
RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

BOSSA NOVA::NOVO BRASIL The Significance of Bossa Nova as a Brazilian Popular Music*

Albrecht Moreno

In Brazil, perhaps more than in any other Latin American nation, popular music has traditionally been a potent cultural force. It is probable, as P. M. Bardi, director of São Paulo's Museum of Art, has suggested, that "of all the arts, [music] is closest to the Brazilians' modes of feeling and expression."¹ Even such erudite composers as Carlos Gomes (1836–96), Alberto Nepomuceno (1864–1920), Camargo Guarnieri (1907–), Gilberto Mendes (1922–) and , above all, Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887–1959), often found their inspiration in Brazilian folklore and the everyday lives of common people.²

In a much more popular vein, traditional folk styles—frevos, cantadores, choros, marches, baiões, sambas, and numerous others—have been updated constantly and readapted to reflect the ongoing dynamics of Brazilian society. Nowhere is this national passion for popular music more clearly expressed than in the exuberance of carnival. Originating in Europe as a pre-Lenten emotional outpouring, carnival was transformed by Afro-Brazilians into a four-day festival of nonstop samba. Today, carnival is the most important cultural event in Brazil.

Given the critical role of popular music in the national culture, it would be difficult to overemphasize the significance of bossa nova in the formation of contemporary Brazilian society. Not only did bossa nova

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accurately reflect the ideology, aspirations, and perspectives of the rapidly growing urban middle class³ during the late 1950s and early 1960s, but, through the development of a sophisticated and innovative musical style, it opened new directions and possibilities for the musicians who were to follow. After a review of the historical origins of bossa nova, this paper will discuss its importance as a popular, nationalistic, and contemporary expression of the urban middle class. Finally, the paper will analyze the most outstanding developments in Brazilian popular music of the post-bossa nova era and demonstrate their underlying relationship to the earlier musical form.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

As a variation of samba, bossa nova, meaning "new way" or "new knack," is essentially a form of Afro-Brazilian samba and has its roots in the music brought to Brazil by African slaves. Unfortunately, little is known of the early development of samba. The first sambas are believed to have evolved primarily in Bahia, center of the Luso-Brazilian slave trade, and to have spread to those areas with the greatest concentrations of Africans and Afro-Brazilians, basically from Maranhão in the North to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in the South. These original sambas were of a purely African nature, characterized by the abundant use of percussion, polyrhythms, syncopations, call-and-response song structure, pentatonic scales, and the accompaniment of dancing. The significance of these early sambas in keeping alive the traditions and cultural heritage of the enslaved African population in Brazil should not be overlooked. Leroi Jones (Imamu Baraka), in his classic analysis of American jazz, *Blues People*, observed that "all over the New World there are still examples of pure African traditions that have survived three hundred years of slavery and four hundred years of removal from their source. 'Africanisms' are still part of the lives of Negroes . . . in places like Haiti, Brazil, Cuba, Guiana. . . . [In the United States] with no native or tribal references . . . the American-born slave had only the all encompassing mores of his white master. Africa had become a foreign land . . . [with] any material manifestation of pure African culture doomed."⁴

With expanding urbanization at the outset of the twentieth century, the traditional samba was profoundly affected in four principal ways: the centralization of samba in the nation's capital and major urban area, Rio de Janeiro; the dramatic rise of carnival as an Afro-Brazilian festival; the absorption of middle-class and ethnically foreign influences; and the adaptation of modern elements to samba's traditional structure.

The gravitation of samba from its birthplace in Bahia to Rio de Janeiro is primarily attributable to the latter's domination of cultural and political life and, more importantly, to the centralization of the newly

formed recording industry in the capital. The early recorded sambas, starting with Donga's (Ernesto dos Santos) "Pelo Telefone" in 1917, were distributed and promoted throughout Brazil and, in the process, introduced the entire nation to the beginnings of a new urban music.⁵

Donga's recordings were soon followed with successes by Pixiguinha (Alfredo da Rocha Viana Filho), Sinhó (José Barbosa da Silva), Orestes Barbosa, and Mario Reis. Representing the first truly urban expression of Afro-Brazilian music, as progenitors of a new musical style and as products of a carnival tradition, these first recorded *sambistas*, currently referred to as the "old guard," are comparable to such pioneers in American jazz as Louis Armstrong, King Oliver, and Jelly Roll Morton. A further major contribution to the formation of the early urban samba was made in 1922 when Donga, Pixiguinha, and six lesser known musicians formed "Os Oito Batutas," the group that was to become a model for future Brazilian orchestras.

Meanwhile, carnival was rapidly becoming more and more Africanized with the migration to urban areas of former slaves and their descendants. Block clubs were soon organized in the *favelas* and, in 1928, the first of Rio's famous *escolas de samba* (samba schools) was established. Samba schools, which were to develop as important focal points of community organization, rehearsed and choreographed their own dances, designed and made their own costumes, and composed, performed, published, and distributed their own music. The carnival sambas of the favelas got further exposure in the early days when local composers were given the opportunity to perform their songs on the radio.

The growth of middle-class and ethnically foreign influences in the samba paralleled the process of urbanization. European string and wind instruments were quickly adapted to the African rhythms with the result that the informal ensembles became more and more formalized as orchestras. By the mid-1930s, imitating the grandiose productions of Hollywood musicals, the luxurious night clubs and casinos of Rio de Janeiro staged elaborate samba presentations featuring big bands and compositions such as Ary Barroso's "Aguarela do Brasil" interpreted by the banana-topped Carmen Miranda.⁶ Gradually, by the 1940s, the samba tempo was slowed to a more intimate dance rhythm similar to the bolero, known as *samba-canção*, and became an immediate success in the bars of Rio's red-light district.

A more serious and genuinely sophisticated contribution to samba can be found in the music of Noel Rosa. Rosa, who dropped out of medical school to dedicate himself totally to samba, produced a body of work that is noted for its uncompromising honesty, melancholy, rebelliousness, and poetic content. The profound complexity of Rosa's music, frequently of an introspective nature, marks the first time that any real attention was given to the composition of samba by the middle class in

Brazil. Some of Noel's most important songs include: "Apito da Fábrica," "Último Desejo," "Não Tem Tradução," and "Feitiço da Vila."

THE RISE OF BOSSA NOVA

By the end of World War II, the influence of American jazz was beginning to manifest itself more and more in Brazilian popular music. Dorival Caymmi, a former street vendor from Bahia, introduced such jazz elements as modern chords (dissonant sounding chords containing four or more notes rather than the traditional triads or three-note chords) and a limited use of chromaticism (experimenting with the twelve-note chromatic scale rather than adhering strictly to the traditional diatonic or seven-note scale). These developments were paralleled around the same time by the guitarist Garoto. By the mid-1950s, reflecting the rise of cool jazz in the United States, night club performers Johnny Alf (João Alfredo), Dick Farney, Dolores Duran, Os Farrroupilhas, Gilberto Milfont, Klesius, Oscar Bellandi, José Maria de Abreu and others were using chromaticism and modern harmonies to a greater extent than ever before in Brazil.

The final refinement and successful amalgamation of American jazz and Brazilian samba resulted in bossa nova and is generally attributed to Antonio Carlos Jobim and João Gilberto in the mid-to-late 1950s. Jobim's compositions preserved and expanded the chromaticism and modern chording that had been evolving in post-World War II Brazilian popular music while adding a delicate and melancholic melody. The melody of "Desafinado" [Out-of-Tune], for example, makes ample use of slightly dissonant harmonies and chromatic notes at important junctures to express this lament of one who has trouble singing his love song on key. Other Jobim compositions include: "Corcovado," "Garota de Ipanema," "Água de Beber," and "Insensatez."

João Gilberto's contribution was primarily in the areas of interpretation and rhythmic structure. His delicate voice expressed the intimacy and melancholy of Jobim's compositions while his rhythm arrangements, a complicated reworking of the samba, gave the music a certain bounce that retained the Brazilian-ness of the form. In the measures below, we can see that João Gilberto utilized the basic 2/4 syncopated rhythm of samba but modified it so that the accentuated beats are more varied and less expected.



Traditional Samba



João Gilberto's Bossa Nova Samba

A major contribution was made also by Vinicius de Moraes, a nationally renowned poet and former ambassador to France, who added his lyrical talents along with a touch of respectability to the new and radically different movement. Vinicius' most famous songs include: "Samba de Benção," "Birimbau," "Ela é Carioca," and "Maria Moita."

In its essence, as well as in its components, bossa nova constituted a romantic movement in Brazilian popular music. The songs were in an intimate, romantic style filled with conceits ("Dindi"), unrequited loves ("Desafinado"), introspections ("Meditação"), and love of nature ("Garota de Ipanema"). The interpretations were either in imitation of the whisper-voiced João Gilberto (Nara Leão, Antonio Carlos Jobim, Vinicius de Moraes) or in the smooth, harmonic vocals influenced by the American jazz group, the Hi-Lo's (Os Cariocas, Roberto Menescal and his Quintet, Cesar Camargo Moriano and his Sambalço Trio). Even the artist's persona was romanticized as introspective, informal, sensitive, independent, and close to nature. Music critic Stan Cornyn, for example, described Antonio Carlos Jobim at a recording session: "He sits at the microphone, his hair undressed, finger-combed. His right leg over his left to support his guitar . . . delighting in his suspenseful rhythms. . . . He sings. His eyes peer over his music stand, seeing the beaches of Brazil, the soft girls, the pale winds. His eyes, as if unaccustomed to the bright studio day, blink frequently. . . ."

The sun, the sea, the sky, graceful women, Corcovado, Ipanema, a rose, a guitar, a song—these are the elements that formed the romantic basis of bossa nova.

BOSSA NOVA AS A POPULAR EXPRESSION OF THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASS

With a few notable exceptions, such as Noel Rosa and Ary Barroso during the 1930s, the evolution of samba constituted a process that was largely alien to the urban middle class in Brazil. The "respectable" middle class had considered the samba a primitive, lowly musical form and interested itself more in North American and European traditions rather than its own cultural heritage. A major significance of the bossa nova era was, therefore, that it marked the first time in the history of Brazil that the urban middle class genuinely responded to an indigenous musical form. The socioeconomic base of the music was apparent in both the audiences that enthusiastically received it and in the backgrounds of the

major contributors, nearly all of whom were sons and daughters of Rio's middle- and upper middle-class families.

The popular diffusion of bossa nova, of course, was primarily achieved through the mass media, especially radio, television, and the recording industry. Though not as centralized as these electronic media, theater also played a major role in the popularization of bossa nova. Antonio Carlos Jobim, for example, composed and Luis Bonfá interpreted the music for Vinicius de Moraes' well-received play, *Orfeu de Conceição* (1955).⁸

Since a music's claim as a popular art form is most clearly established by the degree to which it is received actively (people acting as participants rather than as passive receptors), it is important to consider for a moment the role played by the guitar and amateur musicians in spreading the popular appeal of bossa nova. Previous to bossa nova, the middle class had frowned upon the development of musical talent in their children because it was believed that music would lead to a degenerate life of alcohol and self-destruction (Noel Rosa, who died at 27, being the prime example here). The popularity of bossa nova was such, however, that everyone wanted to be a musician and this traditional form of musical repression was finally overcome in a groundswell of youthful opposition. Spurred on by the innovations of Luis Bonfá, Baden Powell, and other classically trained guitarists, young people throughout Brazil expanded the possibilities of the guitar as an instrument of popular music. In a sense, the guitar became a portable orchestra that was easily transportable to the haunts of Rio's middle class: cafés, beaches, parties, etc. The chords functioned as a rhythm section while the alternating and syncopating beats of the thumb and hand provided a percussion accompaniment. The use of modern chords allowed the inclusion of melody notes, incorporation of chromatic bass lines, and additional color tones to the harmonies. In such a manner, bossa nova elevated the entire level of Brazilian popular music and encouraged the development of dormant artistic talent.

BOSSA NOVA AS MIDDLE-CLASS IDEOLOGY

Upon taking office in 1956, President Juscelino Kubitschek vowed to compress "fifty years of progress into five." The following year, work on the new capital and symbol of the new Brazil was initiated. The very magnificence and ultra-modernity of Brasília was a reflection of the preoccupation with the contemporary that had captivated the Brazilian psyche and was finding expression in all the arts. Niemeyer's architectural designs influenced builders throughout Brazil. Brazil's most popular novelist, Jorge Amado, published *Gabriela* (1958) concerning the conflict between traditionalism and modernization. In painting (Emiliano Di

Calvacanti, Candido Portinari), sculpture (Bruno Giorgi, Alfredo Ceschiatti), poetry (Cecilia Meireles, Augusto Frederico Schmidt, Manuel Bandeira, Vinicius de Moraes) and cinema (Glauber Rocha, Nelson Pereira dos Santos, Walter Hugo Khoury) modernistic statements were being made as well.

In their search for a contemporary style, it was felt by many musicians that the samba, confronted with the complexity and sophistication of a rapidly modernizing Brazil, was too simple a form and doomed, therefore, to stagnation. Jazz was a much more appropriate expression of contemporary urban society but jazz was the product of another tradition and therefore only partially adaptable to Brazilian culture. We have already traced the attempts of Caymmi and Rio's jazz musicians to adapt modern elements to Brazilian popular music. Not until Antonio Carlos Jobim collaborated with João Gilberto, however, did a truly contemporary and popular music evolve.

In all of its musical components, bossa nova heralded a new and different era. Its innovative harmonic structure included dissonant tones and frequent key changes; its melodies and bass lines were enriched with chromatic notes; its rhythms were complicated, unexpected and yet typically Brazilian; the interpretations were soft and intimate, definitely in an antimacho style; the orchestras were small, frequently just a guitar, constituting a "less is more" or "small is beautiful" simplicity; and the lyrics attempted a directness and a sincerity that, despite their inherent sentimentality, escaped the mawkishness that so frequently characterized the popular music of Latin America.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century and particularly since the end of World War II, Brazilian society has been permeated with cultural products of the industrialized nations, especially the United States. Such extensive foreign cultural penetration, which effects the consumer-oriented middle class more than any other socioeconomic group, fosters the tendency to depreciate the native culture as old-fashioned and inadequate vis-à-vis the more sophisticated, highly polished, powerful, and quantitatively productive cultures of the so-called First World. We have already seen how the Brazilian middle class, by and large, ignored their own rich popular music heritage in favor of North American and European imports. Indeed, the average Brazilian middle-class music lover knew more about the historical development of American jazz and the European classics than he did about the Brazilian samba.

Bossa nova's main appeal, therefore, was that it combined a prestigious foreign element, American jazz, with a traditional Brazilian form, samba, and, in the process, created a music that was so exciting and fresh that its popularity spread not only throughout Brazil but to the United States and Europe as well. Now, rather than being entirely de-

pendent upon the articulations of New Orleans and Chicago jazz or of Hollywood musicals and Broadway plays, the Brazilian middle class had their own popular music with which to express themselves. Almost instantly, Rio de Janeiro was lauded and immortalized in the romantic style of bossa nova: "Garota de Ipanema" (a beach in Rio), "Corcovado" (a hill in Rio), "Ela é Carioca" (a woman from Rio), "Samba do Avião" (arriving in Rio by air), and many more. Moreover, the long-admired and much-respected figures of American jazz were now flocking to Brazil to study this new form, thereby increasing tremendously the national self-confidence of the Brazilian middle class. Miles Davis, Dizzy Gillespie, Sarah Vaughn, Frank Sinatra, Herbie Mann, Coleman Hawkins, Charlie Byrd, the Modern Jazz Quartet, Wes Montgomery, Stan Getz, and Gerry Mulligan are but a few of the jazz musicians who recorded bossa nova compositions during this time. One cannot help but note Antonio Carlos Jobim's sense of national pride at this revolution in the state of Brazilian popular music: "I often hear it said that we copy foreign styles. . . . But the truth in this moment is that we are exporting our influence. . . . Our music is copied all over the world. . . . We are the model for popular music. . . ."9

This sudden and enthusiastic acceptance of Brazilian popular music resulted in a desire to study it seriously and articulate its roots, formation, and evolution. Vinicius de Moraes drew upon elements of Afro-Brazilian folklore as symbols in the struggle for social justice in "Birimbau." In "Samba de Benção," he philosophizes about the nature and importance of the samba. He recounts its history, and celebrates, using an Afro-Brazilian blessing, some of its greatest contributors: Noel Rosa, Ary Barroso, Ismael Silva, Nelson Calvaquinho, João Gilberto, and others. Carlos Lyra's "Influência do Jazz" talks of liberating samba from the influence of jazz. Indeed, the very term itself, "bossa nova," first used in Jobim and Mendonça's "Desafinado," is a conscious reference to an earlier samba by Noel Rosa and demonstrates the degree to which bossa nova composers were aware from the very outset of their historical role as unifiers of Brazilian popular music.

Finally, the need for and interest in critical analysis of Brazilian popular music gave rise to an intense national discussion everywhere, from scholarly journals to less-than-sober barroom conversations. Multivolume histories of Brazilian popular music, complete with photographs and recordings, began to appear on the newstands in the 1960s and again, in a revised and updated format in the late 1970s. If one goes to Brazil today and leaves without learning anything about popular music, he has only himself to blame, for music and its discussion are everywhere.

BEYOND BOSSA NOVA

On 31 March 1964 the armed forces of Brazil staged a military coup that toppled the populist government of João Goulart. In the years that followed, thousands of Brazilians were hunted, imprisoned, tortured, sent into exile, or murdered. All newspapers, magazines, movies, radio programs, plays, records and other public media were subject to the scrutiny of military censors.¹⁰ Even TV soap operas, particularly those of Dias Gomes, needed government approval before being aired. In such a repressive political atmosphere, a music as leisurely, light, and romantic as bossa nova could not endure. A new and more energetic music began to arise as an expression of a society that bossa nova could no longer reflect. But, had it not been for bossa nova and the musical confidence that it created within the culture, this new era may never have been. For the legacy of bossa nova was such that it encouraged musicians to experiment with new forms and new concepts while maintaining intimate contact with the traditional roots of Brazilian popular music. Moreover, the popularity and sophistication of bossa nova had expanded the appreciation level of the middle class not only in the sense that they were more willing to accept musical innovations but also in that they were able to analyze competently the new directions the culture was taking.

The musical expression of the post-bossa nova era, which continues to maintain a central position within the culture, developed primarily in areas other than Rio de Janeiro and thereby broke the nearly half century domination of popular music by that city. It was Rio, however, that pointed the way, for just as bossa nova had given respectability to samba, this new music has encouraged young composers, particularly those of the impoverished Northeast, to explore the folk forms of their own regions and express them in a contemporary fashion. Also, as in the earlier period, international influences are important factors in reshaping Brazilian popular music. Finally, because of the adverse political and economic situation, from the very outset the new music became infused with a high level of social consciousness that has taken several interesting and creative directions under the various artists who have been active during the past fifteen years.

While there are many aspects of the post-bossa nova era that one could discuss, what follows is a brief synopsis of its origins and the works of those who seem to me to be the most significant figures: Chico Buarque de Hollanda, Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, and Milton Nascimento.

The Politicization of Theater and Music Festivals

The first clear breaks with bossa nova appeared in the highly politicized works of São Paulo's Teatro Opinião and in the popular music festivals that had originated with bossa nova and were now expanding from national into international competitions. Augusto Boal,¹¹ Millor Fernandes, and others often incorporated popular musical forms, particularly those of the Northeast, into the dramatic structure of their plays. Originating in Boal's *Opinião* (1965), Maria Bethania's interpretation of "Caracará" [The Vulture] cries out in anguish against the violence and hunger of the Northeastern *sertão*.¹² In *Morte e Vida Severina* (1967), a dramatization by São Paulo students of a poem by João Cabral de Mello Neto, Chico Buarque¹³ collaborated with the poem's author to compose the songs for the play including "Funeral de um Lavrador" [Funeral of a Worker], which laments that the only piece of land a worker will ever possess is his own grave.

Buarque also made significant contributions to the popular festivals of the time and, in 1966, won first prize with his march of disillusionment, "A Banda" [The band]. Geraldo Vandré's¹⁴ enormously successful "Desparada," concerning the extreme hardships of the Northeast, was also presented at this First International Festival of Popular Song. Subsequent festivals continued to provide opportunities for young artists, since all entries were required to be original compositions. Milton Nascimento (to be discussed later), for example, first received national recognition after his appearances at the Second and Third Festivals, while Caetano Veloso (also to be discussed later) surged to the forefront of Brazilian popular music after presenting "Alegria, Alegria" at the Third International Festival of Popular Song. Unfortunately, these festivals gradually evolved into grandiose spectacles more concerned with pagentry than with music; by the end of the decade, they disappeared entirely.

Chico Buarque de Hollanda

Chico Buarque is generally considered one of the major composers of Brazilian popular music. Chico's songs are characterized by a biting satire (often stated ambiguously as in "Que Será" so as to receive censor approval), a highly politicized content, and an uncompromising honesty that is more reflective of Noel Rosa's compositions of the 1930s than it is of the mild and romantic bossa nova tunes. Moreover, Chico builds much more heavily on purely traditional styles—choros, marches, and especially sambas—than did any of the bossa nova composers.

Despite these essential differences, Chico's music is better understood as an extension of the process initiated by bossa nova rather than

as a rebellion against it. The vocals remain in a subdued, gentle voice, the acoustic guitar continues as the dominant instrument, modern chords form the harmonies, and chromatic notes continue to appear in the melodies. Indeed, it was bossa nova that first encouraged Buarque to be a musician. "It was there [with bossa nova] that my interest in music began. . . . Before bossa nova I didn't have any interest in learning the guitar. . . . Then I started to write my first songs. I wanted to do bossa nova and sing like João [Gilberto]." ¹⁵ Finally, even his preoccupation with traditional forms can best be viewed as but a deepening of bossa nova's concern with the roots of Brazilian popular music.

Tropicalismo

Another important development of the post-bossa nova period was the emergence of a new style, known as tropicalismo, in the cradle of samba, Bahia. Whereas bossa nova had experimented with jazz elements, tropicalismo explored the possibilities of rock as a Brazilian form. Primarily under the artistic leadership of Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, ¹⁶ tropicalismo adopted the heretofore "unthinkable" electric guitar in the attempt to express the alienation of industrialized Brazil. Caetano's "Tropicalia," for example, cynically juxtaposes the grandeur of Brasília with the poverty of urban slums.

It would be wrong, however, to classify tropicalia as an exclusively rock form. Inspired by the international and experimental qualities of bossa nova, the compositions of Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil have taken them back and forth across such varied styles as English and American rock, Afro-American funk, Mediterranean mandolin music, a cappella choral arrangements, Jamaican reggae, Brazilian *ie ie*, African religious music, bossa nova, traditional sambas, *baiões*, Indian ragas, Argentine tangos, boleros, abstract mechanical noises, chanting, early rock 'n' roll, marches, standard love ballads, and more. The fact that popular artists would attempt this range, and that their audiences would not only tolerate but applaud it, is undoubtedly related to the earlier experimentation of bossa nova. Moreover, the underlying influence of bossa nova is evidenced in Caetano's remarks concerning his beginnings as a musician: "When I was a child, I learned all the songs that I heard on the radio and on the Victrola at home. Boleros, guaranias, Caymmi, "Oh Carol," Noel . . . I wanted to be a painter. Music was a passtime; it never entered my plans. When I heard João Gilberto for the first time, I knew I wanted to be a musician." ¹⁷

Milton Nascimento

Of all the major popular artists of the post-bossa nova era, Milton Nascimento's style is the closest to jazz. In much the same way that bossa nova was influenced by what was contemporary in the United States at the time, i.e., cool jazz, Milton's music owes a lot to current movements in American jazz. Moreover, just as bossa nova composers had a great impact upon American jazz musicians, Milton and many other Brazilian musicians find their work much respected in the United States.¹⁸ Milton's music, however, is not limited to a jazz-like medium. He frequently builds upon folk styles and has rendered interpretations of Brazilian folk songs as well as songs from other Latin American nations. "Volver a los 17," for example, is the result of a collaborative effort with the Argentine folk singer, Mercedes Sosa, of a composition by Violeta Parra of Chile.

The quality that unites these two divergent streams of Milton's music is essentially the same that unites all those of the post-bossa nova generation: a belief in basic human values and a fraternal sense of purpose. In the music of Chico Buarque this has taken the form of a protest music with a samba beat. The *tropicalistas* developed an eclectic style that borrows and readapts songs from different places and times while the electric guitar is frequently used to mark their frustration with an industrialized society. Milton's music, whether he is performing in a jazz or folk medium or a mixture of the two, effectively communicates a sincere and deeply felt spirituality that appeals to the sense of collectivity in man. Brazilian filmmaker Ruy Guerra commented that "Before being tied to anything else, Milton is tied to the earth."¹⁹ Or, as Milton sings in "Para Lennon e McCartney":

eu sou voces	I am you
sou do mundo	I am of the world
sou minas gerais	I am Minas Gerais

CONCLUSION

Bossa nova was more than just a musical style; it was a virtual revolution in Brazilian popular music. The urban middle class, which had historically ignored its own musical tradition in deference to foreign compositions, suddenly found itself actively taking part—as composers, instrumentalists, singers, and/or commentators—in the bossa nova revolution. Bossa nova, therefore, must be considered as a popular form not only in the sense that its appeal was wide but also to the degree that it incorporated popular themes, sentiments, aspirations, traditions, and folklore into its structure. Moreover, by building upon modern musical elements, bossa nova assured the next generation sufficient room in which to develop its own ideas and articulate its own problems. The

naivete of bossa nova's romanticism was quickly transformed by younger musicians into a dynamic form capable of expressing the widespread contempt for the military regime, the alienation of contemporary society, and the ideals of a new social order while circumventing the government censor with an obstinate and profound creativity.

It was bossa nova that opened the door.

NOTES

1. P. M. Bardi, *Profile of the New Brazilian Art* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Kosmos Editora, 1970), p. 148.
2. See, respectively, *O Guarani*, *Serie Brasileira*, *Dansa Brasileira*, *Santos Football Music*, and *Momoprococe: Carnaval das Crianças*.
3. "Middle class" is used here and throughout to denote social status as well as income. Used in a broad sense, middle-class individuals usually have a high school school education or more, are either self-employed or employed as white-collar workers, and enjoy a moderate standard of living.
4. LeRoi Jones, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1965), pp. 13–16.
5. Although Donga has legal title to "Pelo Telefone," both Sergio Cabral and Hilaria Batista de Almeida claim authorship. "Pelo Telefone" is generally considered the first samba ever recorded. Ary de Vasconcelos, however, cites "Em Casa de Baiana" as the first.
6. Carmen Miranda appeared in several Hollywood musicals in the late 1930s and early 1940s. In actuality, she was more popular in the U.S. than in Brazil. She was believed by many Brazilians to be a vulgar representation of their country as some sort of "banana republic."
7. Stan Cornyn, "The Wonderful World of Antonio Carlos Jobim" (liner notes on a record album produced by Warner Brothers).
8. *Orfeu de Conceição* was later adapted to film by the French director Marcel Camus as *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*), winner of the Grand Prix at the Cannes Film Festival in 1959.
9. *O Cruzeiro* (Rio de Janeiro), 9 Oct. 1969.
10. Military censorship of mass media was lifted in mid-1978.
11. Boal, for a period during the late 1960s and early 1970s, lived in exile in Argentina and the U.S.
12. The sertão, an interior scrubland of the Northeast, experiences recurrent periods of drought that result in full-scale famines. Brazilian sociologist Josue de Castro described the sertão as having "a strange geography, where the earth does not feed man so much as man the earth."
13. In the late 1960s, Buarque was exiled to Italy.
14. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Vandre lived in exile in Chile, France, and Algeria.
15. Interview with Buarque in *O Som do Pasquim* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Codecri, 1976), pp. 13–14.
16. Veloso lived in exile in England during the late 1960s as did Gil.
17. Caetano Veloso, *Alegria, Alegria* (Rio de Janeiro: Pedro Q Ronca Edições, 1977), p. 22.
18. Milton has recorded with Wayne Shorter (see *Native Dancer*). Other Brazilians currently active in American jazz include Flora Purim, Dom Um Romão, and Airto.
19. Ruy Guerra, *Nova Historia da Musica Popular Brasileira: Milton Nascimento* (São Paulo: Abril Culture, 1977), phonograph record, p. 1.