave system that prevailed in Brazil. The *sertanistas* started out from São Paulo and São Vicente, heading towards the interior of Brazil, traversing forests and rivers. These territorial explorations were called *Entradas* or *Bandeiras*. The *Entradas* were official expeditions organized by the government whereas the *Bandeiras* were financed by individuals (planters, owners of mines, merchants). Most of the railways in São Paulo State, named after *Bandeirantes*, were indigenous paths in the past.

¹³⁰ Starting with Ernesto Geisel’s government from 1974 to 1979, the economic crisis and the difficulties of the military regime are worsened. The high oil prices and international interest rates generate instability in Brazil’s payment balance and exacerbates inflation. Besides compromising the established model for economic growth based on external financing. Despite the increasing costs of loans and the accelerated growth of the external debt, the government does not interrupt the cycle of economic expansion from the beginning of the 70s and maintains the official programs and incentives to private projects. But nonetheless industrial

transition occurred with an indirectly elected president, but already leading to a significant change that aroused the *Diretas Já* popular movement and the creation of several political parties¹³¹. Many exiles returned to the country and several artists became engaged in this popular campaign, such as the composer and singer Milton Nascimento, who, already sensitized by the indigenous struggles of the past decade, became highly solidary with the severe problems of these peoples.

During this period, there is a growing interest in studies of indigenous music, with reference to Lévi-Strauss and his Structuralism, which understand myths as structural to this Amerindian 'mode of thought', which ends up giving rise to musical connections. New parameters for analysis arise, referring to native terms for musical functions.

Inspired by this period of awakening, Milton Nascimento, from Minas Gerais, recorded the LP *Txai* after a trip through Acre, where he met the local indigenous populations. The tracks on the album alternate between indigenous field recordings and his original songs¹³². Marlui Miranda, who had already worked with Milton Nascimento and Egberto Gismonti during the past decades, releases the CD *Ihu – Todos os sons* in 1985, with indigenous themes from all over Brazil arranged as a mixture of mixed choir, Brazilian jazz and popular music. *Ihu* was considered an important reference in Brazilian music.

Two decades later, Sá Brito, a Brazilian ethnomusicologist formed at the University of Sorbonne, completed a project which brought together natives and non-natives virtually in the same recording. He used Mehinaku's and Kayapó's field recordings as a foundation and added pieces by professional musicians recorded in the studio. Renata Rosa, a popular singer produced a CD with Kariri-Xocó singers. A very interesting encounter happened between the Xavante music and the heavy metal band Sepultura whose album 'Roots' was a huge commercial success, although the record label did not credit the Xavante.

development is affected, and unemployment rises. See for instance the article *A political history of the Brazilian transition from military dictatorship to democracy* (CODATO, 2006).

¹³¹ In December 1979, the government altered the legislation regarding political parties and established multipartyism. *Arena* became the *Partido Democrático Social* (PDS, Social Democratic Party), and MDB added the word 'Party', becoming PMDB. Other parties were created, such as *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT, Workers Party) and the *Partido Democrático Trabalhista* (PDT, Workers Democratic Party) for the left, and *Partido Popular* (PP) and *Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro* (PTB, Brazilian Workers Party) for the center-right. Some parties, such as the *Partido Comunista do Brasil* (PCdoB) were banned.

¹³² During the 1970s and 1980s four important indigenous music LPs were released: the anthology by Harold Schultz (*Música degli indiani de Brasile* (1979), the LP *Xingu Cantos e Ritmos* (1972) recorded by the Villas-Bôas brothers, the LP *Paite Merewá* (1985), by anthropologist Betty Mindlin and Marlui Miranda; and the LP *A Arte vocal dos Suyá* (1982), by Anthony Seeger. See more in Appendix Chapter 1-2.

Besides these musicians from popular music, I briefly mention artists from erudite music, such as the ethnomusicologist Kilza Setti who was inspired by her researches on Timbira and Guarani; Edino Krieger, who used two Yudjá tunes as a leitmotif in the first part of his work *Terra Brasilis* and Priscila Ermel, also an ethnomusicologist, who mixes her anthropological research with new compositions for orchestra with the Ikolen-Gavião group.

MILTON NASCIMENTO (b.1942)



Figure 57 Milton Nascimento with Benke, during a trip to Acre.

Milton Nascimento is one of the most famous exponents from MPB. Black and endowed with a powerful and expressive voice, his compositional style is quite peculiar. His album, *Txai*, is exclusively dedicated to the indigenous peoples. He was a member of the *Clube de Esquina* movement of the 1960s, which exhibited influences from Bossa Nova, Jazz and Rock (especially The Beatles), as well as traditional African slave songs and Latin American music. His compositions always displayed well elaborated songs with sophisticated arrangements.

Highly popular and showing great charisma, Milton Nascimento began playing in the 1960s during MPB festivals and soon his songs were played in Brazilian radio stations. With 34 released albums, he had his songs recorded by artists such as Wayne Shorter, Pat Metheny, Björk, Peter Gabriel, Sarah Vaughan, Chico Buarque, Gal Costa, Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Elis Regina, among others. He has received 5 Grammy Awards and has performed in South America, Europe, Asia and Africa (GLOBO PLAY, 2012).

Still in the 1970s, he would directly reference the indigenous universe in two of his albums: *Geraes*,

released in 1976, and *Clube de Esquina 2* ¹³³, released in 1978. During this period, marked by the military dictatorship and developmentalist policies which included the extermination of the indigenous population, Milton Nascimento already began to compose and talk about indigenous themes. In these two albums, he dedicates six pieces to indigenous subjects: 'Promessas de Sol', from the album *Geraes*, and 'Ruas da Cidade', 'O que foi feito de vera', 'Canoa, Canoa' and 'Testamento' from the album *Clube da Esquina 2*. 'Canoa, Canoa' is an homage to the Avá-Canoeiro group in which the composer affirms his intention of creating a "hymn on love to the indians, to the fishes, rivers, and to nature" (MUSEU DA PESSOA, 2005). In this song Milton highlights the inseparable relationship between the Avá-Canoeiro and the river on which they depend for survival.

In 'Promessas do Sol', Milton Nascimento gives a voice to the indigenous peoples that denounces the violence he suffered and uses flutes that remit to the indigenous Latin American music.

The song *Promessas do Sol* synthesizes the tragic character portrayed by the Native in the music from the Minas Gerais-born musician. The eighth track of the album *Geraes* was recorded with the participation from the Água group. *Promessas do Sol* seems to emerge from a great Andean celebration, which is the song *Caldeira*, ending in great lament. Its monotonous and dragging melody suggests a funeral ceremony. The lyrics to the song, by Milton Nascimento and Fernando Brant, are dreary. In them an indigenous man narrates the setting he finds himself in, defining himself as "what has been". In this way, the native defines himself for society demands from him strength, beauty and justice, values which according to him, he no longer possesses: "You want me strong, but I am no longer strong, I am the end of the race, the old, what has already been" (LIMA and BRITO, 2011).

After releasing 23 albums in the 1980s, Nascimento launched the LP *Txai*, an album where he further elaborates indigenous matters. Considered the spokesperson for the 1983 *Diretas Já* campaign, Nascimento always was politically engaged:

Milton Nascimento's musical trajectory, not only in the *Clube de Esquina* movement, but also in his other projects, was marked by political engagement. His lyrics are representative of the disposition of the periods' youth, not only in Brazil, but around the world, for there was an uprising against oppression, be it the barricades in Paris or the adherence to counterculture and the hippie movement during the 1980s. Persecuted by the dictatorship, Milton Nascimento carries, like many at that time, the scars bestowed by rising up in a time when freedom of speech was suppressed (TAFARELO DE OLIVEIRA, 2014, my translation).

Txai means companion, friend, in the Hãtxa Kuin language of the Huni Kuin people, native to Acre. In this album, Nascimento included indigenous recordings from his journey through the state in 1989, when he spent 18 days living with the rubber latex gatherers, riverside dwellers, the Kampa and Ashaninka ¹³⁴

¹³³ The release of the album *Clube de Esquina 2* and the direct references to indigenous themes are a protest against a coup which sought to take away the native's lawful rights, no longer classifying them as Natives, but as common individuals, ignoring their ethnic and cultural differences.

¹³⁴ During the 1940s the Kampa people were enslaved by the latex extractors because they had knowledge of extraction techniques. Afterwards, with the support of the New State, the process of extraction was transferred to northeastern immigrants.

communities that live close to the border between Brazil and Peru, near the Amazon River. The important activist and writer Ailton Krenak¹³⁵ comments that the album *Txai* was an act of political engagement in the struggle of the Peoples of the Jungle. The album was dedicated to the Union of Indigenous Nations and gathered peoples from diverse nations (KRENAK, 2015). The trip was carried out by CEDI and Quilombo Produções in partnership with UNI, CPI-Acre, CNS and the Association of Latex Extractors of the Tejo River. The journey was organized by the indigenist Macedo and accompanied by the anthropologists Terri Aquino and Mauro Almeida. The images were registered by Siã Kaxinawa, Charles Vincent (video) and Márcia Ferreira (photos). The artist Rubens Matuck took photographs of the people and nature.

In Upper Juruá, Milton Nascimento composed the song 'Benke', inspired by a boy who guided him in the jungle. In this album, the composer also included songs of the Kayapó ('Baú Metóro' and 'Baridjumokó'); Paiter-Suruí ('Hoeiepereiga'¹³⁶); Waiãpi ('Awasi') besides the famous Paresi song 'Nozani-ná', performed in a duet with Marlui Miranda. These songs, recorded in the field (not by Milton, but by researchers such as Marlui Miranda), are alternated with Milton Nascimento's compositions, whose lyrics, in a poetic fashion, are strongly related to nature, animals and peoples who live on riversides. The song 'A Terceira Margem do Rio', made in a partnership with Caetano Veloso, adopts the Concretist aesthetic of the song 'Asa', though now inspired on the work of Guimarães Rosa, a famous writer from Minas Gerais: The lyrics comment on the flyness of the word, the place where the poem arises.

Asa da palavra, asa parada agora

Casa da palavra, onde o silêncio mora

Brasa da palavra, a hora clara, nosso pai

Hora da palavra, quando não se diz nada

Fora da palavra, quando mais dentro aflora

Tora da palavra, rio, pau enorme, nosso pai.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Ailton Krenak was responsible for convincing the Congress to vote for the adding of article 231 to the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 pertaining to indigenous rights. There is a video of an important speech he did in the National Congress, when he painted his face with jenipapo. This event convinced the deputies to vote in favor of indigenous article. See 'Ailton Krenak speech in Appendix Chapter 1-4.

¹³⁶ The term is written incorrectly in the LP booklet. Correct is *So pereiga*.

¹³⁷ The song *Asa da Palavra* with Milton Nascimento and Caetano Veloso can be found in their video *A terceira margem do rio*. A rough translation could be: Word-wing, wing stopped now / Word-world, where silence lives / Hot-iron word, glaring light, our father

Milton Nascimento, already a well-known singer/composer, risked a lot by including indigenous recordings in this LP, which were considered 'problematic' to be played in commercial radio stations, according to some music critics. A journalist from Paraná mentions, in his critique of the LP: "Undoubtedly, much will be said of *Txai*, an album with few tracks in shape to be played on the radio" (MILLARCH, 1990, my translation).

The opening track of the album 'Abertura' is a vocalization by Milton on the discourse of Davi Kopenawa¹³⁸, an important indigenous leader. This first track was one of the themes used in the soundtrack for the dance piece *Nascimento Novo* (Brand New Birth) by North American choreographer David Parsons, which toured several cities in Brazil.

Among the album's fifteen songs, five are originals composed by Milton Nascimento and one is a new arrangement for 'Nozani-ná'¹³⁹ (the same tune used by Villa-Lobos) recorded in a duet with Marlui Miranda. Milton's version exhibits vocal interplay accompanied by an ostinato-arpeggiato played on the guitar and supported by the rhythm of *caxixis*. The intertwined vocals alternate between solos and duets. Apart from 'Nozani-na' there are four more indigenous songs: 'Awasi', 'Baú Metóro', 'Hoeiepereiga', 'Baridjumokó'.

The way Milton Nascimento presented tracks with indigenous themes alternating with his own compositions became notorious because at that time, before the invention of the CD, people would listen to the whole LP, without skipping tracks, and this, in a way, 'forced' the listener to discover these original indigenous tunes.

The indigenous musicality and sonority are not really found in Nascimento's music, neither in the way he builds his songs nor in the way he sings. But his powerful voice – referring to the traditions of African mining

/ Word-time, when you say nothing / Out of the word, let it in blooming / Word-wood, river-round, our father. The audio is available on internet and in Appendix Chapter 1-4.

¹³⁸ Davi Kopenawa was one of the responsible persons for the demarcation of the Yanomami territory in 1992. He received the UN Global environmental award. In 2010, his work 'La chute du ciel' (The falling sky), based on his lines and written in partnership with the French anthropologist Bruce Albert, was launched in France with a preface written by Claude Lévi-Strauss. The book was translated into Portuguese and published in Brazil in 2015, translated by Beatriz Perrone-Moisés with a preface by anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro. The book is a shamanic manifesto and autobiographical testimony of Kopenawa denouncing the destruction of his people. It was written from his words told Albert, his friend for more than three decades. Actually, this book is of great interest to anyone wanting to understand indigenous culture.

¹³⁹ 'Nozani-ná's version featuring Milton Nascimento and Marlui Miranda is available on the internet and Appendix Chapter 1-4.

songs¹⁴⁰ – exposes themes rarely mentioned by artists of his stature and coverage by the media. His charisma ‘served’ an invisible cause for most of the Brazilian population. With this album, the support for indigenous struggles was backed by a “political and affective” viewpoint and this engagement still stands today. The interaction with the Amazonian way of life was an inspiration for the composer to write in his own style, but this process ended up becoming a typical situation in which the music was beyond itself, it acted as a political effort whose purpose was to raise awareness of the indigenous struggle in Brazilian society.

According to Milton Nascimento, the project was “an exercise in contact” with the brotherhood of the indigenous peoples of Brazil.

I heard the echo of my voice in the jungle. Not only that repetition; the sound follows the river’s path. Before I feared that people would not believe in what I have to say. I’m not afraid any longer. When you lean on a ridge, with that procession of canoes – that’s when you discover Brazil, you discover yourself, you discover everything. Txai is the half of me that exists within you, the half of you that lives in me. Txai is more than brother, more than friend. It is time to tell this to others. (MILTON NASCIMENTO. Composer’s website, n.d., my translation).

The LP *Txai* was a defining moment in Milton Nascimento’s career and the history of Brazilian Popular Music. Besides being a very popular album, extensively played on the radios, he received the Grammy in the Latin American Album category. Milton released the album in the presence of indigenous leaders during a concert in Rio Branco in Acre, Ibirapuera Park in São Paulo, in Rio de Janeiro and in New York, Washington and San Francisco in the United States, in 1992. According to Ailton Krenak, they were received in these American cities “by environmental movements such as the Rainforest Network, Alliance, Greenpeace, Amigos da Terra and other activist groups that organized weeks of mobilization before and after the tours, seeking financial support for the struggles of indigenous and forest dwelling peoples” (KRENAK, 2015). Still according to Ailton Krenak, the LP was well received in Europe as well, for instance in London and Berlin, where the environmental movements had more influence.

After the journey to Acre, Milton developed a special interest in the environmental situation and became politically engaged in the critique against the Brazilian government and the disrespect towards indigenous rights. His songs reflect his discouragement in regard to this contradictory situation: ‘development’ versus ‘native life’ that greatly affected these communities¹⁴¹.

Milton Nascimento always placed himself as a critic of the “lack of education and lack of love for the

¹⁴⁰ It is important to note that Minas Gerais, where Milton Nascimento resides, has a strong tradition of songs from enslaved Africans and a popular catholicism that still permeates those mountainous ranges.

¹⁴¹ Since the 1970s, the Amazon and Midwestern regions were considered as places for the development of large enterprises such as Hydroelectric plants, mining camps, soy plantations and cattle pastures, which caused immeasurable damages to the constantly threatened populations of these regions.

country, as well as the destruction of forest. How can man be considered an intelligent animal if he kills others and destroys nature?" (Milton Nascimento in: RESENDE, 1988, my translation).

Continuing his pro-indigenous efforts, in March 1992, Milton Nascimento made a presentation at Botafogo Beach for the Earth Summit of 1992, in a show opened by a group of the Paiter Suruí from Rondônia. Following this grand event, due to health issues, Milton stayed away from the stage for a long period, resuming his activities only in the 2010s, when he performed a concert in Mato Grosso do Sul, being invited by the Guarani, and was "baptized" by the region's ¹⁴² Guarani Nhanduru group with the name ¹⁴³ *Ava NheyeyruYyi Yvy Renhoi*, meaning "seed of the earth" (MILTON NASCIMENTO: Composer's website, n.d.). This concert occurred partly due to a project titled *Ava Marandu*, and was opened by the Kaiowá rappers Brô Mc's, the first known example of Natives who rap in both the Guarani and Portuguese languages (LOPES, 2010). The event was scarcely covered by the media.



Figure 58 Milton has his face painted by a Guarani leader, 2010.

In 2012, Milton Nascimento performed during an event by the United Nations, Rio+20¹⁴⁴, and acted as the host for the *Show da Nova Terra*, in Botafogo Beach. In a testimony given to Débora Gares, from the newspaper *O Globo*, he comments on his role:

In 1992, I participated actively in Eco 92; had just concluded an extensive research in the Amazon with natives, latex gatherers and riverside populations. This research resulted in the album "Txai", which was completely aimed at political participation, together with the Alliance of Peoples of the Forest. We worked to divulge the main environmental issues in Brazil in an international capacity. There were long tours in Europe, Asia, the United States and South America, where I brought indigenous leaders so that they could show their situation. Besides this, I was lucky to perform a concert in Eco 92,

¹⁴² Concert promoted by the *Projeto Ava Marandu – Os Guarani convidam*, developed by the Ponto de Cultura Guaicuru, with support from the Ministry of Culture.

¹⁴³ The name was chosen by 37 Guarani leaders based on the perception that the Guarani Nhanduru had of the person.

¹⁴⁴ Rio+20 was a UN conference on Sustainable Development which occurred in Rio de Janeiro during June, 2012. The conference's goal was the renewal of political commitment to sustainable development, through the assessment of progress and the failure to implement decisions.

which was unforgettable because I was able to *unite political militancy with my music* (Milton Nascimento in: GARES, 2012, emphasis added, my translation).

In 2013, Milton recorded a video supporting the continuity of the Maracanã Village¹⁴⁵ (NUHA, 2012), a dwelling for many indigenous groups, situated in the old Indigenous Museum¹⁴⁶ in Rio de Janeiro, which was to be demolished to accommodate installations for the World Cup. Six years after being baptized on Guarani lands in the state of Mato Grosso, in 2016, he returned to these lands to speak of the demarcations, a problem that remains unknown to society, even after many years of constant struggle and interventions from indigenous leaders' association with important organizations from Europe and the United States.



Figure 59 Maracanã place, previously the Museu do Índio, with policemen ready to evict the indigenous groups, 2012.



Figure 60 Indigenous protest against the demolition of the Maracanã place, 2012.

¹⁴⁵ Nascimento's testimony was available on internet and in Appendix Chapter 1-4.

¹⁴⁶ Created to house indigenous objects "fated to disappear", the former headquarters for the Indigenous Museum adopted a new role when it was occupied by indigenous movements, starting in 2006. It became a place for generating visibility to the living indigenous presence and not only the artifacts collected there.

MARLUI MIRANDA (b.1949)



Figure 61 Marlui Miranda, 2016

After Villa-Lobos, Marlui Miranda can be considered the most important Brazilian musician who dedicated herself to indigenous songs in Brazil. Since the 1970s, Marlui had already taken part in Egberto Gismonti's concerts singing indigenous themes¹⁴⁷. She also participated in the important LP *Txai* by Milton Nascimento (see above). Between 1978 and 1985, along with her husband, photographer Marcos Santilli, Marlui made a trip to the state of Rondônia (Amazon) alongside Mindlin who took her to meet the Paiter Suruí, Ikolen-Gavião, Jaboti, Tupari and Pakaa Nova peoples. Recordings with Paiter Suruí resulted in one of the first LPs of indigenous music produced in Brazil, the album 'Paiter Merewa' mentioned above. The music collected on this and other trips was the material for the CD *Ihu* produced in 1995, which would mark her career and would define her as the 'specialist' in this type of repertoire. Marlui also composed the soundtrack for the film *Brincando nos campos do Senhor* (At Play in the Fields of the Lord) by Hector Babenco and Saul Zaentz and for some documentaries on social and environmental issues, in 1992. In 1996, Marlui was awarded the prize of the German Record Critics *Schallplattenkritik* for the CD *Ihu – Todos os Sons*. In 2002, she won an award for the soundtrack of the film *Hans Staden* (1999)¹⁴⁸.

Her interest in indigenous music expanded with the material she obtained through a *sertanista* (an expert in Brazilian backland territory and its inhabitants) who worked with Brazilian natives. When Marlui listened to the songs on these tapes, she felt compelled to interpret those chants. In 1970, when she was at

¹⁴⁷ She used to sing *Três Cantos Krahô*, an arrangement of Marcos Leite, recorded on the LP *Olho D'Água*, produced by Egberto Gismonti.

¹⁴⁸ For more information about this movie, see <https://www.folhadelondrina.com.br/folha-2/marlui-miranda-e-lelo-nazario-assina-trilha-sonora-do-filme-br-font-size-270631.html>.

the beginning of her career, she met the *sertanista* Nunes Pereira, who worked with the natives for FUNAI (National Organization for the Indigenous). He had a collection of old recordings made by the Salesian priest Alcionilio Bruzzi and a dictionary of some indigenous languages. Marlui was surprised by these songs, and has asked herself in a personal testimony for my radioshow Planeta Som:

Why did nobody touch it before? There were people collecting indigenous songs, using them for their own compositions, but never approaching the traditional styles and ways of playing, so I said to myself: 'I shall dedicate my life to this' (Marlui Miranda, singer, 2003, my translation).

Marlui Miranda was invited as professor and artist by the Tinker Foundation to go to the University of Chicago (1993), Dartmouth College (2001 and 2003), Indiana University (2001 and 2007) and the University of London (2003). In 1986, the Guggenheim Foundation gave her a grant to carry out her research and composition project *Ihu – Preservation and Recreation of Indian Music of Brazil*. She also received support from the Map Fund of the Rockefeller Foundation (1995) for her first project. In addition, Marlui runs the Ihu Association, an NGO that publishes indigenous songs and also promotes her own projects with indigenous populations. Her curriculum demonstrates a successful career fully dedicated to the interpretation of Brazilian indigenous music.

Ihu – Todos os sons

The most significant project of her career was the album *Ihu – Todos os sons* (All sounds, 1995). This album features re-creations of traditional indigenous songs performed by the *Beijo* Choir, conducted by Tiago Pinheiro with arrangements for *a cappella* male voices or female voices or mixed choir. In some tunes, Brazilian jazz musicians such as flutist and saxophonist Teco Cardoso, percussionists Caito Marcondes and Paolo Vinnacia, bassist Rodolfo Stroeter and pianist Bugge Wesseltoft accompany the group. There is also a special participation by singer and composer Gilberto Gil, beside the Uakti group, an ensemble that plays unusual instruments, which provides a more contemporary character to this work. The book *A Musicológica Kamayurá* written by Rafael de Menezes Bastos inspired Marlui Miranda. In this book she found the word '*ihu*', meaning 'sound'¹⁴⁹, which became the title of the project.

¹⁴⁹ "When two things come into contact through movement, this movement being done with a minimum of force, it originates *ihu*. Then, it walks through the air, arriving at the *iapy*, 'ear', that *apy* (or *aanup*) 'hears', this way being done through the two *nami*, 'ears', and the *iapyaikwat*, 'ear canal'. *Ihu* is all that thus manifests itself: the voice of any bird or other animal, the sound of any *marakatap*, 'musical instrument'; the sound motion of any and everyone" (MENEZES BASTOS, 1999: 129, my translation).



Figure 62 Cover of *Ihu – Todos os sons*, 1995.

This work covers the vocal diversity of several indigenous peoples, including Djeoromitxi (Rondônia), Yanomami (Roraima), Pakaa Nova (Rondônia), Parakanã (Pará), Tukano (Amazonas), Caiapó (Pará), Nambikwara (Mato Grosso and Rondônia), Karitiana (Rondônia), Tupari (Rondônia), Juruna (Mato Grosso), Paiter Suruí (Rondônia) and Kisêdjê / Suyá (Mato Grosso). In addition to the CD Marlui Miranda released the book *Ihu*, published by Editora Terra, with scores for arrangements and texts about each song.

In the preface, Marlui Miranda states that in addition to the songs she also acquired information through contacts with the natives, while other elements were gathered from cassette tapes of friends, such as the ceremonial dialogue 'Ñaumú' of the Yanomami, sent to her by photographer Claudia Andujar. The Caiapó chant 'Kworo kango' was obtained by Flemish anthropologist Gustaaf Verswijver; the Suyá (Kisêdjê) myth 'Metunji iarén' by the North American ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger. The song 'Araruna', present in almost all of her concerts, she learned from Mr. Nahiri Asurini on a trip to Belém do Pará, on the occasion of filming Hector Babenco's *At Play in the Fields of the Lord* (1991).

Rodolfo Stroeter, the bass player who accompanied Marlui Miranda for many years, raised a number of questions in the preface of this book:

How to insert the universe of Brazilian indigenous music in a world increasingly focused on the consumption of products that are related to each other through a network focused on communication technology and the mechanism of art? That is, how to make the audience listen to this song at a single minimal, simple and complex time and realize the importance of its existence? Or how to make Brazilian indigenous music interesting to a larger consumer market? These questions were dissipating throughout 'Ihu's' creative process: All sounds (STROETER in: MIRANDA, 1995: 14, my translation).

In the vocal tracks, sung *a cappella*, Marlui Miranda could convincingly reproduce the peculiar nasal sonority of the indigenous languages. In some pieces, she made arrangements that use intervals of fourths, fifths and octaves. The songs with instrumental accompaniment have harmonizations that modify the auditory perception, shifting the listener to a jazzy context, due to the background of the musicians who

accompany her. With the duo of Pakaa Nova singers, Marlui Miranda practically reproduced the original recording without adding any instruments. In the recording, she sings in parallel thirds, a rare case in Brazilian indigenous music. The great difference within the arrangement is the accompaniment on 'cans' played by the musicians of the Uakti ensemble, leading the chant into an atonal field.

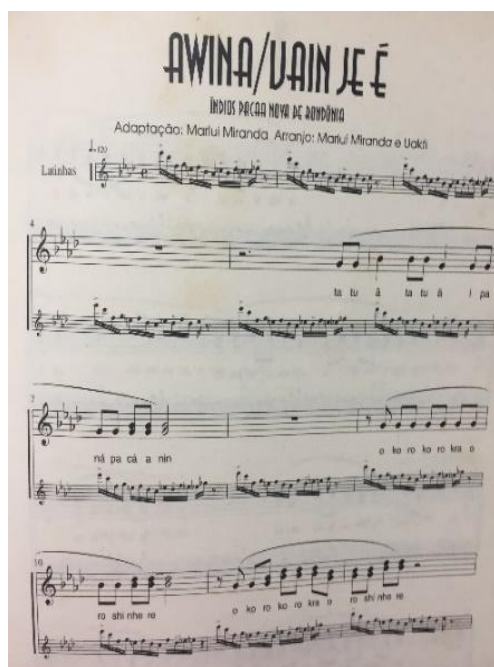


Figure 63 First page of the Pakaa Nova's duo Awina from the book *Ihu – Todos os sons*, 1995.

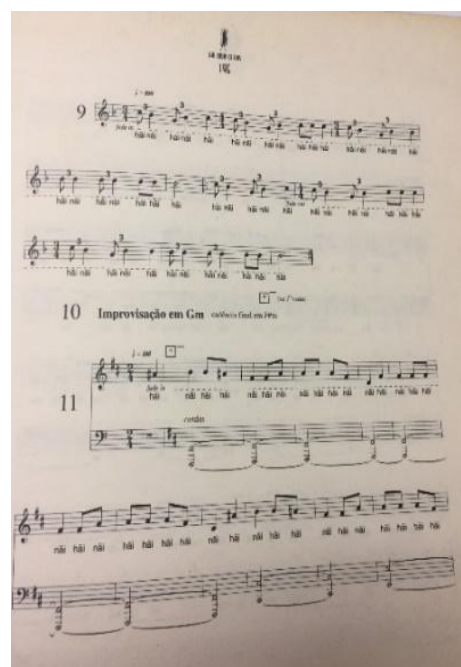


Figure 64 Excerpt from the arrangement of 'Hai Nai Hai' indicating improvisations for musicians and variations for each part

In the last track, Nambikwara's the suite '*Hai Nai Hai*', the choir performed variations of archaic musical elements exploring the word *hain* – which means singing in the Nambikwara language – alternating improvised and climactic instrumental textures, seeking to recreate the atmosphere of 'Festa da Moça Nova'.

The arrangements for 'Ju Paraná', 'Ynu Maj Hyrynh' (I sing to you) and 'Araruna' present an accompaniment with more tonal harmonies, following the principles of Brazilian song and that have been used by Brazilian choirs.

Music critics considered the CD *Ihu* a remarkable and important record. In 1997, it was released in the United States by the label Blue Jacket and received a brilliant review written by jazz critic, Josef Woodard:

Brazilian singer and musicologist Marlui Miranda brings the world of the rainforest and the still-esoteric culture of the Brazilian natives, into a musical setting which could be called modern. But the term is deceptive: the reality of Brazil's indigenous peoples, even if cut off from the world of wires and info, is as real and "contemporary" to the touch as anything else extant in the late 90's. This is a fascinating project, celebrating music of organic and rootsy appeal from a country which is as much a crossroads as anywhere in the world. Miranda, who has composed music for various media and performed with Egberto Gismonti, Gilberto Gil, and Milton Nascimento in addition to her many years of studying the Brazilian indians, has brought together the native and urban cultures with a rare degree of success. The album, supplemented by quest

appearances by Gil, Uakti and keyboardist Bugge Wesseltoft, among others, has native chants and songs as a foundation, arranged with an eclectic sensibility" (WOODARD, 1997).

Figure 65 Score of the arrangement of 'Ju Paraná' with chord symbols for the piano.

Figure 66 Arrangement for 'Araruna' with arpeggio accompaniment for the guitar, *Ihu – Todos os sons*, 1995.



Figure 67 Cover of *2 Ihu Kewere: Rezar*, 1997.

In the album insert, Marlui Miranda compares Anchieta's work with other "ethnic masses" such as the *Missa Creolla*, *Missa da Terra Sem Males* and *Missa Yoruba*, stating that the *Missa Kewere* presents the cultural ingredients of the Amazon indigenous people outside the classical European tradition. The interpreter explains her ideas:

In *Kewere*, the central idea is an opposition of beliefs: on the one hand, the old shamans' songs; on the other, christian verses written by José de Anchieta and texts of the liturgy, settled in the same compositional plot. The selected indigenous chants are therefore of a solemn and lyrical nature, they dignify and are suitable to be interpreted by symphonic orchestra and a big symphonic chorus. Thus, a choice of this formation seemed pertinent to the idea of catechesis, of the conversion of the indians to a European religion. The ancestral *Tupi* language unifies the composition as a whole. At the same time that the "oratory" distanciates us from their origins, it brings mystery, because a part of the vocal interpretation is done in an ethnic way, evoking indigenous characters, voices forgotten in the past of catechesis. Thus, in the *Kyrie*, an indian woman, sings in her own way, mixing two beliefs: "Kyrie Eleyson ... Tupã oré rô aus-rêve iepé ... Tupã Eleyson ...", while at the same time intoning a "Gregorian" chant and a "nomination" chant, the latter explained as a kind of "baptism", inspired by the indigenous tradition (MIRANDA, 1997: n.p., my translation).

Among the tracks of *2 Ihu*, there are songs composed by Marlui Miranda, such as the 'Canto de Entrada', 'Kyrie', 'Aleluia' and 'Pai Nosso', with texts by José de Anchieta and others that were adapted from Aruá songs, an almost extinct people.

*Missa Kewere*¹⁵⁰ had its *avant première* celebrated as an official mass at Sé Cathedral in São Paulo, by Cardinal Archbishop Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns with the presence of local, state and national authorities and four indigenous persons. The ceremony included Marlui Miranda's vocal solos, and during the 'Offertory' the four natives entered the corridor and were embraced by the cardinal. The Mass *2 Ihu Kewere: Rezar*, intercalates choirs (female and male), solos and orchestral moments.

¹⁵⁰ *Missa Kewere*'s ceremony at Sé Cathedral was filmed and the link of the video is in the audiovisual references.

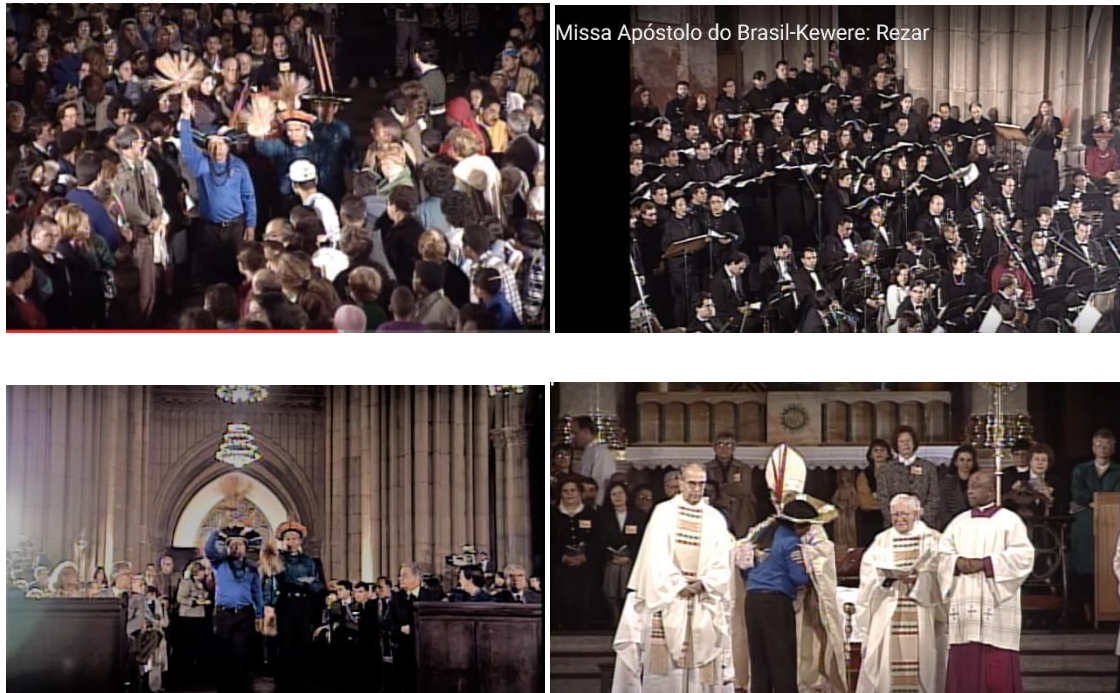


Figure 68 Photos of the footage of *Missa Kewere* celebrated at São Paulo Cathedral, 1997. Images taken from Youtube.

Although Father Anchieta¹⁵¹ was considered a great humanist, the process of catechization carried out by the Franciscan and Jesuit priests during the colonial period was severely criticized for oppressing indigenous spirituality, chants and languages. The catechizing process, in itself, had as its premise the denial of the culture of the catechized, to consider it “primitive and inferior”, and to impose christianity. In this process, music has always been used as an important element. The church considered the indigenous way of singing “dirty”, out of tune, and the solution was to “clean” the native sonority and to put violins and European violas in the place of the indigenous *taquaras*. According to historian Asuncion Barros:

The improvisations were banished in favor of the sound of the baton, of the sound strictly controlled by the “chapel master.” The irregular “chant multiplication” gave rise to the most rigorous unison inherited from the disciplined monastic practice of Gregorian chant and in some cases, that tended to produce a simultaneity of minimally lagged repetitions of the same melodic design. Finally, Renaissance music and the plainsong invaded the sonorous landscape of the natives, from a

¹⁵¹ Anchieta was seen as a “progressive” Jesuit, because he did not consider the natives to be “soulless”, which was common at that time. He thought that precisely because they had souls, they should be catechized. Thus, Anchieta learned the ancient Tupi spoken by the natives of the coast, and began to imbue them with catholic ideas, using poetry, singing and theater plays. After this process of catechization in the colonial period, Brazilian indigenous people underwent a process of “integration” initiated by the SPI (Service for Indigenous Protection), whose objective was to insert them in civil society, ignoring the cultural borders, that is, “to make them Brazilian citizens”, within a positivist vision. Later, evangelization gained many indigenous followers. In this process, traditional music has been retracting again, and some indigenous people incorporate the elements of North American gospel music into their music or use traditional music with lyrics that preach the gospel in a complex appropriation, but this is not the subject of the present thesis.

multitude of operations and repressions (BARROS, 2011: 14, my translation).

In this sense, *Missa Kewere* presents a certain contradictory character, juxtaposing communion and faith of the oppressor and the oppressed while trying to “conciliate the irreconcilable”. In the opinion of lyricist Carlos Rennó, in an article in the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*:

Only at the level of art – and an art of beautiful results, as Marlui’s – could such a thing be conceived and accomplished, the reconciliation of the irreconcilable. And, in a work created, considering the specific case of this record, in the light of a humanistic christian idea (RENNÓ, 1997, my translation).

Following the success of *Ihu*, the CD *2 Ihu Kewere: Rezar* received good reviews abroad such as the one from an English critic:

The sequel to Marlui Miranda’s stunning *Ihu – Todos os Sons*, *2 Ihu – Kewere: Rezar*: Prayer is the equal to its predecessor, but it achieves its glory in an entirely different way. *Ihu 2* is constructed as a mass, using traditional indigenous melodies and composing styles. While the music has its roots in tradition, it addresses how those traditions shape and affect contemporary concerns. The music has a direct power and beauty that are simply breathtaking. What Miranda says and how she says it make *Ihu 2* another thoroughly wonderful ride (ERLEWINE, 1997).

Marlui confided that there was “some concern” of mixing a structure like a mass with indigenous culture, and that putting the indigenous songs into scores and mixing them with catholic liturgy was very difficult. But it succeeded in achieving a good balance between the indigenous and non-indigenous elements. When *2 Ihu Kewere: Rezar* was shown in Curitiba, the monk Ranulfus commented on the audacity of the project and emphasized the historical significance of this encounter between the two cultures:

It seems that such a work is the first to confront Amerindian musical material not as raw material for Western musical creation, but rather puts Western techniques of epochs and styles at the service of the Amerindian expression itself [...] It would therefore be an act of immense historical significance, for the first time in 500 years the European eyes, ears and soul would have achieved a level of respect and openness before the indigenous expression – resulting in no more a Western product made from expropriated raw materials, but on the contrary, in a subtle act of penance for the immense crimes of lese-humanity with which the European expansion took place (RANULFUS, 2011, my translation).

Ponte entre Povos

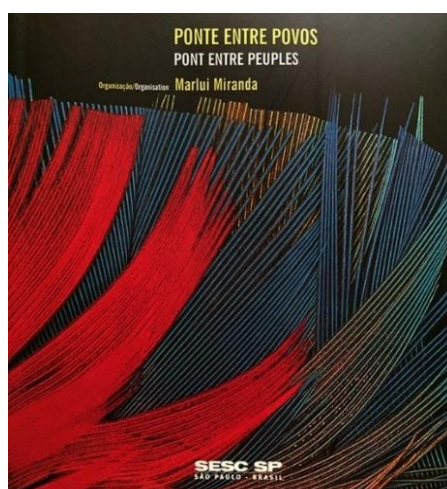


Figure 69 Cover of the book-CD *Ponte entre povos*.

Eight years later, in 2005, Marlui Miranda produced and arranged a double album and a book called *Ponte entre povos* (Bridge between peoples), an audacious 400-page book with 3 CDs containing a total of 44 tracks. The CDs contained music of the communities of Wayana, Apalai, Katxuyana, as well as the groups Tiriyo and Palikur – the latter from Oiapoque, which is located on the border with French Guiana – together with musicians from the *Camerata Atheneum* and the *Associação Musical Primavera de Macapá*, from the state of Amapá. The first CD presents the integration between orchestra and indigenous musicians, playing together the arrangements of Marlui Miranda and composer Ruriá Duprat. The second CD, *Relembrar*, features original Palikur songs by Emiliano Iaparrá Palikur and Manoel Labonté Palikur. The third presents Katxuyana, Tiriyo, Apalai, and Wayana songs from Tumucumaque, as well as compositions by Mozart and Verdi.



Figure 70 Concert with Marlui and an indigenous flutist, 2005.

The release text defined this work as an “ethno-operetta.” Anthropologist Lux Vidal, author of the book's preface, stated that the “encounter of indigenous classical music and European classical music was quite surprising.” And she added that, unlike the laborious work of an ethnomusicologist, which requires further study, Marlui Miranda also performed a work of great importance because “indigenous music was deserving a genuinely musical rescue, making it pleasurable and accessible to a broad audience, possibly 'uninformed', though interested, generous, and wide open to innovations” (VIDAL, 2005: 23, my translation).

This complex project went through a long process that lasted four years to complete. Two years were needed to develop research, transcriptions and recordings, and two additional years for the realization of workshops, rehearsals and presentations – one of which took place on a stage set up on the banks of the Amazon River. The project was fully supported by the government of Amapá and SESC-SP (Social Service of

the Commerce, São Paulo) as well as other local institutions. The governor's proposal was to include indigenous people within the cultural diversity of Amapá, which features a strong African tradition and manifestations of popular catholicism such as the Sairé¹⁵², as well as the "kitsch music of 'sound systems'¹⁵³. The fact that the indigenous people "were a minority in the panorama of the Amazonian musical diversity" (MIRANDA, 2005: 39) stimulated the making of this project to open the way for local indigenous music.

Ponte entre povos referred to the feeling of the passage from one culture to another, in an interweaving of their different musical hemispheres. It was like building an abstract bridge, made for musical exchanges. It was carried out in Amapá, in the far north of Brazil, where Portuguese, French, Dutch and Creole are spoken, as well as the indigenous languages Carib, Aruak and Tupi (Marlui Miranda, In: JOURNAL OF USP, 2005).

Vidal, specialist in the material culture of several Brazilian indigenous peoples, concluded in her preface that the "partnership between musicians from different cultures gives continuity to the process that seeks the inclusion of the indigenous in regional and national musical events" (VIDAL, 2005: 23).

Not only is the union of different indigenous peoples surprising in this project, but also the partnership between these peoples and musicians playing classical orchestral instruments. Marlui Miranda introduced Mozart to young people without saying anything about the composer and just observed their reactions. She realized that the 'pulse' of *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* made them feel good. Miranda believed that the communities involved in the project found a point in common with the Austrian composer: Mozart's pulsating music was accompanied by the *purupuru*, an instrument made with *tracajá* shell. She explained how the *pizzicato* of the violins mingle with the sound of the *purupuru* in a light and non-invasive way, which sounds like a *cuíca*. On the other hand, the instruments of the orchestra also enter slowly, making glissandos. The flutes imitate the sounds of birds, creating a symbiosis between these two universes. However, Marlui Miranda makes it clear that "indigenous music is the priority, followed by the brief classical repertoire" which in addition to Mozart includes the Italian composer Boccherini.

During workshops, indigenous singers taught their music to students at the local music school. Then the students took instrument lessons, and in that process, which lasted for months, a certain familiarity with the indigenous musicality was created. During the recordings of the CD, the atmosphere was spontaneous and friendly, according to Marlui Miranda. The natives applauded each one of the recordings, saying *kuréééé*

¹⁵² The same 'Çairé' Villa-Lobos used as reference to compose his piece a few decades earlier.

¹⁵³ 'Sound system parties' in Pará began in handcarts with a turntable attached to a speaker, called "pickups" and "sonorous" in the 1950s. Today the stereos have a powerful sound and help to spread the music of artists who have no space on radio stations.

(very good, in Apalai) and *barewye* (beautiful, in Palikur). There was a curiosity on both sides: the orchestral musicians who had never heard indigenous music and the natives who had never attended symphonic ensembles. It was a novelty for everyone. Traditional chants without any intervention, fragments of rituals and instrumental leisure themes of the Wayana, Apalai, Katxuyana and Tiriyo were recorded. The indigenous people determined track sequences and CD titles. The elders considered it of great importance to record those ancient songs, because it was their desire “to preserve and guarantee the transmission for future generations” (MIRANDA, 2005: 55). To Marlui Miranda, it was clear that what she was recording was not a record for scholarly studies, but rather to divulge such hard-to-find music, even though she is aware indigenous music when recorded in a studio or presented on stage, is quite different from when it is inserted in its original context.

All indigenous songs obey rules and often present complex structures. In order to understand them, one has to open their ears to this “sonorous landscape,” keeping the ear able to establish parallels between cultures without exerting interference. Indigenous music, generally interpreted within the context of rituals, does not have the duration of the small pieces we hear on these CDs, but is part of extensive musical systems, in which the songs are very long and may last for more than forty-eight hours. [...] What really leaves us far from understanding the codes of an indigenous society is our inability to value and enjoy the moment of leisure (MIRANDA, 2005: 57, my translation).

For this project, Marlui had the support of Lux Vidal and João Capiberibe, Senator from Amapá. She observed in an interview with the *Jornal da USP* that the social organization of each people is related to their use of colors in drawings and body paintings, the details in the artifacts they produce, the delicacy in woven fibers, and especially their music. The senator was enthusiastic about the project proposal:

We, so-called civilized people, are unaware of sounds and see little of what we see in the middle of the forest, because we believe that the culture of the Europeans who ‘discovered’ and occupied the Amazon 500 years ago is superior and is sufficient for us. Today we see, however, that we can build an intelligent dialogue resulting from the meeting of knowledges, combining the traditional and the new, living and science, and the different ways of looking and feeling the world in its extensive and perfect Amazonian diversity (João Capiberibe, In: JORNAL DA USP, 2005, my translation).

In this project, for the first time, the names of the authors and interpreters of the songs appeared in the credits of the CD. This fact clearly revealed Miranda’s intention to publish the indigenous songs as “regular” popular songs, rather than the “traditional” way of following the current copyright laws. Usually indigenous tunes are registered as “public domain” without considering the authorship of them, which means that any person can record it without paying the copyrights.

The repertoire of the CD is not made up of works of public domain, which can be used largely because they have indigenous origin: the authorship is clearly expressed through the interpreters who represent the indigenous groups and aim at the protection of collective rights under Brazilian and international laws. The songs were registered at the National Library as well as the edition and numbering of the CDs using the ISRC – International Standard Recording Code (MIRANDA, 2005: 53).

With this project, Marlui Miranda won the “Chico Mendes” award from the Ministry of the Environment in the category of Art and Culture “for the work of approaching indigenous culture and classical

music.” According to her, the award was a stimulus for the continuity of the task of preserving traditional cultures of the Amazon. “They are as fragile as the ecosystems they are integrated in” (Marlui Miranda, in: BOURSCHEIT, 2005).

In addition, Marlui Miranda was also one of the first interpreters to pay attention to the copyright issue¹⁵⁴. She has always sought to pay the due royalties to the natives, either through reliable institutions or directly to the authors of the songs. “One part of this budget goes to the author and the other to the community projects” (MIRANDA, 1997). She explains that since the 1970s, she had thought of giving the community the authorship, but according to the *Código de Proteção de Autoria e Propriedade* (Code for Protection of Authorship and Intellectual Property) this is not possible. “In order to have the authorship legally recognized, Marlui Miranda began to designate individuals as representing each group as composers of the songs that she recorded, in common agreement among them. Due to the complexity of the situation, Miranda considered this the best solution. As the payment has to be deposited individually, the author must be registered in an association of composers so that the resources collected with the presentations or other uses of the music can be transferred. Thus, Marlui Miranda put in the booklet *Ponte entre povos*, an author for each of the songs, even the traditional and the old ones and those done collectively. And she also registered the scores at the National Library, which happens with composers in general. In an interview available on the blog *Malinche II*, the singer comments:

In the presentation, we made in São Paulo, at the launch of the book and the CDs, a round table was held to discuss the issue of copyright. It is a very new subject for the natives, which cannot be discussed randomly. It is necessary to place them in the same level of other composers and collection of royalties. For them, this collection is possible if they have a phone-number and a checking account. In our project, we did all this so that they were paid, in a fair way, for the songs and performances (Marlui Miranda, In: INTERVIEWS to Malinche II blog, 2005).

Neuneneu – Fragments of indigenous Brazil

The next project led by Marlui Miranda was the CD *Neuneneu – Fragments of indigenous Brazil* and the concert *Neuneneu, Humanity – A Celebration of Human Musical Plurality*, presented in London at Queen Elisabeth Hall in 2006, when she established a partnership with the English musician Ravi and a group of Mehinaku people from Xingu. The concert received a 5-star review in *The Independent* with the title: “The term “world music” was invented for nights like this”.

¹⁵⁴ More concerning this issue shall be discussed in the next chapter.

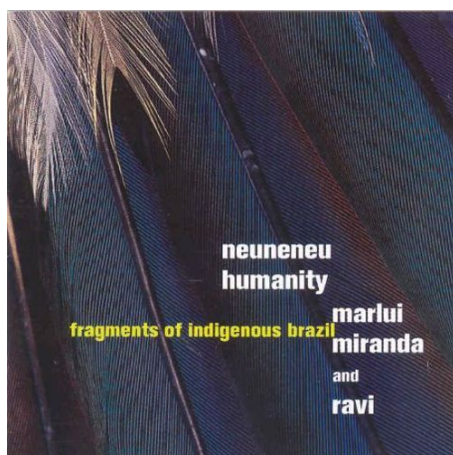


Figure 71 Cover of CD *Neuneneu*.



Figure 72 Marlui and Ravi during a *Neuneneu* concert, 2006.

As a record of this meeting, a video was made containing moments of rehearsals and presentations and an interview conducted with Kamalurre, one of the members of the Mehinaku group. In the video, the young man mentions his wish to perform abroad to show his rituals. On that occasion, Marlui Miranda gave an interview on British TV, where she talks about the difficulty in reaching the indigenous villages in Rondônia. She reports one time when she made the first contact with the natives and she lost herself in the jungle, she sang a Paiteir's song so they could find her.

In an interview with an important newspaper of São Paulo, when asked about her purpose with this type of repertoire and whether she intended to document, popularize and preserve, or only to sing indigenous music, Marlui Miranda replied:

I don't intend to popularize. There is no mass media capable of doing this. But this is not a hermetic song. It has an incredible range. In every country where I introduced it, it was accepted in a very positive way. My work is not academic. I aim to have the pleasure of interpreting the music, bringing to our knowledge that some part of us is in the song (Marlui Miranda in: BOZZO, 1997, my translation).

Marlui Miranda has carried out many other projects whose analyses are not the aim of this study, though they are of great importance, such as the recording of the triple CD of *Tuyuka Utãpinopona Basamari* with support from Dartmouth College in 2003, with recordings made at their request. In 2015, she released the CD *Fala de Bicho, Fala de gente* (Animal speech, People speech) with reinterpretations of Juruna lullabies, besides being present at events discussing indigenous rights in Brazil, such as ECO 90.

Marlui Miranda's knowledge of Brazilian indigenous music is deep and extensive. She puts into practice her research in a process of bimusicality¹⁵⁵ (HOOD, 1960), as a way of learning to sing with the natives, imitating them with great fidelity and seeking to give visibility to them. Her dedication to indigenous

¹⁵⁵ Mantle Hood believed that bimusicality could be seen as a natural aptitude for the assimilation of more than one musical culture.

culture traverses the academic goals and takes place in an affective way. She is sure that what she does is decontextualized music and she never refers to what she does as 'authentic music'. Miranda, in an interview recorded in video with Massahiro Higa, comments on the use of the indigenous repertoire outside the context of the villages.

You go out of your local context, go up on stage, you're doing a translation, and it's your subjectivity, your individuality that works with that cultural repertoire to which you do not manifest any prejudice, quite the contrary, it requires great courage for you to approach that thing. Without offending, without creating an impact or creating competitiveness with the natives [...] it is a very delicate field (Marlui Miranda, In: INTERVIEW WITH MARLUI MIRANDA, 2016, my translation).

Marlui Miranda went innumerable times on stage with or without the presence of indigenous musicians in both formal and informal presentations. In a video documentary about her life and work made by TV Tupinikim, she states: "Indigenous music and culture opened a door to infinite growth, which validated me as a human being" (MARLUI MIRANDA – Introduction, 2007).

MAESTRO SÁ BRITO (b.1945)



Figure 73 Sá Brito during the recordings in the Mehinaku village, 2001.

Maestro and ethnomusicologist Wilson Sá Brito, who graduated from the *École Pratique des Hautes Etudes* at the Sorbonne and the University of Vincennes in France, directed two projects produced by *Dialeto – Latin American Documentary* – a Brazilian company sponsored by the *Amazon Rainforest Foundation*. The unusual thing about these two projects is that Sá Brito invited professional musicians to play/record in the studio over field recordings done in two indigenous villages.

The first CD was dedicated to the Mehinaku and the second to the Caiapó Metutire, both indigenous groups from the Xingu whose cultures are still well maintained, with preserved rituals and traditional life. The Dialeto team was in the Xingu villages and recorded different instruments and styles of music during their rituals. A video documentary, a bilingual book and a photo exhibition with musical instruments, adornments

and featherwork accompanied both musical projects.

The introductory text of the book *Mehinaku* was extracted from the book *A Marcha para o Oeste* (2012) (March to the West), by Orlando and Cláudio Villas-Bôas. Conceived and carried out under the direction of photographer Vito D'Alessio, the project took almost four years of field researches, in six journeys, with a team of 12 members. D'Alessio and his team registered part of the daily life of the indigenous population, in order to experience, understand and document their culture and customs. During the realization of the Caiapó project, the team had the privilege of reuniting, historically and for the last time, the leader Caiapó Raoni and Orlando Villas-Bôas, who took part in the project assisting the research.



Figure 74 Orlando Villas-Bôas and Raoni, 2001.

Mehinaku – Message from Amazon Project

The musical part of the project *Mehinaku – Mensagem do Amazonas*¹⁵⁶, released in 2001, had two CDs: the first, *Ethnic*, containing 26 tracks and *Fusion*, the second, with field recordings mixed with studio the recordings by various musicians. For the production of the *Ethnic* CD, over 100 hours of music were recorded in the Metutire village during the traditional rituals of the Upper Xingu, such as Yamuricumã (women's ritual), Ukayumai (ritual of the dead), Kauká (sacred flute of healing) and Jawarí (war ritual). Sá Brito states that he tried to be as true as possible to capture the original sound, without interfering in the Mehinaku daily life: "We believe we have established an ethical relationship with the work, respecting the vastness, depth and richness of the music of the village" (Sá Brito in: FOLHA DE SÃO PAULO, 2001, my translation).

As we were discovering and understanding the dimension of Mehinaku music, the necessity to create was rising, creating a dialogue with Western music. On the one hand, to document this musical universe performing a work of memory with the ethnic CD; on the other hand, to fuse our cultures, to play together, respecting and placing the Mehinaku as the main artists; to make the bridge between two worlds led us to know an aspect of our identity through the CD Fusion (Sá Brito, in: FOLHA

¹⁵⁶ For more information about the Mehinaku project, we point to the the Diaeto website. Paulo Pinajé wrote part of the insert and advised the project; Maria Inês Landgraf and Renato Dutra directed the video, with photos by Vito D'Alessio.

DE SÃO PAULO, 2001a, my translation).

The CD *Fusion Mehinaku* includes the participation of several musicians, including percussionists Naná Vasconcelos, Caito Marcondes and a fixed team of musicians formed by Simone Soul, bassist Alfredo Bello, Juliano Beccari on keyboards, as well as special participation by guitar player Badi Assad, flutist Antônio Carrasqueira and singer Renata Rosa. In a statement by e-mail, Sá Brito reports:

The choice of the tracks was guided by diversity and artistic performance. They were technically crafted to achieve an appropriate sound result to be played and mixed with tempered instruments. (Sá Brito, music producer, 2014, my translation).

According to the music director, the recordings were done in several ways: some songs were arranged and performed by the team of musicians which consisted of a drummer, a bass player and a piano player. They recorded the instrumental bases used as accompaniment for invited artists. Other tunes were arranged by the guests together with the trio-base.

Asked about the need to change the pitch or speed of the original songs to juxtapose the studio recordings, Sá Brito states that “there was no use of pitch or speed change”, but a metronome was placed on the music beat to adjust the tempo and help the musicians in the studio to follow the melody sung by Mehinaku musicians. And he added to his testimony: “This pulse resulted in a standardization of tempo without detracting from the naturalness of the interpretation of the indigenous.”

We are facing a language that Brazil does not know yet, a rich diversity of elements of expression in which shouting, and whistling are music too. [...] Such a rich music that can dialogue with various musical languages of the western world, such as jazz or popular and erudite [...] In Brazil, popular and erudite music have yet to discover that the indigenous culture presents ways for a greater synthesis, because of its autochthonous formation. (Sá Brito, In: FOLHA DE SÃO PAULO, 2001, my translation).

Sá Brito asked the sound technician Mauricio Grassmann to help him in this project. Grassmann explained in an e-mail the process of juxtaposing two different musical cultures with their specificities:

After arranging the field recordings, we would have to adapt their sound (pitch, tempo, measures, structure of music) to our sound, so we always care about how much we should use any material in order to do not lose the original sound (Maurício Grassmann, sound technician, 2014, my translation).

In any case, it was an effort to merge indigenous music with western popular music, using its characteristic elements such as solos, improvisations, introductions and intermezzos, but using the structure of 'original' music as its axis. According to Sá Brito, “what was initially arranged followed a completely different and much truer path” (Sá Brito, In: Jornal Correio Brasiliense, 2001).

In a testimony in an e-mail he comments about the studio production with the musicians playing over the field recordings:

Firstly, we thought about the structure of the music as a whole, leaving places for creating the introduction, solos, improvisations, making it possible to change it all further if the musicians wished to. But to facilitate the assembly of the structure, we found the beat of the song and recorded on a separate track a click (a metronome) on which the recording was set. In a few moments, we had to take out some breathing (from the singers), delaying or speeding up the indigenous group to fit in with the metronome beat. Small tempo alterations were left just as in the original since they didn't de-characterize (the song) and would not disrupt the musicians in the later recordings (Sá Brito, producer of the project, 2014, my translation).

Because of the microtonal and non-tempered tuning of the indigenous songs, there were problems with the tuning of the instruments used in studio, a very common situation in exchanges between different cultures, which confronted him with the limits of interference with the original material. "At first it seemed to be out of tune, but then he realized it was a way of singing collectively that used quarter-tones" (GRASSMAN, 2014, my translation).



Figure 75 Toninho Carrasqueira, Sá Brito, Nanã Vasconcelos and Badi Assad during the *CD Mehinaku* record sessions, 2001.

In general, the keyboard player harmonized the songs with chords and the result sounded displaced and not so much in tune with the indigenous recordings. There is a friction between the tempered piano tunings with the indigenous sounds. Some of them have a *New Age* background.

According to Luis Fernando Hering Coelho, in his article *Música Indígena no Mercado: Sobre demandas, mensagens e ruídos no (Des)Encontro Intermusical* (Indigenous music in the market: on demands, messages and noises in the Intermusical (Dis)Agreement), attrition occurs in spite of the goodwill:

The proposed "fusion of horizons" seems to first result in superposition and framing, building a fictive dialogue that is both deaf and fricative, where the message cannot adjust. There may come an argument in favor of the resulting artistic ventures and motivation. Which include professionally recorded work by excellent musicians, as well as the magnificent indigenous musicians – but I believe, beyond all intentionality – that it points to a certain background noise, a sort of lack of file toning that may go unnoticed and which has characterized certain aspects of relations (and esthetics) between the indigenous

peoples and this imaginary community we call Brazil (COELHO, L., 2004: 159, my translation).

After two years, the same videoproducer Dialeto and Maestro Sá Brito did a similar project with the Caiapó Metutire¹⁵⁷, a people that live in Mato Grosso and Pará.

Caiapó Metutire Project

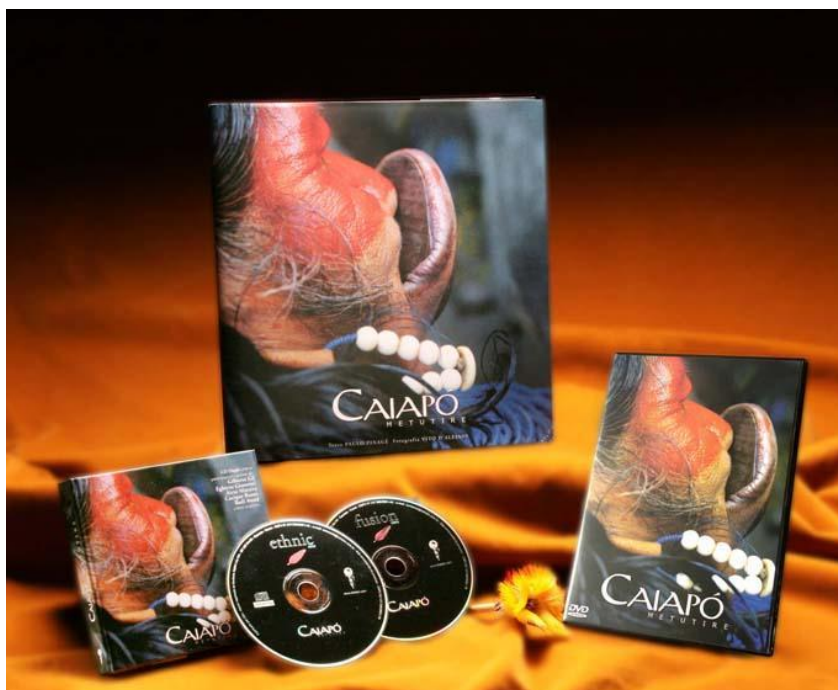


Figure 76 The Caiapó Metutire Project – CDs, books and DVD, 2004

The *Caiapó Metutire* project (2004) was dedicated to Orlando Villas-Bôas and showed many aspects of the Caiapó people including music. The CD followed the same approach of the Mehinaku project, both in the way of recording the songs in the village and in 'transforming' the original material into the studio with the collaboration of non-indigenous musicians¹⁵⁸.

In the village, Sá Brito recorded the naming rituals *Bemp* and *Coco*; the music of the fishing ceremony with *Timbó*, of the New Corn ritual; the ritual of fertility *Cuorocangô*, as well as solo and collective chants, inserted on the 24 tracks of *Ethnic*. In CD *Fusion*, 17 tracks were produced by Alfredo Bello, Simone Soul, Júlio Beccari and Sá Brito. It also had special guest appearances by Egberto Gismonti, Gilberto Gil, Airto Moreira

¹⁵⁷ The name of this people can be written as Kayapó or Kayapo. The Kayapó is divided in different groups: Xikrin, Gorotire, Mekrãgnoti, Kuben-Kran-Krên, Kôkramôrô, Metyktire, Kararaô, Mebêngôkre. More about them at ISA website: <https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/povo/mebengokre-kayapo/181>.

¹⁵⁸ In addition to the double CD, Dialeto produced a video documentary and a book with many photos available at Vimeo platform at <https://vimeo.com/110818839>.

and Badi Assad, among others. One of the tracks had a special feature by Chieftain (Cacique) Raoni¹⁵⁹. The back cover of the *Caiapó* CD contains the information that *Fusion* is “a poetic license, a musical reflection that brings the complexity of the indigenous sonority closer to the western culture” (CAIAPÓ METUTIRE, 2004, my translation).

The recording technician, Maurício Grassmann, assumed that it would be easier to produce the *Caiapó* project after the Mehinaku experience, but later he realized that musically Caiapó music was completely different, and spent more than 300 hours to transform the raw material into the two CDs:

Caiapó people have a stronger rhythm, more pronounced, harder, even rock’n’roll. It has the simplest and most monotonic melodies. They are more aggressive. As far as I remember, they used 4/4 bars in all songs. The Mehinaku used 4/4 but also 3/4 and even 5/4! The melodies are more elaborate; the compositions are “sweeter” and more melodious (Maurício Grassmann, sound technician, 2015, my translation).

Grassmann also comments on tuning aspects, since the Caiapó musical system, as well as the Mehinaku, does not follow the tempered scales, which created some problems when juxtaposing musicians of different traditions.

[...] sometimes they use scales more complex than ours, with 1/4 pitch intervals. At first this seemed to us to be out of tune, but when a whole group of women gets “out of tune” together, and every time the musical cycle repeats those “strange notes”, which are also repeated, it is clear that they are an intentional quarter tone [sic] (Maurício Grassmann, sound technician, 2015, my translation).

It is clear that Grassmann always uses an ethnocentric ear when comparing one system to another. What is striking is that the information about each track in the booklet is summarized, just mentioning whether it is performed by a male or female group, the kind of ritual and the number of the take. When it comes to a solo, the name of the performer does not appear, and there is no mention of the type of song. The lyrics are not shown in the booklet, and there are only a couple of texts with explanations about Caiapó rituals.

¹⁵⁹ Raoni is an important Kayapo leader and environmentalist.



Figure 77 Mehinaku's recording sessions with Gilberto Gil, Airto Moreira, Renato Lemos and Egberto Gismonti, 2004.

Many tracks of the CD *Fusion Caiapó* use harmonizations of the collective chants or solos, done by the piano or keyboard, which seek to induce the listener to an 'implicit' harmony. This mode of structuring the Caiapó thematic ended up bringing them to a more 'westernized' aesthetic, some of them with a jazzy style or New Age piano atmosphere to produce an oneiric sonority. Some Afro-Brazilian instruments were used as *berimbau*, *caxixis* and *djembé*. Percussionist Simone Soul, in an e-mail testimony, talks about the process of putting the percussion in this recording when she played the rhythm of *ciranda*:

The arrangements were emerging, like the *ciranda* rhythm used in *Io Paraná* song, [because] the energy of the chant asked for something joyful. We always let things happen freely, listening to the tracks, and then, in the rehearsals, we feel the direction we could take, and we do not think simply of embedding Brazilian rhythms only. That's why it was a painstaking work and, in my opinion, and a very respectful one (Simone Soul, percussionist, 2017, my translation).

Singer Miriam Maria mixed two songs of Afro-Brazilian origin to indigenous female singing. The singer, who already had experience with *jurema* beverage and with the songs of *orixás*, realized a spiritual connection between the Brazilian cultural matrices, in the studio.

The exception occurred with Egberto Gismonti who made use of more contemporary features with no pre-defined chord harmonizations, in 'Zombaria' (Mockery). Alternating with high singing and screams of the male choir accompanied by *maracás*, Gismonti performs improvisations like sonorous interventions with flute and very loose whistles. In 'Meicumerê', he played an atonal piece on the piano over a female Caiapó

collective chant, using avant-garde atonal techniques with very fast notes. He also uses the *kuluta* flute that the Yawalapiti gave him when they met in the Xingu. Gismonti creates a track fully disconnected to the chant, opposite to what the pianist Juliano Beccari tries to do, seeking to harmonize the indigenous voices. Gismonti sought for another solution and created a sonority that differs from the remainder of the CD.

The most surprising track however is 'Ainu e Caiapós', which virtually gathers Ainu musicians from Japan playing with the Caiapó. The Caiapó singing is accompanied by a guimbard and the Ainu's *koto* (Japanese zither). The result of this junction seems to have actually happened in the same environment, since the tuning of the instruments is very close to the Caiapó chants. This track brings us to think that the theory of the Asian origin of the Brazilian indigenous groups coming through the Bering Strait could make sense. It is one of the few songs that seems to have a fixed measure. Without knowing the nature of the project, we might think that it would have been recorded together by people from the same culture. This track is somewhat different from the others, where the disparity between the two sound worlds is more perceptible.

Both Sá Brito's projects – *Mehinaku* and *Caiapó* – have one aspect in common: most interactions (except between Aírto Moreira and Egberto Gismonti) adapt the melodies to tempered instruments, such as piano or keyboard, resulting in a tonal treatment of a musicality with a non-tempered sonority. Percussion uses a rhythm that does not always fuse well with the original recordings, for they often happen with different intentions. This procedure of overlapping recordings made by people of different cultures may in some cases sound somewhat artificial, since the indigenous persons are playing in a fully diverse context, outdoors, during rituals, or without the concern of being recorded. For those who hear it, with no knowledge of the purpose of the project, this combination of the 'natural' sounds of the village with the studio musicians could cause some unease. There are interesting musical results, which involve creativity, as well as a freedom of action among the participating musicians. The musicians' respect for the original material is noticeable. The percussionist Simone Soul explained, in a testimony by e-mail, how the process of reapproaching and dialogue with Sá Brito's field recordings went:

Before recording, I went through a process of recognition of the material, only listening a lot to the village recordings, firstly the raw material for pure contact, without references, formulas and measure bars [...] and then, already with a certain edition made by Sá Brito, since it was he who recorded in the villages, and from this he thought on weaving from what he had experienced, respecting the liberty and authenticity of the tracks, though harmonizing the singing and speeches. Then the rhythm came in. It was not difficult, but it was delicate, for the work to conceive our "rereading" of this expressive and different music (Simone Soul, percussionist, 2017, my translation).

It would not be possible to say that the musicians turned raw material into something new, but they added their sounds to the existing ones and there was no real interaction between the indigenous and the non-indigenous.

Surely, Bartók could never have foreseen the possibility of juxtaposing recordings made on different

occasions, since at the time this technical procedure did not exist. Therefore, his proposals for the use of traditional material would not be applicable in these two projects by Sá Brito. On the other hand, we can think about the hybridism that scholar Stuart Hall pointed out. In a postmodern era, technology makes connections between the traditional and contemporary possible, mixing and creating new sonorities.

KILZA SETTI (b.1932)

Some works were produced as chamber music during the 1990s and motivated by the conviviality with Guarani and Timbira indigenous peoples, such as *Ore Ru Ñamandu Ete Tenondegua* (1993) and *Hõkrepõj*¹⁶⁰ (1995) by Kilza Setti. As an ethnomusicologist¹⁶¹ and composer, Setti relied freely on her impressions during her relationship with the Mbya-Guarani people of São Paulo (Tupi linguistic branch), for about 30 years. In 1994, she began to research in Krahô village, in Tocantins (Central Brazil), one of the six groups of the Timbira peoples, who speak a language that belongs to the Jê linguistic family. After this research, from 1995 to 2006, she developed didactic work at the Timbira school, which was created with the inauguration of the *Centro Timbira de Ensino e Pesquisa Pënxyj Hëmpejxà* (Timbira Center for Teaching and Research), in Carolina (state of Maranhão), by the NGO CTI – Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (Indigenist Work Center), founded in 1979.

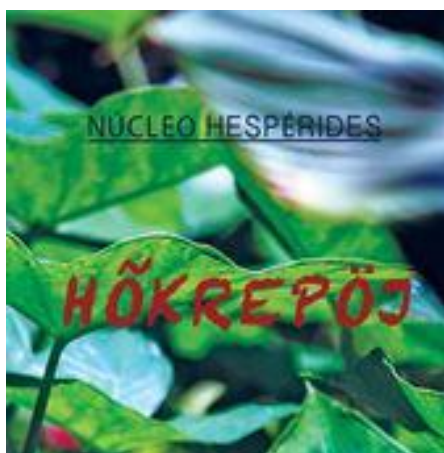


Figure 78 *Hõkrepõj* CD cover of by the group Hespérides.

Hõkrepõj by Kilza Setti interpreted by the group Hespérides can be found on Deezer. *Hõkrepõj* Chants

¹⁶⁰ *Hõkrepõj* by Kilza Setti interpreted by the group Hespérides can be found on Deezer. *Hõkrepõj* Chants are the songs sung at dusk, at night and dawn, in the villages of Krahô. Almost every day the *hõkrepõj* songs are sung. They are sung by a chorus of women, (the *hõkrepõj*), ruled by a singer with maracá (the *inkré'r*). The lyrics of the songs celebrate the phenomena and elements of nature (animals, plants, waters, etc.).

¹⁶¹ Kilza Setti is still affiliated to the Indigenist Work Center (CTI). She holds a doctorate in social anthropology from the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences of the University of São Paulo, she is also a member of Brazilian Music Academy in Rio de Janeiro.

are the songs sung at dusk, at night and dawn, in the villages of Krahô. Almost every day the *hõkrepõj* songs are sung. They are sung by a chorus of women, (the *hõkrepõj*), ruled by a singer with maracá (the *inkré'r*). The lyrics of the songs celebrate the phenomena and elements of nature (animals, plants, waters, etc.).

In the composition *Ore Ru Ñamandu Ete Tenondegua*, sacred texts of the Mbya-Guarani prayers were set to music, after working with the Mbya-Guarani for long time. She didn't use any original Guarani songs. Kilza used a version of the text of the book by Lorenzo Ramos Canto Resplandeciente: Ayvu Rendy Vera. Plegarias de los Mbyá-Guarani de Misiones

Written for mezzo-soprano and chamber ensemble, this work had its premiere at the X Bienal de Música Brasileira Contemporânea (10th Biennale of Contemporary Brazilian Music in Rio de Janeiro). Later it was recorded in 1997 on the CD *Luminamara*¹⁶² by the contemporary music group Hespérides – Música the Americas. As a prayer, the same composition, under the title 'Two Mbya-Guarani prayers', was also used as a soundtrack for a video of the project *Singing for Life* that addresses the necessity of reflecting on the preservation of the planet and the ongoing loss of the Guarani territories through the centuries. Using contemporary techniques and vocal interpretations, using bel canto, the composer commented in a testimony by e-mail in March 2017, about her way of composing:

... when I use some citations (vocal or instrumental procedures) of the people who encouraged me to compose, I have no intention of reproducing what I heard in the village, or by the populations with whom I lived. It would be pointless. Therefore, if I use the piano, cello, marimba, flute or the bassoon, it becomes very clear that I do not intend to play Timbira or Mbyá songs (Kilza Setti, composer, 2017, my translation).

Hõkrepõj, for baritone and chamber ensemble, was composed in 1995 and premiered at the XI Bienal de Música Brasileira Contemporânea (11th Biennale of Brazilian Contemporary Music). The same group, Hespérides, recorded it in 2016. This work was composed after Kilza's time with the Timbira, in the Rio Vermelho village, state of Tocantins. Created upon loose words related to nature and life in the village, it also used the idea of "division in moieties, usually found among Jê¹⁶³ people", which also relates to animals and rainy seasons or drought. According to her:

In this work, there is not really a text, only words that indicate elements of nature. Nor did I use melodies I had recorded in the village. I tried only to show a tonal center, at first fixed by the timpani and the piano. I gave priority to the low pitched and warm registers (cello or double bass), which seemed to me as being highly valued by the Krahô. Women's low-pitched voices are evident. The Timbira people are essentially a singing people. The word *hõkrepõj*, which gave the CD its name,

¹⁶² *Luminamara*, produced by the group Hespérides, from São Paulo, includes works from Brazilian contemporary composers such as Gilberto Mendes, Ailton Escobar, Willy Corrêa de Oliveira. It was the first recording of Kilza Setti's composition *Ore Ru Ñamandu Ete Tenondegua*.

¹⁶³ Brazilian anthropology has studied the kinship systems of Brazilian indigenous peoples and it has been noticed that many peoples of Macro-Jê origin usually divide in moieties in certain rituals, giving certain functions to each of the groups.

refers to the choir of female singers. In addition to the *mbaraka* (*cotoj* for the Timbira) I used sistrums and shakers to evoke the *txi*, a kind of sistrum made of small gourds, with different uses for the Timbira. In this work I used them as a citation to solemn ritual situations. The other instruments belong to western music tradition: piano, cello, flute, timpani, marimba, cymbals (Kilza Setti, composer and ethnomusicologist, 2017).

Concerning how her compositions are developed, Kilza Setti explained that it is not her intention to use or reproduce melodies sung by indigenous peoples with whom she lived, because she considers this as misappropriation. Firstly, she seeks to evoke impressions experienced during her stay in the villages and, when looking for vocal and instrumental citations, she intends to value and show the cultural richness of these groups, that still keep and develop lively and intense daily ritual life. Brazilian *Cerrado* inhabitants, the mainly singing Timbira peoples, “deserve attention in order that their lands be preserved, thus guaranteeing the maintenance of these important indigenous inhabitants of Brazil” (SETTI, 2017, my translation).

Questioned on the use of other cultures’ tunes by other composers, Kilza considers this possibility a personal choice: “Many composers have done it and still do it (you could just remember Villa-Lobos!), and I have harmonized popular songs too”. She composed *Missa Caiçara*¹⁶⁴ based on some tunes of peoples who live on São Paulo’s seacoast. Kilza also commented on crediting the indigenous interpreters or composers, who, generally speaking, are omitted. “I have the habit of always declaring names of informants, although in the process of editing the score, or even in the programs, this is not fulfilled”.

To be honest, this is quite a complicated subject in my opinion. Every time I visit a community, since the *caiçaras* (who for decades opened their lives to me!) and those indigenous peoples with whom I have worked and become affectionately tied to, in fact *I interfere in their daily lives*. Our mere presence in a neighborhood or village is always a type of intervention, but no researcher, anthropologist or scientist has gotten rid of this uncomfortable sensation or has not found a solution. *Contact is contact* (SETTI, 2017, emphasis added, my translation).

Considering this tricky issue of appropriation, Kilza finished her interview stating that: “My goal is always to draw attention to this or that people, but in a very subliminal manner. It was like this with *Missa Caiçara*, and with the Mbya people”. More concerning the matter of appropriation shall be approached at the end of this chapter and in the next one.

¹⁶⁴ *Missa Caiçara*, by Kilza Setti, included musical elements found in the fishermen communities in São Paulo’s seacoast, such as torn chords [open tuning chords] of the *viola caipira* [Brazilian country guitar] and rhythmic motifs derived from Portuguese fandango. Kilza includes in the erudite (‘classical’) instrumentation the *viola caipira* to develop these elements. In this work, she paid tribute to Saint Gonsalo, a saint praised by the coastal fishing community for the protection of infertile women and prostitutes, citing a melody traditionally sung at its feasts.

SEPULTURA (1994-)



Figure 79 Sepultura's musicians meet the Xavante people, 1996.

Still in the 1990s, there was a very controversial case of the heavy metal band Sepultura, when recording the CD *Roots*, in 1996, inspired by the contact with Xavante people, an indigenous group living in Mato Grosso. Max Cavalera, the band's leader, revealed that his desire to produce this CD came after watching the movie *Nos campos do Senhor* (At Play in the Fields of the Lord), by Hector Babenco, which told the story of missionaries who came to Brazil in attempting to catechize the indigenous peoples. Actually, this interest in the indigenous world already existed since the song 'Kaiowas'¹⁶⁵, on the CD *Chaos AD* (1993), but according to Max Cavalera, "it became a mission, going to the tribe"; after all, they would be "the first band to do this" (DEHÓ and RODRIGUES, 2016). The band went to the village of Pimentel Barbosa, where the Xavante people live, supported by the indigenist Ângela Pappiani and stayed there for a couple of days, interacting with the Xavante, intending to produce a CD whose video was largely spread in the media¹⁶⁶.

The experience in the village was remarkable for Max Cavalera who, during his visit to the Xavante, commented that "everyone, instead of going to Disneyland, should come here primarily, get to know this first and then travel to other places" (Cavalera, in: SEPULTURA E ÍNDIOS XAVANTES, 1996). As soon as they arrived at the village, he said it was an old wish to carry out a more intense Brazilian project:

This is an old Sepultura dream, to do something from scratch; the root of everything we have here in Brazil, it's you. It's a great joy to be here, we're feeling good you've opened this door so that we can make this first contact with you to show and value your art in Brazil and abroad (Cavalera, in: SEPULTURA E ÍNDIOS XAVANTES, 1996, my translation).

¹⁶⁵ The song 'Kaiowas' presents, in addition to heavy metal elements, timbres such as the viola *caipira* and a slightly northeasterly sound, due to the modal harmonies. See the music video of 'Kaiowas', from the album *Chaos AD*. The live recording of this song was made in 1996 at the Brixton Academy Festival in London: 'Sepultura – Kaiowas (Under a Pale Gray Sky)'.

¹⁶⁶ Scenes of the meeting between Sepultura and the Xavante people at the village of Pimentel Barbosa, under the title of *Sepultura e Índios Xavantes*, 1996.

At the village, they made the arrangements and recorded the songs 'Jasco' and 'Itsári', the latter a traditional Xavante healing chant in which they put guitars and a few extra percussion instruments like the Arabian *derbak*. Max Cavallera harmonized the Xavante chant in a modal manner and created an instrumental solo using some slightly oriental influenced scales. On some moments, he leaves the Xavante singing alone, without stepping in. *Roots* really amazes with the use of more than 15 Brazilian percussion instruments, including the *berimbau*, played in the track 'Attitude' by Carlinhos Brown, something rarely seen in the heavy metal scene.

Despite being considered a "suicide commercial" by the director of the label, the album reached the twenty-seventh place in the Billboard charts, something outstanding for a heavy metal band, and fourth place in England. It won gold records in the United States, with more than half a million records sold, becoming the biggest commercial success of the band. The group toured several European festivals with this show¹⁶⁷. The stereotype of the primitive indian, widely publicized in the media, was surely what attracted the metal audience. This album, according the bandleader, is "kind of primitive in the musical part with riffs and hypnotic beats" (DEHÓ and RODRIGUES, 2016, my translation).

Celia Almudena, music critic of the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*, commenting on the release of *Roots*, referred to the project as a "multicultural encounter" and praises the way the Xavante chants were treated:

To soothe the eardrums for the Xavante chants, Sepultura offers "Jasco", a short acoustic piece in which [guitarist] Andreas returns to his classical formation and the direct influence of Egberto Gismonti. 'Itsári' – roots in Xavante – *brings one of the tribe's healing rituals to the 21st century*. Recorded at Pimentel Barbosa village in Mato Grosso, the song is the perfect symbiosis of this multicultural encounter (contracultural). The result is a fine and sensitive exchange of information, quite different from the already rehearsed meetings between pop and folklore. The poetry of the Xavante song was preserved in 'Itsári' and Sepultura, wisely, did not submit the indigenous culture to their heavy-metal catechism (ALMUDENA, 1996, emphasis added, my translation).

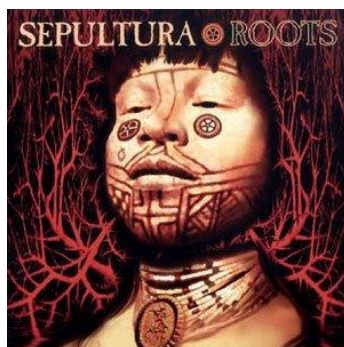


Figure 8o *Roots* CD cover, from heavy metal group Sepultura, 1996.

¹⁶⁷ There is a compilation of scenes taken from several shows by Sepultura, under the name of *Sepultura Roots Tour TV Compilation Vol. 2*.

The music critic pointed out that Sepultura brings the Xavante ritual to the present, thinking that they are living in the past without realizing that they were at a Xavante village and seeing them doing the ritual. Still, the idea of indigenous living in a remote historic moment prevails in Brazil.

Roots caused a huge impact not only in the heavy metal world, but also throughout the rock scene and became a reference for several bands that later gave shape to the Nu Metal genre (SEPULTURA, 2017). According to music critic Saby Reyes Kulkarni, "Sepultura blew the doors open on our definitions of metal and so-called 'world music', effectively creating a whole new paradigm. We haven't heard anything quite like it since" (REYES-KULKARNI, 2016). This album certainly stirs up deep layers of Brazilian society, a country that remains aloof to indigenous culture. *Roots* reinforces this culture as something exotic and primitive.

EDINO KRIEGER (b.1928)

Although belonging to a previous generation of erudite composers, active mainly in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the award-winning composer Edino Krieger¹⁶⁸ composed, in 2000, the symphonic panel¹⁶⁹ *Terra Brasilis*¹⁷⁰, whose first movement uses as compositional material two melodies of the Yudjá people, also known as Juruna with songs recorded by Villas-Bôas.

The piece, in three movements, was written at the Ministry of Culture's request, for the celebration in 2000 of the 500th anniversary of Brazil's "discovery"¹⁷¹. The first movement, 'A natureza e os povos da Floresta' (Nature and the People of the Forest), enjoyed the idea of exploring the sounds of 'birdsongs, forest noises and waterfalls; the second movement, 'A Viagem' (The Journey), to report the crossing of the Portuguese to Brazil and the third movement, 'O Encontro' (The Encounter), would symbolize the peoples responsible for the ethnical musical formation of the country" (VAZ, 2012).

After an impressionist introduction, the first movement presents the four-tone melody of the

¹⁶⁸ Edino Krieger worked with the German composer Hans-Joachim Koellreutter with whom he organized one of the first vacation courses of music, in Teresópolis. He studied in the United States, worked as a director of Radio MEC, collaborated in Radio Roquette-Pinto and was a music critic too. He represented Brazil at official events and worked on BBC Radio during his stay in London when he had a grant from the British Council. He was the director of FUNARTE for many years.

¹⁶⁹ Krieger invented this term freely, thinking that his composition is as a panel of sonorities.

¹⁷⁰ The first movement of the piece *Terra Brasilis*, interpreted by Orquestra Jovem da Paraíba (Paraíba Young Orchestra), conducted by Luiz Carlos Durier.

¹⁷¹ Nowadays the use of the word "discovery" is extremely controversial as it refers to the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazilian lands. This reinforces and fosters an ethnocentric outlook.

*taquara*¹⁷² played by the bassoon, which clearly alludes to the introduction of Stravinsky's Rite of Spring. Krieger says he is an admirer of Stravinsky. In the aftermath, Krieger uses the Juruna melody, the same tune used by Caetano Veloso in the song 'Asa'¹⁷³. He cited the Juruna melody with flutes, clarinets and piccolo, all of them in unison, marked by *caxixis* and alternating with the *taquara*'s melody. Then the strings play a counterpoint with the woods using both Juruna's themes.

The second movement, 'A Viagem', brings to mind the sounds that could have accompanied the Portuguese navigators on their long journey towards the 'new' continent, such as the chants that they certainly sang, the sounds of the sea, waves, winds and storms.

The third movement, 'O Encontro', makes use of musical elements from manifestations of European origin to represent the presence of the colonizers, according to the composer's testimony written in an e-mail:

[...] various contingents of colonizers through the centuries, who helped through the process of assimilation and transformation, to mold our Brazilian music culture. Beginning with the Gregorian chant, which was certainly heard at the first mass, the Portuguese songs and dances, the rhythms of African drums, the *gaucha* rancher song of Iberian origin, the sentimental *Modinha* which arose at the noble courts and was adopted in the streets, the central European polka transformed into the frantic Brazilian *choro*. The movement ceased with a brief reference to the indigenous peoples, followed by a "*batucadência*" of the percussion in carnival rhythm (Edino Krieger, composer, 2017, my translation).

Terra Brasilis follows the model used by Villa-Lobos, quoting indigenous themes that turn into leitmotifs. There is neither any mention in the score of the use of these two melodies, nor of their origin.

PRISCILA ERMEL (b. 1957)



Figure 81 Priscila Ermel

¹⁷² Among the Yudjá, this instrument is called *taratararu* and it is probable that Krieger has heard the recording made by the Villas-Bôas brothers in the 1970s.

¹⁷³ About this song see Caetano Veloso section, where I mention the first case of appropriation of an indigenous melody.

In 1995, Priscila Ermel, an anthropologist, composer and filmmaker,¹⁷⁴ after much research on the music of the Ikolen-Gavião from Rondônia, composed the 'multiethnic' symphony *Ímã Etê: A Verdade que Atrai*¹⁷⁵ (The Truth that Attracts), with Ikolen-Gavião people, led by Catarino Cebiro; and with the Grupo Cupuaçu de Boi do Maranhão, led by Tião Carvalho; and with the Jazz Symphonic Orchestra of São Paulo State, and additionally instruments played by the composer herself, such as Indian sitar, nasal ocarina, *kalimba*, *viola caipira*¹⁷⁶ and others. Priscilla visited the Amazon rainforest in Aripuanã. She reveals it was there that she "learned to talk to the forest" and that she freed her voice. She experimented "another relationship with music, a mythical sense of sound; round, infinite, impregnated to the extreme by the person who produces it" (ERMEL, 2016, n.p.). Back in São Paulo, she came into contact with composer and educator Koellreutter, with whom she "explored an aesthetic and human universe that we heard in field recordings" (ERMEL, 2016, n.p., my translation).

Ímã Etê: A Verdade que Atrai was recorded in 2005 on the DVD *Ti Etê: Rios de Luz* and "it celebrates the encounter between different cultures and musical gestures", according to the back-cover text. Recorded live at the Latin America Memorial by filmmaker Toni Venturi, the piece was composed as a great symphony, inspired by the Taoist philosophy of the five elements – wood, fire, earth, water and metal, a philosophy that largely influenced the composer. Indirectly, it presents indigenous elements (through the chants of the Ikolen), Afro-Brazilian (through the songs of the popular festival *Boi do Maranhão*¹⁷⁷) and European (through the instruments of the symphony orchestra). According to the composer, this "multimedia work allows symbolic, anthropological, pictorial, poetic and musical interpretations that resize the relation between the actual and the virtual" (ERMEL, 2005, n.p.).

The purpose of this work is to present some reflections on the current transformations in the correlation body/music in

¹⁷⁴ Priscila received prizes for the documentary *The Bow and the Lyre*, about the mouth bow *iridinam* played by Ikolen-Gavião women.

¹⁷⁵ The trailer of this performance can be found on the papermine link available on the internet. The participation of the Ikolen begins in minute 6 of the video and the appearance of the group *Boi do Maranhão* is at the end of this trailer.

¹⁷⁶ Viola caipira is a Brazilian ten-string guitar displayed in pairs used mostly in the countryside areas, mainly in São Paulo and Minas Gerais States. The origins of the *viola caipira* are obscure, but evidence suggests it evolved from the Spanish *vihuela* brought to Brazil by Spanish settlers. It is descendant of one of the many folk guitars that have traditionally been played in Portugal as the *viola braguesa* and the *viola amarantina*.

¹⁷⁷ Boi do Maranhão is a popular culture party from Maranhão state. In honor of *São João* (St. John), the festival takes place mainly between the months of June and July. The tradition arose in the eighteenth century and still today involves the population of São Luís who occupy all parts of the city during the festivities. Groups from all over the state dance and sing together through the night. As a party of African origin, it suffered political and police persecution, and was prohibited from 1861 to 1868.

shows and hybrid performances where the songs from the oral tradition in societies merge with contemporary popular music production. [...] Both the ritual gesture of traditional cultures and the performances of popular urban musicians from São Paulo are resized in a new musical-theatrical context, participating in the current world trend that allows the convergence of the same sonorous discourse and the musical expressions of distinct cultures (ERMEL, 2006: 1, my translation).

The text about this project reveals that the genesis of this work originated in Priscila's field travels to Rondônia, while working as an anthropologist and filmmaker. The work was initially created for a chamber ensemble, later changed into symphonic language and in 2016 it was reworked for a group of eight musicians and performed in Paraty. Nowadays its name is *Ti Etê com vida* (Ti Etê with life).

Currently, the anthropologist makes way for the artist, who seeks to present herself in many cultural spaces to show these exchanges.

She did not use any of Bartók's paradigms. She put the Ikolen-Gavião group on stage to perform their own music without interfering with it.

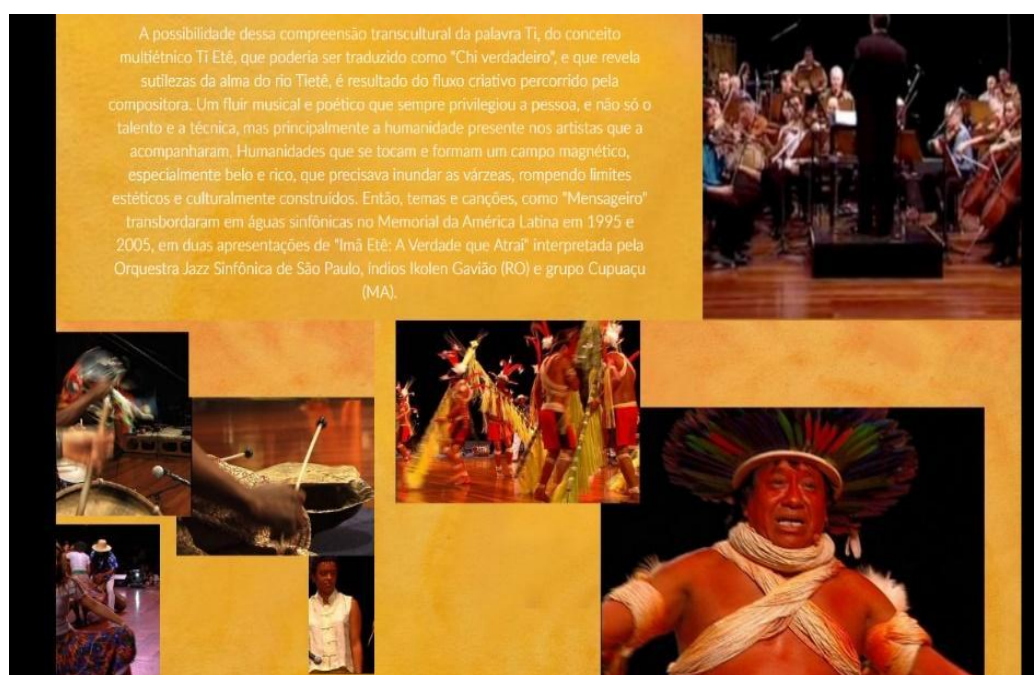


Figure 82 Photos from the presentation of Priscila Ermel's work with Jazz Sinfônica, Catarino Cebirop, Grupo de Boi, 2005.

RENATA ROSA (b.1973)

In 2008, São Paulo singer and *rabequeira* Renata Rosa also used the songs of the Kariri-Xocó people from Alagoas, in the CD *Manto dos Sonhos* (Mantle of Dreams). Her passion for the music from the northeast made her move to Olinda, the historic city of the state of Pernambuco, where she became involved with the *samba de coco*, *cavalo-marinho*, *cirandas* and rural *maracatu*. During this period, she learned to play the *rabeca* with *mestre* Siba and since then she has performed in several European festivals, accompanied by a group with viola, double bass, seven-string guitar, *bandola* and traditional percussion. Passionate about the vocal

polyphony and the ornamented singing of the Kariri-Xocó, who live near the lower São Francisco river, she decided to incorporate a group of singers from this people into *Manto dos Sonhos* and invited them to participate in a show in 2009 at the Théâtre de La Ville de Chatélet in Paris and at the Rasa Theater in Utrecht.



Figure 83 Renata Rosa with four Kariri-Xocó singers during a concert in Paris, 2009.

Her encounter with the Kariri-Xocó was, at first, motivated by spiritual considerations, but soon she became involved with their music. She participated in a ritual of *toré*, where they take *jurema*, an entheogenic drink that provokes an altered state of consciousness¹⁷⁸, according to the singer's testimony. Renata Rosa, delighted with the sound of the chants, invited them to take part in this project. Songs recorded on this CD included 'Canta Leva eu, Saudade', an indigenous tune that is sung throughout the region of the São Francisco river. 'Mãe da Lua' is Pajé Júlio's chant and Renata made an arrangement of it with *rabeca*, acoustic guitar and percussion.

Her immersion in this popular universe is demonstrated in the way she uses her vocals. Renata Rosa beautifully explores a peculiar vocal technique which presents the chest voice in a potent way (without the *bel canto* vibrato) that combines very well with the chants of the Kariri-Xocó. The group, coming from an arid region and bringing an experience mixed with the African and oriental references of the northeast, gains momentum with Renata Rosa's performance. Together they have created powerful music that especially delights European audiences. She does few shows in Brazil, compared to her frequent international presentations. Unlike the stereotypes of samba and Bossa Nova, that are still strongly present in the European scene, Renata Rosa has gradually established herself with her northeastern charm, less known among those audiences. Although stylized, she keeps the northeastern traditions (mixed with indigenous timbres) under her own aesthetic premises. The merger of these two sounds differs from what Marlui Miranda

¹⁷⁸ Entheogen is an ecstasy induced by the ingestion of substances that lead into altered states of consciousness. It is a neologism that comes from English: entheogen or entheogenic, having been proposed in 1973 by researchers, among whom we mention Gordon Wasson (1898-1986). The most known plants capable of altering consciousness and perception are *ayahuasca*, *jurema*, *cannabis*, *yopo*, *peyote* and *ololiuqui*.

presented, thus creating another kind of referential for a deep Brazil. Renata Rosa uses the first Bartók paradigm, using traditional tunes incorporating external elements. She composes tunes but in a more northeastern style that resembles Kariri-Xocó since they have african influences too.