Guns and Roses: Bossa Nova and Brazil's Music of Popular Protest, 1958-68

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Guns and roses: bossa nova and Brazil's music of popular protest, 1958–68[1]

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Pelos campos a fome em grandes plantações
Pelas ruas marchando indecisos cordões
Inda fazem da flor seu mais forte refrão
E acreditam nas flores vencendo o canhão . . .

(Hunger across the fields in huge plantations/ Carnival-goers marching hesitantly through the streets/ Still make the flower their strongest refrain/ And believe in flowers defeating the gun . . .)

'Prá não dizer que não falei das flores (Caminhando)' (So you'll not say I didn't speak of flowers (Marching)), Geraldo Vandré

Introduction

When the Brazilian Antônio Carlos (Tom) Jobim died in December 1994, twentieth-century Western music lost one of its greatest popular songwriters.[2] That may be a contentious assertion, and one open to endless debate, if his work is to be judged against that of the other major composers of the age on purely aesthetic grounds. It is indisputable, though, if the criteria are Jobim's role as a founder and leading songwriter of the bossa nova movement, given the influence of that tradition within Brazil and beyond, and as Latin America's most successful musical export (Treece 1992).

Paradoxically, however, the very success which bossa nova has enjoyed internationally has raised questions as to its *popular* status, understood more specifically in terms of the word's social, ideological or political meanings. How, for example, is a style developed primarily by and for the white, middle-class intelligentsia of Rio de Janeiro to be related to the central tradition of Brazilian popular music, samba, whose driving force was its ability to express the emergent identity of poor, urbanised blacks following the abolition of slavery? Do the dissonant harmonies and chromatic melodies of bossa nova not have more to do with the imported 'high art' traditions of Western modernism or with North American West-coast jazz, than with local musical experiences rooted in popular religion, dance and celebration? And is the introspective, coolly complacent sophistication of bossa nova, with its intimate language of 'love, smiles and flowers', not

inherently alien to the ideas of resistance and protest which popular music might be expected to express in a country as socially and economically divided as Brazil?

Just a few years after its emergence in the late 1950s, long before bossa nova acquired its now familiar connotations as the archetypal 'background' muzak of airport lounges and shopping malls, questions such as these were being asked within Brazil by performers and songwriters whose musical education had been steeped in the 'New Wave' established by Tom Jobim and others. These were years of political radicalisation, when increasing numbers of people became mobilised in trade unions, peasant leagues and student organisations, influenced by anti-imperialist and socialist ideas and especially the example of the 1959 overthrow of the Batista regime in Cuba. Culture, including song, was now required to play a conscious, active role in expressing the interests and aspirations of the movement for social and political change.

Indeed, the notion of a revolutionary 'popular culture' was the subject of both theoretical discussion and practical activity by the organised Communist left and its periphery. The starting-point of this intervention was a critique of the optimistic, pro-developmentalist culture of the post-World War II years of capitalist modernisation, of which bossa nova was a part (Gonzalez and Treece 1992, 227–53). The presidency of Juscelino Kubitschek (1956–61), especially, had acquired the aura of a 'Golden Age' of industrial expansion, 'fifty years' development in five', which was publicly endorsed in the celebration of avant-garde innovations in architecture, interior design, fashion, the media, technology and the arts.

Amongst the social consequences of this surge of development, however, was the influx of massive numbers of the country's predominantly rural population, especially those forced to emigrate from the impoverished North-East by landlessness, drought and violent conflict, into the new manufacturing industries of the southern cities and construction projects such as the futuristic new capital, Brasília. It was these peasants and workers, the 'victims of the economic miracle', as they would be known in later decades, who were to become the protagonists of the Marxist-influenced cultural projects such as the Cinema Novo movement, the Arena, Oficina and Opinião theatre groups, the Street Guitar poetry movement and the new forms of political songwriting that were grouped under the name 'canção de protesto' or 'protest song'.

Indeed, while an organisational and theoretical focus for these various initiatives was provided by the Communist-led Popular Culture Centres, music arguably acted as an equally cohesive force at an artistic level. Politically sympathetic musicians who had gained a reputation as songwriters and performers in their own right were also typically called upon to provide the musical soundtracks or scores for films and plays. Through this political apprenticeship many former practitioners of bossa nova made their own critique of the developmentalist avant-garde in music, renouncing what they saw as the style's 'foreignness', its ideological conformism and its alienation both from the country's 'authentic' popular musical traditions and the experiences of the rural and urban poor at this moment of traumatic socio-economic upheaval.

Such arguments were given added intensity by the coup which brought a military dictatorship to power in 1964, further opening up the economy and society to the influence of multinational capital. On the one hand the regime sought to enforce a 'nationalist' loyalty to its developmentalist aims by political and ideolo-

gical means: outright repression of organised labour and the political opposition and, simultaneously, the projection of a propagandistic self-image of well-being and unanimity through the celebration of mass cultural events like football and carnival, and slogans such as 'Brazil – love it or leave it'. On the other hand, the effect of the state-directed boom, known from 1968 onwards as the 'Economic Miracle' for its annual growth rates of 10 per cent, was to internationalise Brazil's culture and society, exposing the new consumer market to North American life-style models through the channels of the mass media.

Television, in particular, played an instrumental role in shaping the ambivalent character of the mass culture in its national and international dimensions, and consequently the evolution of popular music, as it was forced to respond to the challenge of the new medium. The importance of television between its appearance in Brazil in 1950 and the end of the period under consideration here cannot be compared with that which it commands today, when TV Globo is considered the world's fourth largest commercial network. It was precisely from the late 1960s, the beginning of the 'Miracle' itself, that a sufficiently mass audience for consumer goods began to attract major advertising revenues, and the dominance of this mass audience by TV Globo only became evident from the late 1970s. Nevertheless, the 1960s were the crucial decade in the emergence and official promotion of the first electronic medium with truly national scope.

Radio had been organised chiefly at local and regional level, and was, therefore, more directly expressive of popular cultural interests. Music programming reflected this, with both live and recorded broadcasts promoting local, traditional forms, as well as 'popularising' them across the country, as rural north-eastern music travelled southwards with the patterns of internal migration. By contrast, the development of an elite-dominated general telecommunications system served government needs to radiate its messages of economic developmentalism and nationalist propaganda outwards from the centre to the periphery, reinforcing a sense of identity between regional interests and those of the state (Straubhaar 1991). The life-style aspirations which it projected were for much of the decade those of the consumerist middle classes who had the necessary purchasing power to acquire television sets – these still only numbered three-quarters of a million in 1960, when the first televised song festivals were broadcast.

Song contests, in which compositions and performers were awarded prizes by a voting audience, had first enjoyed popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, before radio broadcasting began to offer widespread access to live performances. By the 1940s and 1950s, however, the role of mobilising the listening public in favour of commercially recorded songs had passed to fan-clubs organised through the major music programmes. It was the new promotional possibilities opened up by television which led to the revival of live competitive festivals in the 1960s, especially from 1965 onwards, when the TV Excelsior network and the newly created TV Globo began systematically to target the urban middle-class youth of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Photographic records of the period reveal a markedly white, bourgeois attendance at the live televised festivals, by contrast to the poorer, black and mixed-race presence at the radio contests of previous decades (Tinhorão 1981, p. 176).

At the same time, the interests of advertising sponsors, broadcasters, recording companies and venue promoters, in competition with imported forms of mass music, including rock, converged in imposing a demand for musical arrangements

that conformed to an undifferentiated 'international' sound. Such pressures were built into the structure of the annual International Song Festivals that the state tourist office of Rio de Janeiro (at that time the state of Guanabara) was persuaded to organise in the city's Marachanãzinho stadium from 1966 onwards. Modelled on the San Remo Festival, the event was divided into two parts: 'the first, intended to choose the Brazilian song which will compete with the songs representing the other participating countries; the second, intended to choose the best international song, including the Brazilian entry, out of the countries registered' (Tinhorão 1981, pp. 181–2).

The challenge faced by the protest song movement was not merely the need to offer an ideological alternative to the state's developmentalist mythology of popular and national identity. The new media and commercial conditions in which musical production now operated placed more formidable barriers in the way of constructing a cultural alliance or community between the politicised vanguard of musicians and their imagined 'popular' audience. Paradoxically, the orthodox left's reaction to the modernisation and internationalisation of Brazilian culture was symptomatic of an idealistic isolation from the realities of the 1960s, which prevented it engaging critically and creatively *with* the new mass culture. Repudiating the cosmopolitan sophistication and modernity of bossa nova, the protest song aimed to project a public message of denunciation and resistance drawing on the traditions and experiences of those very sectors of the population most severely victimised by the country's industrial revolution and later on by the dictatorship. Urban and rural musical traditions such as samba, the rural folk ballad, *berimbau* (the accompaniment to a form of choreographic martial combat) and the *samba de roda* (circle-dance), were to restore a national–popular authenticity to the song of political protest, against the imported, 'Americanised' culture which bossa nova, and increasingly rock, were held to represent.

Ironically, though, the vehicles through which this music of popular, anti-imperialist protest was heard were increasingly the very media that the modernising regime had been responsible for promoting and organising – in particular the televised shows and song contests. At the same time, the exclusion of the vast majority of workers and peasants from participation in this new culture industry exposed a contradiction at the heart of the protest movement: between its essentially middle-class constituency and the 'popular' classes in whose name it claimed to speak.

In September 1968, these contradictions were brought to a dramatic climax. In Rio de Janeiro's Maracanãzinho stadium an enraged audience of 30,000 joined in the encore of Geraldo Vandré's 'Caminhando' with spectators leaning from their apartment windows outside. They had just learned of the decision of the jury of the 3rd International Song Festival, organised by the TV Globo network, to deny it first place in the face of overwhelming audience approval. Thereafter, commercial distribution of the live recording of that performance of the song was banned, due to its 'psychologically damaging message of revolutionary war against the Brazilian regime'. Called to answer an inquiry for 'activities contrary to National Security', Vandré found himself among those forced to leave the country by the end of the year, as a wave of strikes, demonstrations and left-wing guerrilla activity against the military dictatorship was answered with the closure of Congress and the suspension of political and civil rights, heralding a new and brutal phase of authoritarian rule (de Mello 1976, pp. 33–4, Vandré 1979, p. 10).

But what kind of challenge, revolutionary or otherwise, did this collective performance of Vandré's protest anthem really pose to the developmentalist culture of the regime and its repressive aims, or to the forms of song which had preceded it? Certainly, 'Caminhando' – with its simple, sombre melody, solemnly pedestrian chords and its call to 'Come, let's get going/ For by waiting we'll never know/ If you know then you make your time/ You don't wait for it to come' – was a far cry from the sophisticated, conversational intimacy and playfulness of the bossa nova recordings which had, in their own way, revolutionised Brazilian popular music just a decade before. In almost every respect – melodically, harmonically, rhythmically, vocally, instrumentally and lyrically – Vandré had broken with the ten-year-old bossa nova tradition. As such, 'Caminhando' represented the logical outcome of efforts to politicise a music that was considered, at best, to have abstained from the struggles preceding and following the 1964 coup and, at worst, to have endorsed the spirit of post-War capitalist modernisation. But to what extent was the new song actually capable of mobilising the imagination and sensibility of a broadly 'popular' audience towards conscious political action?

Writing in 1968, the Brazilian critic Walnice Nogueira Galvão arrived at a disturbingly pessimistic assessment of the output of the 'protest song' as represented by the work of Geraldo Vandré and contemporaries such as Edu Lobo, Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil and Chico Buarque. For Galvão, despite the new song's commitment to 'an everyday, present reality, to the "here and now" ', it did little more than replace the obviously ideological, 'escapist complacency' of bossa nova, and its mythology of 'sun, sea and sand', with a new and equally reassuring mythology. Its ubiquitous theme, 'The day will come', substituted the redemptive power of the song itself for any kind of real action, which was postponed to some hypothetical, utopian future. The 'people' were thus consigned to passivity as 'listeners', absolved of responsibility and denied any agency as the subjects of history (Galvão 1976, pp. 93–6).

Galvão makes an indisputable case for this argument, marshalling an overwhelming body of textual evidence in support of her analysis. However, popular song is clearly much more than simply text or an ideological 'message'. First and foremost, and this is crucial to the specific period under consideration, like all forms of music it is the performance of organised sounds, including those of vocalised language. The significance and communicative power of these sounds are only realised as a social process in so far as the performative act is capable of articulating and engaging a community of musicians and listeners in a form of social intercourse (Chanan 1994, pp. 37–9). If we are to understand the trajectory of Brazilian popular music from bossa nova to the 'protest song' of the late 1960s, then it must be with this perspective on the evolution of the tradition as social practice. For a central feature of cultural debate and activity through this decade was precisely the assumption that 'popular culture', including song, constituted a terrain of dispute within which rival voices and stylistic traditions were competing for the loyalties of a heterogeneous population of potential listeners. In the balance of forces between the authoritarian, developmentalist state and the left-wing, reformist movement, music offered one important means of constructing alternative forms of community, defining and redefining notions of what was a shared 'popular' or 'national' culture.

The 'players' in this territory of competing voices and listeners were, first, the professionalised middle-class youth of Brazil's major cities. This generation

was a product and beneficiary of the 1950s modernisation drive, and it provided bossa nova with its songwriters, performers and initial audience. Second, emerging from the intellectual and student wing of this new middle class, was a group of politicised left-wing cultural activists. In the apparently favourable climate of João Goulart's reformist government (1961–64), these activists aimed, in a variety of projects, to reflect the experiences and aspirations of the rural and urban workforce which was now being organised and mobilised in the defence of its demands. Third, were the working-class and peasant communities themselves, which the projects associated with the Popular Culture Centres and their theory of a revolutionary culture sought to engage as allies in a broadly 'popular' movement of social and political transformation.

By 1968, however, the idea of such a movement, and the popular alliance of progressive middle-class, intellectual and mass interests that it implied, had become especially problematic. The military dictatorship which came to power in 1964 had systematically severed the organised political links between workers, peasants, students and intellectuals that had emerged since the beginning of the decade. The key activists responsible for building these links between the grassroots popular movement and the political vanguard were eliminated through imprisonment or worse. Isolated from the revolutionary classes on whose behalf it claimed to speak, the left-wing intelligentsia was considered innocuous enough by the regime to be permitted to continue its theoretical and cultural activities relatively unimpeded, for the time being at least. At the same time the regime's strategy of investment and state intervention in the culture industry aimed to demobilise the movement at a different level, by creating a compliant, passive population of consumers for the new nationalist propaganda and its vehicle, the mass media industry, which was to be dominated by television.

The musical history of the decade up to 1968 dramatises the efforts to construct new forms of audience/performer community against this background of socio-economic, political and cultural upheaval. Not only the songs' lyrics, but also their musical structures, instrumental styles and modes and conditions of performance, express in their 'posture' or idiom the different possibilities for 'socialisation of the self' (Chanan 1994, p. 51) and constructing alternative kinds of subjectivity within the new middle-class urban community and beyond its ranks. In the account which follows, we shall see how the evolution of these musical idioms was also shaped by objective factors. If, on the one hand, they represented different ways of responding to the demand for cultural practice to perform a conscious political intervention, they were, on the other hand, equally influenced by the economic pressures of commercial competition, in the form of Brazil's nascent rock industry, and by the other cultural activities through which they were often mediated, such as theatre, cinema and the television song contest.

The ecology of intimacy: bossa nova, dialogue and rationality

The first moment in the musical evolution of the decade can be identified as the classic phase of bossa nova dating approximately between 1958 and 1962. It was typified by the songwriting partnerships of Tom Jobim, Vinicius de Moraes, Newton Mendonça, Roberto Menescal, Ronaldo Bôscoli and Carlos Lyra, and by the performances of João Gilberto. The first of its features, already examined in detail elsewhere (Treece 1992), is an extreme integration of musical form, textual structure and performative

technique. Each of the songs' constitutive elements – reiterative, chromatic melodic phrasing, enriched dissonant harmonies, extended polyrhythmic patterns, chamber-like percussive acoustic instrumentation, and a 'cool', almost colourless voicing of conversational lyrics – carries equal importance, no one being foregrounded over the others. Within this seamless, integrated texture, there is an internal movement from tension, typically built on the interplay between rising or descending harmonic modulations and reiterative melodic figures, and verbalised in the notion of pain, separation or argument, towards relaxation and reconciliation – in other words, the musical and thematic resolution of that tension.

The idiom arising out of this integration of the songs' lyrical and musical fabric might be summed up as an 'ecological rationality'. That is to say, the subjective and objective life of the individual, the flux of human experience from the projection of desire towards its satisfaction, and the musical logic of the song itself, all seem to be ordered by the same 'natural' cycles and relationships. Operating through a continual dialogue between lover and beloved, self and world, lyrical argument and musical form, the songs enact a kind of harmonisation of time, space and consciousness, in which the musical drama, its human actors and their natural settings converge towards an equilibrium of intimate communion and understanding, a magical state of 'grace'.

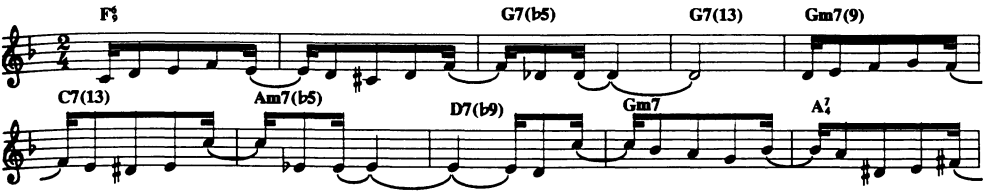
Tom Jobim's personal commitment to this notion of the song as a medium of integration between self and nature was an explicit and constant feature of his work. One of his most admirably masterful compositions, 'Aguas de março' (March rains), identifies 'the promise of life in your heart' with the eternal rhythms of a rural landscape, in an endlessly circular melodic and harmonic structure. Indeed, Jobim's ecological perspective became an increasingly active political concern up to the end of his life, when he was a prominent supporter of the movement to defend the last areas of original forest on Brazil's Atlantic coast.

The cultural environment which the early bossa novistas inhabited in the Rio de Janeiro of the late 1950s, meanwhile, sheds further light on this philosophical dimension of their music. Prior to the rise of left-wing nationalist and Marxist ideas, one of the chief intellectual influences on that generation of artists was French existentialism. In literary circles, for example, the presence of this current of thinking could be keenly felt in the work of one of the period's most successful young writers, Clarice Lispector.[3] The idyllic tranquility of Rio's southern beach quarters in those years, safe as yet from the economic and social explosion that would soon transform the urban landscape, must have offered an ideal objective correlative for the kind of inner spiritual integrity, the grace-filled enlightenment of 'being in the world', that Lispector's characters strive to discover. It is that striving for wholeness, for completion of the self in the other, in the rhythms of nature and in the rationality of musical form, which defines the arguably magical quality of this early, classic phase of bossa nova composition and performance.

An initial statement of this movement towards harmonisation and wholeness can be found in the two recordings, 'Desafinado' and 'Chega de saudade', which made up João Gilberto's historic single release of 1958. Tom Jobim and Newton Mendonça's 'Desafinado' (Off-key) begins by ironically asserting an incompatibility between two lovers' musical and emotional sensibilities,

Se você disser que desafino amor
Saiba que isso em mim provoca imensa dor
(If you say that I sing off-key, my love/ You'd better believe it couldn't hurt me more)

Example 1: 'Desafinado' (Jobim/Mendonça)

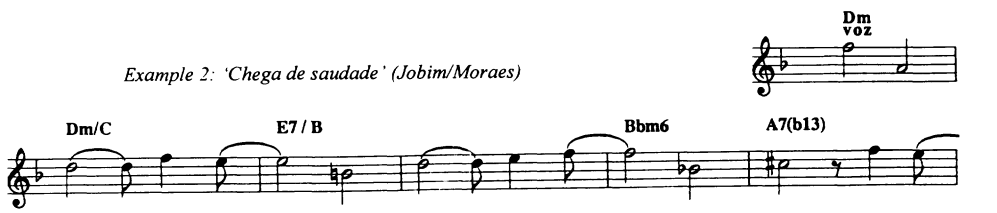


The words 'off-key' and 'hurt' are marked by 'awkward', falling intervals and dissonant chords (F–Db over a G7(b5) chord, and C–Eb over an Am7(b5) chord, respectively, see Example 1). A reiteration of this idea – 'If you insist on classifying/ My behaviour as unmusical/ I'll have to lie and argue . . .' – then follows. But it now leads to an unexpected modulation, via the 'argumentative' dissonance of an E7(#9) chord, to the relaxed descending sequence of A7m, Ab7(#5), G7(13) and Gb7(b13), and the magical discovery of the new, 'ecological' ethos – 'that this is bossa nova [the new wave]/ that it's quite natural'.

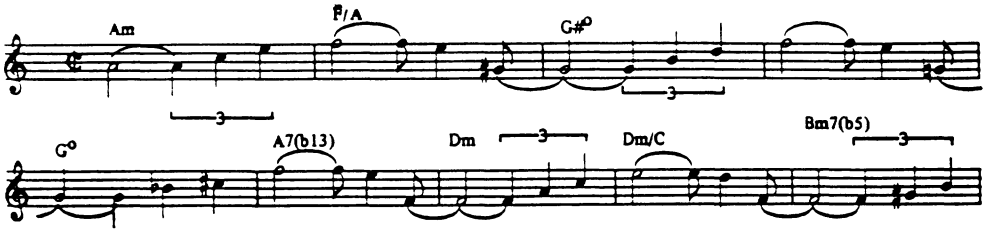
The principle of harmonic modulation as a passage-way from dissonance to reconciliation is also central to the structure of the Jobim/Moraes collaboration, 'Chega de saudade' (Can't take this longing). The classic statement of the theme of separation and longing ('Go on, blues of mine/ And tell her/ There's no way I can be without her') appears in the first section in a D minor key as, again, a sequence of 'difficult' melodic intervals around the tonic, pitched against a chromatic, descending bass-line (see Example 2). A bridge in the 'bright' major key of D then imagines the dream of the lover's crazy, joyful return in a flighty, arabesque motion. This prepares the way for the reprise of the original theme in the same major key and a series of descending and rising arpeggios, replacing the grief of solitude with embraces and kisses, and an eternity of non-separation.

A standard structural pattern was thus established – the reiterated, transposed motif over a descending chromatic harmony and bass figure – which served as the basis for scores of other compositions, whose logic was the endless cycle of separation and reunion, argument and reconciliation, pain and consolation. In 'Caminhos cruzados' (Crossing paths, Jobim/Mendonça), 'Estrada branca' (White road, Jobim/Moraes) and 'Eu não existo sem você' (I don't exist without you, Jobim/ Moraes), the divergence and convergence of melody and harmony 'shadows' the lovers' movement away from or towards the self-sufficient partnership of 'Our love' (Jobim/Moraes), the completion of individual subjectivity in the dialogue of companionship – 'I am you plus me' ('Você e eu', Lyra/Moraes). Perhaps the most extreme example of this structure is 'Samba em prelúdio' by Baden Powell and Vinicius de Moraes. In the highly successful 1962 rendition with Geraldo Vandré

Example 2: 'Chega de saudade' (Jobim/Moraes)



Example 3: 'Samba em prelúdio' (Baden Powell/Moraes)



and Claudete Soares famously performed in São Paulo's João Sebastião Bar, and the following year's recording with Vandré and Ana Lúcia, the male and female voices combined the song's second melodic and lyrical theme ('Oh! this longing/ what a desire to see our life reborn . . .') with the principal, endlessly descending phrase ('I, without you, have no reason why . . .'). The musical dialogue or counterpoint then resolved itself into the concluding statement, 'Without you, my love, I am no-one' (see Example 3).

From argument to dialogue, and incomprehension to reason, this logic is rendered transparent in a series of compositions (e.g., 'Discussão, (Argument, Jobim/Mendonça), 'Insensatez' (Senseless, Jobim/Moraes) and 'Samba de uma nota só' (One-note samba, Jobim/Mendonça)) whose tightly chromatic melodies revolve around reiterated adjacent, or even identical notes, as if in search of a stable, settled centre (see Example 4). In each case, the lyrics explicitly defend this rationality of concord:

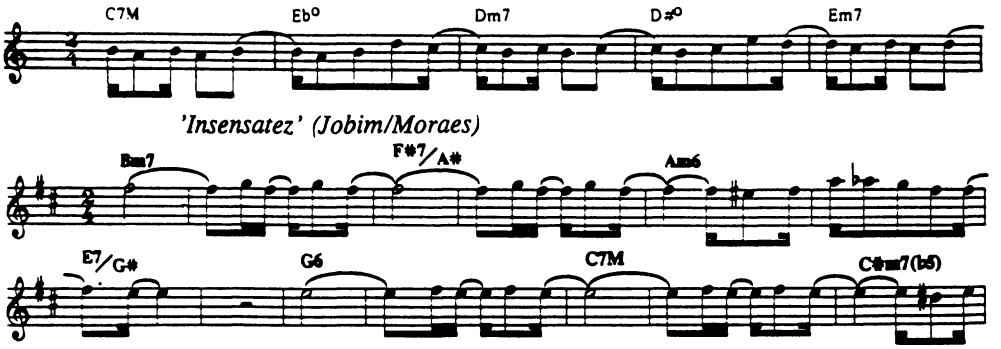
I've seen the confusion,
You want opinion
To prevail over reason . . .
Why exchange a yes for no
If the result is solitude instead of love,
There's a longing that will tell who's right';

Go on, heart of mine,
Listen to reason
Just be sincere
Whoever sows the seed of wind,
Says reason,
Will always reap the storm's harvest';

And I've come back to my one note
Just like I come back to you
I'm going to sing along with my one note
The way that I love you
And whoever wants all the notes
Re mi fa sol la ti do
Is always left with none at all
Just keep to a single note.

Finally, the completion of the circle, the fusion of the projected desire with its object, is achieved in a number of songs where the aura of 'grace' – that 'loveliest thing, so full of grace', in the words of 'Garota de Ipanema' (The girl from Ipanema, Jobim/Moraes) – appears as the focus of erotic or ecological contemplation. In 'Ela é carioca' (She's from Rio, Jobim/Moraes), 'Coisa mais linda' (Loveliest thing, Lyra/Moraes) and 'Garota de Ipanema' itself, for example, the celebration

Example 4: 'Discussão' (Jobim/Mendonça)

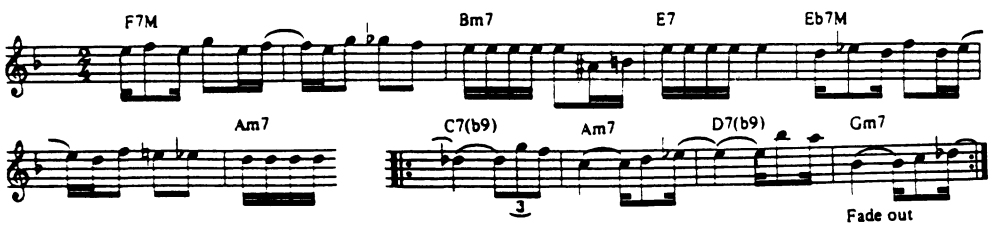


of an idealised, unattainable female beauty is suspended in a kind of trance, as the melodic phrase hypnotically follows the girl's self-possessed swaying, dancing walk:

Oh, if only she knew
That when she walks past
The whole world is filled with grace
And is made even lovelier
Because of love

Roberto Menescal and Ronaldo Bôscoli, meanwhile, typically project the gaze and the song's movement into the rhythms of the natural seascape, as in 'Nós e o mar' (Us and the sea), 'Ah! se eu pudesse' (Ah! if only I could) and 'O barquinho' (The little boat). The drifting vessel, along with the melodic phrase repeated in descending registers, transports the solitary couple into an endlessly cyclical universe of tides and sunsets, suspended in the song's open-ended, circular refrain, 'A tardinha cai/ O barquinho vai' (The evening falls/ The little boat drifts on) (see Example 5). By way of conclusion, if there is one composition which can be said to incorporate all the features outlined above, then it must be Tom Jobim's 'Corcovado' (Quiet nights). In an endless circular structure beginning and concluding on the same unresolved Am6 chord, the two-note melody repeated over descending harmonies balances a series of complementary ideas – 'A little corner, a guitar/ This love, a song/ To make happy the one you love' – that have replaced the dying flame of a former grief with the eternity of new companionship. At the same time, the domestic intimacy and security of this musical partnership is projected through a 'window' of contemplation into the natural objective correlative of Rio de Janeiro's mountain landscape: 'So much calm to think/ And time to dream/ From the window you can see the Corcovado/ The Redeemer's statue, how lovely!'

Example 5: 'O barquinho' (Menescal/Bôscoli)



It is not difficult to interpret the idiom and 'posture' of this classic phase of bossa nova, with its formal sophistication, its dialogue of reconciliation and ecological rationality, as an expression of the cosy, bourgeois complacency of post-War Rio's residential beach quarters and apartment blocks (Treece 1992). The typical setting for the music's live performance, the apartment, night-club or university union, physically enhances, to a greater or lesser degree, this sense of domestic intimacy and familiarity in an almost whispered dialogue between the singers and their small audience of peers. It is unarguably the case that the music's technical sophistication and rationality in many ways reflected the self-conscious modernism of a new technocracy. But it is equally true, according to Roberto Menescal, that for the composers and performers at least, the professionalisation of music-making made possible by bossa nova actually offered a viable *alternative* to more utilitarian careers dedicated to the construction of the new capitalist economy, such as engineering, medicine or architecture (*Bossa Nova Songbook* 1, p. 24). Johnny Alf, the singer–songwriter, pianist and precursor of bossa nova, has also observed that, before the movement's assimilation into the mainstream recording industry and the promotional control this involved, a relative autonomy was available to the artists to produce for reasons, and under conditions, of their own choosing (de Mello 1976, p. 131).

These notions of autonomy and professionalisation as conditions of the social practice of bossa nova may shed further light on the significance of its internal and relational structures and their rationality of dialogue and existential integrity. If we look at the musical environment of the early 1950s, against which bossa nova was being asserted as a dissonant avant-garde, the picture is very different. These were the years in which Brazil's samba tradition was most dominated by external forces, in the shape of a Hollywood film industry confronting Latin American audiences with stereotypical images of themselves (Roberts 1979, pp. 76–146). In Brazil this corresponded to the populist representations of national cultural identity that were being promoted, via the *samba-exaltação*, under the pre- and post-War administrations of Getúlio Vargas. At the same time the lyrical variant of the *samba-canção* had evolved into a sentimental ballad closely allied to other Latin styles such as the bolero and tango, characterised by rich orchestration and a flamboyant, operatic vocal delivery. In the age of populism, the audience had thus been reduced to a homogeneous mass of anonymous spectators watching melodramas of desperate, suicidal unrequited love, or set-piece extravaganzas celebrating the national 'carnival'.

Against this fictitious, ideological construction of popular–national solidarity, the aesthetic harmonisation of self and world, which bossa nova enacts in its musical and lyrical structures, can be seen as an attempt to articulate a more authentic and autonomous kind of community, an alternative wholeness, albeit confined to the new urban, middle-class intelligentsia. It is in this light that one can perhaps interpret Carlos Lyra's rather surprising claim about the movement which first made his name: 'Bossa Nova isn't some rich "little daddy's boy" thing. Quite to the contrary, it is the meeting of different socio-economic classes, races, political and religious ideologies, which are united around a single objective' (de Mello 1976, p. 76). Lyra, who later became one of the leading left-wing critics of bossa nova, cannot have been unaware of its obviously narrow social base, as we have seen, amongst the white bourgeois youth of southern Rio de Janeiro. In bending the stick so extravagantly in the opposite direction, his aim was perhaps

to emphasise how, before the ideological debates of the early 1960s, bossa nova's ethos of mutual understanding, harmony and reconciliation had been able temporarily to bring together a relatively heterogeneous group of individuals in a self-conscious movement seeking to break with the past.

Rock and revolution: from the city-stage to the *favela*

As early as 1960, whatever consensus the bossa nova movement had momentarily been able to sustain was showing signs of strain. The first symptom of this was a celebrated rift between composers Carlos Lyra and Ronaldo Bôscoli. Whether, as has been suggested, the split reflected Lyra's jealousy of the songwriting partnership between Bôscoli and Roberto Menescal, or his objection to Bôscoli's political conservatism (Castro 1990, p. 258), it seems that personal and ideological differences had coincided or were reinforcing each other. Lyra was by now participating with another longstanding member of the bossa nova fraternity, Sérgio Ricardo, in meetings at the National Students Union headquarters which led to the creation of the Centre of Popular Culture, subsequently renamed the Popular Culture Centre (CPC). Echoing Ricardo's concern that bossa nova had distanced itself from the country's indigenous, popular traditions, Lyra argued that the preoccupation with musical form had left the question of ideological content unclear (de Mello 1976, p. 112). By November 1962 he was able to claim, with the benefit of hindsight, that

> Bossa Nova was destined to live only for a brief time. It was just a musically new way of repeating the same romantic and inconsequential things that were being said long since. It didn't alter the content of the lyrics. The only path is nationalism. Nationalism in music isn't provincialism. (Castro 1990, p. 344)

However, it is clear that well before a precise definition of this notion of musical nationalism had been worked out, other, commercial pressures had come into play. Lyra and Bôscoli had signed recording contracts with the Philips and Odeon labels, respectively, and the rivalry between them was thus transferred to the market-place. In the live arena, too, the competition for audience loyalties was opening up. May 1960 saw two shows on the same evening: Bôscoli's 'Night of Love, Smiles and Flowers', staged in Rio's Faculty of Architecture, and Lyra's 'Sambalanço Night', at the Catholic PUC University (de Mello 1976, p. 96).

This more aggressive projection of bossa nova into the commercial market was in part a conscious response to the challenge posed by US-style rock-and-roll, which had offered an alternative pole of attraction to Brazil's middle-class urban youth since the mid-1950s. The first local recording was Nora Ney's English cover of 'Rock around the clock', released in November 1955, and the film of the same name was screened in São Paulo the following year. When reports emerged of cinema audiences dancing in the aisles and 'rioting', State Governor Jânio Quadros ordered the police to intervene and restore order. In May 1957 the first Brazilian rock composition, Miguel Gustavo's 'Rock and Roll em Copacabana', recorded by Cauby Peixoto, was released and the industry took off with local artists covering originals in English to supplement the import market (Pavão 1989, pp. 13–16).

Until 1958, however, there were no specialised musicians, only popular singers who also performed rock compositions, such as Cauby Peixoto, Agostinho dos Santos, Lana Bitencourt and Nora Ney. The case of Sérgio Murilo illustrates

the vacillations within the performing community in its divided musical loyalties. In 1960 Murilo was still hesitating between bossa nova and rock, having recorded his own version of 'Chega de saudade', when the success of 'Marcianita' made him turn definitively to rock (Pavão 1989, p. 44). A similar path was followed by Roberto Carlos, who had been performing both sambas and rock. After a row between Sérgio Murilo and his recording company, Columbia/CBS, the latter targeted Roberto Carlos, who shifted lock, stock and barrel to the new music and went on to make his name in Rio (Pavão 1989, p. 27). In the guitar 'academies', too, which had been an important training-ground for the bossa nova generation, young middle-class women were both learning the pre-bossa compositions of Maysa and Dolores Duran and attempting the style of the new rock-and-roll (Pavão 1989, p. 19).

In 1960, for the first time, the media gave full publicity to a home-grown rock star, Celly Campello, the 'Darling of Brazil', whose music was played extensively on the radio, and who collaborated with the promotional mechanisms that were being developed for the consumer market, recording advertising jingles and lending her name to a children's doll. The appearance of the first Brazilian rock magazine in August 1960 marked the consolidation of the industry which, by early 1962, boasted an extensive repertoire of covers and versions of US hits as well as original material, a domestic pool of specialised instrumentalists, and films, radio and TV shows (Pavão 1989, pp. 22–7). This was the same year in which bossa nova made its first venture into the international market, following a legendary concert at New York's Carnegie Hall on November 21. Despite poor organisation, it was a sell-out, acting as a show-case for some of the leading *bossa novistas*, such as João Gilberto, Luis Bonfá and Oscar Castro-Neves. With the enthusiastic presence of local jazz musicians such as Stan Getz, Charlie Byrd and Gary Burton, it exposed the new style to a wider, international musical audience, winning recording contracts for a number of Brazilian artists.

The competition between bossa nova and rock within the Brazilian market was summed up by Ronaldo Bôscoli: on the advice of Odeon label's musical director, André Midany, he and Carlos Lyra composed 'Lobo bobo',

> to see if there was any identification with people. We created the bossa nova movement to defend Brazilian music from the phantom of *Rock*, which at that time was selling 70% of the market. In 1962, I heard that same man, Midany, say: 'Ronaldo Bôscoli, your movement has now taken Brazilian music to the point where it's selling half and half, 50%' (de Mello 1976, pp. 104–5).

The market was thus divided down the middle between the Dionysian appeal of rock, with its celebration of sound and movement in all its physical, bodily ecstasy (suggesting, in this sense, a modern, cosmopolitan and industrial alternative to the music of carnival) and the Apollonian rationality and intimacy of bossa nova.

Now, however, amidst the political ferment of Goulart's reformist administration, popular music was required to mobilise its audience in the direction of a different kind of order, according to a new, consciously ideological rationality. In December 1961, the Popular Culture Centre launched a series of projects under the leadership of film-maker Leon Hirszmann, dramatist Oduvaldo Viana Filho and Carlos Estevam Martins. The movement's pre-Manifesto, drawn up in the following year, dictated the principles by which a revolutionary, popular art might transform the political consciousness of its audience so as to challenge the prevailing ideas:

> Instead of man isolated in his individuality, lost forever in the intricate meanderings of introspection, our art must carry to the people the human meaning of oil and steel, political parties and class associations, rates of production and financial mechanisms (Martins 1979, p. 73).

The precondition for this possibility was the relative autonomy of art as an element of the superstructure and its capacity, in the vanguard of ideological development, to produce substantial effects in the less advanced material structures of society: 'If it were not possible for consciousness to overtake the social being and become, to a certain degree, a modifying force on the social being, neither revolutionary art nor the CPC would be feasible' (Martins 1979, p. 69).

The vanguardist stance of the CPC in relation to the consciousness of its audience points up the central problem facing this essentially intellectual movement, without organised roots within the popular classes it was addressing. A voluntaristic ideological leap of social consciousness was required for the artist to shrug off his petty-bourgeois assumptions, and identify with the 'people'. Thus, 'the members of the CPC have opted to be of the people, to be an integral part of the people, detachments of its army on the cultural front' (Martins 1979, p. 71). At the same time, they must make no 'romantic' concessions to the consciousness of the people in its traditional state of cultural development; a revolutionary popular art could not simply be the 'formalisation of the spontaneous manifestations of the people'. Rather its popularity would reside in its ability to 'popularise not the work or the artist who produces it, but the individual receiving it and in making him the politicised author of the *polis*' (Martins 1979, p. 79).

The need to overcome this disparity between the level of cultural and political development of the revolutionary artist and his popular audience was addressed in the Manifesto's analysis of the relationship between form and content. On the one hand, a popular revolutionary art 'aspires . . . to intensify in each individual his awareness of belonging to the social whole; it seeks to invest in him the possession of common values and collective aspirations, thus consolidating his spiritual insertion into the entirety of communitary interests' (Martins 1979, p. 75). But while this revolutionary consciousness must be 'brought' to the people from beyond its ranks, the materials, forms and aesthetic criteria required for its artistic expression must conform to the necessity for communicability and would therefore be drawn from the cultural traditions of the popular audience itself. The artist would have to place limits on his own formal creativity so as to match the relatively primitive resources with which the popular audience responded to the artistic experience, 'rendering dynamic the stereotypes it uses and obliging them to yield the maximum eloquence possible' (Martins 1979, p. 75).

The challenge facing the music of the next seven years, then, was how to bridge the social and cultural distance which the new political situation had exposed, between the post-bossa artistic vanguard and the working-class and peasant communities and their traditions. Yet while there seems to have been a degree of consensus over the need to reclaim some of the stylistic and technical resources of the pre-bossa traditions in popular music, the CPC formula, combining 'popular' form with revolutionary content, was not adopted uncritically or unproblematically by the movement's adherents.

Former architecture student Carlos Lyra and law student Geraldo Vandré made their first contact with left-wing political ideas during a visit to São Paulo to record a bossa nova show. Together they composed the song 'Quem quiser encon-

trar o amor' (If you want to find love) for new-wave cinema-maker Joaquim Pedro de Andrade's *Couro de gato* (1960). Lyra also went on to write the music for the Arena theatre production *A mais valia vai se acabar* (There'll be no more surplus-value), by Oduvaldo Viana Filho, when it was brought from São Paulo to Rio. However, Lyra soon opposed that faction within the CPC which 'believed they should make music with lyrics by educated guys talking about political realities and truths. I was against that because then it would just be pamphleteering, (Mello 1976, p. 116). Vandré soon left the movement altogether, protesting along similar lines: 'Art isn't a pamphlet!'

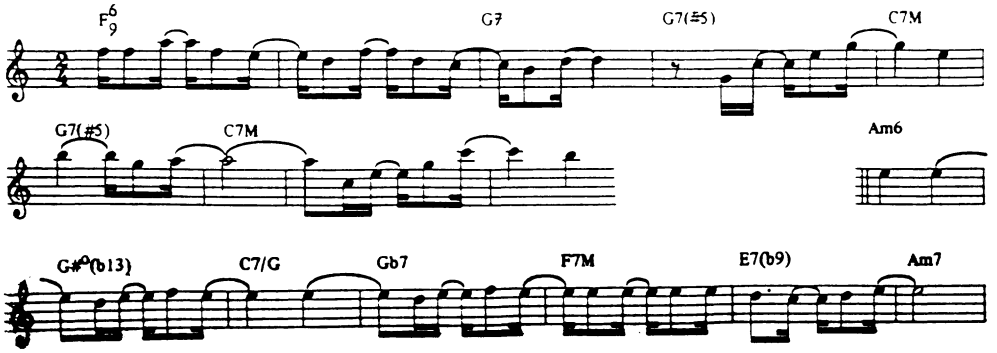
With the support of poet Ferreira Gullar, Lyra had won the argument to change the original name, Centre of Popular Culture (CCP), to Popular Centre of Culture (CPC). This reflected his preference for a broad social project open to all tendencies, as opposed to the populist idealism of those would-be slum-dwellers amongst the revolutionary intellectuals: 'I'm a bourgeois, I don't make popular culture, I make bourgeois culture, there's no avoiding that' (Castro 1990, p. 261). To enjoy or identify with the tradition of *samba de morro* (shanty-town samba) did not mean taking up residence there. The social and cultural divide between the hillside slums and the middle-class apartment blocks below could not be abolished overnight by a simple effort of will or imagination.

Lyra's approach instead insisted on incorporating the technical innovations of the classical bossa nova style within a more socially conscious and critical idiom. As Vandré put it, the success of 'Quem quiser encontrar o amor' 'coincided with a moment when Lyra's group was making an attempt to use the artesanal resources of an essentially jazz culture in the service of a national culture' (de Mello 1976, p. 111). Gilberto Gil has observed more recently that Lyra's contribution to the debate was the elaboration of a dramatic musical texture: 'It was that idea of the music incorporating or trying to incorporate, explicitly, elements of theatricality, the specific colours of the people' (*Bossa Nova Songbook 3*, pp. 24–5). This solution, moulding the textual possibilities developed within the bossa nova tradition to a new cultural landscape, was also pursued by Lyra's fellow traveller, Sérgio Ricardo.

In Ricardo's case, though, this development was stimulated particularly by his involvement in cinema, and the need to integrate the musical soundtrack into a visual fabric. As early as 1960 he had been criticised by bossa nova purists for his dramatic composition 'Zelão', which used a solo/chorus dialogue to depict a shanty-town's collective grief for the *sambista* whose shack is swept down the hillside by a flood. This precipitated Ricardo's departure for the CPC, where he met the film-maker Ruy Guerra (*Bossa Nova Songbook 5*, p. 20). But, as he recalls, his blend of bossa nova lyricism and social comment sat just as uncomfortably with the CPC's orthodox formula of popular form and revolutionary content (de Souza 1967). 'A Fábrica' (The Factory), from the film *Esse mundo é meu* (This world is mine), which was screened on 1 April 1964, the first day of the military dictatorship, was a daringly orchestrated arrangement for its time. The polyrhythmic beat and instrumental colouring of the bossa nova idiom were shaped to reproduce the rhythms and noises of life in an automobile parts factory, with its interplay of human and mechanical sounds. The worker's brief dream of a world of pleasure and plenty is abruptly ended by the factory whistle, awakening him once more to the reality of his daily routine.

In Carlos Lyra's work, meanwhile, the dramatic intention took the form of a kind of musical dialogue between the bossa nova and samba traditions, which

Example 6: 'Feio não é bonito' (Lyra/Guarnieri)



echoed the problematic relationship between the cultural vanguard and its popular counterpart, between the city and the *favela*. Lyra's 1962 composition 'Influência do jazz' was a musically enacted obituary for the traditional samba, which 'has been mixing and modernising and has got lost' under the sway of jazz-influenced rhythms. After a central pastiche of the 'twisting, complicating' Afro-Cuban dance-style that was killing the 'side-to-side' swing of the samba, the song returns to its roots in the *favela* for help, 'So it won't be a samba with too many notes, a twisted samba from front to back' ('Influência do jazz').

Between 1961 and 1964, Lyra's musical dialogue with the *samba de morro* was transferred to the stage in the compositions he produced for the Arena project. For example, 'Feio não é bonito' (Ugly ain't pretty), co-written with dramatist Gianfrancesco Guarnieri, reproduced the now familiar bossa nova structure of a melodic pattern repeated in different registers over a descending chromatic harmony. But its theme (see Example 6), in a sombre minor key, was the title's anti-romantic depiction of the *favela*, which 'is brave and never lets itself be broken' yet which also cries out, for 'a different [hi]story'. The song's other innovation was to counterpose this solo statement of love of, and for, the *favela*, against an ironic pastiche of the nationalistic *samba-exaltação*, sung by a chorus in a cheerful major key: 'Hooray for the beauties of this my Brazil/ With its past and tradition/ And hooray for the shanty full of glory/ With its schools that speak of its history of samba'. In a somewhat moralistic and sentimental gesture of solidarity, 'Love the *morro*, love', the old populist mythology was contradicted by an 'authentic' populism, the 'true story' as told by the soloist.

The hybrid structure and style of the song, however, left its contradictions curiously intact: solo and chorus, bossa nova and samba, reality and mythology, continued to inhabit separate sides of the social, cultural and ideological divide. Like the 'poor little rich girl' of the Lyra/Moraes composition, 'Pobre menina rica', the radicalised bourgeois intellectual–artist was trapped inside an inescapable social identity of illusory wealth and privilege, which were, of course, not illusory at all, but constituted real obstacles in the way of a genuinely classless, 'popular' solidarity.

Vocalist Nara Leão dramatised this dilemma in her musical interventions on and off the stage, as both singer and militant CPC member. While still a teenager she had met the leading figures of the bossa nova fraternity and became known as the 'muse' of the movement, with her parents' Copacabana apartment serving

as a frequent venue for its meetings. In 1963, at Vinicius de Moraes's invitation, she played the 'poor little rich girl' herself in the musical comedy of the same name. Then in the same year Carlos Lyra introduced her to the old-guard *sambistas* Cartola, Nelson Cavaquinho and the Portela samba-school's composer, Zé Keti. The outcome of these collaborations was two albums, *Nara* (1963) and *Opinião de Nara* (1964), the second of which definitively split the bossa nova movement just months after the military coup of 31 March 1964. It was an anthology of the songs produced for Oduvaldo Viana Filho's show *Opinion*, voicing the orthodox left's protest against the dictatorship through the themes of urban poverty and the rural struggle for land reform. Leão publicly disowned the 'bourgeois introspection' of bossa nova to become the muse of popular tradition and protest:

> Enough of Bossa Nova. No more singing some little apartment song for two or three intellectuals. I want the pure samba, which has much more to say, which is the expression of the people, and not something made by one little group for another little group . . . I don't want to spend the rest of my life singing 'The girl from Ipanema' and, even less, in English. I want to be understood, I want to be a singer of the people. (Castro 1990, pp. 348–9)

Nara Leão's performance of Zé Keti's 'Diz que fui por aí' (Say I've gone over there) captured perfectly this voluntaristic populism, with a classic, soft-spoken bossa nova melody announcing her departure for the *favela*: 'Carrying a guitar under my arm/ I stop at any corner/ I walk into any bar/ If there's a reason/ It's one more samba for me to play'. The surely redundant claim, 'I've got lots of friends, I'm popular', sounds embarrassingly like wishful thinking rather than fact, the longing of someone inhabiting a cultural and social limbo between Rio's beachside residences and the hillsides above: 'If they want to know/ Whether I'm coming back, say that I am,/ But only after this longing leaves me . . . / I'm in the city, I'm in the *favela*/ I'm over there, always thinking of the *favela*'.

In December 1964, Nara Leão was replaced in the *Opinião* show by Maria Bethânia, who had arrived from the north-eastern city of Salvador with a new generation of musicians who included Gal Costa, Gilberto Gil, Tom Zé and Caetano Veloso. By contrast to Leão's fragile, somewhat saccharine delivery, Bethânia's richly sonorous voice represented a radical new departure in the projection of the music's political message, which reflected more closely the thinking of the CPC:

> Our greatest contradiction as artists is that of going for an aesthetic and formal development for which the people we are addressing is not ready . . . I have the impression that it would be a mistake for us to go back to João Gilberto. We have to face reality. And the present reality is one of stridency. Today's youth loves stridency, because it represents modern civilization. Maria Bethânia is herself the negation of João Gilberto. (Anon 1965, p. 40)

Bethânia's performance of the João do Vale composition 'Carcará', epitomised this new style of vocal projection. The song, which took as its theme a bird of prey in order to celebrate the resilience of the north-east's legions of peasant migrants, courageously fighting for their sustenance, was prohibited by the censor in São Paulo:

> In vain. The authors of the show, in order to obtain its release, replaced the figures about north-eastern migration with others about the successes of the country's textile industry. But the rage with which Bethânia recited the new figures was a protest in itself. The audience understood and applauded on their feet. The single of 'Carcará' that she recorded in São Paulo sold out in three days. (Anon n.d.)

Her singing, too, reinforced that aggressive message by emphasising the irregular stresses of the bossa nova rhythm in a semi-shouted delivery.

Bethânia herself identified an additional stylistic problem which was to mark a further shift in the new protest music away from its avant-garde predecessor:

> I believe that Bossa Nova addicted composers to something which has been lost in the protest music: dissonant chords. That's something that the protest music broke with completely. The dissonant chord is a very wishy-washy kind of thing and for protest music you need something more aggressive. (de Mello 1976, p. 122)

Once again these changes must also be seen in large part as a response to a renewed challenge from the aggressively commercial rock industry which, in the wake of the military coup, was seeking to occupy an expanded mass market. Up to this point, the promotion of rock, or 'iê-iê-iê' as it became known, had been hampered by limited television and radio coverage, and by taxes and other restrictions affecting the phonographic industry. The TV rock programme 'Reino da Juventude' (Kingdom of Youth) was confined to a daytime slot, while the bossa nova shows 'O Fino da Bossa' and 'Bossaudade' enjoyed prime-time evening exposure. And so, on 16 July 1964, the 'Clube do Clan' was founded in São Paulo to (first) 'defend intransigently the interests of every young music artist in all their forms' and (second) 'organise festivals at a national and international level' (Pavão 1989, p. 34). The Club obtained its own exclusive programme on São Paulo's Rádio Nacional every Saturday at 7.30 pm, attracting members via publicity in the Brazilian magazine *Intervalo* and its American stablemate *Cash-Box*. Opposition from popular music traditionalists and bossa nova loyalists turned to protest, especially when the Clan Club attempted to end the practice of free air-time for disc jockeys promoting 'national', that is, traditional, non-rock artists. Pressure from broadcasters and journalists forced the Club to retreat and, from a position where it boasted 80 per cent of the audience's support, it had virtually disappeared by early 1965.

Despite this initial setback, the rock industry continued to make great strides. After a successful run of international festivals, the annual 'Chico Viola' prize was awarded by TV Record (the Globo Network of its day) in 1965 to Ronnie Cord for 'Rua Augusta', Demétrius for 'Ritmo da Chuva', and Roberto Carlos for 'É proibido fumar'. As The Beatles rose to international fame, Carlos enjoyed a long run at the top of the hit parade with his LP 'Canta para a Juventude' and the single 'A história de um homem mau' (Pavão 1989, pp. 33–6). The rock programme 'Jovem Guarda' (Young Guard) went on the air every Sunday afternoon from September 1965–68 on TV Record's Channel 7 and shot to national prominence. With the promotional machinery set in motion by the advertising company Magaldi, Maia and Prosperi, the programme became a vehicle for the marketing of consumer goods under the brand names of Calhambeque (trousers), Tremendão (amplifiers) and Ternurinha (dolls, perfumes, clothes and records.)

The softening of the initially more offensive aspects of live rock performance made its acceptance possible for the whole age-range, so that the new rock artists achieved the kind of national popular impact which their bossa nova counterparts never could (Anon 1983, pp. 10–11). More important still, Roberto Carlos and the Jovem Guarda fulfilled a crucial ideological role in winning away its middle-class youth audience from a conscious political reflection on the nature of the regime: 'In this respect, the Jovem Guarda, as a thermometer of changes in young people's

behaviour, channels the interest of the youth, alienating him from the political crisis into which the country was sinking' (Anon 1981, p. 9). Roberto Carlos *et al.* were a reassuring symbol of a rebellious youth adapted to respectable values, capable of being loved by 'heads of family', and divested of its more threatening expressive features. Consequently, it has been argued, 'Brazilian iê-iê-iê doubtless helped to suffocate the protest movement into which Bossa Nova had drifted' (Anon 1981, p. 9).

God and the Devil in the Land of the Sun: prayer, epic and the TV contest

Two factors became apparent in the wake of the 1964 coup and the reinvigoration of the rock industry. First, was the surprising realisation that, as Roberto Schwarz put it, despite the dictatorship of the right there was a relative cultural hegemony of the left in the country (1992, p. 127). The socialist intelligentsia, which had been preparing itself for prison, unemployment and exile, was spared, whilst torture and prolonged imprisonment were reserved exclusively for those who had organised contact with workers, peasants, sailors and soldiers:

> Whereas on that occasion the bridges between the cultural movement and the masses were severed, the Castelo Branco government did not prevent the theoretical or artistic circulation of leftwing thinking which, although within a narrow area, flourished to an extraordinary degree. (Schwarz 1992, p. 127)

The viable 'popular' audience for the cultural left was now much more clearly confined to its immediate social periphery, the middle class.

Secondly, it was clear that the urban idioms of samba and bossa nova were losing the battle to compete for the attention of that audience with the industrial vigour of electrified rock. It was with this understanding that the new-wave film-maker Glauber Rocha, the director of *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* (God and the Devil in the Land of the Sun), approached Carlos Lyra, Geraldo Vandré and Sérgio Ricardo with a new proposition: a music which would draw its expressivity from the raw technological primitiveness of rural traditions and instrumentation:

> One of the things that Glauber defended greatly was this: if technically we wanted it to be nice and pretty, nicely made, nicely finished off, we would end up urbanising it. The important thing was to be able to draw out that anguish from the Brazilian people, which comes from the underdeveloped form of its laments. If we gave the process of communication an evolved form, it would sound false. (de Mello 1976, p. 115)

The decisive step in this direction came with Vandré's 1966 recording, 'Disparada' (Stampede), which he composed for the film *A hora e vez de Augusto Matraga*, a depiction of the harsh violence and religiosity of the rural interior. Vandré himself explained the significance of the song in terms of its ability to project the 'sound' of this mass rural experience onto a national stage:

> Any manifestation of a national culture that has no support amongst the urban middle class, which will stand up for itself and its interests, has no way of asserting itself within the national mentality. The *moda de viola* [guitar-accompanied rural folk-song] is the most proletarian of these manifestations. *Disparada* broke that middle-class prejudice, but not by virtue of its harmonic or poetic poverty. Harmonically and poetically, the American hillbilly folksong is as impoverished as our own, yet is accepted throughout the world. But a whole line ought to follow from *Disparada*. If it hasn't it is just through a lack of investment and the low regard of middle-class musicians for a manifestation of culture which, whether they like it or not, represents the only way of singing for 60 or 70% of the Brazilian population,

rural populations of the states of Mato Grosso, Goiás, Minas, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. (de Mello 1976, p. 128)

Cateano Veloso agreed that Vandré's adoption of the *moda de viola* constituted a turning-point in the elaboration of a more vigorous formal vehicle for the protest message:

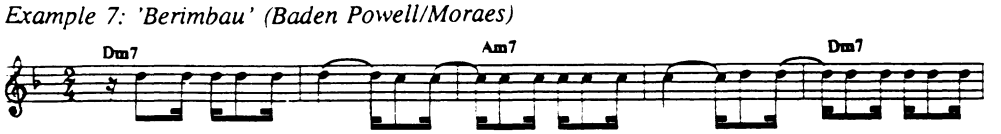
With its epic lyrical structure, its narrative literature tending towards violence, and its simple musical structure as the basis of a banal style of song . . . and its artesanal approach to presentation . . . *Disparada* is the first clear attempt to make a strong, industrial Brazilian music, something like 'iê-iê-iê'. (de Mello 1976, p. 129)

Before this complete rupture with the bossa nova idiom, other options were being explored to inject into the latter's modern rationality something of the spirit of the pre-urban, regional traditions of popular culture. Whereas the epic narrative approach based on the peasant ballad encouraged a didactic, even antagonistic posture, this alternative current sought to recuperate the idea of communion associated with Afro-Brazilian religiosity. Rhythms linked to dance, worship and physical combat became the central structural elements of songs which invoked solidarity and action through prayer and movement.

The first key instigator of this development was the mulatto guitarist and bossa nova composer, Baden Powell, who had been raised on Rio's Morro de Pedregulho, in the famous shanty-town district of Mangueira. In 1961, Baden Powell was introduced by Vinicius de Moraes to recordings of several Afro-Brazilian forms from the north-east: the *samba de roda*, a circle dance accompanied by handclapping and percussion, and one of the oldest forerunners of modern samba; the heavily percussive music of *candomblé*, the West African-derived animist religion centring on trance and possession; and *berimbau*, the rhythmic accompaniment to *capoeira*, a martial art transformed into dance, played by striking a metal or rubber string stretched over a large wooden bow, and amplified with a gourd. In early 1963, after visiting Bahia to experience the sounds directly, Baden Powell began to compose with Vinicius a series of 'afro-sambas' and other songs based on these rhythms.

The composition simply entitled 'Berimbau' illustrates how melody, lyrics, harmony and instrumentation had now become subordinated to the rhythmic pattern, whose functions combined incantation and initiation. Against a constant bass, Baden Powell reproduces on the upper guitar strings the two-tone figure of the *berimbau* rhythm, which is matched by what is essentially a vocalised inflection of the same two-note pattern supported by a much reduced harmonic repertoire of two alternating chords (see Example 7). The movement is no longer the cycle of dissonance and harmonisation found in classic bossa nova but an oscillating pattern fixed on a stable centre towards which the listener is drawn hypnotically as if to be educated in the art. It has its lyrical counterpart in a series of aphorisms based on contradiction, which argue against betrayal and injustice in favour of integrity and solidarity:

Example 7: 'Berimbau' (Baden Powell/Moraes)



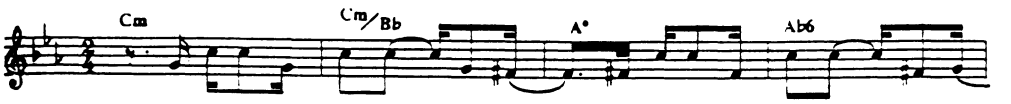
The man who's good won't betray
The love that only wants the best for him . . .
Whoever won't come out of himself will die without loving anyone
The money that belongs to one who won't give
Is the labor of him who has none
The *capoeira* who's good won't fall
And if one day he falls, he'll fall well.

The only departure from this oscillating pattern is a dramatic coda in a more familiar melodic and harmonic style, which announces the *capoeira*'s arrival to fight for love.

'Samba da bênção' (Samba of blessing, 1965), meanwhile, although based on an equally simple two-chord pattern and inflected melody, takes up the more relaxed, swinging rhythm of the Bahian samba. Its balanced aphorisms celebrate the equilibrium of the 'prayer-like' samba, a combination of melancholy and joy, the 'dark' oppression of its historical origins and the 'white' optimism of its lyricism: 'For samba was born up there in Bahia/ And if today it's white in its poetry/ It's more than black in its heart.' 'Canto de Ossanha' (1966), a 'chant' of the *orixá* or deity Ossanha, returns to the format of 'Berimbau' with, this time, a three-note figure reiterated over a relatively simple descending sequence of chords (see Example 8). Again, a series of aphorisms denounces the man's words of treachery, dishonesty and cowardice, challenging him with a physical, rhythmic force to resist or yield to the spell that invites him to risk the pain or joy of love:

Pity the man who falls
Into the chant of Ossanha, traitor
Pity the man who goes after the spell of love,
Go, go, go, go,
I won't go
Go, go, go, go
I won't go.

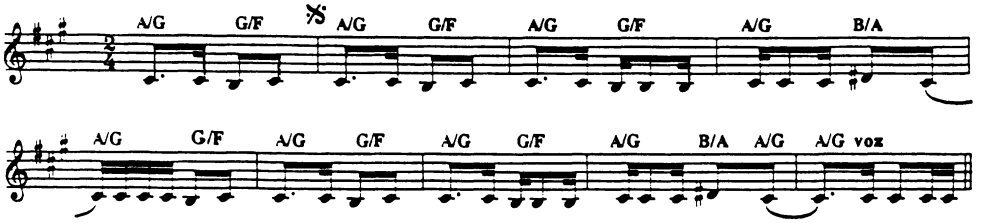
Example 8: 'Canto de Ossanha' (Baden Powell/Moraes)



Thus, the incantatory power of Afro-Brazilian rhythms served both to invoke a sense of collective identity in the communion of prayer, and also to mobilise its initiates for the struggles of life. These themes were developed in a more dramatic and explicitly political way by Edu Lobo, a law student from Ipanema who acquired his musical education informally, from his father, Fernando Lobo, and through bossa novistas such as Carlos Lyra and Baden Powell, as well as the north-easterner João do Vale. In 1963 he had worked on CPC dramatist Viana Filho's uncompleted musical *Os Azeredos mais os Benevides* (de Mello 1976, p. 118). Their collaborative composition 'Chegança' was the only surviving piece from the show, and it typifies the structural formula adopted by Edu Lobo in much of his subsequent work.

The title makes reference to several traditional practices bearing the name, all related to its etymology of 'arrival', including the celebration of a ship's safe arrival in port, and the Christmas house-to-house visits akin to 'first-footing'.

Example 9: 'Chegança' (Lobo/Vianna Filho)

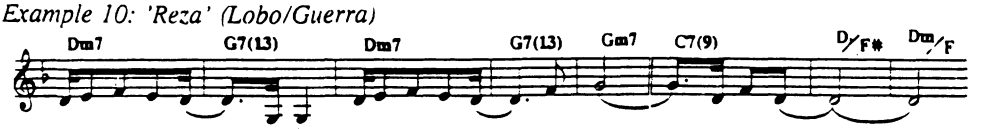


However, the theme has been adapted to the political question of agrarian reform and land occupations. An introductory and concluding figure on alternating adjacent minor 7th chords and notes (including the distinctively north-eastern augmented 4th) intones the ritualistic rhythm of the *samba de roda*. This serves to announce the gathering of the people and their occupation of the land, which will 'set the world spinning' (see Example 9). It is left to the song's intervening passages, in a more classic bossa nova harmonic and melodic style, to provide a lyrical 'interpretation' of this action, its promise of renewal, fertility and hope:

Bringing as they come
Old scythes, young women
And a parcel of hope . . .
Arriving endlessly
Stopping to marry
To marry and scatter their children.

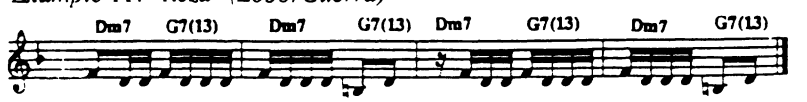
Lobo's use of these regional, African traditions, and especially their religious associations, moved ahead following his work with the dramatist and film-director, Ruy Guerra, and particularly his collaboration on the *Arena conta Zumbi* project, depicting the seventeenth-century slave rebellion of Palmares. The Lobo/Guerra composition 'Reza' (Prayer) combined, like 'Chegança', the bossa nova idiom, with

Example 10: 'Reza' (Lobo/Guerra)

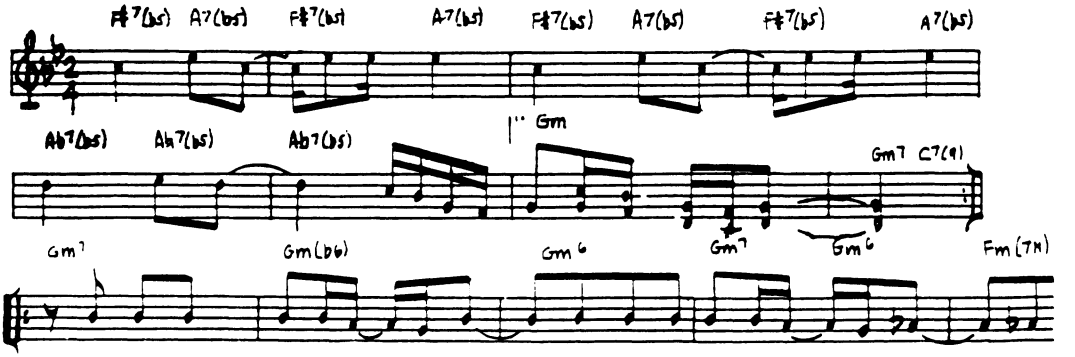


its extended lyrical expression of desire and promise (see Example 10), and the ritual evocation of prayer, in the rhythmically repetitive and choral style of the Afro-samba (Example 11). 'Canção da terra' (Song of the land) reproduced the same hybrid structure, opening with a mysterious yoruba invocation – 'Olorum bererê/ Olorum bererê/ Olorum ici beobá' – voiced in parallel moving parts. This then leads into a more bossa-like solo chromatic melody on the theme of privation, the landless, loveless, voiceless son struggling to regain it all by summoning up

Example 11: 'Reza' (Lobo/Guerra)



Example 12: 'Canção da terra' (Lobo)



the power of faith (see Example 12). In 'Borandá' (Let's go away), meanwhile, it is in spite of so many prayers that the migrant is forced to flee the drought. The song moves between the rhythmic urgency of the call to depart, the dissonance of despair at the failure of the promises offered up, and an extended, lyrical regret, in half-time, for the land left behind. This multilayered dramatic structure was also applied in 'Arrastão' (Dragnet), composed with Vinicius de Moraes and shifting the scenario to a maritime setting. The swelling tide and movement of the fishing-raft are suggested by an arabesque figure reiterated in ascending registers over a galloping rhythm. A descending scale in triplets links this mood of excitement and expectation to the invocation of Iemanjá, the goddess of the sea. As in 'Borandá, a slower prayer-like passage follows, appealing for the blessing of the queen of the sea, and her hand in marriage, in a celebration of abundance and fertility.

If Edu Lobo's exploration of the possibilities of combining modern and traditional musical idioms marked a development of Carlos Lyra's approach, it arguably resulted in a richer dramatic texture. Furthermore, it moved beyond Lyra's *enactment* of a dialogue between urban avant-garde and popular traditions to a more integrated musical landscape, which was unified and mobilised by the ritual and mystical sound of Afro-Brazilian rhythms. It was doubtless this enriched rhythmic texture and colour which accounted for the success of Lobo's 'Arrastão' in 1965, as the winner in the first of Brazil's international festivals of popular music, where the competition between different musical idioms was soon to be projected onto the television screen.

The rise of the mass media industry as the arena for this rivalry coincided with an atmosphere of renewed political ferment. The year from 1965 to 1966 saw anti-military demonstrations across a number of states, strikes in eighteen university faculties and barricades erected in front of São Paulo University's Philosophy Faculty. The convergence between this atmosphere of political militancy and the new dramatic colour and rhythm of Baden Powell and Edu Lobo's Afro-sambas found its ideal exponent in the singer Elis Regina. It was she who, with her theatrical, extroverted style of performance, won first place together with Jair Rodrigues for Lobo's 'Arrastão' in TV Excelsior's Brazilian Popular Music Festival in April 1965. She went on in the following month to front a weekly show, *O Fino da Bossa*, which was broadcast by TV Record every Wednesday, sent out to other states and repeated in São Paulo on the following Saturday (Mauro 1983, p. 5).

After three months the show became known simply as *O Fino*; paradoxically, though, while this exposed the veteran figures of bossa nova to their first truly mass audience, Carlos Lyra argued that it was precisely the televisual medium which brought the classic, 'cool' phase of the movement to its end (de Mello 1976, pp. 119–20). By early 1966, the show's ratings were in decline as the *jovem guarda* went into the ascendant, rivalling *O Fino* with its simplicity and vigour.

Once again the new tradition of songwriting and performance found itself obliged to reinvigorate itself by turning further away from the idiom which had revolutionised the form in the mid-1950s. The last years of the decade now saw a wholesale return to a number of familiar regional and popular styles – samba, *frevo, marcha, ciranda, moda de viola, desafio* – which dispensed altogether with the dissonant subtlety and conversational posture of bossa nova. Interestingly, this reversion to tradition was mirrored, in the form of the *sambão*, by the work of a number of performers supportive of the dictatorship's ideological aims. Antônio Carlos, Luís Airão, Benito de Paula, Gilson de Souza, Jorginho do Império and Martinho da Vila reappropriated the symbols of national–populist exaltation – the samba schools, football, the deities of *candomblé*, and the 'people' itself – in the service of the regime's propaganda machine (Anon 1981, p. 15). Thus the notion of 'the popular' became an even more heterogeneously disputed terrain for both left and right, now dramatised within the increasingly pugnacious arena of the televised song contests.

The proceedings of TV Record's 2nd Festival of Brazilian Popular Music in September/October 1966 typified this atmosphere, with the partisanship of sections of the audience described as reminiscent of that of a soccer stadium. Ironically, Sérgio Ricardo's 'Beto Bom de Bola', a protest against the pernicious influence of the football industry itself, was booed until he exploded, shouting 'You're a lot of animals!', smashed up his guitar and threw it at the audience (Mauro 1983, p. 8). The first prize was shared by Chico Buarque's march, 'A Banda', and Geraldo Vandré's 'Disparada', co-written with Théo de Barros and performed by Jair Rodrigues with the Trio Novo and Trio Marayá. The uncompromisingly rural format of 'Disparada', and its energetic, north-easternised adaptation of the bossa nova instrumentation – combining the widely used guitar with its smaller rural counterpart, the *viola*, a flute, piano and a wide range of percussion, including a mule's jaw – daringly challenged the expectations and conventions of the contests as staged until then.

Born in the north-eastern state of Paraíba, Vandré began his singing career in his childhood, when he heard the semi-improvised ballads of the *cantadores* or troubadours who performed at fairs and markets. His first solo songwriting success was 'Fica mal com deus' (1963) (You'll fall out with God), whose epic *galope* rhythm broke completely with the domestic intimacy of bossa nova, and its magical equilibrium and 'grace', to carry the rider on his defiant adventure across the backlands:

Whoever wants to go with me
Must laugh at love
Must have something to give
A life without courage
A man who cannot give
Will be abandoned by God.

Vandré went on to win TV Excelsior's June 1966 Excelsior festival with 'Porta-Estandarte' (Standard-bearer) which, at a time when street demonstrations were

banned, took up the theme of the samba schools' carnival parade as a metaphor for the people's struggle to reappropriate the avenue. *Disparada* emerged from his experiences in producing the soundtrack for Roberto Santos's film *A Hora e Vez de Augusto Matraga*, and was composed during a trip through the north-east with Airto Moreira, his co-writer Theo de Barros and Heraldo, who went on to form the Trio Novo.

For this composition Vandré adopted wholesale the simple narrative form of the *toada*, the four, five or six-line stanza and refrain which is the typical vehicle for the *cantador*'s self-improvised stories of hinterland life. Gone is the polyrhythmic syncopation of the bossa nova or afro-samba, with their emphasis on ritualistic reiteration, circularity and incantation. Gone, too, is the tension and dissonance of those styles' chromatic melodies and harmonies. In their place is a purely functional tonality and binary rhythm, which serve primarily to project the storyteller's epic lesson of life. The posture is confrontational, the self-assured voice of experience challenging the listener to choose between enlightenment or ignorance:

Prepare your heart
For the things of which I'll sing
I come from the backlands
And I may not please you . . .
If you don't agree
I can't apologise
My story's not told to deceive
I'll take up my guitar
I'll leave you aside
I'll sing in another place.

His tale is one of defiance, about the man who learned to say no, who chose to set a topsy-turvy world to rights, to throw off the beast of burden's yoke and become the mounted horseman of a kingless kingdom. The grand scenery of the backlands, so often the setting in rural mythology for the larger-than-life battles between latter-day knights of the road, has become the stage for an exemplary tale of utopian heroism.

With 'Disparada' the audience was no longer invited to participate in the rhythms of a world of shared, communitarian spirituality, ritual or dialogue. It had become instead the object of a new didacticism, one that seemed indifferent to the 'people's' disposition to 'listen'. Like other new compositions of the time such as Gilberto Gil's 'Roda' ('My people, pay attention . . . / Whoever doesn't want to listen, doesn't have to hear'), 'Disparada' reflected an increasingly antagonistic relationship between singers and public that was sometimes even verbalised in aggressive confrontations in the live arena. In the heightened political climate that preceded the 'second coup' of 1968, and in the context of a newly diversified music market, audience loyalties were hotly disputed by competing cultural and ideological forces. Faced with the populist appeal of more familiar urban traditions, on one side, and the innovative cosmopolitan styles stimulated by the rock industry, on the other, the protest movement increasingly subjected formal and textural considerations to the rhetorical task of delivering the lyrics' political 'message'. The CPC's strategy had thus apparently been vindicated, but only apparently, because its 'take-it-or-leave-it' posture rendered transparent the relative isolation of the left-wing artistic vanguard within a complex market-place of cultural styles and attitudes, and its inability to articulate the kind of mass popular consciousness to which it had aspired so optimistically.

Early in 1967, when the 29th Congress of the National Students' Union was forced to take place in clandestine conditions, Geraldo Vandré's 'Disparada' show was just one of a plethora of rival TV programmes representing the musical idioms that the decade had thrown up. Others include *Bossaudade*, with the 'old guard' pre-bossa nova generation of Ciro Monteiro and Elizeth Cardoso (Krausche 1983, p. 81); *Pra Ver a Banda Passar* (See the band march past) with *sambistas* Chico Buarque and Nara Leão; and TV Excelsior's *Ensaio Geral* (Dress Rehearsal) with Gilberto Gil and Maria Bethânia. This diversification of the field proved too much for the vehicle of the classic bossa tradition, *O Fino*, which broadcast its last show on 21 June. The 3rd Festival of Brazilian Popular Music began precisely in the month of a new phase of student confrontations with the police, the *setembradas*, and exposed the viewing and listening public to an equally varied range of voices and styles. The first prize went to Edu Lobo/Capinam's 'Ponteio', and second place to Gil's 'Domingo no Parque', third to Chico Buarque's 'Roda Viva', fourth to Caetano's Veloso's 'Alegria, Alegria' (with its outrageous rock-band support, the Mutantes and the Beat Boys), and fifth to Roberto Carlos, whose attempt at a reconciliation with the local tradition of songwriting, in the form of Luís Carlos Pananá's 'Maria Carnaval e Cinzas', was booed by the audience (Anon 1981, pp. 13–15).

The last major landmark in the cycle of televised contests was TV Globo's 3rd International Song Festival, broadcast in September 1968 in the midst of demonstrations, political killings, left-wing urban guerrilla activity and right-wing paramilitary repression, including the violent disruption of the São Paulo show, *Roda Viva*, by the anti-communist CCC (Communist Hunter Command). The response of the orthodox left was to round on those who dared to engage experimentally with the complexities and contradictions of the new cultural climate of the 'Economic Miracle', and its combination of repression and massification.

A particular target of such criticism was the generation of artists, including Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Maria Bethânia, Tom Zé and Gal Costa, who had arrived in Rio de Janeiro from the north-eastern city of Bahia in 1964. Known as the Tropicalists after their pathbreaking album of 1968, *Tropicália ou Panis et Circensis*, the *baianos* defied all existing assumptions of musical and ideological orthodoxy. Uninhibitedly juxtaposing and fusing elements drawn from rural and urban, local and international, traditional and modern sources, such as electrified rock, bossa nova and rural folksong, they were able to reflect critically and creatively on the bewildering new cultural landscape which the military regime was presiding over. At the same time they transgressed the categories of 'high' and 'low' culture set up by the theoretical debates within the CPCs, by combining those stylistic elements with influences from the avant-garde art of the period, such as Concretist poetry and experimental electronic music. A more detailed analysis of the Tropicalists' work falls outside the scope of this article, other than to give an indication of the impact of their performances on the sectarian atmosphere of the 1968 Globo festival. During the competition's qualifying rounds, as Gilberto Gil shocked the audience by appearing in African dress and a thick beard to front his inflammatory 'Questões de Ordem' (Questions of Order), Caetano Veloso did battle with an intransigent crowd which found the libertarian stance of his rock composition 'É Proibido Proibir' (Forbidden to forbid) intolerable.

Although highly charged with political meaning, there was also something strangely disembodied about this contest of idioms and traditions, organised as it was by a mass media network closely allied to the state. When Geraldo Vandré

came to perform 'Caminhando', the unofficial anthem of the protest movement, in the Maracanãzinho stadium, it appears as though the ideological battle lines were already clearly drawn up; composers and performers were expected to assume the badge of left- or right-wing orthodoxy, to pronounce on behalf of their supporters rather than to engage in an open, critical form of social dialogue. Vandré's comments on and during the live recording of that concert voiced an uncomfortable awareness that these televised events were in danger of offering a compensatory, dramatic alternative to the real political struggles being waged outside. Fighting to be heard, Vandré appealed to the audience to respect his main artistic rivals, Tom Jobim and Chico Buarque; his and their duty as artists was 'to make songs', while there was 'more to life than just festivals'.

The confusion between political and cultural activity was a crucial one. As Vandré left the stadium he was mobbed by fans and objected: 'This is turning into a mass rally. Please, let me go.' It was precisely at this time that the term 'esquerda festiva' (festive left) had emerged as a pejorative term used by the traditional left to refer to the irreverently heterodox attitude of the new generation of intellectual and artist revolutionaries influenced by the guerrilla movements and student protests of the 1960s (de Hollanda 1981, p. 33). At a homage to the Spanish poet and dramatist, Federico García Lorca, in São Paulo's Municipal Theatre, where a heckler in the stalls accused him of being 'festivo', Vandré replied: 'They want me to dress up in proletarian costume. Well I won't, I won't.'

Vandré's unease reflected both an awareness of the isolation of the protest movement from the urban and rural masses, in whose name it was speaking, and the problematic nature of the political intervention which the CPC had demanded of its cultural activists. Yet his song, 'Caminhando', itself highlighted Vandré's own hesitancy and ambivalence as regards his artistic and political responsibilities – was he making music or politics? Stripped of all harmonic, rhythmic and textural complexity or distinctiveness, the song's musical elements functioned purely as a vehicle for a generic, hymn-like expression of solidarity, with its style and sound lacking any specific, identifiably Brazilian resonances. Paradoxically, the song of protest had abandoned the attempt to articulate musically the popular identity of feeling which Lyra, Ricardo, Baden Powell and Lobo had sought in their dialogue and fusion of traditions, rhythms and harmonic textures drawn from modern urban, regional and Afro-Brazilian sources. Instead it took for granted an abstract, 'universal' solidarity symbolised by 'the song' itself, which appears self-sufficient in its necessary ability to mobilise around it the anonymous ranks of the faithful:

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

It is not difficult to understand the appeal of such an abstractly 'spiritual' notion of universal solidarity to the grassroots Christian communities (CEBs), who took up Vandré's banned song as their own anthem in the 1970s. A recent account of the emergence of the Workers' Party (PT), the political expression of the popular movement rooted in the CEBS and a broadly heterogeneous range of other mass-based organisations and left-wing traditions, identifies its unifying ethos precisely as one founded on a kind of moral solidarity, rather than any clearly defined ideological theory:

To understand this 'open' party, we need to know what it is that keeps the *petistas* [PT members] together, besides a vague adherence to socialism. It is not a particular definition of socialism, far less a specific recipe on how to achieve it, but an ethos, an attitude towards society and political involvement that combines radicalism, self-denial and moral outrage. This is the common denominator of all *petistas*, be they intellectuals, workers, Catholics, agnostic activists, members of the Landless Peasants Movement or organisers of women's rights groups. (Branford and Kucinski 1995, p. 8)

It was very much this kind of broad, popular front which the student and intellectual left and its cultural wing, the CPC, had aspired to lead in the years immediately before and after the 1964 coup. If they were unable to do so, this was due as much to their top-down, purist notion of a vanguard revolutionary popular culture elaborated outside the ranks of the mass movement, as to the effectiveness of the regime's measures in isolating that movement from the left-wing intelligentsia. The cultural logic of this vanguardism, as we have seen, was expressed in the shifting relational structures and musical idioms of the decade's song writing and performance. Before the effects of the coup were felt, it took the form of attempts to enact a dialogue or fusion between the various traditions and sensibilities – urban, rural, modern, pre-industrial, white, black, bourgeois and working class – which might make up a putative 'popular' alliance of listeners and performers. The aftermath of the coup saw that audience–producer relationship confined more acutely to the immediate middle-class periphery of the student movement, against the background of an aggressively competitive commercial music industry centred on the televised song contests. The response was to seek a return to 'pure' traditional forms, or to the 'universal', generic sound of the protest anthem, as the vehicle for a more antagonistic, didactic message, one that was increasingly abstracted from the complex cultural experiences of the late 1960s, with the massification and internationalisation of the media industry.

To criticise the lyrical content of the post-1964 protest songs for their failure to offer more than a vaguely utopian faith in the future, as Walnice Nogueira Galvão did in 1968, was therefore perhaps to miss the point. In the absence of any politically articulated community of interests, that is to say, in the absence of a viable popular movement with its own coherent alternative to the regime's strategy of state capitalist modernisation, the traditional left could express little more than its own frustrated idealism and that of its middle-class audience. The challenges posed by the new cultural conditions of the 'Economic Miracle', meanwhile, would have to be addressed by another generation of songwriters and performers, led by the Tropicalists. It was they who, without political pretensions or ideologically orthodox assumptions about an 'authentic' popular music, were prepared to experiment uninhibitedly and imaginatively with the newly diversified range of local and international traditions of music now available to them.

Endnotes

1. My thanks to the British Academy for the research funding which made the preparation of this essay possible.
2. See especially Suzel Reily's appreciation of Tom Jobim and the contribution of bossa nova to Brazilian popular music, in *Popular Music* 15/1 (1996). I was not aware of Reily's work at the time of writing the present article, which was submitted before her article appeared.
3. My thanks to Mercia Pinto for this observation.

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