American Musics

Mário de Andrade, Mentor: Modernism and Musical Aesthetics in Brazil, 1920–1945

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The late nineteenth century in Brazil was marked by rapid change and assimilation, where fresh leadership was welcomed as the force that could define the country’s cultural, social, and political goals. The rapidity with which reformers effected sought-after changes left much unresolved, as Brazilian society was, in effect, revolutionized by economic progress, contact with external factors such as immigration, and new trends in intellectual thought. Turning points such as the declaration of political independence (1822), the abolition of slavery (1888), and the proclamation of the republic (1889) inspired reform-minded activists to pursue cultural renovation to match the dynamics of a quickly evolving society. In part related to political experimentation (culminating with the implementation of the Estado Novo1), Brazil was left reeling with new ideas and an overabundance of individual inclinations on how to assimilate them. The nation lurched toward various platforms of radical artistic reform, of which modernism was the most profound.

Inspired by the approaching centenary of independence, turn-of-the-century intellectuals reconsidered the nation’s values. Evolving alongside the series of social and economic transformations affecting the country, a multifaceted ideology emerged as the fundamental basis of Brazilian modernism, and the first two decades of the twentieth century proved that cultural production was related directly to the fallout of historical circumstances. During this critical time, artists who were motivated to question tradition initiated the modernist movement; by renouncing the past, these activists isolated their work from established cultural trends, leaving them without fixed stylistic goals and aesthetic norms.

As the undisputed leader of cultural modernism in Brazil, Mário de Andrade (1893–1945)2 labored to define a vision to which artists could adhere, through generations and ensuing trends, and claimed that actualizing

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postwar European models of constructive modernist tendencies could make possible a similar renovation of Brazilian culture. When investigating the cultural production he influenced, it is difficult to isolate any particular dimension of Andrade’s diversified perspective, but his vision narrowed gradually to two distinct and necessary emphases: 1) an ideological focus on Brazil’s current social reality; and 2) the use of pure and essential native resources to achieve a unique nationalist aesthetic. The two platforms combined to form a new expressive stimulus, and a representational brasileidade (Brazilianism) became, for the musical modernist, the only legitimate inspiration for creative expression. Through a survey of selected writings and a clarification of his methodology, this article specifically explores Andrade’s approach to the aesthetic orientation of Brazilian composers.

The Call for Artistic Renovation

In a country that regularly challenged its own limitations, prominent musicians, painters, and poets were woven tightly into the as-yet-incomplete picture of Brazil’s artistic landscape. The cultural movements were led by those who assumed leadership by self-proclamation or by popular appeal. Some took the roles reluctantly, others unwittingly: by simply exhibiting their work, such as in the case of painter Anita Malfatti, artists were assigned a specific part in the cultural revamping. Because modernism was based both on fragmented and individualistic approaches, and was certainly reflective of the simultaneous political revolutions, it is not surprising that the movement was from the beginning divided about its core philosophy. As a sense of organization developed, it became the task of the various leaders (of whom Andrade was the most prominent), armed with their newfound visibility, to reconcile the common problem of the “uncommitted and asocial” Brazilian artist with a sense of obligation to the modernist prescription for change.

The importance of the composer’s role was indisputable as the renovation of Brazilian art music progressed through distinct phases. Alexander Levy (1864–1892) and Alberto Nepomuceno (1864–1920) worked instinctively and independently with their own brand of nationalism; a subsequent generation recognized the early manifestations and organized creative impulses around a nationalist purpose; and a later wave led by Andrade collaborated to produce music representative of modernist ideals. By the time of the movement’s inaugural event, A Semana de Arte Moderna (The Week of Modern Art) in 1922, artistic modernism was not simply a suggestive current advocating the use of native source material, but rather reflected a renewed interest in Brazil’s native substance.
Mário de Andrade: Mentor to Modernism

Andrade quickly became the most demanding presence for those pursuing artistic modernism. The subject of countless critical discussions in books and journals, he has earned no fewer than seven labels: poet, teacher, musicologist, novelist, folklorist, critic, and journalist. In each of these vocations, he proved to be an intensely philosophical figure, and he is among the most intriguing “out-loud” thinkers about twentieth-century art. Though his work, especially on the literary front, continues to be the subject of scholarly analysis, his role in reforming Brazilian art music remains one of the least understood aspects of his career. An investigation of his intellectual endeavors in the musical arena between 1920 and 1945 reveals the following: he participated in the major turning points of the country's musical development; he left an extensive collection of books, articles, and essays on Brazilian and European music; and he inspired generations of composers to embrace brasilidade in their songs, operas, and instrumental music. Within the context of intellectual endeavors (Andrade began writing critical articles for journals and newspapers in 1917), academic pursuits (by 1922 he was a full professor of music history, diction, and aesthetics), and civic activities (in 1935 he assumed directorship of the Departamento Municipal de Cultura de São Paulo), Andrade’s leadership gradually gained focus and a following.

The years before Andrade began working with nationalist composers primed him to usher in change for music. By personally prioritizing music from the late 1920s on, he endorsed the discipline as an appropriate vehicle to perpetuate modernism into the next generation, giving the movement continuance beyond a stage of revolutionary climax. Writing music perceived to be authentically Brazilian would require new ways of thinking, new methods of composition, and new standards of acceptance. Modernism in music became a question of collectivity versus individuality, of purpose versus style, and of societal representation versus aesthetic perception, as those under Andrade’s influence mirrored his preoccupation with societal issues and their cultural expression. Increasingly, modernist composers in Brazil identified the need to bridge the growing gap between themselves and the average listener, looking for common ground where aesthetic changes were accepted for the good of a national art.

1922: A Semana de Arte Moderna

As Andrade tried to verbalize exactly what “modern Brazil” was, each composer confronted in his own way the challenge of combining the primitive
and the modern. Andrade saw a viable remedy in the exploitation of traditional elements (folk or popular) in art music, balanced with the simultaneous retention of experimentalism in support of the modern aesthetic. By 1922 Brazil had clearly advanced materially, and that internal progress lent a degree of validity to cultural products based on Brazilian values. The nation had not yet, however, renounced the past on a cultural level, and throughout the late nineteenth century, successful Brazilian composers still wrote music based on Italian and French models.11

Though the celebrated Carlos Gomes (1836–1896), for example, made what proved to be only episodic attempts at nationalism, mainly through choosing librettos that glorified Brazilian history or legend, his music remained rooted in the Italian operatic heritage. Later composers like Leopold Miguez (1850–1902) and Henrique Oswald (1852–1931) continued to foster a European stylistic ideal in symphonic and chamber works.12

Andrade believed that, just as painting and literature, modern music was in a position to seek acceptance, and that the public was ready to appreciate a new musical aesthetic. The paulista composers remained, however, fragmented in purpose and ideology and needed to gather their forces. A Semana de Arte Moderna would handle the initial diffusion of ideas and define new cultural parameters at the same time by staging a forum for targeted and shared deliberation of the conflicts inherent to the production of modern art. The conference was organized after an entire year of activists’ restless contemplation, and the timing was significant: only in the centenary of independence was the aesthetic revolution actualized. With separate days dedicated to music, poetry, prose, and lectures, the event was an opportunity for artists to divulge the ideas behind their private musings on modernism and renovation and to make public much of what was, until 1922, intimate introspection between friends.13

The chosen venue was the Teatro Municipal in São Paulo,14 and the program commenced with a speech by celebrated novelist Graça Aranha, recently returned from Europe, entitled “A emoção estética na arte moderna.”15 In the course of his dialogue, Aranha elegantly asserted that the “aesthetic remodeling” of Brazil initiated in the music of Heitor Villa-Lobos (and in other artistic landmarks, such as the sculptures of Victor Brecheret and the paintings of Malfatti16) was a vital step in moving away from the “dangers of academia.” He questioned why programmed music, especially the pieces Villa-Lobos wrote before 1922, should be judged on consecrated formulas, and proposed that audiences should instead challenge the “infallible criteria of beauty” and listen to the music by distancing themselves from preconceived notions of form and melody. He implored the reluctant listener to hear and to accept the references to the “very color of our land and our vast horizons,” as well as to “our people,
out of the forests or out of the sea,” asking them to hear in the music the “infinite progressions of the Brazilian soul.” In the performances of Villa-Lobos’s compositions, conducted by the composer, Aranha assured that the listener would hear “the most sincere expression of our spirit wandering in our fabulous tropical world.”17

One can almost hear this speech now, weighted with intellectual reasoning based on the idealistic promise of a new artistic age. Aranha revealed in charging the audience to redefine aesthetics toward an appreciation of authentically Brazilian cultural products. His speech came full circle to introduce the events and exhibits available for the audience’s curiosity: they were to be treated to “hallucinated music,” “absurd sculptures,” and “inarticulate poetry.” The “extravagant, but transcendent” music would, according to Aranha’s rather extremist stance, “completely negate” any Brazilian composition previously written. With the formation of the truly modernist composer, any composition originating in the past was reduced to being a “small and timid manifestation of an artistic temperament frightened by domination” and simply a “transplantation to our world” marked by the “academic meter of other people.” Certainly Aranha cannot be faulted for simply wanting the audience to discern, and in turn appreciate, the national elements in the music, and he was granted part of his request; regardless of the blatant verbal resistance, in the form of booing and hissing,18 from the “nostalgics,” the music of Villa-Lobos played on.19

The second day of the conference featured a reading by Andrade entitled “A escrava que não é Isaura.” Like all the presenters, Andrade competed with an obstinate audience that, according to accounts of the event, filled even the lobby and stairs. His words were met by loud shouts, but he remained resolved to actualize his material. Reading from the foyer stairs, a 28-year-old Andrade made the first significant public presentation of his personal modernist ideals and secured his place as the “papa do modernismo.”

Initiating Musical Modernism

Andrade called the Week modernism’s “first collective shout.”20 Like literature and painting, however, music had to compete for the public’s attention with the various societal and political circumstances of the preceding decades,21 and the festivities did not have an immediate impact on art-music production. Instead, the Week offered more of a vague overture to musical modernism than its actual beginning. It would take decisive measures by committed composers and landmark musical compositions to sway the public preferences that were firmly in place.
The modernist camp was intent simultaneously on renovation and preservation, seeking to break from inherited tradition but not to disregard the legacy of native resources that defined Brazil, its history, and its people. This intriguing dichotomy is one of many fine lines the modernists walked and Andrade continuously defended. He concluded that the ideas behind musical renovation would not come to realization by simply composing in a different idiom. Situating notes and words on a staff that would somehow elicit a sincere response from the Brazilian audiences would not resolve issues of cultural reform, just as political and governmental issues could never be adequately modified by merely rewriting constitutional documents. Andrade worked at the root of the problem, continuously disputing the validity of compositions that followed traditional models of romanticism and impressionism, both well-accepted in Brazil, and urging composers to assimilate nationalism so completely into their techniques that it would be impossible for them to create without thinking nationally. Furthermore, Andrade argued that in the beginning stages of this revolution, functional music (“functional” art is a common thread in Andrade’s theories) that was representative of the collective would prove to be “one thousand times more important than the individual.”

His post-Week efforts were well placed. Villa-Lobos’s work was already established, although he was most famous outside Brazil. But while Andrade considered him “completely national” and defended his music against conservatives’ attacks, he knew that his teachings would go further with the prominent representatives of a fresh aesthetic current. Through individual relationships with composers, Andrade began to divert Brazilian musical production from the abstract, philosophical angle of romantic individualism that defined the values of the previous generations. This supported the viewpoint that while romanticism, like modernism, resisted structured compositional schools, its downfall was in the resulting vanity of individual pursuits, leaving the submission to an “ideal of beauty,” certainly a consistent impulse throughout all of music history, as a constant hazard. As an alternative, Andrade steered artists toward a psychological understanding of art based on a new (or renewed) sense of relativity to all things Brazilian.

In 1942 Andrade recalled the modernist movement as a “rupture” and a revolt against what stood as the “national intelligence.” Yet even though he wished to support uniquely Brazilian music, Andrade discounted original exclusionary practices advocating a violent and complete rejection of foreign models. Andrade recognized astutely that European compositional techniques, such as structure, form, and orchestration, were an integral part of Brazilian art music and saw the need to adapt those lessons to national values. In *Ensaio sobre a música brasileira,*
Andrade wrote that “[i]t is clear that the artist should select documentation that will serve as study or foundation, but . . . he should not fall to reactionary exclusionist practices that are useless; the reaction against what is foreign should be made shrewdly through adaptation of it, not through repulsion.”29 So even as Andrade imagined that the World War I conflict in Europe had created in Brazilian artists a “spirit of war, eminently destructive,” much of his critical guidance of individual composers was based on construction and progress, not dismissal of all things traditional or foreign.

Andrade spoke frequently of the “social distance” that isolated erudite music from the reality of the common audience30 and congratulated nationalist composers like Villa-Lobos and Camargo Guarnieri who worked to correct it. He believed that only music in which the people recognized themselves would be a “form of contact, a form of critique, and a form of correction”;31 this commitment to o povo brasileiro (the Brazilian people) shaped each of Andrade’s musical projects. To legitimize an allegiance to popular material, Andrade targeted Brazilian folklore, trying to align the traditions closest to the people with art-music production. Integrating separate traditions would, according to Andrade, have the same renovating effects as the original modernist goal of completely rejecting the past. He believed that popular music was “the most complete, more totally national and stronger creation of our race.”32

The Musicologist and Critic

Andrade used all available “weapons”—lectures, conversation, letters, and publications—in his persistent crusade to inspire the use of native elements in art music. He began to write consistently about music at age thirty-one and maintained an outspoken interest in shaping the course of art music for the remainder of his life.33 Of the twenty volumes that make up his complete works, eight are devoted to music. However, because Andrade’s major works are exhaustively interdisciplinary, crossing boundaries into issues of social imperatives and national identity, any attempt to compartmentalize and classify the complete body of writings on music would be impractical within the scope of this article.34 Instead, I will survey selected pieces that illustrate my conclusions about Andrade’s position on musical modernism.35

Though Andrade’s personal belief system was nebulous at best and he seemed unable to declare a definitive political affiliation,36 certain of his musicological writings reveal how politics factored into his broad artistic philosophy. Writing actively during the volatile years between 1924
and 1937, a period particularly aligned with the time line of emerging artistic nationalism, Andrade placed his message of cultural revolution in the context of current situations, specifically the crisis-laden Vargas dictatorship and the effect of state censorship of artistic freedom. Andrade’s musical politics often gave way to discussions of “cultural immorality,” a theme he explored extensively in the commencement speech “Cultura musical.” Andrade’s words were a call to leadership, as he described the struggle of his own “coming of age” and his hopes that the music education system would turn out a more “complete musician.” Revealing at least a vague affinity with Marxist philosophy, Andrade suggested that music was a means to press social and ethical imperatives and that through its intrinsic “moral characteristics” a nationalist music could positively influence a society if handled appropriately by composers.

Other works emphasize similar themes. In his first book, Ensaio sobre a música brasileira (1928), Andrade identified the native elements that would best represent the essence of Brazil in art-music practices and maintained that the classical composer should cultivate those elements to present an “intentional function” in the compositional process. A remarkable example of the writer’s search for musical nationalism, Ensaio is part sermon, part documentary, and includes two sections: a comprehensive essay followed by a collection of 126 transcriptions of traditional melodies. Written in direct language, sometimes without punctuation, the book became almost immediately a reference source for composers and musicologists, and remains so today.

In his own description of Ensaio (from the 1942 edition of his Pequena história da música), Andrade called the book a “study about the technical nationalization of Brazilian music, accompanied by folkloric documentation.” The introductory essay served as a manifesto of sorts; in it, Andrade identified the key elements in folk traditions—rhythm, melody, and form—that could be deployed to create a Brazilian aesthetic in art music. Searching for music that would represent the national entity as a “unitary reality,” Andrade claimed that he found the answer on “the plane in which the folkloric manifestations happen.” During travels to the Northeast in 1927, he collected melodies directly from “the mouths of the singers.” The “socialized music” he transcribed includes song types like the modinha, lundu, and toada; rodas and acaicantos (children’s songs and lullabies); cantos de trabalho (work songs); dances such as sambas, valsas, and mazurkas; and cantigas de bebida (drinking songs). In a letter to modernist poet Manuel Bandeira, Andrade affirmed that the most viable part of Ensaio was the inclusion of these previously unpublished melodies, believing them to have “artistic value besides their folkloric value.”
Andrade complained that the few existing studies of Brazilian music history offered only a chronology of composers with basic biographical information. He clarified his position in 1942: “I am convinced that only a history of music conceived through sociological methods will be able to give us a more intimate and legitimate knowledge of the evolution of a phenomenon so complex as art.” The compilation of articles in his 1934 publication Música, doce música includes positivistic accounts of historical chronology for musicological reference, as well as critical pieces that contemplate the deeper dimensions of the creation and consumption of art music. Although he admitted that they had been written under the time constraints of a daily publication, Andrade believed that these were his best works in the form of concise articles and was convinced that they deserved dissemination in book form. The definitive, later edition is divided into four sections: Música da cabeça, Música da coração, Música pancadaria, and Novos artigos.

In light of what he considered to be insufficient research into Brazilian art music, Andrade believed that his work might inspire further study, and the expansiveness of the collection suggests that the author was attempting to tackle single-handedly the dearth of literature on Brazilian art music. Like Ensaio, Música, doce música is of primary importance from a didactic standpoint. (In fact, in the introduction Andrade suggests that the subjects covered in this collection are ones that music students “should ponder.”) The articles are representative of Andrade’s musical thinking throughout his career, and the volume includes at least one piece per year until 1944 (except between 1933 and 1937). There is discussion of specific Brazilians, including the illustrious court composer José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767–1830) and the composer of “semi-popular” tangos, Ernesto Nazaré (1863–1934), as well as of modernist representatives like Villa-Lobos, Guarnieri, and Francisco Mignone (1896–1986). Andrade reached beyond Brazil and included a survey of twentieth-century North American composers and trends that is startlingly insightful from a man who never visited the United States. Moreover, the book includes a four-page article about Paganini, ruminations on Satie, and a consideration of Ravel’s Bolero, each encouraging the Brazilian composer to self-evaluate and to compare his work with the success of foreign figures.

The 1931 essay “A música do Brasil” skims through the native song and dance traditions in which Brazil’s musicality is made manifest, starting with that of the Amerindian contribution. The same article considers the extensive contribution of African traditions, which Andrade believed were enriched by contact with Iberian culture rather than being “snuffed out” like most of the musical traits of the indigenous people. Andrade continued to reinforce his enthusiasm for nationalism through o povo, and
several articles written between 1928 and 1930 (just after his field research trips to the Northeast) extend his obvious interest in nationalist song. "Música do coração" contains individual articles about various Brazilian composers, again including Mignone and Guarnieri, along with Marcelo Tupinambá (1889–1953), Oscar Lorenzo Fernandez (1897–1948), and Luciano Gallet (1893–1931), a list inclusive of dedicated nationalists as well as those still tied to European stylistic conventions. The "Novos artigos" addendum presents pieces that Andrade wrote for newspapers during 1938–1944, a critical and introspective time when he worked in Rio de Janeiro after his dismissal from the Department of Culture.

Each article delivers much more than its title suggests, as Andrade drives home the running theme of the importance of instilling a nationalist aesthetic in modern art music. In his 1924 article on Tupinambá, for example, Andrade stated that in order for Brazilian art music to call itself a "school" (qualifying that with, "if we are to have it one day"), it "will inevitably have to listen to the rhythmic palpitations and hear the melodic sighs of the people."50 In the brief essay "Chopin" (1944), Andrade targeted aesthetics, stating that music cannot move listeners simply with its inherent beauty, and nationalism, using Chopin as an example of one whose consistent attention to native dances infused his music with "sentiment toward his native land."51 "Música popular" is a 1939 commentary on the paramount importance of music to the daily existence in Rio and a lament about the reliance on "commercial" rather than "instinctive" understanding of music.52 Here Andrade finds room for commentary on the precarious state of the preservation of historical popular pieces and discusses the Portuguese language and the poor habits of singers who disrupt the vernacular.

Prevalent in Música, doce música are emphases on exterior cultures, such as Teutos mas músicos (Germans, but musicians). Andrade hails Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven as "true geniuses," confirming that no orchestra could survive artistically or financially without performing their music and calling the exclusion of that repertoire for any reason "culturally prejudicial." Through the German example, Andrade taught a reliance on a "universal understanding," as opposed to the exclusionary practice of a total break with any non-native model. The commentary supports Andrada's constructive tendencies in fostering musical modernism, observing that Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven used foreign forms and foreign aesthetic ideas, "without which their music would not have had a human totality that renders it universally relevant."53

Another of Andrade's landmark publications is Aspectos da música brasileira, which revealed even more about his concept of individualism, exclusivity, and universalism and how each translated into the "big
picture” of Brazilian nationalism. It is a collection of five lengthy essays compiled and edited by Oneyda Alvarenga, appearing as they were originally published between 1936 and 1941. The titles include “Evolução social da música no Brasil,” “Os compositores e a língua nacional,” “A pronúncia cantada e o problema do nasal brasileiro através dos discos,” “O samba rural paulista,” and “Cultura musical” (discussed previously).

The plentiful analytical discussions in Aspectos debated which musical elements (harmony, rhythm, form, instrumentation) most vividly define art music as particularly “Brazilian.” Besides these technical considerations Andrade also focused on the social responsibility of the composer, reaffirming the premise that music with “representational purpose” does not necessarily hinder aesthetic research or technical renovation. Instead, such emphasis would establish common ground between art music and national reality.54

In Aspectos, Andrade also explained his theory about how economic imperatives and social conditions, urban and rural, influenced the Brazilian musician; indeed, a study of Brazil’s volatile history suggests that performers and composers alike faced common stumbling blocks. The state of the country’s financial resources at the turn of the century affected music education, which produced mediocre musicians unable to master a difficult repertoire. The national economy also limited performance opportunities, which deprived Brazilians of musical experiences that would have allowed them to recognize “their own deficiencies and defects.” Andrade reasoned that the circumstances contributing to the technical deficiencies in players also affected composers: “the general lack of technique of the Brazilian composer is principally determined by our economic situation.”55 The composer who did not “drown himself in the economic/social conditions of the country” became the foundation of this stage in the nationalist evolution of Brazilian music.56

Andrade understood that the Brazilian art-music composer endured special circumstances compared with his twentieth-century European counterpart. He posited that Brazilian modernism required the infusion of “functional significance” offered only by native resources that would “force their mark” to give Brazilian art music purposeful distinction on the worldwide scene. This dichotomy illustrates the two-dimensional, although not necessarily contradictory, postulate of Andrade’s constructionist teachings: even though the historical art-music tradition in Brazil presented “evolutive manifestations” similar to Europe’s, it had its own unparalleled story, and in many ways, particularly in its content and inspiration, hardly identified with the “movimento musical do mundo”: “Brazilian music . . . has a particular drama. . . . It does not have the ease that the older European musical schools had, or even the music of the
Asian civilizations . . . free from the preoccupation as to its national and social affirmation."57

The function of the next-generation composer was to elaborate, in a classical and artistic sense, the source material revealed through research to be unique to Brazil. Andrade was not, however, content with the Portuguese, the Indian, and the imported African as the long-accepted emblems of Brazil, and one aspect fundamental to the musical depiction of societal reality was the necessary recognition and subsequent representation of a multilayered Brazilian society. After all, the amazing growth of São Paulo was based on agricultural, industrial, and commercial economies. This stimulated mass migration to the city, and the result was a pluralistic demographic in the area’s business, production, and manufacturing sectors. The urban immigrant added a new constituent to the often-noted racial “trinity,” altering Brazil’s artistic landscape through the addition, adaptation, and absorption of transplanted cultural values. To the modernist composer, who found pride in the powerful new combinations, the resulting fusion was what would define the “future Brazilian,” and likewise the new classical music.58

The essays in Aspectos prove further perpetuation of Andrade’s intense focus on the people of Brazil as the central cultural element, particularly as diverse traditions of the racial “trinity” were finally merging. Since the result was an undeniably syncretic cultural landscape, Andrade analyzed how certain modernists took advantage of Afro-Brazilian dance rhythms, the descending lines of Indian melodies, and the repertoire of Portuguese children’s songs. He credits Levy and Nepomuceno as the first “conformists” of the new “collective state-of-consciousness” and as musicians who found value in the decided merger of the diverse art forms.59 Villa-Lobos abandoned his French internationalist tendencies to initiate what would become a steady use of nationalist elements in his music; Gallet, Fernandez, Mignone, and Guarnieri followed suit, challenging their own “scholarly traditions and acquired habits.”60

In both Ensaio and Aspectos, Andrade considered how Brazilian music was identified in the worldwide cultural fabric (a timely consideration aligned with simultaneously developing political agendas). For Ensaio, Andrade outlined the regional differences in national resources by educating himself on traits specific to different parts of the country. In the later Aspectos articles, however, he emphasized that the guarantee of a national music was situated in a unified culture in which the various regions of the national sphere were viewed as elements of a larger whole,61 requiring Brazilians to find unity instead of glorifying disparate regionalist styles. Andrade extensively explored the African influence in “O samba rural paulista” (1941). This substantial essay provides invaluable insight...
into his folkloric endeavors, including his methods of observation, processes of deduction, and organization of documentation.

Andrade's stated goal was to gain an intimate knowledge of the people and to subsequently provide popular documentation to inspire classical musicians. For source material, he attended a variety of samba presentations, each with a different purpose and designation. He explained performance parameters, described solo improvisation that contrasted with choral responses, and elucidated the constancy of the leit-motif that played out as a refrain to the strophes. He also considered the dances, complete with rudimentary drawings of choreographed moves (Andrade's figures resemble stick-man drawings), comparing body movements that advance the dancers with those that return them to their starting points. Since he returned to the same celebrations over the span of several years (1931–1934), the essay commented on changes and constants to draw conclusions about the preservation and mutation of traditions. For example, Andrade notes that the instrumentation used in a 1934 presentation was very different (it was “mais precário e desorganizado”) from the set of instruments used in 1933 at the same site. He also compared characteristics of different regions, concluding that the rural paulista samba had “nothing to do with” the carioca carnival sambas in Rio, either in choreography or in the music. Undoubtedly, Andrade remained frustrated, wanting instead to see uniformity between regions to support his modernist premise.

The literati initiated the organized struggle to separate from European cultural domination, and writers worked to systematize Brazilian speech into a language suitable for literary expression, which would in turn liberate the language as appropriate for musical settings. Andrade’s affinity for language gave way to an obvious penchant for the problematic issue of setting Portuguese to music, and he touched on phonetics and inexact pronunciations during the dialogues of the observed samba performances. However, Aspectos included a more comprehensive essay on the use of Portuguese. “O compositores e a língua nacional” (1937) was a methodical examination of how composers dealt with the intricacies of setting the vernacular. Andrade claimed that Brazil’s native language holds many “pitfalls” surrounding word connection, pronunciation, and singer’s diction; he asserted that many “structurally dangerous” words made “false diction” a common problem and obligated the composers to set them in a manner more accommodating to singers’ capabilities. Never missing an opportunity to encourage technical proficiency, Andrade held composers accountable for acquiring the necessary guidance to achieve a correct musical rendering of the native language. He lamented, however, that there was no national movement among composition teachers to tackle
the issue, and that the lack of attention to such matters only exacer-
bated the “disastrous confusion” between music and language.

In the essay, Andrade cited specific composers he found guilty of
distorting the language by misplacing “intense syllabic utterances” and
forcing sustained duration of acute vowel sounds that fatigue the singer.
For example, Andrade analyzed certain songs by Guarnieri, stating that
setting a nasal syllable to five full beats or on a high F-sharp was a mistake.
Neither the sustained duration nor the high register would allow the syllable
to be expressed in its exact color, leaving the characteristic nasal qual-
ity of the language to sound aggressive instead. In Andrade’s opinion, no
soprano or tenor could emit the appropriate resonance of such syllables in
a high range, and in order for singers to embrace the songs of national
composers, they had to be attracted to the music. If the music did not “fit”
the voice (and Andrade goes on to criticize large leaps that leave the
singer “unprotected” in the high register), singers would look elsewhere
when programming concerts, continuing a reliance on the foreign reperto-
ire and not furthering the nationalist cause.

Andrade (like Aranha) continually challenged audiences to seek
“artistic beauty” in the “balance and in the equilibrium of lines and of
colors” instead of in an exact reproduction of something they were
“programmed” to find beautiful. Without this perspective, consumers of
modern art music would remain alienated from the new artistic endeavor
in their search for a recognized, comprehensible beauty. His most thor-
ough treatment of aesthetics was in fact inspired by the controversy sur-
rounding what constituted beauty and on how many levels it was
“required” in a work of modern art; aesthetics is the “other dimension” to
Andrade’s lessons, besides his concern for the human element in art. In an
article in Música, doce música, Andrade affirmed that beauty should not be
the goal for art, but only a chance result of art that fulfilled a social func-
tion: “art is not, never was in its grand moments of manifestation, a pure
and simple realization of beauty. Beauty is . . . a consequence of art.”
He planned a comprehensive book on the subject to be one of two didactic
guides, the other being Compendio de história da música, a brief history of
music published initially in 1929. The first versions of several chapters
date from February 1925, but the book was not completed during his
lifetime. The material was put together posthumously by Flavio Camargo
Toni, who worked with Andrade’s lecture notes, including the handwritten
scrawls in the margins of his various studies on musical aesthetics. The
final product, Introdução à estética musical, which retained the title
chosen by Andrade, went to press in 1995. The outlined sections of the
book (rhythm, harmony, and sound, including timbre, intensity, and
duration) supported Andrade’s intention to consider how the basic elements of Brazilian music might play into a unique compositional aesthetic.

Andrade’s work on musical aesthetics was another way in which he led the composer toward the formation of a nationalist music. He did not pursue aesthetics as a science (describing the evolving book as “a purely ideal introduction . . . in which I explain my personal ideas in respect to aesthetics, beauty, art, music, and artistic manifestation”), 73 but hoped that his attention to the subject would be applicable to the “current Brazilian moment,” in which he thought, lived, and wrote. He posed profound questions to be reviewed continually, displaying deep concern, for example, with the essentially rhythmic character—originating in the authentic music of the imported African—of modern Brazilian music. In no other musicological work are these subjects treated so profoundly.

Andrade’s regular and intense consideration of musical aesthetics was joined with speculation about the purpose of Brazilian music, notably its worth to society. Since art was created for man, by man, it should maintain a connection between “sender and receiver,” or rather, between composer and audience. Andrade encouraged composers to infuse their music with current social reality, 74 which would result in a perceptible link between music and audience, rather than depending on the “pure aesthetics” of musical sound. Andrade called for composers to “abandon the preoccupations of beauty and of unnecessary pleasure,” to sacrifice personal liberties and vanities, and to replace the “absolute canon of aesthetics” with the “principle of usefulness,” framing a strategy for composers to align successfully with the social function of their art.

Andrade urged composers not simply to enjoy the benefits of a cultural heritage furnished for them, but also to live the “drama of their society” and the “struggles of their time.” 75 There was a new dynamic in the quickly evolving society, and Andrade argued that the immediate surroundings presented the most obvious stimuli for modernist creations; he had long since manifested those elements in his own writing: “Writing ‘modern’ never meant to me to represent the modern life through its externals: cars, movies, asphalt. If these words are seen frequently in my book, it is not because I think [that] with them I write ‘modern’; but because my book is modern, these things have their reason for being in it.” 76

The above summary of musicological writings clearly renders Andrade’s expectations of the nationalist composer. He contended that the cultural cycle had to be modified through education and conviction of purpose, and prescribed solutions to guide composers dedicated to pursuing nationalism. He encouraged compositional practice reflective of the daily reality of the Brazilian people, social representation in music.
(through the popular element), and consideration of political ramifications of a nation evolving toward modernity.

**The Aesthetics of Musical Modernism**

Andrade’s “grand lesson” was that a composer should reach the point where he has so completely assimilated Brazilian material into his subconscious that the resulting creative product could reveal traits particular to no other source. Composers thus liberated the force of folk and popular music (often revealing a fine line between the two), and aesthetic experimentation characterized the first years of the modernist movement as composers suggested radical changes in technique and style. Composers avidly destroyed models of more mundane inspiration that called for building a melody from basic (and uncharacteristic) motivic units, and instead based melodic material on formulas specific to Brazilian song, including limited ranges, repeated motives, and descending melodic lines. The repressed components representative of the Brazilian (African, Portuguese, Indian, or other) came roaring to the surface, breaking the barrier imposed by officialized ideologies rooted in past creative choices.

Andrade’s 1927 travels forged a solid example of the ethnographic methodology that enabled him to formalize the standards against which he could measure the worth of musical compositions. A classical composer’s sense of “the present” would be measured by the degree to which the composition boasted popular elements, and this became Andrade’s “yardstick” for determining a work’s braslidade. The nationalistic aesthetic as preached by Andrade did not, however, rely on direct use of folk material. That is, to confirm a nationalist purpose, a composer did not necessarily need to quote a folk song. In fact, due to a lack of systematized documentation and a syncretic heritage, music historians and listeners alike would fail to recognize a specific melody; Brazilian culture simply did not perpetuate a specific repertoire of folk pieces transmitted from generation to generation and region to region. There was, however, an extraordinary depth of source material for modernist composers, and these constituent elements and their musical essence were most important to the nationalist. Brazilian music maintained determined forms and specific melodic motives, as well as prescribed instrumental combinations and processes of singing and playing. Andrade observed certain consistencies like a “persistence of short formulas” and “a small number of melodic constructions that combine to always new organizations.” Harmonic constructions were based on fundamental cadential formulas, and only in the late nineteenth century, most notably in the modinha, did modulations
become more varied and expressive. Other consistencies in vocal genres included the manner of speaking as the determinant of the succession of melodic tones, particularly in the Northeast, where much vocal production was (and is) delivered in a monodic recitative.  

Still, Andrade’s checklist for musical modernism remained fluid, and he offered at least a limited acceptance of individual tendencies among composers. Even in a “collective art,” a traceable personal technique was acceptable (and arguably even necessary), as long as the individual pursuit remained discreet and was not targeted toward virtuosity. Simply repeating certain forms accepted and consecrated as “Brazilian” could become tiresome; the best composers were able to refresh and renew the native source material that, with much repetition, could easily “wear out” and become “anti-creative.” Avant-garde tendencies, as the modern element, were thus acceptable, provided the music exhibited some element of Brazilian musical tradition, i.e., folk melodies, Afro-Brazilian rhythms, careful treatment of the vernacular Portuguese, or use of national poetic and musical forms. The cultural revolution and a concern for finding roots thus ran simultaneously, representing an attempt at recuperation as much as one of renovation.

Andrade’s example encouraged composers (who obliged to varying degrees) to focus on research to reveal alternate paths toward reaching their audiences. He pushed theory combined with “intuitive sensibility,” consistently charging the “intelligence of the artist” with understanding the responsibility of nationalism. Andrade valued technique (the “teachable” aspect of art), since it obligated the composer to dedicate himself to the rudiments of the artistic object (form, structure). To that end, he made it clear that music should be included in the university curriculum, but viewed the current situation of the institution as a serious barrier to Brazil’s musical development; he knew that he was demanding composers to write within newly created cultural parameters without the benefit of standardized compositional instruction. In Andrade’s opinion, the composition courses taught in Brazil’s music schools were rigid and academic, and directed by poor teachers and even worse composers, by whom students were not adequately prepared in the rudiments of music, let alone familiarized with native Brazilian forms. In fact, Andrade’s whole crusade began in direct response to the uncertainties of the composers working in such an unsettled cultural atmosphere.

The formation of a national consciousness (collective versus individual) and the inevitable conflict of aesthetic reform that grew up alongside it lie at the core of the study of twentieth-century Brazilian composers. Perhaps Andrade was such an effective influence because he addressed issues that he, too, had faced and overcome by accepting the responsibility of being a
“social participant.” He helped composers to work through the frustration of holding such precarious positions, as each struggled with personal evolution (which inevitably revealed a certain degree of individuality) and with realizing their accountability to a nation still developing a cultural identity. How much his teaching actually determined a composer’s nationalist intentions depended on the nature of each individual relationship and how Andrade’s influence was processed by each. In his letters, Andrade often verbalized a concern that his efforts did not result in a satisfactory resolution to the issues facing Brazilian music. His influence is seen and heard, however, in the music of his “students” as he persuaded them to conform to his new ideal of pure nationalism in art music.

The common ground from which the modernists worked was artistic reform and renovation; Andrade preached innovation, but not to the extent of the destruction of national values or ethnic references to Brazil. His place in history was secured by his leadership of São Paulo’s modernist movement and in his continued passion for fostering national art among succeeding generations of composers.

Notes

1. The “New State” was installed in 1937, and politicians’ pursuit of “national regeneration” and modernization (to achieve the desired social and economic changes) aligned with the goals of artistic modernism. In fact, the media of artistic and literary creation appealed logically to politicians as a viable avenue to elevate national consciousness. See Thomas Skidmore, “The Vargas Era: 1930–1945,” in his Politics in Brazil, 1930–1964: An Experiment in Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

2. The biographical facts on Mário de Andrade are well documented. See Oneyda Alve renga, Mário de Andrade, um pouco (Rio: José Olympio; São Paulo: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1974), and Henrique L. Alves, Mário de Andrade, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Ibrasa; Brasília: INL, Fundação Pró-Memória, 1983). Both provide an inclusive chronology of Andrade’s life, emphasizing his musical, literary, and political activities.


4. João Luiz Lafétá believes that the convergence was made possible largely by industrialization that put São Paulo on par with European cosmopolitan centers. Expecting comparison, the paulistas went “double-barreled” toward renovation of the artistic language, concentrating not only on using native resources, but also on depicting the new pace of modern urban life. Essential to the analysis of twentieth-century modernist music is the late-1920s merger of the two platforms and the long-term effects of this on the subsequent generation of composer intentions. See Lafétá, 1950: A crítica e o modernismo (São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1974), 11–19.

5. The paintings of Anita Malfatti (1896–1964) represented a striking stylistic breakthrough and shocked the public not unlike the way Villa-Lobos’s music did only a few
years later. With daring experiments in light, form, and color (she "discovered color" through the study of works by Gauguin and Monet), her strong artistic presence unwittingly tipped off a protest against academicism, while exemplifying the struggle that was the constant balancing act between essential nationalism and international aesthetic principles. Andrade remained supportive of her innovations and believed that she was one of the most significant artistic minds of the time. See Aracy Amaral, "Dados biográficos dos participantes da Semana," in Artes plásticas na Semana de 22 (São Paulo: Editória Perspectiva, 1970), 249–51, for a brief biographical sketch on Malfatti.

6. In a guest lecture at the University of Kansas (31 Mar. 1998), Gerard Behague credited the Week of Modern Art as having two consequences for Brazilian culture: 1) a focus on new currents in literature and the visual arts based on European models; and 2) a new emphasis on national subjects or a renewed interest in national subjects.


8. Andrade's personal crusade on the literary plane began in 1917 with his Ha uma gota de sangue em cada poema [There Is a Drop of Blood in Every Poem], poems that paid homage to the author's own symbolist tendencies. This youthful work was, however, his last show of reverence to the past; a forward-looking spirit was to dominate the remainder of his literary endeavors.

9. It is difficult to say precisely how many composers have been influenced by Andrade's teachings, either through direct contact or through his writings. There remains much in the way of positivistic research to be done on the scores themselves. Certainly M. Camargo Guarnieri (1907–1993) was heavily influenced by Andrade through a close personal affiliation, and he is considered the most significant representative of Andrade's legacy.

10. In 1938 Andrade was dismissed from the Departamento da Cultura and exiled himself to Rio de Janeiro, becoming the director of the Instituto do Arte of the newly created Universidade do Distrito Federal, where he also taught philosophy and art history. In spite of this alternative opportunity, many scholars see the loss of the directorship as an event that disturbed Andrade's spirits, and the effects of it on his personal life have inspired ample commentary. See Gerald Olen Curtis, "The Short Stories of Mário de Andrade" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1975), 58–62. See also Alvarenga, "Sonora política," in Mário de Andrade, um pouco, and Paulo Duarte, "Departamento de cultura: vida e morte de Mário de Andrade," in Mário de Andrade, por ele mesmo, preface by Antonio Candido (São Paulo: Edart, 1971), 49–58.

11. The sporadic attempts at musical nationalism are well documented, and Euclides da Cunha's A sertaneja (1869) is usually credited with being the first Brazilian nationalist composition.

12. Most scholars agree that Gomes's music was Italian in essence, although some have argued that it bears occasional traces of Brazilian folklore. Arguably, Gomes's concern with nationalism manifested itself in some semipopular piano pieces. Remaining tied to the stylish European schools of thought, Oswald lived a large portion of his life outside Brazil. See Luis Heitor Corrêa Azevedo, A Short History of Brazilian Music (Rio: Editora Jose Olympio, n.d.), 66–67, where he notes that Oswald knew Villa-Lobos and Alberto Nepomuceno but

13. Some believe that modernism did not need the conference to initiate a viable movement, arguing that the numerous artists working before were the inspiration for the 1920s group to band together. See Ruben Navarra, "Iniciação à pintura brasileira contemporânea," in *Revista académica* 65 (Apr. 1965): 17, where he called the Week "a celebration . . . a party and nothing more," and negated its impact on determining what was simply a "natural anti-academicism evolution in Brazilian art." Menotti del Picchia, however, argued that the "revolutionary movement of modernism" was "initiated with the Week of Modern Art in 1922." See "Excertos do discursos do anniversário da Semana, com apares de Plínio Salgado," a speech delivered in the session of 22 Feb. 1962, Câmara dos Deputados. Transcript published through the Imprensa Nacional (Brasília), 1962.

14. Andrade saw São Paulo as much more "up-to-date" than Rio, arguing that the seaport was too closely aligned with the business movements of the exterior. São Paulo, on the other hand, was actually more modern, due to its heavy focus on industrialization and being more in contact with the "intellectual currents" of the world. See Andrade, "O movimento modernista," in *Mário de Andrade hoje*, ed. Carlos Eduardo Ornelas Berriel (São Paulo: Ensaio, 1990), 20–21.

15. The speech was published in Aranha's *Esprito moderno* (São Paulo: Monteiro Lobato, 1925), and in Gilberto Mendonça Teles, *Vanguarda europeia e modernismo brasileiro: apresentação e crítica dos principais manifestos vanguardistas*, 10th ed. (Rio: Record, 1987), 280–86. Teles provides introductory notes and biographical information about Aranha, indicating that he had returned to Brazil in Oct. 1921, "preaching the modernist spirit."

16. See Joaquim Inojosa, *Os Andrades e outros aspectos do modernismo* (Rio: Civilização Brasileira, 1975), 245, where he argues that the rush to see whether Brecheret or Malfatti would become the popular leader of artistic renovation was a "natural repetition" of what had occurred in Paris between Picasso and the Polish-born poet Guillaume Apollinaire.


18. See Inojosa, *Os Andrades e outros aspectos do modernismo*, 242, where he says that as the Week's activities tried to "expel the gods" of romanticism and symbolism and substitute them with "national divinities," there were jeers from the "nostalgics."

19. Villa-Lobos joined the Week's activities after solicitation from Aranha and Ronaldo de Carvalho. In a 1946 conversation with Vasco Mariz, the composer related that he had received notice of the proposed event and was intrigued because the mission coincided with matters he had already confronted personally. With an arranged budget, Villa-Lobos contracted musicians for the difficult music and organized an adequate program of previously written music. (By 1922, he had already completed *Amazonas, Urupuru*, and two of his *Prole do bebe* cycle, some of his most enduring and characteristic works.) See Mariz, *Três musicólogos brasileiros: Mário de Andrade, Renato Almeida, Luiz Heitor Correa de Azevedo* (Rio: Civilização Brasileira, 1983), 30.
20. Andrade frequently offered accounts of the official initiation of the modernist movement in Brazil. See “O movimento modernista,” in Mário de Andrade hoje, 15, where he referred to the week’s activities as “o brado coletivo principal.”

21. Referring to political and economic crises, Aluísio Azevedo said simply that “the people could not distract their attention from the miseries or dangers that threaten.” See Mário da Silva Brito, História do modernismo brasileiro: antecedentes da Semana de Arte Moderna (Rio: Civilização Brasileira, 1997), 11–12.

22. Revamping the parameters of governing documents was common to Brazilian constitutional history. See E. Bradford Burns, A Documentary History of Brazil (New York: Knopf, 1966), 353, for a reprint of Brazil’s 1946 constitution, its fifth constitution and a step back to alignment with those of 1824 and 1891. See also R.H. Fitzgibbon, ed., Constitutions of the Americas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 60–100.

23. See José Maria Neves, Música contemporânea brasileira (São Paulo: Ricordi Brasileira, 1981), 45, where Neves relates Andrade’s position on the phases through which musical nationalism must pass to be realized: 1) national thesis ("tese nacional")—possible only through study and research; 2) national sentiment ("sentimento nacional"); and 3) national unconsciousness ("inconsciência nacional").

24. See Andrade, “O movimento modernista,” 18, where he contends that art that is exclusively artistic is inadmissible in a construction phase, as it leads to individualism. See Neves’s discussion of Andrade’s position on individualism in Música contemporânea brasileira, 44.

25. See Neves, Música contemporânea brasileira, 43.

26. See Andrade, “O movimento modernista,” 19. This piece was a speech read in the Salão da Biblioteca do Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil in Apr. 1942. The essay was published in Aspectos da literatura brasileira (São Paulo: Martins e Brasília: INL, 1972), 231–59. This essay is well known as Andrade’s retrospective consideration of modernism’s inception and his personal departure from artistic individualism. It also offers Andrade’s personal view of what he deemed his successes and failures.

27. See Andrade, Cartas a Manuel Bandeira, preface and notes by Manuel Bandeira (Rio: Tecnoprint Gráfica, n.d.), 143. In this June 1925 letter, Andrade told the poet that he recognized the European lesson and admired it, but sought to destruct the “europeization of the educated Brazilian.” ("Não porque deixe de reconhece-lá, admirá-lá, amá-lá porém pra destruir a europeização do brasileiro educado.") Bandeira’s poems were set by many nationalist composers.

28. Neves, Música contemporânea brasileira, 43.

29. Mário de Andrade, Ensaios sobre a música brasileira (São Paulo: I. Chiarato, 1928), 26–27: “Está claro que o artista deve seleccionar a documentação que vai lhe servir de estudo ou de base. Mas por outro lado não deve cair num exclusivismo reacionario que é pelo menos inutil. A reação contra o que é estrangeiro deve ser feita espertalhonomente pela deformação e adaptação dele. Não pela repulsa.”


32. See Andrade, Ensaio sobre a música brasileira, 24: “A música popular brasileira é a mais completa, mais totalmente nacional, mais forte criação da nossa raça até agora.”

33. Recognizing the value of the musicological writings, Guarnieri said, “I would like to be able to do a study about Mário de Andrade, the musician. But in truth, it is not necessary. It is enough that the people open every work of his great spirit, whether it be of critique, history, folklore, fiction, or essay, to soon perceive for themselves the size of the giant.” See Guarnieri, “Mestre Mário,” in Mariz, Três musicólogos brasileiras, 69: “Eu gostaria de poder fazer um estudo sobre Mário de Andrade, músico. Mas, na verdade, não há necessidade. É o bastante a gente abrir qualquer obra desse grande espírito, seja ela de Crítica, de História, de Folclore, de Ficção ou de Ensaio, para logo se perceber o tamanho do gigante.”

34. Andrade did not separate music from other cultural areas. See “Oneyda Alvarenga: uma evocação a Mário de Andrade,” interview by Léa Vinocur Freitag, in Momentos de música brasileira, ed. Léa Vinocur Freitag, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Nobel, 1986), 97–100: “The fact is that Mário did not believe in the isolated existence of music, instead he viewed it along with everything including aesthetics, ethics, and political aspects; thus he decided to struggle through the problems of his environment and of his time.” See also Piers Armstrong, “The Brazilianists’ Brazil: Interdisciplinary Portraits of Brazilian Society and Culture,” Latin American Research Review 35, no. 1 (2000): 227–42, where Armstrong notes that the tendency toward fluency across disciplinary boundaries remains a current with more recent Brazilianist endeavors, especially those that “traipse across” the humanities and social sciences.

35. While this article cannot approach in detail all of Andrade’s letters (they number in the thousands), brief mention should be made of his correspondence as part of his literary legacy. See Mário da Silva Brito, “Evocação de Mário de Andrade,” in Mário de Andrade hoje, 195–212. See also Curtis, “The Short Stories of Mário de Andrade,” 17–22, where he suggests that Andrade wrote letters as one way of showing his genuine regard for his fellow artists. See also Antonio Candido, O observador literário (São Paulo: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, Comissão de Literatura, 1959), 84, where he notes how many letters Andrade received and how he responded even to those he barely knew. See also Freitag, Momentos de música brasileira, 100, who notes that this form of communication complemented the “didactic side” of Andrade, “always a guide,” always “transmitting his experience.”

36. One of the most intriguing emphases is Andrade’s sympathy for Communist sentiment in Brazil. See Antônio de Alcântara Machado, Novelas paulistanas, notes by Francisco de Assis Barbosa (Rio: Livraria José Olympio Editôra, 1961), 14, where Barbosa notes that Andrade struggled to isolate himself from politics, an endeavor that proved to be in vain. See also Alvarenga, “Sonora política,” in Mário de Andrade, um pouco, where she evaluates Andrade’s stance even as the boundaries of his position remained fluid year by year, making it impossible to put him definitively into one political camp. See also Curtis, “The Short Stories of Mário de Andrade,” 36–40, where he considers Andrade’s “leftist leanings” in greater detail through letters and other writings.
37. Andrade knew that the young paulista artist could not combat corrupt social organization, and he blamed a "weakened society" more than the individual student for what plagued Brazilian culture.

38. The essay derives from a speech given in 1935 to conservatory graduates. The published essay was titled "Cultura musical" and can be found in Aspectos da música brasileira (Belo Horizonte: Villa Rica, 1991), 186–95.

39. Andrade was afraid that Brazilians, in 1935, were yet unaware that culture (particularly music) was "as necessary as bread," citing city officials as saying there was no money to fund "the luxuries" ("o luxos"). But he disputed the equation of culture to "luxury" and condemned the lack of conviction that perpetuated that position. See "Cultura musical," in Aspectos da música brasileira, 194.


41. Mariz considers Andrade's book a monumental publication and divides Brazilian musicology into two periods: before and after its publication. See Mariz, Três musicólogos brasileiros, 37.

42. See Eduardo Jardim de Moraes, "Mário de Andrade: retrato do Brasil," in Mário de Andrade hoje, ed. Carlos Eduardo Ormelas Berriel (São Paulo: Editora Ensaio, 1990), 93: "O lugar onde estão asseguradas a homogeniedade e a unidade da entidade nacional é o plano em que se dão as manifestações folclóricas."

43. See Andrade, Cartas a Manuel Bandeira (Rio de Janeiro: Edições de Ouro, 1967), 257–59: "O livro vale é por isso, traz nada menos de 126 músicas populares, melodía só, imagino que tôdas inéditas e muitas de fato interestantíssimas como valor artístico, alem do valor folclórico que todas têm."

44. See "Historias musicais," in Música, doce música, 361–62: "Estou convencido que só mesmo uma história da música concebida pelos métodos sociológicos poderá nos dar um conhecimento mais intimo e legítimo do que seja a evolução desse fenomeno tão complexo que é uma arte." Andrade added that historiography that treats only "the works and the authors" simply inflates individualism and ignores the anonymous functionality of art.

45. See Andrade's brief introduction of Música, doce música, where he said: "The hundreds of studies, articles, critiques and musical notes that I have published in journals and newspapers assembled now in this book . . . . Are they the best? In general, I believe they are." ("Das centenas de estudos, artigos, críticas, notas musicais que tenho publicado em revistas e diários, ajunto agora em livro . . . . São os melhores? Em geral, creio que são.")

46. Alvarenga edited the later edition of Música, doce música. Her additions to Andrade's 1934 version were made through the instructions left by the author. This edition includes 1) Música, doce música, with expansions to the first edition (corrections of language and typographical errors), as well as twenty-four new articles added from Andrade's own holdings labeled "Artigos meus"; and 2) Andrade's paper for a 1940 conference in Rio entitled "A expressão musical dos Estados Unidos." See Alvarenga's "Explicação inicial" for the editorial explanation of the criteria for inclusion in the 1963 edition.
47. Andrade often lamented the state of “a bibliografia musical brasileira.” See, for example, his article “Livros musicais,” Diário de São Paulo, 12 June 1935, where Andrade accused the available books on Brazilian music at the time of being “extremely poor and of a great technical deficiency.”

48. Andrade’s perception of the African influence on popular music in the United States is insightful, perhaps due to his firsthand knowledge of the depth of that influence on Brazilian popular music. See “A expressão musical dos Estados Unidos,” in Música, doce música, 395–417.

49. For a discussion of African influences on Brazilian musical traditions, see Peter Fryer’s Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil (Hanover, NH: Weslyan University Press, 2000). Fryer cites some representative examples of art music based on African musical traditions, religious and secular, as Levy’s Samba and Tango brasileiro, the impressive maxoes of Marcelo Tupinambá and Ernesto Nazaré, and Maracatu do Chico Rei and Congada of Francisco Mignone.

50. Andrade, “Marcelo Tupinambá,” in Música, doce música, 115: “A arte musical brasileira, si a tivermos um dia, de maneira a poder chamar-se escola, terá inevitavelmente de auscultar as palpitações ritmicas e ouvir os suspiros melodicos do povo, para ser nacional, e por consequencia, ter direito de vida independente no universo.”

51. Andrade, “Chopin,” in Música, doce música, 378–81: “Mas com a sugestividade de suas obras, a dôr impregnante das suas melodias, os gritos agonizados das suas harmonizações, a indecisão tonal dos cromatismos e essa presença viva do sentimento irracional da terra, digamos, da ‘patria.’”

52. See Andrade, “Música popular,” in Música, doce música, 280.

53. Andrade, “Teutos mas músicos,” in Música, doce música, 318: “Porque para a construção da sua genialidade, elles foram forçados a se utilizar tambem daquelles accentos, daquellas formas, daquellas ideas estheticos estranhos, sem os quais a musical que fizeram não teria a totalidade humana que as torna univeralmente fecundas.” I asked Lincoln Andrade, principal conductor of Coral Brasilia, about the title of this essay. He explained: “In Brazil, there is a traditional joke that says the Germans do not have ‘swing’ as they play and make music (which is not true, of course!). It refers basically to a manner of making Brazilian pop music, comparing to the German way of making pop music. It [the article] must have been written between the Wars, or even after World War II, when many jokes about the Germans became common.” Lincoln Andrade, e-mail message to author, 17 Dec. 2002.

54. See Neves, Música contemporanea brasileira, 44.

55. Andrade, Aspectos, 27: “a falta geral de técnica do compositor brasileiro é principalmente determinada pela nossa situação econômica.”

56. Andrade, Aspectos, 25: “e dos esforços angustiosos que faz para não se afogar nas condições econômico-sociais do país.”

57. Andrade, “Evolução social da música brasileira,” in Aspectos, 11: “A música brasileira... tem um drama particular... Ela não teve essa felicidade que tiveram as mais antigas escolas musicais europeias, bem como as músicas das grandes civilizações asiáticas... mais livre de preocupações quanto a sua afirmação nacional e social.”

58. Andrade and other modernists gradually departed from the racial platform in describing Brazilianism and instead tried to appreciate the ethnic “problem” from a
cultural point of view. This was an effort to get away from the tendency of late nineteenth-century writers like Silvio Romero da Cunha to focus on the White/Black/Indian “trinity.” National identity is a topic admirably covered by Suzel Ana Reilly. She uses Andrade’s Macunaima as a foundation for a discussion of ethnicity and identity in ethnomusicological research in Brazil. See “Macunaima’s Music,” 71–96.

59. In Aspectos da música brasileira, 23, Andrade noted that during colonial times the “Blacks made black music, the Indians made Indian music, and the Portuguese made Portuguese music.” He contended that it was only during the late eighteenth century and beyond when forms of the distinct races, such as the lundu, modinha, chorô, and toada, defined themselves as uniquely Brazilian.

60. Andrade described the emerging nationalist trend as “derivado da luta do homem contra as suas próprias tradições eruditas, hábitos adquiridos.” See “Evolução social da música no Brasil,” in Aspectos, 25.

61. See Moraes, “Mário de Andrade: retrato do Brasil,” in Mário de Andrade hoje, 67–102, for another in-depth discussion of the issues surrounding Andrade’s sense of regionalism and Brazilian nationalism’s “worldwide insertion.”

62. See Andrade, “O samba rural paulista,” in Aspectos, 154. Andrade was disappointed to find the samba performances to be less authentic with each passing year. The groups gathering for the performance became smaller, and the “irreverent liberty” with which white observers “meddled” in the production proved that traditional observance was being interfered with.

63. See Brito, História do modernismo brasileiro: antecedentes da Semana de Arte Moderna, 136. Brito chronicles how literature separated from the “academic Portuguese” and the vernacular distinguished itself, making valid the “national diction.”

64. José Suárez and Jack E. Tomlins agree that Andrade emphasized language as a platform for modernist culture. See Suárez and Tomlins, Mário de Andrade: The Creative Works (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2000), 9: “The obsession with language has become the emblem of the man and scholar. It cannot be separated either from the researcher or the artist. Ultimately, of course, the investigation into the nature of language and its use in the creation of a national Brazilian literature lies at the heart of the modernist movement itself.” See also Andrade’s letters to Manuel Bandeira for countless mentions of “a língua brasileira” and its role in the formation of Brazil’s cultural identity.

65. See Jorge Coli, Música final: Mário de Andrade e sua coluna jornalística ‘Mundo musical’ (São Paulo: UNICAMP, 1998), 222–23, where he notes that Andrade had a predilection for acquainting himself with Brazilian singers. Perhaps Andrade sought an understanding of the interpretative choices of Brazilian singers, as well as of their reasons for choosing the repertoire they programmed regularly. Just as Andrade imposed a sense of moral obligation to Brazilian composers, to the singers he imparted that they be conscientious and act “in favor of a national art.”

66. See Andrade, “Os compositores e a língua nacional,” in Aspectos, 69, where Andrade asked, “is there a professor of composition to teach at least the principles of phonetics and meter to our students or at least to call their attention to this problem? No.” (“há um professor de composição ensinar ao menos princípios de fonética e de métrica aos seus alunos ou pelo menos dos menos lhes chamar a atenção pra este problema? Não.”)
67. See Andrade, “Os compositores e a língua nacional,” in Aspectos, 104, where Andrade quotes Apud Hipolito Raposo, who observed that there are more nasal sounds in Portuguese than in French. See “A língua e a arte,” in A questão ibérica (Lisbon: n.p., 1916), 88.


69. A 1924 letter to Bandeira relates Andrade’s ideas about the progress of the two books, complaining about his lack of time to work on them. Andrade blamed his commitment to write articles, which consequently paid his bills: “I do not have time to attack my History of Music . . . so many articles! It takes me enormous time. But I need to earn a living, Manuel.” (“não tenho tempo para atacar a minha História da música . . . Tantos artigos! Tomam-me um tempo enorme. Mas preciso ganhar a vida, Manuel.”) See Cartas a Manuel Bandeira, 59–62. Later that year, Andrade threw himself “with fury” into the writing of the Compendio, and by mid-1925, he had finished it in its first-edition form, although publication was delayed until late 1928. In more letters, Andrade referenced his intentions to mold the aesthetics course material into a book. See Carlos Drummond de Andrade, A lição do amigo: cartas de Mário de Andrade a Carlos Drummond de Andrade (Rio: Record, 1988). For the details of the joint planning of the books, see the preface of “Um livro didático de Mário de Andrade,” in Introdução à estética musical, ed. Flávia Camargo Toni (São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1995).

70. Again in a letter to Bandeira (May 1925), Andrade mentioned that he had just finished teaching a class on “Estética musical” pertaining to the “nature of musical comprehension.” The course material was the basis for the aesthetics book. See Cartas a Manuel Bandeira, 101.

71. Andrade studied diverse essays on aesthetics: he read works by German, French, and Chinese philosophers and had a particular interest in the ancient Greeks, especially Plato and Aristotle. He owned personal copies of the works of Hugo Riemann (he wrote thoughtful notes in pencil in the margins), Edgar Allan Poe (“The Philosophy of Composition,” in Poems and Essays), Gioseffo Zarlino, Guido Adler, and Eduard Hanslick.

72. Andrade drew a title page and labeled the book an “introduction,” confirming his commitment to teaching and to the book’s original didactic premise.

73. See Cartas a Manuel Bandeira, 142–43, for a more complete explanation of Andrade’s concept of “artistic manifestation.” In the planned book, Andrade gave each subject (aesthetics, beauty, art, music) its own chapter and said that his work was founded not in science, but “in love and in relativity of human truth.”

74. This was a sentiment shared by other modernists, like Cândido Motta Filho, who stated in 1921 that “art, being a manifestation of life, cannot evade the laws of life . . . philosophies vary, sciences vary, morality varies, customs vary, the universe is in constant transformation. Today, the heroes of aesthetic freedom are coming to the realization that the dream of art will always be, and always has been, the mirror of an epoch. [If one] imitates the classics, copies the past, [one] strictly limits and kills art.” “A moderna orientação estética,” Jornal do comércio, 21 Nov. 1921 and 17 Oct. 1921, São Paulo edition.

75. See Andrade, “Ra-ta-plá,” in Coli, Música final, 112–16. This article was published originally in O folha da manhã, 20 Jan. 1944, and is a discussion about the role of music in World War II.

77. See Mariz, Três musicólogos brasileiros, 83. Marlos Nobre (b. 1929) said that only once he felt that he was composing without “trying to be Brazilian” did he feel that he had reached what Andrade called “unconscious nationalism.” Nobre went on to say that “I am a Brazilian who makes music and not a composer who makes ‘Brazilian music.’” Almeida Prado is quoted in the same source: “The lesson was to utilize the essence of folklore and to do profound study of rhythm and melody of all the regions of Brazil. Absorb everything that is spontaneous of the people, manifestations of happiness, sadness, melancholy. Know urban folklore: media, television, radio, popular magazines, commercial musicians, etc.” See Mariz, Três musicólogos brasileiros, 84.

78. It should be noted that Andrade’s work of the 1920s was the first of its kind, as there existed at that time no science of comparative musicology in Brazil beyond basic descriptive commentary of European travelers and missionaries. See Gerard Behague, “Ideological History of Latin American Ethnomusicology,” in Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music: Essays on the History of Ethnomusicology, ed. Bruno Nettl and Philip Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 56–68, where Behague calls Andrade’s work “modern and ethnomusicalogical to a significant extent.”

79. Andrade believed that the popular elements would serve as the “agent of nationalization.” See Ensaio sobre a música brasileira, 5.

80. Although harmonizations of popular melodies (Luciano Gallet’s 1921 Canções brasileiras and Villa-Lobos’s 1919 Canções típicas brasileiras are examples) were considered valuable by Andrade (transporting folk melodies to a concert environment moved them to a new artistic realm, and harmony gave them a “new reality”), enriching a pre-existent melody was not enough to satisfy modernist goals.

81. Neves, Música contemporânea brasileira, 46.

82. See Andrade, Modinhas imperiais (São Paulo: Chiarata, 1930).

83. Perhaps the best-known example of the recitative-like text delivery is Villa-Lobos’s Bachianas Brasileiras No. 5.

84. Reilly states that recuperation is focused on the native element inherent to the “folk” level of the society and not touched by elitist concern with international tastes and techniques. See “Macunaíma’s Music,” 71–96.

85. Andrade did not direct this lesson just to composers. Instead, he believed the modernist movement in music was relevant to bandleaders, instrumentalists (especially players of “more or less nationalist instruments” such as the guitar, cavaquinho, and accordion), and piano teachers. See A lição do amigo, 106–07.

86. Coli notes that Andrade returns almost obsessively to this point, arguably even more often than he reiterates questions about musical nationalism or the moral position of the artist. See Música final, 230.

87. As late as 1995, the situation of an inadequate music education seemed yet unresolved. Mariz cites the “extreme weakness of the teaching of music in Brazilian schools” as one of three major problems afflicting musical activities in Brazil. He argues that the teaching of music declined little by little after the death of Villa-Lobos in 1959, and that
the level to which music is approached depends on the interest of the director of the particular school. See *Vida musical* (Rio: Civilização Brasileira, 1997), 92.

88. While he understood that the Conservatory was forced to respond to technical and economic demands of the state, Andrade believed that the institution also should readapt to offer a program of study that was more pedagogical than creative. For more on Andrade's thoughts on the Conservatory, see “Evolução social da música brasileira,” in *Aspectos*, 11–12.

89. See Andrade, *Cartas a Manuel Bandeira* (Rio: Edições de Ouro, 1958), 380–81. In a 1931 letter, Andrade discussed the ongoing revisions to his *Compendio de história da música* as he prepared it for a second edition. He lamented the caliber of student admitted into the Conservatory, and hoped that his book (with musical examples and definitions of “forms and processes”) would correct the problem at its most basic level.

90. In his *Ensaio sobre a música brasileira*, Andrade said: “Certain problems that I discuss here were suggested to me by artists that debate them themselves.” (“Certos problemas que discurso aqui me foram sugeridos por artistas que se debatiam neles.”) (73).

91. Andrade discussed his “brand” of individualism with Manuel Bandeira in the previously cited letter. See *Cartas a Manuel Bandeira*, 365–70, where Andrade said that individualism existed in his works (in how he wrote Brazilian Portuguese, for example), but never as the “point of departure,” nor as the “finality” of the work. He implored Bandeira to examine the “work of art” in terms of the social-aesthetic problem, and he should see that Andrade (as should other nationalists) kept “human and social truths” as his “first intention.” Andrade discussed the same issue in his “Música política” articles, which Alvarenga analyzes in “Sonora política,” in *Mário de Andrade, um pouco* (Rio: Editora José Olympio, 1974), 79. There Andrade admitted that he struggled with “aristocratic individualism” and the moral obligation to social participation. His lesson was in directing the artist from simply accepting collective truths as they agreed with personal truths toward the “necessity to cultivate a collective conscience.”

92. Andrade rarely seemed satisfied with himself. In fact, he often repeated that his past was not “his friend.” See “O movimento modernista.”