Que Nordeste é Este?

Manguebeat, Intellectuals and Popular Music in the Making of the Brazilian Nordeste

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> It was the exodus from the drought of 1898 — a resurrection from ancient cemeteries of resuscitated skeletons of claylike appearance and stinking of the charnel house. Emaciated ghosts, their shaky, unsteady steps seemed like a dance as they dragged themselves along in the manner of one who is carrying his legs instead of being carried by them. They walked slowly, looking back behind for none knew where he was going. Expelled from their paradise by swords of flame, tormented by furies, they wandered aimlessly on, fleeing the sun, their guide in this enforced nomadism. *José Américo de Almeida*[1]

> …na terra da gente sempre tinha aquela coisa, sempre tinha a ciranda que estava ali perto; o maracatu que passava; o coco de roda. Todas essas coisas que estavam acontecendo lá, e coisas que eu vivi também… Então chega um tempo que você cresce e, você faz uma analogia de tudo e vê que tem elementos pra misturar. Foi isso que aconteceu! Misturei o regional com o que rolava no mundo, com o universal, então deu mangue. *Chico Science*[2] [3]

Introduction

On August 31st 1995, at the Memorial da América Latina in São Paulo, MTV Brasil hosted their first ever video music awards. For most of Brazil it was their first encounter with the *manguebeat* of Chico Science & Nação Zumbi.

As the camera pans from the audience to the stage, a quick lick of blues guitar rings out, before quickly being pushed to the side by a strong hip-hop beat. We are then greeted with the sight of percussionists with huge Afro-Brazilian drums at the back of the stage, with Gilberto Gil in a white suit typical of Afro-Brazilian religious rituals at the front.[4] His name pops up first on screen—"Gilberto Gil, Chico Science & Nação Zumbi"—even though the song is by the latter. Gil shuffles alongside Chico Science who is more

1 José Américo de Almeida, *Trash* (London: Peter Owen, 1978), p. 97.
2 Cláudio Morais de Souza, 'Da Lama ao caos: Diversidade, diferença e identidade cultural na cena Mangue do Recife', *Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales* (2001), p. 10.
3 Throughout the thesis all quotes are in their original language, except for works where I've used the published English translation, and for two French quotes where the translations are my own.
4 In various religions descendent from West African slaves, including Candomblé, Umbanda and Macumba, white clothing is used extensively during worship.

informally dressed in baggy trousers, long-sleeved dark khaki shirt and sunglasses, the clothing of urban youth. As the beat slows until it becomes a long drawl, the two frontmen mirror its loss in momentum, slowing to a crawl. Suddenly, there's a different beat on a hi-hat, the sound of hand drums and then a guitar tries to get into a groove until, boom, full-on funky guitars, booming *maracatu* drums and Chico Science's incisive voice bring the room to life.

For the next few minutes, Science and Gil trade vocals as the band plays a powerful mixture of rock and rap, fortified by Afro-Brazilian percussion. The sight of four drummers at the side of the stage, each carrying an *alfaia* drum around their neck, which they are beating in unison, is a powerful image, a sight that brings to mind visions of carnival and street parades. It's one to which the camera gravitates. Towards the end of the song, Science and Gil take to dancing around the stage in a nonchalant fashion, with Science performing some noticeable breakdancing steps. However, in this context and with the Afro-Brazilian drums being such a strong element in the performance, it's hard not to think of another Afro-Brazilian expression, *capoeira*. The performance of Science, Gil and the percussionists appears to be so potent that the rest of Nacão Zumbi (guitar, bass and drums) barely get shown in the footage. If there was ever any way of making an entrance onto the national cultural scene then this was it.[5]

The performance helped popularise the work that Chico Science & Nação Zumbi (CSNZ) had been doing since they formed in 1991 in Recife in the north-east of Brazil. They would become ideological accomplices with another local group, Mundo Livre S/A, to form a movement that became known as *manguebeat*. In 1991 the singer and guitarist of Mundo Livre S/A, Fred Zero Quatro, wrote a text titled "Caranguejos com Cérebro" (Crabs with Brains), describing the social and economic crisis that was present in Recife and suggesting ways in which culture could revitalise the city, positing the indispensable role that culture can play in addressing Recife's socio-economic

5 This performance is available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ic8U7T6r7aA [Accessed 1 February 2018].

issues. In doing so, they wished to move Recife away from the social, economic and cultural margins of Brazil. From the 1910s onwards, when the idea of a north-east of Brazil as a geographic region with its own cultural traits began to form, the region's image has been modulated in relation to, and as a result of, a national discourse on Brazilian identity that placed the north-east as subordinate to a hegemonic power structure formulated in the south-east. This has seen the idea of a north-east evolve from a region synonymous with drought to one known for its poverty, rurality, inferiority and rebelliousness as a result of social unrest, and latterly as a region of culture and diversity, with all of these terms persisting or diminishing to various extents.

Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Jr. proposes that the discourse on north-eastern cultural identity was elaborated by two broad groups of people: the regional elite (Gilberto Freyre, José Lins do Rego, Rachel de Queiroz, Ariano Suassuna) who shaped the region as a place of past glories, in awe to the decadence and civility of the sugar cane plantations on the coast; and the authors and artists linked to the left (Jorge Amado, Graciliano Ramos, João Cabral de Melo Neto) who characterised the region as a space of neglect, injustice and misery.[6] I propose that in the *manguebeat* movement we find a third group who have significantly shaped the north-east's cultural identity through their political agency. Whereas the past groups imagined the north-east as a marginalised terrain, either through its image as a land stuck in the past or as one whose present offers few positive attributes, *manguebeat* created a new territory, that of the *manguetown*. This new space is defined by its marginalisation, but unlike the previous formulations of the north-east's image, where the culture of the marginalised is only ever either trashy industrially-produced 'mass culture' or anachronistic 'folk culture' inherited from the past with little capacity for creative expression. In both cases, this culture needs to be 'curated' either by bourgeois intellectuals or, as is the case with the left, a revolutionary vanguard, in order to be perceived as genuine 'art'. *Manguebeat* is proof that marginalised groups can create their own avant-garde culture that

6 Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Jr., *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2014), p. 13.

draws on both ‘mass culture’ and ‘folk culture’ without deference to the typical holders of knowledge. In *manguetown* culture should be local, national and international, and only once they are able to have an ongoing cultural exchange across those three dimensions will Recife be able to escape from its creative, economic and social stagnation. Intrinsic to that notion is the defining of culture as being fluid, an ongoing process. In their metaphorical imagining of a marginalised Recife, renovation of traditions and an outlook focused on an inclusive global contemporaneity (and the hybridity occurring as a result of this) we find in *manguebeat*, and specifically in Science and Zero Quatro, a group of north-eastern cultural agitators, which can be added to Albuquerque’s two previous groups as purveyors of the north-eastern cultural identity: the ‘committed bricoleurs’, a term which I will unpack in greater detail later on.

I visited Brazil for the first time in 2009, followed by further trips in 2010, 2011 and 2012. On these trips, which were focused on independent research into the contemporary music scenes of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, I was continually told how I needed to go to the north-east to experience the “real” Brazilian culture, insinuating in some way that if I wanted to understand the essence of Brazilian music, its “authentic” form, I needed to leave the vibrant music being made in the south-eastern mega cities, and head to Pernambuco and Bahia. By this time the *manguebeat* scene had died out, the movement’s epoch fizzing out some 10 years prior; Recife was no longer a hotbed for contemporary Brazilian music. It was still more relevant than it had been prior to *manguebeat*, but Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo had once more regained their titles as homes of cutting-edge and underground music. The north-east that I was being implored to visit then was one shaped, but not defined, by *manguebeat*. It was for its relationship to cultural traditions, and the diversity of these traditions, that I was being told to visit the north-east. Though the *manguebeat* movement had needed to counter regional and national hegemony in order to break through to the national consciousness, with an approach to their image and music that can be defined by its contemporariness, it seemed as if its legacy was to be found in its renovation of traditions, rather than for its break with the traditions that had gone before.

I wanted to know why the north-east was so prized for its cultural traditions, and what role *manguebeat* played in the cultivation, and potential revitalisation, of these traditions. My research thus explores the creation of the north-east's cultural identity, from the formulation of the north-east as a geographical region in the early 20th Century to the 1990s, a decade defined by the emergence of *manguebeat* in the north-east. How did the north-east's cultural identity come into being and who and what has shaped this identity since its inception? To answer this broad question I will be putting as the focus of my analysis the intellectuals who played an active role in the formulation of the north-east's cultural identity, and how they utilised the concept of, and national discourse on, tradition as a way of asserting control over their desired image for the north-east.

I will be breaking down the idea of the intellectual into three broad groups, as defined by Juan Ricardo Aparicio and Mario Blaser:[7] 1) the modern intellectual, incorporating Gramsci's notions of the traditional and organic intellectual in that these are intellectuals of the modern era whose knowledge comes directly or indirectly from traditionally-dominant sources, such as the university; 2) the committed intellectual, whose knowledge comes from the same sources as the modern intellectual but who is attempting to reconfigure the relationship of that knowledge to power; 3) the intellectual other, whose knowledge is the result of different, yet subaltern, configurations of power and knowledge.

Alongside this analysis of the intellectuals who "invented" the north-east I will also be looking at the popular music movements and artists that were shaped by the discourse on the north-eastern identity and who, in many cases, became part of the discourse itself.

The creation of Latin America's nation-states is often framed as a battle

7 Juan Ricardo Aparicio and Mario Blaser. 'The "Lettered City" and the Insurrection of Subjugated Knowledges in Latin America.' Anthropological Quarterly 81, no. 1 (2008): 59-94 (pp. 72-75).

between tradition and modernity, Renato Rosaldo describing them "as caught between traditions that have not yet gone and a modernity that has not yet arrived"[8], with their subaltern position within global power matrices at the heart of this dichotomy. In Brazil, these tensions helped create further inequalities of power as the south-east attained high levels of modernisation at the end of the 19th Century and throughout the 20th Century, therefore leaving the north-east behind as it established economic and political, and then cultural, hegemony over the rest of the country. In response, and as a way of finding an equilibrium between the old and the new, the north-east looked to its traditions in order to create a cultural identity. It was through these traditions that the north-east could progress while retaining social hierarchies, and in so doing protect the power of the privileged, as well as creating a collective memory that would stop the region being lost in a modernising world. These traditions were not so much protected, as invented, signposts that were used to give the region significance. As such, they are imbued with cliches and preconceptions, their positive or negative connotation generally defined by whether the tradition was invented by the south-east or the north-east. The discourse on tradition then is also a window into the hegemonic power structures in Brazil and within the north-east itself. To explain the divergent approaches to tradition, I will be using Adolfo Colombres' loosely-defined classifications of traditionalism: 1) fundamental traditionalism – doing everything possible to stop change, to retain traditions, even if needing to resort to illegal means; 2) formal traditionalism – maintaining current political, social and cultural forms of the past inclusive of their modifications; 3) pseudo-traditionalism – restoring traditions that have been damaged in order to resuscitate a social and cultural reality that has been lost; 4) traditionalism *de resistencia* – concerned with the retaining of symbolic systems, often in opposition to the dominant power structures; 5) critical traditionalism – the renovation of traditions in service to a group or community; the creation of an historical actuality of their own modernity.[9] I will show how these approaches to traditionalism were adopted

8 Nestor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), p. xi
9 Adolfo Colombres, 'Modernidad dominante y modernidades periféricas, o el concepto de una nueva modernidad', Revista Malabia, 63 (2017)

by the intellectuals categorised by Albuquerque which I added to, with modern intellectuals adopting both formal and pseudo-traditionalism, committed intellectuals offering an approach that combines traditionalism *de resistencia* with modernism itself, and the committed bricoleurs using a critical traditionalism in order to create their own modernity.

Finally, I will be using Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital to show how culture changed in the north-east, plotting how the discourse on the region, and other factors, affected the "value" of different cultural forms. Bourdieu devised cultural capital as a way of elucidating social inequalities that the 'cultured' have over the 'uncultured', primarily in the way that the dominant classes had greater access to culture, through inheritance, institutions and property, and used this as a way of preserving their dominance. I will be using it in a similar sense, focusing on embodied cultural capital and institutionalised cultural capital to show how the *manguebeat* movement used symbols from a wide variety of sources (hip-hop, regional folklore, technology, etc.), informed by their habitus (Bourdieu's term for one's character or way of thinking), in order to gain acceptance from diverse communities who shared similar cultural tastes or who saw aspects of their own identity within *manguetown*. I will also show how the symbolism of tradition changed, from being largely synonymous with a pre-global construct of nationalism to complicit with an "authentic" heritage interpretation of Brazilianness, and how this had an impact on the embodied cultural capital attached to that concept, affecting how traditionalism was utilised in the creation of the north-east's cultural identity.

My thesis is split into two chapters, dovetailed by an Introduction and Conclusion. Chapter One will review the history of a discourse on the north-east and its cultural identity, showing the role of intellectuals and popular music in the invention of this identity, and the role of tradition in the creation of hegemonic power structures. It is a discourse that takes places in distinct local (regional) and national contexts, with the south-east and north-east both possessing differing agendas, and the north-east's economic decline being an

important factor in the political nature of defining a north-eastern identity. This chapter will answer two main questions: 'what is the role of tradition within the discourse on the north-east's cultural identity?' and 'who, if anyone, should 'curate' traditional popular culture and why?

Chapter Two will focus on the *manguebeat* movement itself, analysing the role of the movement in creating an alternative identity for the north-east, how it changed the idea of tradition as archaic to being a sign of diversity and marginality, and how it created what must be considered the north-east's first urban post-modern identity. I will also provide an analysis of the national and regional market conditions and their role in the dissemination of the *manguebeat* movement, and look at how the movement was able to counter both regional and national hegemony. Throughout both chapters I will make comparisons with other regional and national movements to show the north-east's relationship with ongoing Brazilian cultural traditions.

What Is The North-East?

Through my research it is clear that the term *nordeste*, simply denoting the north-east of Brazil, and its many derivations, has various connotations. In essence the term is referring to a geographic region of Brazil containing nine states: Alagoas, Bahia, Ceará, Maranhão, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte and Sergipe. However, when discussing the culture of the north-east we find that the term has secondary meanings due to the evolving nature of identity and culture itself. First off, due to the formulation of and ruling of the region's cultural identity being focused in Pernambuco and its state capital, Recife, the *nordeste* is often seen through the prism 'of Pernambuco' or 'of Recife'.[10]

The biggest point of contention though, culturally speaking, is the use of the term *nordeste* to describe a region that includes Bahia. As will be

10 Courtney Jeanette Campbell, 'The Brazilian Northeast, Inside Out: Region, Nation, and Globalization (1926-1968)' (Vanderbilt University, 2014), p. 5 & 23.

discussed in detail, the elite and state institutions of Bahia took it upon themselves to form their own identity, away from Pernambuco, leading to a regional sense of cultural identity known as *baianidade,* and which has seen music from the region, for instance, labelled as *música baiana* and musicians of that region known as *baianos*. Scott Ickes states that beginning in the 1950s Bahia had formulated a regional identity which channeled Salvador's formal and informal ritual practices, I.e. it's African-Bahian cultural practices, in order to create an enduring 20th Century identity for the region.[11] This identity formed apart from the *nordeste* identity to the extent that Bahian culture, especially Bahian music, is increasingly distinct from *cultura nordestina* and *música nordestina.*[12]

For that reason, I will be using the term *nordeste* throughout this thesis to refer to a region of eight states within the north-east of Brazil (Alagoas, Ceará, Maranhão, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte and Sergipe), and likewise my use of *nordestino* or *nordestina* (to denote someone or something from the *nordeste*) will follow the same terminology. When using the term north-east, in its English form, I will be doing so to refer to the geographic or economic region of the north-east of Brazil that includes Bahia, or to refer to the cultural identity of that wider region where there is no distinction being made, or needed, between the *nordeste* and Bahia.

11 Scott Ickes, *African-Brazilian culture and regional identity in Bahia, Brazil* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013), pp. 195-196.
12 As one example of this, in McGowan and Pessanha's ethnomusicological portrait of Brazil, *The Brazilian Sound* (2009), they have separate chapters for Bahia and the rest of the north-east (titled 'Bahia of All the Saints' and 'North by Northeast')

Chapter One: Making The Nordeste

The Brazilian north-east was only referred to as such for the first time, in recorded form, in 1919,[13] when a term was needed to describe drought in the region. For many years following that the conversation around the north-east focused on drought, along with poverty, rurality, inferiority and rebellious tendencies (the latter owing at first to the Canudos rebellion in 1897, which will be discussed later). However, by the 1960s, following the development of mass communications, the north-east began to develop in significance, designating "notions of tradition, stoicism, bravery, cultural vibrancy, and racial mixing".[14] It transformed from a socio-geographical term to one with cultural importance, the emergent *nordeste*. This transformation was led by literature, music and social sciences that utilised the *nordeste* as a vehicle through which they could extol values and ideas which increasingly became responsive to the culture of the south-east. This occurred through the agency of the *nordeste* elite, as well as *nordestinos* within popular culture whose national audience grew with the mass migrations from the north-east to the south-east and Brasília (chiefly 1950s-1970s)[15]. They brought to wider recognition aspects of *nordeste* culture that highlighted the region's multi-racial and multi-cultural traditions, while inadvertently or not, positioning the region as a pre-modern vision of Brazilian culture. Political movements seeking a nationalistic grounding would also repeatedly look towards the *nordeste* as an example of a culture that had been 'untouched' by modernity. As a result, the *nordeste* was able to become a term that denoted a rich 'traditional' formation of Brazilian

13 Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, 'Weaving Tradition: The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast', *Latin American Perspectives*, 31.2 (2004), 42-61 (p. 44).
14 Campbell, p. 6.
15 Mass migration from the north-east to the south-east began in the 1950s due to the increased job opportunities in the south and south-east. This was marked by large migrations from rural to urban areas, predominantly São Paulo. From the 80s onwards, migration to the south-east from the north-east continued, but there was an increase in migrants moving in the reverse direction too. Equally, there was an increase in migrants moving from rural to urban areas within their own state or region. See Skop, Peters, Amaral, Potter & Fusco's 'Chain Migration and Residential Segregation of Internal Migrants in the Metropolitan' in *Urban Geography*, 27:5 (2006), 397-421 and Cunha's 'Intraregional mobility in the context of migratory changes in Brazil between 1970 and 1991' in *Population Change in Brazil: Contemporary Perspectives* (2001), 255–286, for more information on Brazil's internal migrations.

culture but failed to lose the stigma that had been attached to it since the term first came into use.

Creating A Region (1910-1940)

Before the *nordeste* could be defined in cultural terms, the region would become synonymous with the *sertão* and the rural, primitive and tough nature of that environment, and the equally tough nature of those that lived there. This identification would be enduringly constructed in *Os Sertões* (1902), a hugely influential book by Euclides da Cunha that established many characteristics that would go hand-in-hand with the earliest impressions of the *nordeste.* These were perceptions created in regional discourses that pitted the south-east against the north-east as an opposition between superiority and inferiority reinforced by ideas of natural selection. When the music industry began to form shortly thereafter in Rio de Janeiro this identity would follow north-eastern musicians, whether they wanted it to or not. It was only with the regionalist ideas of Gilberto Freyre that the *nordestinos*, in the guise of their white, male, landed intellectuals, began to take ownership of the term. Freyre helped to create an identity for the region that was infused with racial and cultural diversity, highlighting aspects of Afro-Brazilian and Amerindian culture that he saw as enriching Brazilian culture, and that had previously been downplayed in hegemonic paradigms of Brazilian culture identity. In doing so, Freyre looked to transpose the *nordeste* from the *sertão* to the coast, bringing its image closer to the modern environments of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, while still preserving its traditional character.

A Remote Past

The early formulation of the *nordeste*[16] as being "backwards" or primitive, in cultural, economic and social terms, begins with the publication of *Os Sertões* by Euclides da Cunha (1866-1909, born Cantagalo, Rio de Janeiro) in 1902, a journalistic novel that had previously been part published as

16 This term, *nordeste*, only came into being in 1919 as a geographic term being used for an area of drought – it was created by the Inspetoria Federal de Obras Contra as Secas (IFOCS). Prior to this the region was referred to as part of the larger region of the *norte*, and even in the 1920s, *norte* and *nordeste* were used synonymously. My use of *nordeste* reflects that, even though the term was not in use at this time, its identity was being formed.

reportage in the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo. This account of the War of Canudos[17] (1895-98) in Bahia created an indelible link between the semi-arid, underdeveloped interior of the north-east and the word *sertão*, which up to that point was in general use in the Portuguese language as a denomination for a dry, often desert-like area or an area that had been unexplored.[18] It was not specifically being used to refer to any particular region. Following the publication of *Os Sertões* and its immediate popularity, the *sertão* (or backlands, as it is commonly translated) and its harsh environment, as well as the term *sertanejo* (denoting a person or entity that hails from the *sertão*), would become synonymous with the culture of the north-east. This is a book which does not hold back in its description of north-easterners as primitive hard-working people whose lives are indelibly marked by droughts, deserted landscapes and the almost complete lack of a cultural life, with the language in the following excerpt typical of the book in general:

> [The] crude walls of barren rock… put one in mind of the monuments of a primitive people buried in obscurity. The common patrimony of those who here have to struggle with the privations of a fierce climate, they date in general from a remote past…. The humblest of dwellings now make their appearance, some of them having been deserted by herdsmen, who, frightened off by the drought, have left for other parts, while others are in ruins; but all of them by their impoverished appearance merely serve to heighten the melancholy aspect of the landscape.[19]

Os Sertões was unremitting in its depiction of the *sertão*'s tough climate and geography, and the hard life of *sertanejos.* This depiction was characteristic of the economic decline of the north-east at the time. The great drought of 1877-78 and the decline of the sugar cane industry were two factors in an agrarian crisis in the north-east in the late 19th Century—circumstances which led to the War of Canudos as a rebellion of north-eastern workers railed against the liberal republic—which lasted up to the early 1940s when

17 Canudos is a small municipality in the northern region of Bahia.

18 Fadel David Antonio Filho, 'Sobre A Palavra "Sertão": Origens, Significados E Usos No Brasil (Do Ponto De Vista Da Ciência Geográfica)', *Ciência Geográfi ca*, XV (2011), 84-87 (pp. 85-86).

19 Euclides da Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 12.

modernisation forced the crisis to pass into history.[20] Yet, at the beginning of the 20th Century, some intellectuals, and Cunha can be included within this, did not see the *nordestino'*s hard life as a natural consequence. Albuquerque cites two intellectuals who "considered the downtrodden misery of the *nordestino* as the direct consequence of the encounter between a harsh natural environment and a degraded race".[21] These opinions were coming from the south-east of Brazil at a time when the pseudo-scientific ideological formations of social Darwinism were still rife, and with the south-east on its ascent to economic and political dominance, the *paulistas* and *cariocas* (to denote those from São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro) saw their ascendant superiority as a natural, rather that historical, consequence.

Social symptoms of the north-east's inferiority can be found in banditry and messianism, both prominent throughout the north-east's agrarian crisis. The most notable manifestation of the latter was related to *Os Sertões*, for it was the anti-authoritarian figure Antônio Conselheiro who led the uprising against land-owners in the War of Canudo, after having accumulated a mass of peasant followers. In the 1920s, the figure of Padre Cícero would also be featured in *O Estado de São Paulo* as the reporter Lourenço Filho was dispatched to the community that Cícero had built, Juazeiro, in 1925.[22] Juazeiro was initially a district of a small city in the *sertão* of Ceará where Cícero offered a self-governed pilgrimage for workers effected by drought and economic hardship. However, unlike Antônio Conselheiro, who alienated the state, Padre Cícero's community of Juazeiro was syncretic, featured agricultural land that employed many local workers and would, following his death in 1934, go on to became a sizeable city (approx. 270,000 residents) in its own right in the north-east of Brazil.[23] An even greater example of the extreme consequences of drought and lack of state involvement in the north-east was found in the phenomenon of social bandits (*cangaceiros*). Though

20 Eul-Soo Pang, 'Agrarian Change in the Northeast' in *Modern Brazil,* ed. Micharl L. Conniff and Frank D. McLaren, (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 123-139 (p. 132, 136).
21 Albuquerque, *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*, p. 18
22 Albuquerque, *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*, p. 33
23 Pang, pp. 135-136

these bandits had been present throughout the agrarian crisis they would become increasingly popular in the 1920s and 1930s when a bandit called Lampião, along with his bride Maria Bonita and other *cangaceiros* began to be featured heavily in the newspapers following a number of robberies and kidnappings, as well as the state's attempts to capture Lampião which ended in his death in 1938. A devotee of Padre Cícero, Lampião's initial criminal activities stemmed from clan feuds that saw his family exiled from the political system in the north-east, effectively becoming outlaws. His activities then focused on criminal activities out of necessity, before later actions saw him labelled a 'Robin Hood' figure for giving stolen money to, and hosting parties for, the working-classes, though there is much evidence to suggest that much of the rural violence he created was not done for any philanthropic reason. Lampião's reputation was such that he was even featured in the New York Times in 1930.[24]

These stories of messianic movements and bandits were all taking place in the hard-to-reach, primitive landscape of the *sertão*, where its people, the *sertanejos*, were 'untouched' by the modernising world or foreign influences, and where their stories were being told through the media and intellectuals in the south-east who were driving the discourse on the region. When *sertanejos* were given positive qualities, as was the case in *Os Sertões*, with Cunha often being sympathetic, speaking of their stoicism and ability to persist in such a tough environment, it was akin to the medium being the vessel attributing the qualities. Cunha gave them nobility but it was figurative, coming as a reaction to their plight, e.g.: "for the *sertanejos* had inverted all the psychology of ordinary warfare; their resistance was stiffened by reverses, and they were strengthened by hunger, hardened by defeat".[25] An argument can be made that their resilience was a reflection of the south-east's prescribing of positive attributions rather than the north-east definitively possessing those qualities itself. The media coverage of the north-east resulted in charity fundraisers as

24 Graham Seal, *Outlaw Heroes in Myth and History*, (London/New York: Anthem Press, 2011), p. 67.
25 Euclides da Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 464.

those in the south-east learnt of the human costs of the droughts,[26] another example of the south-east trying to pull the north-east towards modernity.

Bandit Hats and Romantic Songs

The notion of a *nordestino* cultural identity begins to be seen in the nascent music industry in Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of the 20th Century. North-eastern artists who had emigrated to Rio played an important role at this time, with João Pernambuco (1883-1947; Petrolândia, Pernambuco) and Catulo da Paixão Cearense (1863-1946; São Luís, Maranhão) having some early successes in the mid-1910s. It would not however be until João Pernambuco formed Grupo Caxangá with *carioca* musicians Donga and Pixinguinha that the music of the north-east began to enter the national repertoire. José Ramos Tinhorão has stated that Grupo Caxangá "c*ontribuído para o surgimento, a partir de 1915, da voga da canção sertaneja*",[27] using the catch-all term that was used to describe music from the north-east, which at that time consisted of styles such as *cocos*, *emboladas* and *lundus*. In 1919, Donga and Pixinguinha would be given a financial proposition by a rich business-man to form another group, which they would name Oito Batutas, and which would sometimes feature João Pernambuco. Well-funded, this group performed *choro*, *maxixe*, *batuque, cateretê*[28] and the progenitors of samba,[29] as well as *canções sertanejas.* The vogue for north-eastern music was, at that time, part of a wider plan to preserve what was deemed national culture, a concern of some members of the ruling elites (which would also become a major concern of the modernists in the 1920s). It was for this reason that Oito Batutas with João Pernambuco were paid to tour the north-east in 1921 with a remit of collecting melodies and songs, as well as performing. Hermano Vianna states that "the purpose [of the tour] was partly to facilitate their desire to collect folk music,

26 Albuquerque, *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*, p. 38
27 Santuza Cambraia Naves, *Violão azul: modernismo e música popular*, (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2012), p. 14.
28 Caçapa, *Por Uma Discografia Nordestina* (2018) <https://outroscriticos.com/por-uma-discografia-nordestina-1927> [accessed 12 May 2018]
29 Donga, along with lyricist Mauro de Almeida, famously composed "Pelo Telefone" in 1916, now considered the first ever samba

then defined exclusively in rural terms. In other words, the connoisseurs of Brazilian popular culture tended to elide it, in these years, with the idea of a national folklore, and to identify that with the *sertanejo* phenomenon of north-eastern Brazil"[30]. Any movement that sought to discover and define "authentic" folk culture as part of a national identity did so while associating that folk culture with the most culturally conservative areas of Brazil, areas that were also perceived as being underdeveloped.[31]

In an essay on early north-eastern music, Caçapa writes how the "… diversidade de referências, própria de uma cidade cosmopolita como o Recife, raramente era levada em conta quando a imprensa, o rádio e a indústria fonográfica tratavam de promover os conjuntos musicais do Nordeste que chegam ao Sudeste… Tudo parecia se resumir aos termos 'sertanejo' e 'nortista', como se os músicos em questão fossem todos nascidos e criados num sertão idealizado e anacrônico, completamente distantes das praias, portos, cafés, jornais, rádios, cinemas e carnavais que marcavam o cotidiano e a boêmia recifense naqueles anos".[32] He goes on to say how this resulted in many of the musicians being seen as poor workers that were either "pobres (trabalhadores rurais, marginalizados ou dependentes dos subempregos urbanos)" despite the fact that they "em geral, eram nascidos em famílias das classes médias baixas ou remediadas e mantinham algum tipo de relação pessoal e profissional com as elites econômicas e políticas locais."

This can be evidenced by some of the press in Rio de Janeiro for a series of shows by Turunas da Mauricéia in Rio de Janeiro in January 1927 with Correio da Manhã writing "cinco artistas nascidos no sertão; alma de sertanejos",[33] even though the group were formed in Recife, where most of their members were born. Romualdo Miranda in A Manhã (January 1927)

30 Hermano Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba*, (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p. 83
31 As a comparison, folk traditions from the interiors of the south-eastern states Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Gerais, such as *congados*, *folias*, *cirandas* (distinct from the *ciranda* of Pernambuco) and *coretos*, received barely any interest in these years (or even later on).
32 Caçapa, *Por Uma Discografia Nordestina* (2018) <https://outroscriticos.com/por-uma-discografia-nordestina-1927> [accessed 12 May 2018]
33 Caçapa

similarly wrote “trazendo a população carioca o perfume do sertão representado por romanticas canções amorosas, ora picantes e brejeiras, descantes e desafios”,[34] this latter statement showing the link between the *nordeste* and a romanticised version of the past, which I will return to later. Of course, this depiction of groups like Turunas da Mauricéia was not helped by their own presentation, with Turunas da Mauricéia, as Oito Batutas had done before them, playing their first show in Rio de Janeiro “trajavam roupas sertanejas, com chapéus de abas largas erguidas na frente”.[35] Whether intentionally or not, these musicians were adding to the myths that surrounded the construction of the image of the *sertão* as an anachronistic ‘birthplace of the nation’.

Whereas the untouched, distant *sertão* proved problematic, through the south-east’s gaze, from a social and racial point of view, signifying a primitive, even barbarian, view of the Brazilian citizen, its deficit of foreign influences represented a coup for those few intellectuals wanting to experience Brazilian culture in what they perceived to be a “traditional” form. The fact that the *nordeste* was a reflection of the *sertão* which had a *caboclo* (mixed European and indigenous Brazilian ancestry) racial identity, was significant because there existed tensions in regards to the descendants of African slaves, whose numbers were focused on the coast of north-east (as that was where the cotton and sugar cane plantations where they worked were situated), and the visibility of Afro-Brazilian customs and traditions in Brazilian society, as evidence by the Europhilic attitudes of Rio de Janeiro’s and São Paulo’s intellectuals, which I will discuss further later.

Prior to the 1930s, the discourse on the *nordeste* focused on backwardness, rurality, resistance, drought, rebellious tendencies and marginalisation (geographically and socio-politically). Territorially, the region was being formed around symbolism and characteristics typical of the *sertão.*

34 Caçapa
35 Enciclopédia da Música Brasileira, *Turunas da Mauricéia* <https://cifrantiga3.blogspot.com/2006/04/turunas-da-mauricia.html> [Accessed 30 January 2019]

The discourse was almost exclusively focused in the south-east, whose sympathies for the plight of the north-east manifested itself most significantly in their ascribing of resistant qualities to the *sertanejos*. However, the very same characteristics that were resulting in the north-east lagging behind the south-east in terms of development and modernisation, were beginning to be seen as positive when it came to culture as it reflected an untarnished traditionalism. This would prove to be an important weapon as the north-east joined the discourse on creating its own identity.

The Cultural North-East Has A Name

When the young anthropologist and journalist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) returned to his native Recife in 1923 following studies in the US (as well as a short trip to Europe), he spearheaded a movement that would forever change the discourse on cultural identity in the *nordeste.* He had begun working as a journalist for *Diário do Pernambuco* (an important mouthpiece not just for Pernambuco, but the whole of the north-east[36]) as early as 1918, but it was on his return that his work began to incorporate ideas of regionalism.[37] For the dominant classes of the north-east, including Freyre, regionalism was a conduit through which elements of the north-east could be valorised in response to the increasing industrial and political power of the south-east. The north-east, which had until the late-19th Century been at the centre of Brazilian industry due to its role in the sugar cane and cotton industries[38]—with Darcy Ribeiro stating that the sugar plantation "was for a time the instrument of viability for the Portuguese colonial undertaking and the basis of the first manner of being Brazilian"[39]—was now "a mere provider of labor and raw materials"[40], a fact that brought with it much discrimination[41]. The cult of the

36 Campbell, p. 31
37 Campbell, p. 42
38 From the 1880s to 1930, the economic power in Brazil shifted from the north-east – whose sugar cane trade had been severely affected by drought and the abolition of slavery - to the landed gentry in São Paulo and Minas Gerais and their Café Com Leite politics (due to those two regions focus on coffee and dairy, respectively)
39 Darcy Ribeiro, *The Brazilian People* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), p. 192.
40 Bernadete Beserra, 'Introduction', *Latin American Perspectives*, 31.2 (2004), 3-15 (p. 6).
41 The movement of workers from the north-east to the south-east to fill the jobs created by

region provided an opportunity to counteract this negative image. Freyre did this by simulating ideas on the cultural and social make-up of the nation and, very specifically, on the 'genetics' of the nation, using the 'regional' as a way of defining the 'national', i.e. he felt that it was only through understanding the heterogeneity of each region that a cohesive Brazilian identity could be created. However, this must also be considered through the dominance of the south-east. If the north-east wished to regain some form of power nationally, then it needed to create an argument for subsuming that discrepancy in power. Placing focus on the 'regional''s importance in creating the 'national' was a way for the north-east's regional elite to become a part of the national discourse on identity, and for they to maintain their local dominance.

Freyre's ideas on regionalism would be defined in three notable instances: the publication of *Livro do Nordeste* in 1925, the occasion of the Congresso Regionalista do Recife in 1926, and the publication of *Manifesto Regionalista de 1926* (published in 1952). In these works we see him trying to repel the pull of foreign influences, instead encouraging Brazilians to look at themselves and what was already in the country, from the food and fauna to the architecture and music. *Livro do Nordeste*, published in November 1925, was an anthology of articles edited by Freyre to celebrate 100 years of Diário do Pernambuco. It covered "different social, historical, and cultural aspects of the Northeast"[42] including themes such as "the history of the newspaper [Diário do Pernambuco], Brazil's international relations, medicine and hygiene in the Northeast, poetry, painting, literature railroads, and sugar cane culture".[43] It would be one of the first publications to define the *nordeste* as a region with a distinct cultural and sociological formation. Its publication would be followed three months later by the Congresso Regionalista do Recife (The Regionalist Conference of Recife) on February 7th, 1926. Organised by Freyre, along with lawyer/professor Olilson Nestor and state representative Moraes Coutinho, the contents of the conference clearly reflect Freyre's own interests in culture,

industrialization carried with it the caveat that these workers would take inferior jobs and depress the real wage levels of the working classes. The result was that *nordestinos* were seen as inferior by their south-eastern counterparts.
42 Campbell, p. 46
43 Campbell, p. 46

sociology and ecology. It also reveals his formal approach to traditionalism, in that he is seeking to maintain elements of the north-east's political, social and cultural order, but in variously-modified forms. It's an approach that he described optimistically as "modernista e tradicionalista ao mesmo tempo"[44], for it takes some of the more prosaic elements of modernist thought (hard work, rigidity, a distinctive social construct marked by its cultural/racial diversity) as signs of progress but remains firmly focused on looking at a moment of the past (specifically Recife's Belle Epoque and the 'convivial' hierarchy of the sugar cane plantations) for ideological grounding. Furthermore, this was a way of retaining the social hierarchy of what could be termed a 'racist, slave owning' past in to a modern present defined by miscegenation and racial harmony.

The presentation that Freyre gave at the conference would later be published as *Manifesto Regionalista de 1926*, but this would not happen until 1952,[45] by which time the manifesto, by Freyre's own admission, had changed to some degree.[46] However, despite the controversies that surround this manifesto, it still offers a vital insight into the conception of the *nordeste* identity that was being formulated at the time of the conference. It's here that we see clearly how this idea of a regional identity arose out of a local need to define their own region and culture rather than accept the definitions being imposed by the hegemonic national powers of the south-east:

> Procurando reabilitar valores e tradições do Nordeste, repito que não julgamos estas terras, em grande parte áridas e heroicamente pobres, devastadas pelo cangaço, pela malária e até pela fome, as Terras Santas ou a Cocagne do Brasil. Procuramos defender esses

44 "E' que ao Regionalismo do Recife, a seu modo também modernista, mas modernista e tradicionalista ao mesmo tempo, faltou, na sua época heróica, propaganda ou divulgação na imprensa metropolitana, então indiferente, senão hostil, ao que fôsse ou viesse de Província." Gilberto Freyre, *Manifesto Regionalista de 1926* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educaçao e Cultura, 1955), p.7.

45 During this period he would publish two of his most notable works, *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (1933) and *Sobrados e Mucambos* (1936), and would take various positions within local institutions

46 Freyre describes these changes as "alguns pequenos acréscimos à reconstituição do manuscrito há anos abandanado" (Freyre, p. 11) though a number of analyses of the text by various researchers has led some to believe that the changes are greater than suggested by Freyre.

> valores e essas tradições, isto sim, do perigo de serem de todo abandonadas, tal o furor neófilo de dirigentes que, entre nós, passam por adiantados e 'progressistas' pelo fato de imitarem cega e desbragadamente a novidade estangeira. A novidade estrangeira de modo geral. De modo particular, nos Estados ou nas Províncias, o que o Rio o São Paulo consagram como 'elegante' e como 'moderno': inclusive esse carnavelesco Papai Noel que, esmagando com suas botas de andar em trenó e pisar em neve, as velhas lapinhas brasileiras, verdes, cheirosas, de tempo de verão, está dando uma nota de ridículo aos nossos natais de família, também enfeitados agora com arvorezinhos estrangeiras mandadas vir da Europa ou dos Estados Unidos pelos burgueses mais cheios de requififes e de dinheiro.[47]

In defining the *nordeste* he looks at food (devoting a remarkable 4 and a half pages to this topic), skills, architecture, urbanisation, endemic plant species and traditions, often interchanging rural and folkloric in his descriptions of the latter.[48] When describing these different areas he takes great care to highlight any that he sees as being distinctively *nordestino*. Hermano Vianna describes Freyre as a "cosmopolitan regionalist"[49] due to the fact that his time spent in the US and Europe, as well as in other parts of Brazil,[50] had allowed him to gain an outsider's view of the north-east, a view that undoubtedly was a great help in his defining of the *nordeste*. In regards to traditions, as in the above quote, he is looking to rehabilitate them, and to do this he looks at "mestres autênticos", a term he notably uses, and which I will analyse later, to describe two fellow intellectuals. He goes on to state that north-eastern culture and "Brazilian spirit" will come principally through a connection between intellectuals and "the people", denoting here the masses or underclass.[51] It is striking how he sees the elite as being an essential element in

47 Freyre, p. 19
48 Freyre, p. 14
49 Vianna, p. 31 & 55.
50 In the opening to *The Mystery of Samba* (pp. 1-2), Vianna recounts how Freyre visited Rio de Janeiro for the first time in 1926, after he had spent time abroad. It was on that trip that he saw Pixinguinha and Donga perform in what would have presumably been one of the first occasions he saw Afro-Brazilians performing samba live.
51 "A força de Joaquim Nabuco, de Sílvio Romero, de José de Alencar, de Floriano, do Padre Ibiapina, de Telles Júnior, de Capistrano, de Augusto dos Anjos, de Rosalvo Ribeiro, de Augusto Severo, de Auta de Sousa, de outras grandes expressões nordestinas da cultura ou do espírito brasileiro, veio principalmente do contato que tiveram, quando meninos de engenho ou de cidade, ou já depois de homens feitos, com a gente do povo, com as tradições populares, com a plebe regional e não apenas com as águas, as árvores, os animais da região." Freyre, p.

the proliferation of traditional culture, without them culture would lack “force”. It’s a take on popular culture and its relationship with the elite that was not uncommon in Brazil at the time. Vianna cites multiple cultural mediators[52] as being responsible for creating an identity for samba. These cultural mediators were mainly well-educated and well-connected musicians, researchers or members of the elite who were able to pass between musical and elitist circles, often providing a gateway for other less well-educated musicians to showcase their skills and find further work. They were vital for allowing samba to move from a marginal art-form to being performed on multiple platforms across the country. Freyre, who always wished to retain the patriarchal traditions of the *nordeste,* and in particular of the sugar cane industry, saw himself and other regional intellectuals as the cultural mediators of the north-east.

Freyre’s vision of a regionalist Brazil allowed for contrasts between regions, but for no tensions to exist between these regions or within each region itself, and for these contrasts to be taken as distinctive local characteristics that would defy the homogenisation of the nation taking place as a result of foreign influences. Freyre is clear that he wants there to be a defined north-east and for that north-east to be a part of the discourse on the Brazilian national identity. And, one of the principles threads running through that discourse at the time was the question of modernity, or at least a response to it. This had been pushed to the forefront of the minds of Brazil’s elite with the advent of Modern Art Week in 1922 (11th-18th February). Organised by painter Emiliano Di Cavalcanti and poet Mário de Andrade, the week of events included conferences, art and architecture exhibits, music and poetry readings, all of which took place in São Paulo. According to Aracy Amaral and Kim Mrazek Hastings the organiser’s intentions were “to show themselves opposed to pretentious, conventional styles and in favor of change”,[53] which included a shift away from traditional sources of knowledge, such as the University. That initial event provided a launchpad upon which the ‘modernists’ gained

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52 Vianna, p. 28-31.
53 Aracy Amaral and Kim Mrazek Hastings, ‘Stages in the Formation of Brazil's Cultural Profile’, *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 21 (1995), 8-25 (p. 16).

notoriety both in Brazil and abroad. Outlining how the modernist movement grew Luís Madureira writes that "after 1924, the claims to modernity are increasingly formulated in terms of cultural authenticity and national rebirth, or, more specifically, in terms of an emblematically European reclamation of the creative power of the primitive, of the culture and language of Brazil's 'original' decimated inhabitants, the Tupi—the Anta people—who come to figure something like the nation's Unconscious."[54] Here, he is referring to the influence of European art forms like Cubism, Futurism and Expressionism, which were increasingly using African and primitive culture as symbolic representations of originary stories, an idea that would be shared by the modernists.

Interestingly, Madureira[55] quotes Jean Franco to highlight how modernism for the Brazilians meant combining elements of the avant-garde, such as "a vision of an integrated and modern Brazil, whose distinctive form of civilisation and culture"[56] would in this instance be the city of São Paulo, and who would unite this vision with a "search for roots among the most primitive elements of the population and in primitive nature." The notion of change and an openness to ideas from outside Brazil were two of the reasons why Freyre criticised the modernists, who he felt were a "denationalizing force"[57] as their conception of the nation—outward-looking, focused on development—was contrary to his. It was regionalism, and not modernism, that was capable of protecting Brazil from being corrupted by outside cultures. His views on tradition, reinforced by characterisations of local figures and customs (the gentle plantation owner, the cordial slave, the female Afro-Brazilian chef), were based on his interpretations of a nostalgic patriarchal past and a present that needed to differentiate itself from the south-east, resulting in an idealised portrait of the region.

54 Luís Madureira, *Cannibal Modernities* (Charlottesville/London: University of Virgina Press, 2005), p. 29.
55 Madureira, p. 28.
56 Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967). p. 97, 98, 268.
57 Albuquerque, *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*, p. 56

Key in Freyre's view of the north-east was the incorporation of aspects of marginalised Afro-Brazilian and Amerindian culture, over culture that was perceived as having a stronger European influence. The inclusion of Afro-Brazilian culture in particular was notable for this indicated a shift away from the *nordeste*'s synonymity with the *sertão*, as it was in the coastal areas that the Afro-Brazilian populations were focused. Freyre's views challenged those of the traditional elite in Brazil at the time. As an example, when Avenida Central was constructed in Rio de Janeiro in the early 20th Century as one of a number of civil reforms, elites saw this prominent new development as representing an "Europhile high culture"[58], as well as being a tonic against "tropical lethargy"[59] as it had as its goal erasing what many saw as the backwardness that was holding Brazil back in its development. One elite, Pereira Passos, elaborated on what they saw as Brazil's stumbling blocks, complaining of "unpainted façades, rural styles of consumption, and the 'barbaric' aspects of *Carnaval*… [which expressed]… a whole Afro-Brazilian culture of which the Europhile elite were ashamed."[60] For Freyre to both admire Afro-Brazilian culture and the *mocambos* that were prominent in Recife's poorer neighbourhoods, as he does in his manifesto,[61] is notable and certainly radical for its time. However, as Freyre's conception of regionalism was based on distinction—each region must be diverse in order to ward off homogenisation—a case can be made that his extolling of multi-ethnicity, hence diversity, was one way of achieving that, especially as, despite his appraisal of non-Europeanised traditions it is clear that he places Amerindians and Afro-Brazilians in a subordinate position in the social order—they are always portrayed as chefs, workers, musicians, etc. The diversity of having a multi-ethnic society was important in distinguishing Recife from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, but there was no intention of that diversity being part of the city's political infrastructure. Freyre used local traditions and customs symbolically to attain 'unalienated' cultural capital as a result of his positioning of local culture as being 'authentic', untouched and quintessentially *nordestina*/Brazilian (as his regional identity was also

58 Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 46.
59 Needell, p. 48.
60 Needell, p. 48.
61 Freyre, *Manifesto Regionalista de 1926*, p. 22

national).

Ideas on Paper

Freyre's romantic view of the north-east, crafted from nostalgia using pseudo sociology and affirming symbolism, found a synchronicity with a boom in north-eastern literature that occurred in the late 1920s and 1930s. This was literature written by north-eastern authors that adopted north-eastern themes, with many of the authors becoming amongst the most popular novelists of their day. These authors—Rachel de Queiroz (1910-2003; Fortaleza, Ceará), José Lins de Rego (1901-1957; Pilar, Paraíba), Graciliano Ramos (1892-1953; Quebrangulo, Alagoas), Jorge Amado (1912-2001; Salvador, Bahia) and José Américo de Almeida (1887-1980; Areia, Paraíba)—all became part of a discourse on the national-popular character of Brazil, using the north-east as a medium through which to interrogate the essence of the Brazilian people, using their own experiences as source material (with the 'authenticity' this carried), but also drawing on the prevailing *nordeste* discourse. The droughts, and the dispersing of populations that came as a result, the decadence of the sugar plantations, and a pining for a traditionalist conception of Brazil were all themes explored in these novels.

Queiroz, Almeida and Ramos all wrote extensively on the *sertão*, with their books, *O Quinze* (1930), *A Bagaceira* (1928) and *Vidas Secas* (1938) respectively, all offering portraits of those who lived in one of Brazil's most primitive terrains. Queiroz's *O Quinze* shows a want for human purity, community and familial relations, characteristics she found in *sertanejo* society, but not in modern Brazil. Almeida's A Bagaceira depicted a group of workers making their way from the sertão to the sugar cane plantations, their "uprootedness" seemingly at odds with their belonging to the north-east—even if their migration towards the coast had proved unsuccessful there is a sense that the option of returning to their sertão homeland, rather than becoming aligned with a developing Brazil, was their last resort. Contrary to Freyre, his novel has some sympathy towards modernisation, his suspicions of political

corruption sensing a need to break from the region's patriarchies. *Vidas Secas* moves even further away from Freyre's traditionalist ideas, Ramos' novel is grounded in reality, taking stark eyewitness testimonies over poetic memories that served to reinforce traditions and order. Albuquerque proposes that Ramos wished to break with the dominant discourse on the *nordeste*, creating a new language that freed itself from intellectualism.[62] These novels all helped succeed in placing the *nordeste* discourse firmly back in the *sertão* and its depictions of drought and the human misery this caused. At the same time as reterritorialising Freyre's *nordeste*, they also succeeded in legitimising the tools in which he was using to invent the region. Rego, whose work was focused on the sugar cane plantations, the site of his infancy, had the most accord with Freyre. He had the same utopian zeal for creating a social and cultural world that was in danger of dying out but which, using sentimentality and formal traditionalism, he sought to revive, while keeping regional hierarchies in place.

The work of these authors, with the great exception of Ramos and Amado, offered an overly lyrical view of the *nordeste,* imbued with nostalgia and tradition, that gave it too much distance, allowing for cliches to be too readily-accepted and for difficult subjects (slavery, *coronelismo*) to be airbrushed, with the tension between traditionalism and modernism distilled to a fear of losing an essence of Brazil if development moves too quickly. They show how popular culture could attain cultural capital at this time in Brazil by retaining an 'innocence' in their approaching of the north-east's material problems. These novels take the rural as their setting and homeland, favouring traditional patriarchies over the bourgeoisie, with the city and all of its complexities seen as a land of decay and confusion. They used memories to find meaning in the present, yet were some of the few works of art being produced that focused on the plight of the *nordestinos*, and as such these memories took on new lives, further reinforcing ideas of backwardness and traditions in the *nordeste* discourse. Freyre's configuring of the *nordeste* from the region's coast aimed to place Recife on a level playing field with the south-eastern cities, using the region's traditions as symbolic patrimony in order to

62 Albuquerque, *The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*, p. 169

accrue cultural capital. The *nordestino* writers followed this approach, but began to view traditions as broken, looking towards a mythical *sertão* as a new cultural reality. This approach is best defined as pseudo-traditionalist as the use of symbolic patrimony veered further away from a material *nordeste*.

Bahia Departs The North-East

It was during the 1930s that Bahia began to emerge as a heartland for the Afro-Brazilian identity. Undoubtedly, Freyre had been vital in publicising the positive contributions of Afro-Brazilians in his writings, in the Regionalist Conference of 1926 and then in the first Afro-Brazilian Congress in 1934, which he organised and which took place in Recife. However, Edson Carneiro, who had presented a paper at the first congress, decided to organise another Afro-Brazilian Congress in 1937, one that would take place in Salvador, Bahia and which he wanted to be more inclusive[63] than the previous one. Carneiro saw Freyre's ideas of racial diversity as being complicit in maintaining social order.[64] Despite this, Freyre was asked to be involved in the conference but refused and instead showed open hostility, due to his feelings of possessiveness over the event and also what he felt was a different direction, no doubt due to the increased role of non-academic Afro-Brazilians in the event.[65]

It's impossible to comprehend the full impact of the Second Afro-Brazilian Congress but what is certain is that the event helped foment a Bahian school for Afro-Brazilian studies, with co-organisers Edson Carneiro and Arthur Ramos having their reputations boosted, academic Nina Rodrigues[66]

63 In Romo (2010, p. 59), Carneiro critiques Freyre's ideas of cultural hybridity: "… if Brazil had incorporated Afro-Brazilian elements into its culture and its society, this had happened almost against the will of the 'white master'."
64 Anadelia A. Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 2010), p. 59.
65 Romo p. 67.
66 Ickes (2013, p. 52) states Rodrigues' book *Os Africanos no Brasil* (1902, 1932), as well as Carneiro's *Religiões Negras* (1936) and *Negros Bantus* (1937), Freyre's *Casa-Grande e Senzala* (1933) and Arthur Ramos' *O Folclore Negro do Brasil* (1935) as signalling that Brazilian social sciences were showing great relevance to Afro-Brazilian history and culture in the study of Brazil, also naming the First Afro-Brazilian Congress of 1934 in Recife as a key catalyst. Scott Ickes, *African-Brazilian Culture and Regional Identity in Bahia, Brazil* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013).

being established as a founding figure for Afro-Brazilian studies, and the Bahian Candomblé groups themselves proving to be vital mouthpieces for Afro-Brazilians, as well as entry points for further studies. When Ramos became a director of Social Sciences at UNESCO in 1949 Bahia became a focal point for US scholars to study Afro-Brazilian traditions, which further reinforced Bahia as the ideological home of Afro-Brazilians within Brazil.[67] Salvador-born Jorge Amado, who took part in the second Salvador conference, and whose books were proving increasingly popular during the 1930s and 1940s as part of the north-eastern literature boom, was also key in helping create a Bahian identity, with *Jubiabá* (1935) and *Os Capitães da Areia* (1937) two hugely-popular books when released. Furthermore, Amado would write travel guides during the 1940s and 1950 that celebrated Salvador's blackness while also aiming to take advantage of Brazil's growing tourism.[68] Freyre's vision of the *nordeste* had Recife as its intellectual centre but included Bahia as part of its regional identity. With the rise of social sciences in Bahia, as well as the work of the intellectuals listed above, a separate discourse emerged on Bahia and *baianidade* (Bahianness) that saw the region function as an "important reserve of traditional identity"[69] associated with the "notion of ethnic integration, emblematic of the ascension of Afro-descendants on the national scene." From the 1930s the discourses on the *nordeste* and Bahian identity took diverging, though occasionally overlapping, paths.

Approaching The Popular

The discourse of the *nordeste* shifted between the 1910s and the 1940s, from being seen as inferior through the gaze of a developing south-east to being prized for its traditions once the north-eastern writers gave that view a

67 Many in-depth studies of Bahian identity, and especially Afro-Brazilian history and culture in Bahia, have been published. I would recommend Scott Ickes' *African-Brazilian Culture and Regional Identity in Bahia, Brazil* (2013) and Romo's *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia* as two extremely in-depth studies for further reading.
68 Anadelia A. Romo's 'Writing Bahian Identity: Crafting New Narratives of Blackness in Salvador, Brazil, 1940s-1950s', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, (2018), pp. 1-28., discusses this subject in depth.
69 Milton Araújo Moura, "World of Fantasy, Fantasy of the World", in *Brazilian Popular Music & Globalization*, ed. Charles A Perrone & Christopher Dunn. (New York/London: Routledge, 2001), 161-176 (p. 164).

stamp of ‘authenticity’. Yet, it also remained rooted in the *sertão* and synonymous with droughts that were becoming historically distant. Freyre attempted to shift the discourse by transposing the region to Recife and, with it, patriarchal decadence to the city, but Brazil’s modernising project created tensions as the building of the nation-state looked to distil the essence of the Brazilian character. That led to an increasing use of pseudo-traditionalism as the *nordeste*’s primitivism and misery were taken as signs of traditions being damaged by capitalism and modernisation, and the *nordeste* began to morph into a cultural reality borne out of memories and nostalgia. It was becoming mythic.

Popular Culture and Authenticity (1940-1960)

The centring of the *nordeste* in the *sertão* became even more prominent in the 1940s as new expressions of north-eastern culture found mass appeal, with myths and anti-heroes gaining greater significance as symbolic patrimony moved increasingly from the material to immaterial, with Luiz Gonzaga a prime example. Culture that accentuated the *nordeste*'s urban qualities found little recognition in comparison.

The *nordeste* became known for its popular music in the late 1940s. At this time, Brazil's popular culture was under scrutiny for excessive foreign influence, especially in regards to the effect of non-Brazilian influences on the nation's primary sign of national cultural identity, the samba.[70] In response, critics and audiences turned to the *nordeste* in order to re-instigate a level of 'authenticity' into Brazilian music once more, signalling an era of commercial success for the region's music. Deeply rooted in notions of rustic authenticity, *nordestino* artists such as Luiz Gonzaga provided an alternative to the dominance of samba.

Luiz Gonzaga (1912-1989) was born near the small town of Exu in Pernambuco. He was the son of poor rural *caboclos* (mixed Amerindian and European ancestry) of the *sertão*.[71] After moving to Rio de Janeiro in 1939 to become a musician, he would achieve his first success in 1946, followed by further hits in the late 1940s and early 1950s. His success was remarkable because he had to battle what Vianna calls the "total domination"[72] of samba.

His music had a number of characteristics which helped propel it to

70 From the arrival of radio to Rio de Janeiro in 1922, through its heyday in the 1940s, samba became the most popular musical style in Brazil, its multi-ethnic musical identity key in its appeal across classes. The governments of Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945 & 1951-54) would utilise samba's appeal in their creation of the Estado Novo and its heightened sense of 'Brazilianness'.
71 Larry Crook, *Focus: Music of Northeast Brazil*, 2nd ed (New York/London: Routledge, 2009) p. 163.
72 Vianna, p. 78.

success and which have also ensured that it has left an indelible mark on Brazilian music history. First of all, Gonzaga popularised a rhythm that he referred to as the *baião*. Though Gonzaga has himself admitted that the rhythm was used in folk dances in the north-east,[73] as its populariser, he is largely seen as its "inventor". This rhythm would become a key element of the music and dance phenomenon known as *forró.*[74] Secondly, he created a musical formation–himself on accordion and vocals, with *zabumba* drum and a triangle–that is still in use today for the *baião*. and *forró*. This stripped-back formation was, if nothing else but symbolically, a return to musical roots (especially in comparison to the samba orchestras that were popular at this time). A third factor is Gonzaga's singing. At first, there was no guarantee that Gonzaga would even be the singer of his songs–his early attempts at singing on radio and record were rejected[75]–but when he made the breakthrough the sound was guttural, nasal and powerful, and stood apart from much of the singing of that period. This distinctive singing style, allied with the simple setup of his band, meant that Gonzaga was a star who could be emulated by aspiring *nordestino* musicians.

These musical elements all helped propel Gonzaga into becoming one of the biggest stars of the 40s and 50s, "attracting a wide national audience and selling more records than any other national star",[76] but it was perhaps his lyrics that were most potent for listeners. In songs such as "No Meu Pé de Serra" and "Asa Branca", that had semi-autobiographical elements from Gonzaga's own life, he brought up memories of the *sertão* that were shot through with a longing for his homeland. For migrants who had moved to the economic south this was pure nostalgia for the *nordeste.* His music was the

73 Larry Crook, *Focus: Music of Northeast Brazil*, p. 169.
74 *Forró* has existed since the 19th Century as a type of party in the north-east involving music and dance. Following Gonzaga's success and his recording of songs like "Forró de Mané Vito" (1949) and "Forró No Escuro" (1958), tied in with the increasing migration of *nordestinos* across Brazil, *forró* parties became a fixture in cities throughout the country. The *forró* also became one of the main attractions of Festas Juninas, folk festivals that happen up and down the country but are especially popular in the north-east. *Forró* also became the name for the combination of Luis Gonzaga's *baião* rhythm and instrumental formation with the dance of the *xote* rhythm.
75 Larry Crook, *Focus: Music of Northeast Brazil*, p. 166.
76 Larry Crook, *Focus: Music of Northeast Brazil*, p. 167.

perfect fit for radio programs such as *A Hora do Sertaneja*, *No Mundo do Baião*, and *Alma do Sertão*, that were specifically created to appeal to this migrant population.

Finding The Authentic North-East

But what was it about Gonzaga's music that was deemed 'authentic'? And why was this so desired by the Brazilian people at this time? First of all, it's important to unpack the term 'authentic'. Turino states that "given practices that serve as signs of identity may be understood as authentic when they are the result of habits that are actually part of the person producing these signs",[77] adding that it is important to be "clear about the nature of the tradition being performed" in order to avoid cultural appropriation by a dominant group. Using this definition we can be in no doubt that the music Gonzaga was performing was authentic because the rhythms he played, the lyrics he sang and the instruments he used were all typical of his upbringing and the customs he learnt in the *nordeste*. However, how does this explain the desire for an 'authentic' Brazil, and who decides which are the habits that must be used as signs in order to convey a national 'authenticity'? Peterson states: "Authenticity is not a trait inherent in an object or an event that one declares 'authentic'; it is a matter of social construction, a convention that partially deforms the past",[78] and here we find the reason that authenticity is so open to interpretation. To be 'authentic' a person needs to exhibit signs that are part of their embodied cultural capital, formed by their habitus, but the significance of those signs is completely dependent on external factors, and in the case of authenticity in Brazil, on political and social factors. McCann posits that Gonzaga's representation "of the Northeast appealed not just to fellow north-easterners but to all Brazilians struggling to understand the nation's transition

77 Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 161-162.
78 "L'authenticité n'est pas un trait inhérent à l'objet ou à l'événement que l'on déclare "authentique" ; il s'agit en fait d'une construction sociale, d'une convention, qui déforme partiellement le passé." Richard A Peterson, 'La fabrication de l'authenticité [La country music]', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 93 (1992), 3-20 (p. 4).

from archaic, rural and enclosed to modern, industrial and boundless".[79] The authenticity of Gonzaga as a *nordestino* and the *nordeste* as an authentic cradle of Brazilian traditions are only significant because there was a social need to experience a Brazilian essence that was only possible in its past or pre-modern form, as it was only in this form that it could be constructed out of nostalgia, from modified memories.

An example of how Gonzaga's 'authenticity' was being created can be found in his use of dress. As the musicians of *canções sertanejas* had done before, Gonzaga wore the standard dress of *sertanejos*: cotton suits and wide-brimmed hats. However, unlike those musicians, Gonzaga wore this outfit in homage to his childhood hero, Lampião.[80] This is a bandit who was famous for violently resisting the authorities of several states, and one of Brazil's most wanted men before his death. Gonzaga's choice of wearing Lampião's outfit is significant because it reinforced the image of the *nordestino* as an anti-hero but, more importantly, it was a strategic marketing device. When Gonzaga had been trying to make it as a musician after first moving to the south-east, he had had little luck. But, when he adopted the *cangaceiro* outfit (the notoriety of the bandits, *cangaceiros*, was such that the outfit became synonymous with them, and not *sertanejos* in general), suddenly he was recognisable as a *nordestino* performer, adding all the symbolism implied by that identity to his cultural capital. Clearly we can see in this example that the symbolic patrimony of the *nordeste* had its greatest return on cultural capital when it was expressed as positive immateriality (Lampião the anti-hero) rather than negative materiality (Lampião the violent criminal).

In comparison, Freyre saw 'authenticity' in his fellow intellectuals, those who came from and understood the *nordeste*, those who were overseeing the traditions of the *nordeste* (often with a wide-angled lens) but not those who were participating in their creation, the cultural mediators. The modernists, in

79 Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2004), p. 118.
80 Jack A. Draper III, 'Forró's Wars of Maneuver and Position', *Latin American Research Review*, 46.1 (2011), p. 83.

opposition, were not interested in this hierarchy of control, and craved to find an authentic Brazilian culture. Their approach was to objectify and decontextualise Brazil's primitive cultures, an intellectualised approach that contributing towards the fomentation of ideas on authenticity in Brazil and offered ways in which artists could frame the 'Brazilianness' of their work. The modernity approach accrued cultured capital due to its innovativeness and avant garde ideas, qualities with less return than the 'authenticity' of Gonzaga, a distorted 'authenticity' which proved incredibly popular. The originality of Gonzaga's musical creation, his aesthetic identity and his musical content were all vividly indicative of a *sertanejo*—his use of *sertanejo* symbolism, and its possible discriminatory values, offset by his agency as the owner of this symbolism—and as such he was able to appeal to intellectuals and the popular classes alike, as well as to fellow *nordestinos* and other Brazilians.

The Brazilian Western

The visual counterpoint to the *baião* was provided by the *Nordestern*, a genre of film that transported the stories of *cangaço* banditry to a style similar to that of the US western, with the *sertão* featuring heavily as the setting. The genre was born with Lima Barreto's film *O Cangaceiro* (1953), based on the story of Lampião. Upon release it won a number of awards, including at the Cannes Film Festival, and still features heavily in lists of the Best Brazilian Films Of All-Time.[81]

Mattos writes that *Nordesterns* were "an ambiguous form of condemning banditry, usually dealing with a conflicting hero who resolved to leave it behind and make peace with the institutions. The story, then, was how not to be a *cangaceiro*."[82] The popularity of the *cangaço* films, along with Gonzaga and the *nordestino* novelists, ensured that the *sertão*, and all of its connotations, were to be embedded in the national consciousness as the loci of

81 Breixo Viejo, "O Cangaceiro", in *The Cinema of Latin America*, ed by Alberto Elena and Marina Díaz López (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 63-69 (p. 63).
82 Carlos Alberto Mattos, *Cangaço – O Nordestern No Cinema Brasileiro* (2005), <http://criticos.com.br/?p=859&cat=4> [accessed 12 November 2018].

the *nordeste* identity.

Effrevescent

However, it was not only music and culture from the *sertão* which was being produced in the *nordeste*. Unlike the *canções sertanejas, Nordesterns* and the *baião*, the *frevo* was a symbol of the urban north-east. Musically it had grown out of the European-style military and civic marching bands of Recife, and was performed by clubs (Clubes Pedestres) of mixed race urban labourers in Recife. The *frevo* developed from its march roots by incorporating *passos* (steps) from capoeira (an Afro-Brazilian martial art) and the use of the pandeiro (a tambourine-style instrument) in the ensemble.[83] These innovations, as well as the quickening of the march tempo, were amongst the qualities that helped define *frevo*, and most certainly, gave it its name. The fast, acrobatic movements of the dancers created a lively, heated atmosphere, hence the use of a name derived from the word *ferver* (to boil) and closely-related *fervor* (fervour) and *efervescente* (effervescent). It first came to national prominence at the end of the 1920s, but even at that stage it would play second fiddle during Recife and Olinda carnival to the *marchinhas de carnaval,* and later the music of the samba schools.[84] In 1957, a *frevo*–Nelson Ferreira's "Evocação No. 1"–would be the biggest hit at Rio carnival, but this was an exceptional success.

The *frevo* was an important symbol of *nordestino* carnival and the urban *nordeste*–Oliveira considers it "the dance and music repertoire most typical of Pernambuco"[85]–,and had moments of national attention, but it lacked the nostalgic tone of the *baião* and *forró* that was so important in those styles

83 The frevo may have first been performed in Recife in the early 1900s (Crook, p. 124) though what is more certain is that the first recorded *frevo* was either Nelson Ferreira's "Nao Puxa Maroca" (1929) or Irmãos Valença's "O Teu Cabelo Não Nega" (1932), two *frevos* recorded in Rio de Janeiro. It would not be until the Rozenblit record label was set-up that the first *frevo* was recorded in Recife; that happened in 1953 (Telles, p. 25).
84 Oliveira Pinto, p. 21.
85 Tiago de Oliveira Pinto, 'The Pernambuco Carnival and Its Formal Organisations: Music as Expression of Hierarchies and Power in Brazil', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 26 (1994), 20-38 (p. 22).

becoming the favoured music of *nordestino* migrants. It also lacked the distinctiveness of those styles and instead had to compete with samba during carnival and at the recording studio, an unenviable feat. If *nordestina* music was to gain cultural capital it needed to be defined by different characteristics than the music of the south-east, with the mythical *sertão* and its evocation of authentic values the perfect fit.

Lost In Nostalgia (1960-1990s)

Culturally, the period from the 1960s onwards would be notable for the broadening of the *nordeste* discourse to include popular folk literature, theatre and art, while still retaining its focus on the *sertão* and pseudo-traditionalism. Committed intellectuals would emerge to offer a voice against the modern intellectuals and their work, and allied to an increasing appetite for folkloric music defined by a stripped-back 'authenticity', the *nordeste*'s symbolic patrimony would be defined in increasingly immaterial terms.

Aristocratisation of Culture

Son of the politician João Suassuna, Ariano Suassuna (1927-2014; João Pessoa, Paraíba) was a writer and professor whose novels, musical aspirations and influence played a crucial role in creating a mythic *sertão* which tied his oeuvre to the *nordeste* and its folkloric traditions. Suassuna spent his infancy in the *sertão* of Paraíba before moving to Recife in middle childhood. These environments would be crucial in defining his writing, which from his first play in 1947 showed an eagerness to unite the folklore and traditions of the *nordeste* (specifically *literatura de cordel* poetry chapbooks, *mamulengo* puppet theatre and *romances*[86]) with the influence of classic Iberian literature. In 1946 Suassuna founded the Teatro do Estudante de Pernambuco (TEP) with Hermilo Borba Filho and a number of other writers and playwrights. Already at this stage we can see a line from Freyre to Suassuna and Borba Filho in terms of their ambitions for the theatre group and how it relates to the *nordeste* and culture in general. As one of its three initial objectives, the TEP stated their ambition to "estimular a criação de uma literatura dramática de raizes fincadas na realidade brasileira, particularmente nordestina".[87] They shared Freyre's thirst for both valorising the culture and traditions of the *nordeste* and

86 The Brazilian Portuguese term for fictional novels, such as those published by Queiroz, Amado, Almeida and Rego.
87 Ariano Suassuna *O Santo e a Porca / O Casamento To Suspeitoso*, 6th ed (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio, 1984), p. vii.

considering it part of a united Brazil. As with Freyre there was a fixation on aligning the intellectualism of the *nordeste* with that of the south-east—it's no surprise that Freyre saw Suassuna and Borba Filho as continuing the legacy he had created with his Regionalist Manifesto.[88]

Suassuna parted company with Filho in 1966 when he left TPN, citing the group's preoccupation with Brecht as insurmountable to his involvement.[89] Brecht, who represented avant-garde art, was increasingly an issue for Suassuna as he saw that form of art as a bastardised Europeanised form and saw the hope of creating new national art in tradition:

> Para mim, o importante é reencontrar os segredos que a arte tradicional revelou e que estão sendo cada vez mais renegados e esquecidos. Não para imitá-los, mas para formar o lastro sôbre que firmaremos os pés para a recriação. O Nordeste é importante exatamente porque oferece, através de algumas manifestações artísticas valiosas, largo campo a êsse reencontro, que a Europa nem sequer procura mais, apegada aos mitos de uma falsa vanguarda, inteiramente acadêmica, pior ainda do que a arte acadêmica porque tem aparências de renovação.[90]

If there was a clear distinction between Freyre and Suassuna, and this is specified in Suassuna's quote above, it's in their choice of art form. Suassuna's novels continued the legacy of romantic novels set in the north-east—begun by the north-eastern writers of the 1930s—using the *sertão* as setting, though his notion of a nostalgic past becomes even harder to define. His novels were not set in the aftermath of drought or encroaching modernisation, but in an indeterminate time zone where symbolism of religion and the use of mythology become even more commonplace, bringing *nordestina* literature more in-line with the traditions of 19th Century Iberian literature. His antidote to the loss of *nordeste* tradition is to imbue it with the gravitas of classic literary traditions.

88 Gilberto Freyre, *Manifesto Regionalista*, 7th ed *(*Recife: FUNDAJ, 1996), p. 239.
89 Itaú Cultural, *Teatro Popular do Nordeste (TPN)* (2017), <http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/grupo404786/teatro-popular-do-nordeste-tpn> [Accessed 14 November 2018].
90 Ariano Suassuna, 'Teatro, região e tradição'

Suassuna's ideology, which had become increasingly pseudo-traditionalist, was compounded when he founded the Movimento Armorial in 1970, with "the objective of finding an erudite Brazilian art based on the popular roots of our culture".[91] Whereas his writing contained the marks of *romance* novels, *literatura de cordel*, *mamulengo* theatre and *xilogravura* wood engravings with this movement he was able to create a cultural universe that included art, theatre, dance and music as emblems of his ideology. The movement sought to place traditional culture within the conservatory, to move it from its origins towards the institutions, counting on the support of regional state apparatus (as the movement was supported by Recife's Municipal Government and the Secretary of Education for Pernambuco). The musical groups of the Movimento Armorial—principally Orquestra Armorial and Quinteto Armorial—were chamber orchestras featuring classically-trained musicians who performed compositions based on *nordestino* rhythms (*frevo*, *coco*, *xangô*) and included some regional instruments alongside their normal instrumentation.

On the back cover of Quinteto Armorial's 1974 album *Do Romance ao Galope Nordestino*, Suassuna extended his objective for the Movimento Armorial to describe it as a "procura de de uma composição nordestina renovadora, de uma Música erudita brasileira de raízes populares, de um 'som' brasileiro, criado para um conjunto de câmera, apto a tocar a Música européia, é claro – principalmente a ibérica mais antiga, tão importante para nós – mas principalmente apto a expressar que a Cultura brasileira tem de singular, de próprio e de não-europeu".[92] Contradictorily Suassuna wishes to use a form of European music to find qualities that are 'authentically' Brazilian and not European. In this statement, we can clearly see that Suassuna is indulging in what Nestor García Canclini terms the "rigid collections"[93] that are "used to organise cultural systems", such as museums placing indigenous art in an

91 Fábio Palácio de Azevedo, *Cultura popular e resistência nacional* (2014) <http://www.vermelho.org.br/noticia/246447-11> [Accessed 5 June 2017].
92 Ariano Suassuna, "O Quinteto e o Movimento Armorial" in *Do Romance ao Galope Nordestino* [Vinyl Record Sleeve]. Music by Quinteto Armorial (Discos Marcus Pereira, 1974).
93 Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota, 1995), p. 223.

exhibition, both in the way that he wishes to use the collections of classical European music as a marker of technical ability, and to create a new collection of *nordestino* song. He uses the symbolism of traditional *nordestina* music in order to accrue cultural capital from its 'authenticity', effectively converting *nordestina* oral culture into a musical form that he is ascribing additional value.

This treatment of folkloric culture was seen by Filho as Suassuna's aristocratising of the *sertão*:

> Estou distante dele [do Movimento Armorial]. Apesar de ser amigo fraternal de Ariano Suassuna. O que Ariano pretende é a aristocratização do popular. Ele faz isso muito bem, porque é um criador fantástico, um romancista e dramaturgo de primeira categoria. Mas rejeito sua preocupação com a aristocracia do sertanejo.[94]

Filho's point here is that the Movimento Armorial aimed to move popular north-eastern folk music in to elite practices. The problem with this was that the popular, in *nordeste* discourse, was represented by the *sertanejos*, and in the musical world, this meant Gonzaga and *forró*. Hence, though the groups of the Movimento Armorial played a mixture of urban (*frevo*, *coco*, *ciranda*) and rural (*aboio*, *pífano*) the identity of these musics was firmly set in the *sertão*, a region that Suassuna describes musically as such:

> The music of the sertão developed around rhythms that are guarded by tradition. External influences have not penetrated the area since its pastoral period, and it [the music] has remained a collective archaic survival, maintained heroically by the common people. The music of that region is the result of the fusion of Iberian music with the primitive melodies of the Indians, whose mameluco [caboclo] descendants comprise almost the entire population of the sertão.[95]

94 Marcos Cirano et al, *Hermilo Vivo — vida e obra de Hermilo Borba Filho*, (Recife: Comunicarte, 1981), p. 62.
95 Ariano Suassuna, 'Notas Sôbre a Música de Capiba', *É de Tororó: Maracatu*, ed. by Hermilo Borba Filho, Ascenço Ferreira, Ariano Suassuna, Capiba, Lula Cardoso Ayres, and Percy Lau (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Livraria-Editôra da Casa do Estudante do Brasil, 1951), p. 42.

Suassuna's summation of the *sertão*'s music takes its genesis to a meeting between Iberian colonisers and indigenous Brazilians, again accentuating the timelessness of his *nordeste.* It's also the case that this statement, regarding the guarding of traditions, could not be made about music from the coast—*frevo* is a relatively-modern genre, as is *maracatu*—hence when Suassuna is referring to traditional *nordestina* music he is infusing all genres of *nordestina* music with the attributes of the *sertão*. Tradition and authenticity prove themselves to be qualities that can be converted into embodied cultural capital as a result of their association with the *sertão.* Suassuna, then conflates this symbolic patrimony with his own institutionalised cultural capital to create a form of 'marketable' culture.

The music of the Movimento Armorial was important for disseminating north-eastern Brazilian traditions, especially to the bourgeoisie. As Estrada points out: "[Antonio] Nóbrega, as a classically trained musician, actor, and protégé of Suassuna, has built a successful career as a solo artist who reappropriates rural north-eastern genres for middle-class, urban consumers."[96] One way in which the Movimento Armorial did this was through the *aula espetáculo*, a performance which was by its very definition a workshop, and had the remit of educating audiences using folkloric themes. To all purposes, the musicians of the Movimento Armorial were undertaking cultural appropriation. These were middle-class, educated musicians playing folk music which they may have studied, but which did not stem from their habitus.

The Popularisation of Folklore

Suassuna's predilection for curating folk music, and for placing it in a format with which he felt it became art, as opposed to it being art in itself—and which we can also see in Freyre's concern for preserving recipes, architecture and plant species of the north-east, and his attempts at documenting these in

96 Chris Estrada, 'Talking Pretty and Kicking Up Dust: Modernity and Tradition in Maracatu de Baque Solto of Pernambuco', *Latin American Music Review*, 38.2 (2017), 212-245 (p. 216)

their ‘traditional’ form—, can be contrasted with different approaches taken by other intellectuals and popular music enthusiasts, and which highlight the social construction of ‘authenticity’ in defining Brazil’s traditional music.

The project of Mario de Andrade, the Missão de Pesquisas Folclóricas, is one case in point. This was an ambitious project launched in the 1920s by Andrade in which he sent a team to the north and north-east of Brazil to collect Brazilian folk music and dance, intending to create the largest collection of Brazilian folk culture by a single researcher.[97] He was “concerned with the idea of solidification and preservation of a concept of national culture”.[98] Though his project had national ambitions he saw the north and the north-east as being “uncorrupted by the transmission of foreign influence through the increasingly powerful media of radio and cinema”.[99] After undertaking a great deal of field research, this project was shelved in the 1930s by the government, whose Estado Novo regime, despite being crucial in the formation of Brazil as a nation-state with patrimonial traditions, did not see these folkloric recordings as being part of those traditions.

Discos Marcus Pereira’s *Música Popular do Brasil* series of traditional popular Brazilian music took a different approach to Mario de Andrade in that it aimed to appeal to fans of popular and folk music. The first records in the series focused on the north-east and included styles such as *frevo, ciranda, bumba-meu-boi, coco, embolada* and *banda de pífano*. As part of his aim to bring popular folk music to the masses, Pereira featured reworkings of folk music—as was the case with Quinteto Violado’s arranged and jazz-inflected takes on the songs of the north-east, which shared a formalised aesthetic of folk music with the groups of Suassuna’s Movimento Armorial—alongside field recordings. The presence of these interpretations, led to some opposition from those who deemed them inauthentic, reflecting how by the 1970s the notion of

97 Alvaro Carlini. *Cachimbo e Maracá: O Catimbó da Missão (1938)*, (São Paulo: Centro Cultural São Paulo, 1993)
98 Sean Stroud, ‘Marcus Pereira’s Música Popular do Brasil: beyond folklore?’*, Popular Music,* 25.2, (2006)*, 303–318 (*p. 304).
99 Stroud, p. 305.

authenticity was changing.[100] It was no longer possible for a curator to claim culture was authentic as a result of their research or for the music to be authentic as a result of the musician's identification with originary conceptions of its 'home' region. Authentic, at least in terms of folk music, meant a formal traditional form in which all components (instruments, musicians, rhythms, clothes, lyrics) were in a form consistent with its documented heritage (with increasing research on folk culture providing this knowledge). In the case of Pereira's recordings, the accusations of inauthenticity were not helped by the lack of clear liner notes and also that the original writers of the melodies and rhythms may not have received as much compensation as some felt they should have.[101]

In February 1977, the Brazilian magazine Revista Veja published a 4-page article on the "volta ao folclore"[102] ("return to folklore"), which discusses the cultural reasons for why there was a resurgence of interest in folk culture within Brazil at that time. The article in Veja sees the movement as being "um protesto contra a produção cultural massificada" and the influence of foreign companies which has led to a loss of "fronteiras da individualidade cultural e social do brasileiro. Daí a volta aos símbolos mais fortes de nossa identidade, contidos na cultura do povo". Further instances in the 1980s highlight the continuing focus on traditional culture *do povo*, and the role of multiple identifications within the notion of a *nordestino* identity.

Frevança was a new carnival event that began in 1979 with an intention to show national audiences that Pernambuco carnival had its own unique traditions that deserved recognition.[103] Frevança intended to do this by showcasing the best new *frevo* songs at a concert broadcast live on national television. From 1980 the event would include *maracatu* as well as *frevo* in the competition. Whereas a mixture of blacks, mestizos and whites had been

100 Stroud, p. 306.
101 Stroud, p. 308.
102 Revista Veja, *Folclore: festa e agonia* (1976) <https://aloisiomagalhaesbr.wordpress.com/1981-2/1976-2/para-a-defesa-da-cultura/folclore-festa-e-agonia/> [Accessed 23 September 2018]
103 Leonardo Dantas Silva, 'Frevança: Encontro Nacional do Frevo e do Maracatu' [Vinyl Record Sleeve]. Music by Various Artists (RGE, 1980).

responsible for forming the *clubes pedestres* that performed *frevo*, the *maracatu* was aligned with Recife's black population. In comparison to *frevo*, *maracatu* had rarely troubled the airwaves. However, the interest in *maracatu* as a folkloric form was stimulated when the International Institute for Traditional Music in Berlin invited two *maracatu* groups on two separate tours of Europe in 1986 and 1989[104], with this interest in the groups motivating those and other *maracatu* groups. The adding of Olinda to UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1982 as a site of cultural heritage of mankind (Patrimônio da Humanidade), and a decree by Olinda council in 1993 that aimed to diminish the popularity of *axé* music from Bahia, stating that all orchestras performing during the carnival should have at least 60% of their repertoires formed by *frevos,*[105] highlight how an increasing desire, both nationally and internationally, to preserve folkloric traditions in an immaterial heritage form, was having an impact on the *nordeste*, and that these folkloric forms were accruing institutionalised cultural capital.

The Movimento Armorial conflated the idea of tradition with the material heritage of the *nordeste*. Their *nordeste* was pure nostalgia, with the region's actual urbanisation not being reflected in their cultural identity; their patrimonial heritage was being expressed immaterially. The resurgent interest in folk culture brought into question 'authenticity' as an element of this. There was a need for culture to reflect and represent the people of the *nordeste,* and their various identifications, and through such forms as *maracatu* and *frevo*, and carnival, there was an opportunity to discover a more materially 'authentic' *nordeste* to that which had been proposed by the pseudo-traditionalists. Movimento Armorial did not possess the 'authenticity' of these resurgent folk forms, but its ambitions to restore traditional forms and protect against foreign influence still had market value, and coupled with the institutional support engendered by Suassuna, gave it significant cultural capital.

104 Tiago de Oliveira Pinto, 'The Pernambuco Carnival and Its Formal Organisations: Music as Expression of Hierarchies and Power in Brazil', Yearbook for Traditional Music, 26 (1994), 20-38 (p. 36).
105 José Teles, *Do Frevo Ao Manguebeat* (São Paulo: editora 34, 2000), p. 31.

Using ideas expressed by Jesus Martín-Barbero[106] on social analysis, we can see that Suassuna was following a dualistic logic: the elitist tactic of creating distance between culture and the people, while also seeking a recovery of roots. The fact that both of these conditions are met is vital in explaining how Suassuna was able to both be a champion of *nordestino* culture while also ensuring a level of control over its image. Albuquerque sees Suassuna as continuing a discourse that began with Gilberto Freyre of creating the *nordeste* from memory. He sees Suassuna's *nordeste* as "a backlands space constructed in the city through childhood memories and folklore, a space that has not yet lost its magic, a kingdom of mysteries in which the wonderful is mixed with the cruelest reality and gives it meaning".[107] If Freyre's vision of the *nordeste* was seen through a cosmopolitan lens that made it a utopic neo-colonial den of diversity and rich traditions, Suassuna was happy for his vision to push the identity back towards the *sertão* of his earliest years. The realism of the north-eastern writers and even the topical nature of Gonzaga's stories of *nordestino* migrants were exchanged for a *sertão* that was mythic in nature. He suffused the day-to-day struggles of the *nordeste* with a sense of nobility, in a similar vein to how he was placing local cultural traditions within the grandeur of an erudite, literary canon, disposing of the *nordeste*'s socio-political and chronological compass.

106 Jesus Martín-Barbero, *Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations*. (London: Sage Publications, 1993), p. 189.
107 Albuquerque, 'Weaving Tradition', p. 59.

Inverting The North-East

Freyre and Suassuna, prominent members of the north-east's regional elite, had been more reformist that revolutionary in their ideologies, with their patronage of popular folkloric culture lacking political agency, and this created a symbolic patrimony in which there was no differentiating between the material and immaterial heritage. This became an even greater issue as their paternalism led them to defend their conceptualisations of the *nordeste* as the social, political and cultural climate changed. Parallel to the regional elite and figures of mass culture emerged a new type of intellectual, the committed intellectual, whose intention was to focus on 'reality' over 'authenticity'. The archetype of the committed intellectual is present in the works of Graciliano Ramos and João Cabral do Melo Neto.

João Cabral do Melo Neto (1920-1999, Recife, Pernambuco), was, like Suassuna, a native of Pernambuco, however unlike him he spent most of his working life away from Brazil, and also showed a deepening concern for the *nordeste*'s social problems in his work. His first notable poem was "Pedra do Sono" in 1942 but it would be in the 1950s that, according to Brandellero, "Cabral emerged as a poet radically committed to the critique of the North-East's history of social neglect."[108] A great example is the poem "Morte e Vida Severina" (1955), which would detail the hopes of a *sertanejo* moving to Recife for better opportunities and an easier life. His approach was remarkable because he used form and linguistics to explore subjects, with Cabral's poems taking a concretist form from the 1950s onwards. In that sense he continued the work of Ramos, who, as mentioned previously, sought to counter the dominant discourse on the *nordeste.* Both Ramos and Cabral focused on the minutiae of *nordestino* life, striving to find a language that would distil the essence, or the reality, of life in the *nordeste*. They wanted to remove the social and political hierarchies that were present between the art of the *nordeste* and its subjects.

108 Sara Brandellero, 'Journeys and Landscapes in João Cabral de Melo Neto', *Portuguese Studies,* 30.2 (2014), pp. 143-158.

Starving on Screen

Further committed intellectuals can be found in a movement of films and film-makers that became prominent in Brazil during the 1960s. The Cinema Novo movement was an attempt to represent Brazilian realities at a time when cinema had become overly-trivial. As such these films often took Rio's favelas or the North-east's *sertão* as their setting, two contrasting environments that respectively depicted life for urban and rural Brazilians at a material level, either through stories of impoverishment and suffering, corruption from the elite, or moralistic tales that reinforced notions of equality or played with stereotypes. Early examples from this movement that returned to the desolate landscapes of the *sertão* include Nélson Pereira dos Santos's adaptation of *Vidas Secas* (1963), Glauber Rocha's *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* (1964) and Ruy Guerra's *Os Fuzis* (1964), all of which forced Brazilians to address the fact that the *nordeste* remained under-developed and neglected. These were in stark contrast to the *Nordestern* films, which Rocha was quick to criticise, insisting that they borrowed too much from US Westerns and also lacked any sociological realism.

In an essay titled "Aesthetics of Hunger", published in Italy in 1965, Glauber Rocha details how the intention of Cinema Novo is to alleviate "the debilitating delirium of hunger", describing hunger as both a societal symptom of neglect and a facet of the colonised world, with the coloniser both fascinated by the primitivism of the colonised and also completely unable to understand dominant structures that led to that primitivism (I.e. underdevelopment, undernourishment). Cinema Novo was undoubtedly a political movement, which had as its aims to raise awareness of Brazil's social ills both nationally and internationally. The use of low-quality production techniques (black and white film, raw edits, non-actors), which were prominent in the early Cinema Novo films were all ways of dismissing sentimentality or nostalgia from their *nordestino* subjects. Their aesthetic was to slim their subjects down to their most base emotions, their essence, represented through their misery as hunger.

The committed intellectuals approach to traditionalism was "de resistencia" (of resistance). They maintained symbolic systems—Rocha's social construct of the *cangaceiro* in *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* (1964); the cyclical form of *Vidas Secas*, perpetuating life for the *sertanejo*; Cabral's use of typical characters, but placed within a modern setting, as in "Morte e Vida Severina"—but used these systems as devices in demystifying stereotypes and appealing for a break from the dominant discourse. They embedded themselves within the notion of tradition before offering a counter-hegemonic interpretation of the *nordeste.*

The Crab Man

The work of the committed intellectuals, and their focus on representing the north-eastern reality within the *nordeste* discourse had its ideological foundations in the work of a number of scientists and a changing political landscape in the *nordeste* during the 1950s and 1960s. Josué de Castro (1908-1973) was a social scientist, politician and professor from Recife who wrote extensively during his life on the socio-political and socio-economic factors that led to underdevelopment and malnutrition. In 1946 he published *Geografia da Fome* (Geography of Hunger, 1946), an emblematic work that attributed the hunger epidemic in Brazil to socio-economic systems rather than natural phenomena such as drought. He argued that the lack of modernisation in the agricultural sector, that was out of step with rapid industrial growth, and an economic focus on seeking international capital, would need to be transformed in order to improve the situation.

Just three years after *Geografia da Fome*, Victor Nunes Leal placed emphasis on the region's outdated hierarchies when he published an influential study on *coronelismo* and patriarchy in the *nordeste.*[109] Together, Castro and Leal influenced a generation of scholars who would study the socio-economic and agricultural aspects of the region.[110]

109 Victor Nunes Leal, *Coronelismo, enxada e voto: o município e o regime representativo no Brasil*, 2nd ed (São Paulo: Alfa-omega, 1975) [originally published in 1949]
110 Campbell, pp. 16-17.

Radical Politics

Socio-politically, as alluded to by Castro, the response from the *nordeste*'s politicians to underdevelopment had been to seek international capital (in addition to capital from the south-east) as a principal form of economic development. This political stance changed briefly when in 1960 an institution named Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP) was founded in Recife. Set-up by Germano Coelho, Paulo Freire and others, and with a membership that included university students, artists and intellectuals, the group had the aim of educating the popular classes, with an ultimate goal of liberating them politically and socially. As literacy was a requirement to vote in presidential elections in Brazil at that time, education was imperative for an individual's political agency. The movement, which had members affiliated with Brazil's Communist Party (Partido Comunista Brasileiro) and other socialist and left-leaning political parties, was supported by Miguel Arraes, who was Mayor of Recife at the time.

The ideology behind the movement, and the socio-political situation which necessitated its existence, is defined in clear terms by Germano Coelho, who maps out statistically the dire situation at that time for the popular classes of Recife:

> …O Movimento de Cultura Popular nasceu da miséria do povo do Recife. De suas paisagens mutiladas. De seus mangues cobertos de mocambos. Da lama dos morros e alagados, onde crescem o analfabetismo, o desemprego, a doença e a fome. Suas raízes mergulham nas feridas da cidade degradada. Fincam-se nas terras áridas. Refletem o seu drama como 'síntese dramatizada da estrutura social inteira.' Drama também de outras áreas subdesenvolvidas. Do Recife com 80.000 crianças de 7 a 14 anos de idade sem escola. Do Brasil, com 6 milhões. Do Recife, com milhares e milhares de adultos analfabetos. Do Brasil, com milhões. Do mundo em que vivemos, em pleno século XX, com mais de um bilhão de homens e mulheres e crianças incapazes sequer de ler, escrever e contar. O Movimento de Cultura Popular representa, assim, uma resposta. A resposta do prefeito Miguel

> Arraes, dos vereadores, dos intelectuais, dos estudantes e do povo do Recife ao desafio da miséria. Resposta que se dinamiza sob a forma de um Movimento que inicia, no Nordeste, uma experiência nova de Universidade Popular.[111]

Ideas from the MCP, especially those regarding education and the aim of improving literacy, were incorporated into the governmental policies of João Goulart (President of Brazil, 1961-64) as part of wholesale social reforms. However, upon a coup d'etat to overthrow Goulart in 1964 (in opposition to his social reforms and the economic state of the country), MCP's offices and documents were destroyed, and Paulo Freire, who was the ideologue behind their ideas on education, was incarcerated and then exiled, as was Glauber Rocha. Similarly, Josué de Castro, who was at that point working as a Brazilian ambassador in Geneva, would be relieved of his duties, have all his rights as a Brazilian citizen suspended and would be impeded from returning to Brazil.

The radical governments of Recife and Brazil, allied with the underdevelopment of the *nordeste*, became an international concern when the New York Times published a number of articles on north-east poverty in 1960, which (along with the social studies of Castro, Leal and their peers) led to USAID channeling hundreds of millions of dollars into developing the region, and the presence of U.S. Peace Corps in the region (1961-1963), due to the fears that such extreme poverty could lead to a communist revolution as had recently happened in Cuba (1959). This ultimately led to U.S. support for the military coup and for this underdeveloped, tragic stereotype of the *nordeste* to pervade internationally.

The political and cultural impact of the committed intellectuals was severely diminished by the military coup, such that Suassuna's pseudo-traditionalism—which was in tune with the non-subversive, nationalist culture desired by the government—became the over-arching cultural ideology in the north-east well into the 1980s, with Suassuna himself consistently gaining

111 Lúcia Gaspar, *Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP)* (2008/2009) <http://basilio.fundaj.gov.br/pesquisaescolar/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=723[]> [Accessed 29 August 2018].

institutionalised cultural capital (through state roles, which made him a peer of the national-political elite).

Conclusions

The *nordeste* undertook many changes leading up to the 1990s but it never managed to shake off the notion that it was rooted in the past, whether through nostalgic or imagined visions of rural life in the *sertão*, or through the culture and traditions which were gaining in popularity, and which were increasingly being preserved in defiance of foreign influences and then commodification. This image was created by the dominant intellectuals of the *nordeste*, but it was an image created in reaction to the nation that was being invented around them, and that discriminated against them. Their reaction was to create a *nordeste* that signified its difference to the south-east through its promotion of "authentic" Brazilian culture and an "unalienated" Brazilian character. They were characteristics that had value within the national marketplace, especially as an antidote to urbanisation and globalisation, but their fetishising of traditions—placing traditions in an increasingly old-fashioned/timeless universe disconnected from modern life—only served in perpetuating negative stereotypes that had been associated with the region since its formation: backwardness, violence and poverty. The *nordeste* offered a Janus-like inception of Brazil in that it looked back at a mythological past while also forwards towards a fantastical future. Committed intellectuals created a body of work that politically critiqued the region, placing these social issues at the heart of their work, but their ideas failed to usurp the dominant discourse, specifically being affected by national political hegemony and repressive governments.

Popular music had to exist within the hegemonic narrative to find success, with Luiz Gonzaga's stereotypical portrait of the *sertanejo* a classic example. His take on the *baião* and *forró* were so successful that they became national rhythms, present in every major city across Brazil where they are still incredibly popular. This is an accusation that could not be directed at the *frevo*,

maracatu, *coco* or any of the other *nordestino* styles which followed different ideas of *nordestino* identity.

Yet, there are signs of a changing political order, represented by the emergence of new patrimonies within the *nordeste* discourse. I refer to the recognition of *maracatu* globally, UNESCO awarding it institutionalised cultural capital as a facet of a global patrimony that served to give agency to the *nordeste*'s *maracatu* practitioners in recognising their own African heritage. Likewise, the increasing popularity of events such as Recife and Olinda carnival show that there is an alternative 'traditional' *nordeste* which is not institutionalised, and which is showing how the 'authority' on 'authenticity' is passing from the regional elite to the artists and artistic communities from the region.

Chapter Two: O Movimento Mangue

At the beginning of the 1990s, the north-east's economic and social situation was worsening in relation to the rest of the country. The manguebeat movement was borne with an ideal of improving this socio-economic situation through culture and the creation of a community-led, diverse, urban and vital identity which can be viewed both as traditionalist and post-modernist. Remarkably, they transposed the 'internal Other' of *nordestina* culture from being a signifier of primitivism and vulgarity to one of prestige and modernity, creating a significant legacy in the process.

In the following chapter I will outline the initial objectives of *manguebeat*, and make comparison between *manguebeat* and its antecedents in Brazilian culture. I will show how the movement shared ideological and symbolic characteristics with Josué de Castro and film-makers in the 1960s, and how feelings of marginality and neglect were such important parts of this identification. I will then compare the *manguebeat* and *Tropicália* movements, looking at how both used intercultural language to promote diversity and an outward-looking perspective.

To make this analysis I will use the text "Caranguejos Com Cérebro", as well as songs from the first two albums by both CSNZ and Mundo Livre S/A, as reference points in the conception of the *manguebeat* movement. My analysis will relate to ideas expressed by García Canclini as providing a framework for a fresh analysis of contemporary Latin American cultures, and their increasing hybridity, namely: decollecting, deterritorialization and impure genres.[112]

Following on from this comparative analysis I will show how the *manguebeat* movement countered hegemonic expectations of what *nordestina* music and culture should be but also show that changes in the national music

112 García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, p. 207.

industry created a path of dissemination through which the movement could flourish.

What Is Manguebeat?

The term *manguebeat* is used to describe both a prominent music scene that occurred in Recife in the 1990s and 2000s, and a style of music associated with that scene. It's a term tied primarily to the ideas and musical output of two groups, Chico Science e Nação Zumbi and Mundo Livre S/A, and their bandleaders, Chico Science (born Francisco de Assis França in Olinda, 1966) and Fred Zero Quatro (born Fred Rodrigues Montenegro in Recife, 1962), respectively.

The ideas behind *manguebeat* began to formulate at the end of the 1980s. Zero Quatro had just returned to Recife from São Paulo and was introduced to Chico Science in 1989 when he saw Science's bands in the city.[113] Zero Quatro, who had already formed his own group, Mundo Livre S/A, realised that there was potential "for a more cohesive scene to happen"[114], referring to the fact that the 1980s had been a tough period for local music in Recife.[115] He had been playing shows in Recife since the early 80s and had grown frustrated with the lack of opportunities in the city, but his discovery of Science gave him the idea of creating a unified scene through the ways in which the diverse (amongst themselves) yet different (in regards to other music being made in Recife and Brazil) influences and characteristics of Mundo Livre S/A and Science's groups could be combined and promoted. This was especially the case once Science's Loustal rock group merged with the samba-reggae *bloco afro* Lamento Negro to create Chico Science e Nação Zumbi, who would play their debut show in 1991.[116] It was in that year that shows began to appear featuring the term *mangue.* Since Science was from the Rio Doce neighbourhood of Olinda (north of Recife), and Lamento Negro were from Peixinhos in the extreme north of Recife, two neighbourhoods featuring mangroves (*mangues* in Portuguese*)*, both *mangue* and *lama* (mud) were

113 Philip Galinsky, *"Maracatu Atômico": Tradtion, Modernity, and Postmodernity in the Mangue Movement of Recife, Brazil* (New York/London: Routledge, 2002), p. 40.
114 Galinsky, p. 40.
115 Teles, p. 225.
116 Galinsky, p. 33.

elements of their local vocabulary as ecological terms. In their shows, they began to use these terms in an exuberantly positive manner, contrasting the stigma attached to the fact that neighbourhoods built on or around mangroves such as theirs, were primarily lower and lower-middle class neighbourhoods. Hence, they told the audience they're going to have a great *mangue* or great *lama* (replacing party or night in their usage), even wishing everyone a Mangue Feliz (Merry Mangue) for a Christmas show.[117]

This aspect of the nascent Chico Science e Nação Zumbi (CSNZ) identity was one marked difference between the group and Mundo Livre S/A. In addition, CSNZ was a group with ties to rap culture, which was a big influence on Chico Science[118] and can be heard in his vocal style, as well as Recife's popular culture, such as musical styles like *coco* and *ciranda*, which can be heard in their drum rhythms and which Science has cited as being part of his upbringing. Also, initially through the members of Lamento Negro, and then through the group as a whole, they had a strong knowledge of samba-reggae and the relationship of that movement, which had begun in Salvador in the 1980s, with Afro-Brazilian consciousness. This was an important element of Science's identity due to his mixed-race ethnicity. Mundo Livre S/A in contrast were from the neighbourhood of Candeias in the extreme south of Recife and in Zero Quatro had a University-educated light-skinned front-man with a strong appetite for select strains of rock music. In particular, he railed against the mainstream sounds of BRock, instead favouring alternative or underground artists mainly from England, such as Joy Division, The Smiths and David Bowie. When alternative rock from São Paulo began to be released nationally in the late 80s this was also a strong influence.[119] These alternative rock influences (which included styles such as post-punk, indie rock, pop punk, and others), including the DIY aesthetic[120] of punk, played their part in the

117 Galinsky, p. 41-42.
118 Science went to funk and hip-hop bailes (parties) from as early as 12 years old. At these parties he would hear soul, funk and increasingly, hip-hop, with the break dancing craze arriving in Brazil at the perfect time for an adolescent Science. In 1984 he joined a group of break dancers and rappers called Legião Hip Hop. It was only later that he started to sing, joining together with Lúcio Maia (guitar) and Alexandre Dengue (bass), future members of Nacão Zumbi to form the group Loustal in 1989. (Galinsky, pp. 31-33)
119 Galinsky, p. 29.
120 Exemplified by the use of self-authored texts to the press on the movement, and listing of

musical DNA of Mundo Livre S/A, along with samba, which was the group's primary Brazilian influence.

If there is to be found any similarity between Mundo Livre S/A and CSNZ it is in their use of a rock band line-up (with electric guitar and bass guitar prominent instruments), their use of terminology related to *mangue,* their shared ideas of the problems that Recife faced (culturally and socio-economically) and what they could do, as musicians, to resolve them, and in their shared ideology concerning the idealised forms of, and power structures inherent in, Brazilian culture. They both freely imported foreign musical styles into their sound, asserting a transnational solidarity with marginalised populations (represented by Science's black solidarity and Zero Quatro's affinity with the sounds of the marginalised post-industrial working class found in British post-punk, for example). This approach ran counter to the hegemonic conception of the *nordeste* which emphasised the 'pure' or 'authentic' essence of Brazilian culture.

Crabs With Brains

This lack of a unified signature musical sound didn't stop the two bands from being received as the leaders of a cohesive 'movement', and this can largely be attributed to their co-conception of a text that clearly expressed their collective terminology and ideas. In 1991, "Caranguejos Com Cérebro" was sent to the local press. Written by Fred Zero Quatro with Chico Science and a local journalist Renato Lins providing their input, the text is a statement of intent, a clear plan to revitalise Recife through music. Their intention was to do this by uniting a passion for rhythms, instruments, symbols and influences taken from local, national and international sources, with a focus on musicians, movements and ideas that could be seen as marginalised, under-represented or cutting-edge. They also showed a keen eye for utilising imagery from their lives in Recife.

Malcolm McLaren and punk as influences. Increasingly the quality of the musical productions became a greater concern and it becomes harder to find this aesthetic in the music of Mundo Livre S/A.

This text is critical to understanding the ethos of the musicians. In the text they do not hide from Recife's problems, acknowledging the city's position as fourth worst city in the world to live in a study from the USA. It appears almost impossible to find this particular study these days but other statistics from the 1990s "show that the social situation in the Northeast is the worst in the country"[121] and that "in terms of education, domestic access to water, and infant mortality indexes, for example, the situation in the North-eastern population has worsened in comparison with that of the rest of the nation."[122] They see the city's fragility as the result of an "irresistible madness of a cynical notion of 'progress'",[123] which following a period of stagnation culminated in the current "picture of misery and of urban chaos."[124] Neglect and misguided modernisation are the main culprits for the city's position.

Yet, the *mangueboys* and *manguegirls* (as they called themselves) saw a brighter future. First of all, they see this symbolically, regarding the *mangues* themselves as "símbolos de fertilidade, diversidade e riqueza"[125] rather than "associados à sujeira e à podridão" They then take this analogy further to offer a way of using this: "Basta injetar um pouco da energia na lama e estimular o que ainda resta de fertilidade nas veias do Recife." This can be done by putting an "antena parabólica enfiada na lama" as a way of "conectar as boas vibrações dos mangues com a rede mundial de circulação de conceitos pop." Essentially, they wanted to be heard and they wanted the license to be non-discriminatory when it came to influences, a critique of the dominant, guarded inception of *nordestina* music. *Manguebeat* could be high or low art, Brazilian or foreign, though being marginalised and/or cutting-edge were important, as is clear from the influences mentioned in the manifesto: hip-hop, Bezerra da Silva, chaos theory, ethnic conflicts, amongst them. They state that, as of 1991, there are hundreds of groups in Recife ready to pull the city out of its stagnant state.

121 Tânia Bacelar de Araújo, 'Northeast, Northeasts: What Northeast?', *Latin American Perspectives*, 31.2, 135 (2004), pp. 17-18.
122 Tânia Bacelar de Araújo, pp. 17-18.
123 Fred Zero Quatro, 'Caranguejos com Cérebro' in *Da Lama Ao Caos.* [CD Liner Notes] Music by Chico Science & Nação Zumbi (New York: Chaos/Sony Music, 1994)
124 Zero Quatro, 'Caranguejos Com Cérebro'
125 Zero Quatro, 'Caranguejos Com Cérebro'

Due to its political nature, and the clear setting of aims within the text, "Caranguejos Com Cérebro" became known as "The Mangue Manifesto", this becoming even more the case when it was featured in the liner notes for CSNZ's debut album *Da Lama Ao Caos* (1994), and hence gained greater visibility. However, Renato Lins has stated that it was never meant as such: "Na verdade, aquilo não era um manifesto, era um release… quando chegou na imprensa, começou a se chamado de manifesto."[126] Its elevation to 'manifesto' status was a result of its political intent, allied to a history of cultural manifestos in Brazil (beginning with Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil* in 1924).

The *manguebeat* movement achieved success in a relatively short time, which was partially helped by the infrastructure that was already in place regionally. Paulo André Pires, a local entrepreneur and cultural agitator, cites 1993 as the year that the movement exploded. Pires was a local entrepeneur, selling t-shirts and promoting shows as part of the metal and hardcore rock scenes of Recife in the 80s.[127] An ally of the *manguebeat* artists, he became CSNZ's impresario,[128] and also created an important music festival in Recife called Abril Pro Rock. The first edition of this festival took place in 1993 and was a major catalyst for the movement, as this quote from Pires details:

> …from that [first] Abril Pro Rock things began to happen. We managed to unite a public of 1,500 people to see only local bands, which was a public that until then hadn't been brought together. And a music critic from there named José Teles, who had accompanied the whole music scene of the '70s here also, he said that since the 1970s, that nothing so important for Pernambucan music had happened in Recife. He considered Abril Pro Rock one of the most important [things] in recent years. Soon after, Chico Science & Nação Zumbi and Mundo Livre S/A made their first trip to São Paulo and Belo Horizonte [capital of the state of Minas Gerais] to do shows. And consequently, Chico was contracted by

126 MangueNius, *RENATO L: "Mangue não é fusão!"* (2010), <https://www.terra.com.br/manguenius/artigos/ctudo-entrevista-renatol.htm> [accessed 19 September 2018].
127 Teles, 236.
128 Galinsky, 30.

> Sony Music and Mundo Livre by the Banguela label… Already at the second Abril Pro Rock [1994], Chico was the principal attraction one day and a name act–Gabriel O Pensador [a popular Brazilian rapper] of Rio de Janeiro–the other.[129]

Manguebeat was able to find an audience through the channels of disseminating rock music, facilitating recognition that would have taken much longer to achieve through the media that *nordestina* musicians had used in the past. As well as Pires' knowledge and connections in Recife, they benefited from the arrival of new media outlets in Recife including MTV Brasil, which began at the end of 1991, and Rádio Rock, a notable rock radio station from São Paulo, which reached Recife in 1992. Along with local TV stations, who picked up on the groups' first trip to São Paulo in 1993, these various media channels allowed for *manguebeat* to become known regionally and nationally. The fact that CSNZ were signed to Sony Music Brasil, a division of a multinational label, also allowed for the movement to be known internationally, and they would make their international bow when they performed at New York's Summerstage concert with Gilberto Gil in 1994, alerting press such as The New York Times, who championed the group on numerous occasions thereafter. The presence of 'rock' media thus proved important in *manguebeat*'s aim of 'revitalising' Recife. It allowed the movement to gain acceptance through a cultural industry and infrastructure (the rock scene) where there was no discourse on 'authenticity' or 'traditions', as there was in *nordestina* and Brazilian popular music, nor their hierarchies of power with state-intellectual curatorship. The rock music media offered a more direct relationship between the artist and the audience (I.e. the opinion of one critic or DJ could be enough to start word-of-mouth buzz, as was the case with The New York Times). This was a media in which *manguebeat's* global influences would not be controversial. If anything, their global influences allowed for them to find an affinity with international audiences who shared some of their influences. [130]

The first *manguebeat* album to arrive was Chico Science & Nação

129 Galinsky, p. 45.
130 Galinsky, p. 45.

Zumbi's *Da Lama Ao Caos* in 1994. That was followed by Mundo Livre S/A's debut album *Samba Esquema Noise* the same year. Then in 1995 CSNZ performed at the MTV Video Music Brasil awards (as detailed in the introduction to this thesis), where they and Mundo Livre S/A would both be nominated for awards. CSNZ would again be nominated at the 1996 awards, as would another *manguebeat* artist, Mestre Ambrósio. That year also marked the arrival of the second albums from CSNZ and Mundo Livre S/A, tours of Brazil and Europe that CSNZ undertook as support for the BRock group Os Paralamas do Sucesso, and a performance in New York featuring both Mundo Livre S/A and CSNZ.

The term *manguebeat* had attached itself to the music scene in Recife led by CSNZ and Mundo Livre S/A from its early days, though the term itself was a media creation. It was a corruption of the term *manguebit*, which was the name of a song written by Fred Zero Quatro whose lyrics played on terms from new technology, such as the computer 'bit'. Using these terms they indirectly associated their work with innovation, futurity and transnational connectivity, all concepts that were absent from the hegemonic *nordeste.* The 'mangue' in *manguebit* stemmed from Chico Science's idea of using the term to describe the music that his groups were performing, as well as the fact that *mangue* was a prominent symbol used in the "Caranguejos Com Cérebro" text. However, *manguebeat* became the most common of all of these terms for describing the music and scene, the 'beat' component both accentuating the role of percussion (whether electronic or organic) in the music and also being a typical suffix for music genres worldwide (e.g. merseybeat, afrobeat or simply 'beat', which was used in Brazil to describe merseybeat and other British beat music of the 60s) and so had previous as a credible name for a music genre.

Manguebeat thus became used in two specific ways. It was used to describe the *manguebeat* movement, which was the music scene in Recife during the 90s and especially those bands connected to the same alternative rock scene as CSNZ and Mundo Livre S/A. Hence hardcore and punk bands such as Devotos do Ódio and Paulo Francis Vai Pro Céu were part of the

movement, as were rock bands that had varying influences of folkloric north-eastern music (Cascabulho, Jorge Cabeleira e o Dia em que Seremos Todos Inúteis, Eddie, Mestre Ambrósio), and oddities like Dolores & Morales' techno pop and Faces do Subúrbio's gritty rap (a collective who did perform the occasional *embolada*).

The term was also used to describe the *manguebeat* musical style, which was the fusion of elements of north-eastern folk music with approaches to making music appropriated from rock, especially the use of electric guitar. The influences of north-eastern folk music used by *manguebeat* were broad, but mainly focused on styles from Pernambuco included the rural traditions of *cavalo marino* and *maracatu rural* (also known as *maracatu de baque solto*), and urban styles including *coco*, *embolada* and *ciranda* and those styles and traditions closely associated with Recife and Olinda carnival such as *frevo*, *caboclinho* and *maracatu nação* (also known as *maracatu de baque virado*).

The *manguebeat* scene was focused in Recife, and hence it's mainly groups from that city which are described as playing *manguebeat* (the musical genre). However, by the late 90s, groups including Cordel do Fogo Encantado and Cascabulho, from the rural interior of Pernambuco state, also became known as *manguebeat* groups, as well as Cabrûera from Campina Grande, Paraíba (a rare non-Pernambucan exception), and all three took the style to international festival circuits without having to use Rio or São Paulo as a launchpad.

More Than Popular Music

Manguebeat was a form of popular music that incorporated elements of local, traditional music, and national and international popular music, as well as being an autonomous scene composed of a diverse community that possessed political agency. As well as incorporating *nordestina* traditions into their musical repertoire, they showed their local authority through the patronage that they gave to local folk artists. CSNZ's support for *coco* singer

Dona Selma do Coco resulted in her performing at the Abril Pro Rock Festival and also releasing a debut album. When the Brazilian magazine Trip published a CD compilation of *manguebeat* artists in July 1999 titled *Som do Mangue* they featured two folk artists, Banda De Pífanos De Caruaru and Mestre Salustiano, alongside contemporary artists. Banda De Pífanos De Caruaru would also play along with CSNZ and Mundo Livre S/A in a triple-bill celebration of Pernambucan music in New York in 1996. The movement was thus able to play a key role in gaining exposure for folkloric Pernambucan music nationally and internationally.

Finally, *Manguebeat* was a musical movement that included artists who performed traditional *nordestina* forms, artists who played music inspired by or who were influenced in some way by *nordestina* music, and artists that had no connection to regional folk music whatsoever. Thus, the only unifying way of categorising all of these artists is that they are from Pernambuco, and in the majority of times, from Recife. And, as *mangue* was presented as the medium through which Recife's cultural vibrancy would be reflected, the *mangue* thus became the connecting metaphorical thread of the movement.

In 1997, Science died in a car crash, but groups including Jorge Cabeleira e O Dia Em Que Seremos Todos Inúteis, Mestre Ambrósio, Querosene Jacaré, Cordel do Fogo Encantado, Sheik Tosado and a Chico Science-less Nação Zumbi all released music in the late 1990s and early 2000s that was categorised as *manguebeat*, with Sony Music even operating a short-lived imprint called Manguenitude. None of these groups, or Mundo Livre S/A, managed to have the same impact as CSNZ. They all received national recognition, especially from the critics, and found some international exposure as a result of interest in a style of Brazilian popular music different to the Tropicália and MPB artists who had traditionally been the most popular internationally-touring Brazilian artists. However, in retrospect, few of the groups can lay claim to being much more than cult Brazilian artists. From the mid-2000s the *manguebeat* scene splintered into other genres and sub-genres following a distillation and transformation of influences within the music being

made by Pernambucan artists, with many groups operating within the popular music domain offering a more heritage-focused approach to *nordestina* folk music, and artists producing contemporary hybrids favouring the use of electronics and styles like dub, *brega* and trap (as just a few examples of an increasingly poly-genre musical landscape) over rock or hip-hop.

The legacy of *manguebeat* is clear when visiting Recife. Statues of Chico Science and a giant crab, as well as street art paying homage to Science, are now parts of the city's landscape, just like the references to Gilberto Freyre (whose name is lent to the airport and a cultural foundation, among other things). Though on first release the albums of CSNZ and Mundo Livre S/A did not sell astronomic amounts, their *manguebeat*-era albums continue to be reissued in various forms, finding new audiences. As a sign of their impact and specifically their cultural cache, in 2007 the first two albums by both CSNZ and Mundo Livre S/A were listed in Rolling Stone Brasil's list of the 100 Best Brazilian Albums of All-Time.[131] The only other *nordestino* to feature in the list was Moacir Santos.

131 Rolling Stone Brasil, *Os 100 Maiores Discos da Música Brasileira* (2007) <http://rollingstone.uol.com.br/listas/os-100-maiores-discos-da-musica-brasileira/biacabou-chorarei-novos-baianos-1972-som-livreb/> [Accessed 25 January 2018]

Manguetown – Neglect

The *manguebeat* movement, as already mentioned, was defined by the metaphor of the *mangue*, with its artists characteristically hailing from Pernambuco. Of the few other music genres that are defined in location-specific terms, such as country music or *música sertaneja*, these descriptors are extensions of the terms used to describe the regions where the music is coming from and the people there, I.e. country people, *sertanejas*. They are tied to pre-existing notions of the regions from which they come. Though *manguebeat* was instantly recognised as being tied to new music coming from Pernambuco, the fact that the term 'mangue' was not being used to describe music or people or a region in this way meant that the movement had the opportunity to define the 'mangue', and hence *manguebeat,* on their own terms, as they did in "Caranguejos com Cérebro".

Zero Quatro splits this text into three sections: "Mangue – o conceito", "Manguetown – a cidade" and "Mangue – a cena". In the first section he offers a positive take on what the *mangue* (mangrove) represents in ecological terms, denoting how for scientists the *mangues* are "símbolos de fertilidade, diversidade e riqueza."[132] In the second section the focus switches to the socio-political, economic and cultural problems facing Recife, and in the final section he details what the *manguebeat* scene can offer to resolve Recife's issues, using the positive symbolism of the *mangue* that he had stated in the first section, and which had previously only been used in ecological terms.

Crab Men: Mangue Precedents

The mangroves had not been used before in the way being proposed by the *manguebeat* movement, but it had served as a prominent setting in the works of Josué de Castro, who grew up in a neighbourhood, Madalena, in Recife, which featured mangroves. In addition to his much-lauded and science-

132 Zero Quatro, 'Caranguejos Com Cérebro'

based work (such as *Geografia de Fome*) Castro also published semi-autobiographical tales of growing up in Recife's mangroves and of the close relationship that existed between man and crab, or in other words, the ecological equilibrium and life-sustaining properties of the *mangue*. These works had a big impact on the *manguebeat* movement. We know this through the lyrics of Chico Science & Nação Zumbi songs such as "Da Lama Ao Caos" ("Josué, nunca vi tamanha desgraça / Quanto mais miséria tem, mais urubu ameaça") and "Cidadão Do Mundo", where his name is shouted out; additionally Science has mentioned him many times in interviews,[133] and Castro's name also appears in a version of "Caranguejos Com Cérebro" as an influence.

In his 1967 novel *Homens e Caranguejos*[134], Castro narrated the life of a young man growing up in the mangroves against a backdrop of internal migration and hunger, loosely based on his own upbringing. This continued a line of writing of that he set in the *mangue* and which had begun as far back as 1930 with his essay *O Ciclo do Caranguejo*, later re-published as part of his *Documentário do Nordeste* (1937). In this essay he talks about a family who have moved from the *sertão* to the *mangue*[135] due to lack of food, writing:

> Os mangues do Capibaribe são o paraíso do caranguejo. Se a terra foi feita pro homem, com tudo para bem servi-lo, também o mangue foi feito especialmente pro caranguejo. Tudo aí, é, foi ou está para ser caranguejo, inclusive o homem e a lama que vive nela. A lama misturada com urina, excremento e outros resíduos que a maré traz, quando ainda não é caranguejo, vai ser. O caranguejo nasce nela, vive nela. Cresce comendo lama, engordando com as porcarias dela, fazendo com lama a carninha branca de suas patas e a geléia esverdeada de suas vísceras pegajosas. Por outro lado o povo daí vive de pegar caranguejo, chupar-lhe as patas, comer e lamber os seus cascos até que fiquem limpos como um copo. E com a sua carne feita de lama fazer a carne do seu corpo e a carne do corpo de seus filhos. São cem mil

133 Larissa Lins and Luiza Maia, *Como Chico Science se tornou um cidadão do mundo* (2016) <http://www.diariodepernambuco.com.br/app/noticia/viver/2016/03/17/internas_viver,633130/como-chico-science-se-tornou-um-cidadao-do-mundo.shtml> [Accessed 8 May 2017].
134 Translated as *Of Men and Crabs* and published in 1970.
135 This mirrored Castro's own family, who had moved from Cabaceiras in Paraíba state in 1877 to Recife due to the Grande Seca, a period of drought that lasted from 1877 until 1878 and is estimated claimed 400,000-500,000.

> indivíduos, cem mil cidadãos feitos de carne de caranguejo. O que o organismo rejeita, volta como detrito, para a lama do mangue, para virar caranguejo outra vez.[136]

In this text we see the close relationship that Castro has witnessed between the mud, the crab and the people who live off and with the crab in the mangroves, such as the crab catchers who make their money through selling crabs. Here he sees a symbiotic relationship with the man having to "cair no mangue",[137] to sink into the mangrove, with the crab, in order to survive. Castro's vocabulary is especially interesting as he does not denounce the environment, he describes it as a paradise even though it contains urine and excrement. He sees the fertility of the environment and how this particular natural cycle is even able to sustain people. With the migration of more and more people from the *sertão* to the cities during the time at which Castro published this article, his work would have offered a timely discussion on ways in which food cycles are changing in growing urban environments, and how an area that could be thought of as underdeveloped can actually sustain a community, or at least the family mentioned in the article. This mirrors the picture being painted by Zero Quatro in "Caranguejos Com Cérebro" with the *mangue* being seen for its fertility amidst the underdevelopment engulfing the city. They both retain a reverence towards the environment. The *mangue* was an exemplary place where you could find underdevelopment, hunger and basic living and working conditions, but at the same time this should not be a reflection of the people living there. They, just like the *sertanejos* who had toiled in the drought-ridden *sertão*, were a noble and hard-working people.

While the work of Freyre and Suassuna offered an often-romantic ideal of the *nordeste* 'from memory', Castro's vision was one that was embedded in contemporary social reality, one that looked to empower those who lived in poverty—suggesting that they can be a part of the country's future, not a 'living link to the nation's past'—and who often came up against the

136 Josué de Castro, 'O Ciclo do Caranguejo' in Documentário do Nordeste (1937) <http://www.dhnet.org.br/desejos/textos/ciclocarangueijo.html> [Accessed 1 April 2017].
137 "Só havia uma maneira de desapertar: era cair no mangue." Josué de Castro, 'O Ciclo do Caranguejo'

opposition of international and national state apparatus. Castro brought to attention realities that existed on the periphery of society, such as the tale of the crab men, realities that ran in conflict with Suassuna's magical vision of the region.

Chico Science's relationship with the *mangue* stems from his upbringing in Rio Doce,[138] which prior to being developed (beginning in 1971), had been described as "just a big *mangue*, full of crabs".[139] If we compare the work of Castro and Science we can see a number of overlapping themes. In the preface of *Of Men and Crabs,* Castro writes: "And so they [the people and crabs] remained marooned in the marshlands, caught by the tentacles with which the insatiable marshes sucked all the juice from their flesh and the spirit from their enslaved souls. The mangroves would thus, with a strange force, seize control of the life of all those people, taking possession slowly, relentlessly, completely."[140] This double-edged evocation, when put next to his earlier portrait of the mangroves as a fertile environment that provided sustenance, exemplifies Castro's complex metaphorical use of the *mangue*. It is both symbolic of the area he grew up in, with a society that he holds dear, opining "I reserve to this day the largest portion of my affection for the society of the marshes—the society of crabs and men",[141] but equally it's a society that "vegetates on the borderlines of two economic structures that history has as yet not been able to weave into one fabric." It's this latter marginalisation which he characterises as the "strange force" holding the mangroves back. It's a characteristic which we can see mirrored in the lyrics of "Manguetown", a track from *Afrociberdelia* (1996), CSNZ's second album, with lyrics written by Science, which also sees the mangroves holding the protagonist back:

138 This neighbourhood didn't exist until 1971 when it received its first residents following the development of a new housing project. Later, following an increase in population, it would become synonymous with poverty and crime. Eliane Maria Vasconcelos do Nascimento, *Olinda: uma leitura histórica e psicanalítica da memória sobre a cidade* (Salvador: Programa de Pós- Graduação em História da UFBA. Nascimento, 2008), pp. 260-264.
139 Paulo Trigueiro, *Rio Doce, uma pequena cidade no interior de Olinda* (2015) <http://curiosamente.diariodepernambuco.com.br/project/rio-doce-uma-pequena-cidade-no-interior-de-olinda/> [Accessed 8 May 2017].
140 Castro, *Of Men and Crabs,* p. XIII.
141 Castro, *Of Men and Crabs, p.* XV.

Tô enfiado na lama
É um bairro sujo
Onde os urubus têm casas
E eu não tenho asas

[…]

Ninguém foge à vida suja
Dos dias da Manguetown…
Esta noite sairei
Vou beber com meus amigos
E com asas que os urubus me deram ao dia
Eu voarei por toda a periferia

[…]

Na lama do meu quintal
Manguetown

[…]

Fui no mangue catar lixo
Pegar caranguejo, conversar com urubu.

In these lyrics we find the protagonist stuck in the *lama*, confined to *manguetown*. As with Castro's work, this has a socio-political context. The *mangue*, in *Of Men and Crabs*, is not just a setting, it's also a metaphor for inequality and the state neglect of Brazil's peasant classes, the dominant powers keeping their subordinates confined. This idea of being marginalised is pertinent to the importance of the *manguebeat* movement. When the "Caranguejos" text discusses the *mangue* they are detailing an area that is geographically and socially adrift of the rest of the country. Castro furthers his description of those living on the margins in Recife, discussing the plight of the protagonists in *Of Men and Crabs:*

> They were fugitives from other droughts, driven out of the backlands by burning winds and heaped up as human residue. They were emigrants expelled by the sugar plantations…[142]

142 Castro, *Of Men and Crabs, p.* 106.

In Castro's book we find the beginnings of modern Recife, an urban city built on mangroves and populated with rural *caboclo* migrants from the *sertão* and coastal Afro-Brazilian migrants from the sugar plantations. He details how the government was dealing with this influx of migrants and their primitive homes on the *mangues*:

> Meanwhile, the city of Pernambuco was fast becoming a metropolis of hovels… In his campaign against the hovels, the [state] governor made no effort to look for the real roots of the evil. He thought they were planted right there in the mire of the marshlands…[143]

At the end of *Of Men and Crabs* the novel's protagonist, a migrant, dies surreptitiously in the mangroves where his body will decay, nourishing the mud, which will then provide nutrition to the crabs. This again contrasts his view of the migrants as "human residue" and reinforces his use of the *mangue* as a double-edged metaphor, it's both an environment of sustenance and one which is being manipulated/ignored by larger social and political forces.

Flung On The Heap

The *manguebeat* artists use a similar device to Castro's depiction of migrants becoming human residue, using the metaphor of *lixo* (waste). Their *manguetown* is one filled with diversity, richness and fertility, but it is also a tragic environment. In a number of songs by CSNZ and Mundo Livre S/A[144] they use the idea of people becoming waste, and being left to pick up waste indefinitely, synonymously with a feeling of being left behind in society, such as in Mundo Livre S/A's "Édipo, O Homem Que Virou Veículo":

> Isso é o que dá viver catando lixo
> Que falta de educação, mané
> Que tal criar vergonha, quem já viu ser
> Transportadora de bicho de pé

143 Castro, *Of Men and Crabs,* pp. 106-107.
144 In Mundo Livre S/A's "Édipo, O Homem Que Virou Veículo" and "Guentando a Ôia" and CSNZ's "Lixo do Mangue" and "Manguetown".

Na secretaria há uma enorme preocupação
Com uma nova epidemia que ameaça a população
Pois um infeliz parece um mutante
Quando ele anda o que se vê
Segundo a secretária faz dó
O pobre é uma malha ferroviária ambulante
Sua excelência o prefeito homem de coração
Se declarou perplexo e horrorizado
Tanto que já mandou tomar providencias
Todo lixão será protegido por vigilantes armados
Que vão entregar cartilhas aos pés inchados".

In Zero Quatro's lyrics we see him describe the act of picking up waste ("viver catando lixo") denoting either someone who works as a refuse collector or someone who lives from scavenging on rubbish dumps, both descriptions analogous with the marginalisation of Brazil's working class. The lyrics further this characterisation by stating that the poor, who live surrounded by filth, have become a "nova epidemia que ameaça a população" with the mayor having to take preventative measures, clearly insinuating state oppression. The theme of *lixo* is continued in "Guentando a Ôia", where he states how he was born and grew up in *lixo*, then pondering whether he will eventually turn into *lixo* himself:

Nascido e criado no lixo
Quero saber se eu vou perder para bascuio [*bascuio* is a colloquial variation of *basculho*, another term for *lixo*]

It is this image of both being confined to, and even becoming, *lixo* that the *manguebeat* movement is trying to subvert. They are trying to stop themselves from becoming "human residue". This metaphor has some history in Brazilian culture as it was used in the works of the *Udigrudi* film-makers who rose to prominence in the 1960s. They coined a term, "estética do lixo" (aesthetics of garbage), that they applied to independent, low-budget film-making that, according to Dolores Tierney, "demanded a radicalization of the esthetics of hunger, rejecting the codes of a well-made cinema in favor of 'dirty

screen' and 'garbage' esthetics."[145] This was a rebellion against mainstream film-making, but it was also a political statement, as Stam explains: "For the underground film-makers, the garbage metaphor captured the sense of marginality, of being condemned to survive within scarcity, of being the dumping ground for transnational capitalism, of being obliged to recycle the materials of the dominant culture."[146] Glauber Rocha's previously-mentioned essay *Aesthetics of Hunger* argued that hunger "is the essence of [Brazilian] society",[147] as a crystallisation of its political, economic and cultural undernourishment, due to the dominance of the West.

The *manguebeat* artists took the metaphor of *lixo* and made it a component of their metaphor of the *mangue* ecosystem, similarly to Castro, in that it represented state repression, and was able to co-exist with the more positive aspects of the *mangue.* The relationship that the *manguebeat* artists had with the mangroves as a geographical feature, is one area where there was a difference with Castro, as Zero Quatro did not grow up in an area known for its mangroves, and, due to development, by the early-90s the mangroves had became a less prominent physical feature in Recife. Still, the *manguebeat* artists were intent on making the presence of the mangroves felt. In the Mundo Livre S/A song "Sob O Calçamento (se Espumar É Gente)", Zero Quatro writes "Onde há calçamento pode crer que havia mangue." He plays on the symbolism of the *mangue*, reinforcing the metaphor that they are creating, even while the physical presence of the *mangue* itself has diminished.

In terms of neglect and as an environment which provides hostility and fertility, the *mangue* metaphor of Castro and *manguebeat* coalesces. *Manguebeat*, however offer a way to combat the "strange forces", which Castro never managed to devise (at least within the metaphorical *mangue* of *Of*

145 Dolores Tierney, 'José Mojica Marins and the Cultural Politics of Marginality in 'Third World' Film Criticism', Latsploitation, Exploitation Cinemas, and Latin America, ed. by Victoria Ruétalo and Dolores Tierney (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 121.
146 Robert Stam, 'Palimpsestic Aesthetics: A Meditation on Hybridity and Garbage', in Performing Hybridity, ed. by May Joseph and Jennifer Natalya Fink (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota, 1999), p. 70.
147 Glauber Rocha, *The Aesthetics of Hunger* <https://www.amherst.edu/media/view/38122/original/ROCHA_Aesth_Hunger.pdf> [Accessed 9 January 2018]

Men and Crabs). In CSNZ's "Antene-se", Science writes:

> Recife, cidade do mangue
> Onde a lama é a insurreição
> Onde estão os homens caranguejos
>
> […]
>
> Procure antenar boas vibrações
> Procure antenar boa diversão
> Sou, sou, sou
> Sou, sou mangueboy

Science accentuates the same characteristics of the *mangue* as Castro, his Recife is the "cidade do mangue" (there is no reference to a Recife where this is not the defining feature), he refers to the *lama* as an insurrection, it sits outside of the 'system', and he makes a clear reference to Castro's *homens caranguejos* (crab men) and any significance attached to them, but he then offers optimism. Let's find the good vibes, the good times, after all that is what I do, as a *mangueboy,* even offsetting the intention of insurrection as something to be celebrated. As CSNZ had done in concert, creating new positive significance for *mangue* and *lama*, Science does here. He's from the *mangue*, he's a *mangueboy*, that's his identity, and he's proud of it. Combined with the notion of the insurrection emerging from the *lama* the mangueboy becomes a rebel, fighting against the unjust status quo.

This conception of the *mangue* as a new environment in Recife, the *manguetown*, is both a response to, and example of what Garcia Canclini calls deterritorialization, defined as a loss of a 'natural' relation between culture and geographical and social territories, as well as the re-localisation of symbolic systems. Historically, migrants moved from the *sertão* to the *mangue,* Afro-Brazilian populations spread along the coast and through Recife, and they brought with them symbolic systems (*caboclo* customs, the *Umbanda* religion, societal and cultural traits) that remained outside of the discourse on the *nordeste*, and hence outside of the city's identity, they were without territory.

By facilitating diversity, and appropriating some of these systems, the *manguebeat* movement was able to relocalise these systems within their cultural universe. I would even like to make a broader argument which is that transnational marginal culture, especially represented by black music and culture (break dancing, hip-hop and samba reggae) and underground rock (punk, hardcore, etc.), also lacked a sense of 'belonging' to a specific territory, and hence also suffered from this loss of a 'natural' locale. The *mangue* thus also represented a potential home for elements of these separate patrimonies, as well as those from the *nordeste*.

In an essay on *baile funk*, George Yúdice states that the attendees of funk parties, by their allegiance to the form, were "opting out of other musics, particularly those most identified with Brazilian nationalism, or, more locally, cultural citizenship in Rio de Janeiro".[148] The same can be said of *manguebeat*. Though its not made explicit in their lyrics or texts, the fact that the movement sought to create their own cultural universe (highlighted by the parties and festivals they played/promoted in Recife, the *Manguenius* website, their participation in carnival, the various radio shows presented by *manguebeat* artists) and territory shows a clear dissatisfaction with the established order. *Manguetown*, and its clear link to Recife, show that they were in effect cultivating a local cultural citizenship.

148 George Yúdice, 'The Funkification of Rio', in *Microphone Fiends: Youth Music & Youth Culture*, ed. by Andrew Ross & Tricia Rose (New York & London: Routledge, 1994), p. 203.

Manguetown – Diversity

In “Caranguejos com Cérebro”, Zero Quatro goes beyond any ecological and socio-economic basis of the *mangue*, and any corresponding connotations of marginality or neglect, to use the *mangue* instead as a metaphor for the diversity and cultural creativity of the city. Here he transposes the qualities that Castro had bestowed upon the *mangue* to the field of culture. He wishes to confer upon the scene of which he is part the symbols of fertility, diversity and richness. He does this by describing the hundreds of bands in Recife that are part of a new scene (fertility), listing the myriad multicultural influences that have impacted upon the scene (diversity) and asserting that the scene needs to be part of a global network, a sign of confidence in the quality of their work and hence implying its richness. He even returns to Castro’s ideas of a crab-man cycle, albeit replacing the crab with culture, to state that once Recife becomes part of the global music network, the city’s fertility will be replenished cyclically as culture ebbs and flows between Recife and the rest of the world.

Diverse Differences

Of these three attributes, it is diversity that marks the biggest break with the *nordeste*’s previous image. Richness and fertility are both qualities that are evident in Freyre’s utopic vision of a neo-colonial Recife and in Suassuna’s mythic *sertão*. In Freyre’s case, due to his espousal of a multi-ethnic Brazil in achieving an ideal synthesis, a case could be put forward for diversity too, but his diverse Brazil was dominated by the elite. It was they, as “mestres”, who chose what elements of ethnic Brazil to include as part of its identity, and hence this notion of diversity must be seen through the paradigm of asserting dominance.

The *manguebeat* movement represented diversity since its artists were drawn from different races, classes and levels of education, and because of its

aforementioned wide-ranging influences, encompassing primarily lowbrow (rap, hardcore, punk) and middlebrow (rock, MPB) musical styles. Hilton Lacerda sees the meeting of Science and Zero Quatro, and their diverse approaches as being at the very heart of what *manguebeat* is: "One came with his black music and hip hop inheritance... On the other end, the anarchic-samba and punk rock inheritance of the Montenegros [using Fred Zero Quatro's paternal name] and their followers. Now the plot thickens. And then, in a very different scene, the crabs start outlining a brain."[149]

Committed Bricoleurs

In Science and Zero Quatro, the movement possessed leaders who could be described as craftsmen in Bourdieu's sense, those whose return on cultural capital is less defined by technical competency than "familiarity with the culture of the dominant class and a mastery of the signs and emblems of distinction and taste",[150] a classification that Bourdieu describes as a refuge for offspring of the dominant class who were excluded from the education system for whatever reason, but which can also be used here as a distinction for those who either did not attend university or whose education cannot be said to have a defining mark on their career. With Science and Zero Quatro we witness musicians whose earliest compositions are not marked by technical excellence[151] but rather their ideologies and the symbolic capital of their influences. They all showed an awareness of the musics that were popular amongst the dominant classes, but rather than follow those styles they offered an alternative version led by a belief in their own tastes, with underground US culture (rap), alternative European culture (British post-punk) and 'rediscovered' heritage (i.e. Josué de Castro, *coco*, *maracatu*) being some of

149 Hilton Lacerda, 'Fome de Geografia' in *Ocupação Chico Science* (São Paulo: Instituto Itaú Cultural, 2010).
150 Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, 8th ed (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 141.
151 Here I refer to the fact that their early works are not seen as pinnacles in the compositional or production sense. There is a roughness to the sound production, there are many songs that explore structural, harmonic and instrumental ideas but have a feeling of being unfinished or not taken to a level where there is a consistent quality across the albums. It is definitely the case that Mundo Livre S/A's albums, and some of those by Nação Zumbi showed improved production qualities and more mature songwriting following the initial peak of the movement.

the markers they used either musically or symbolically (in texts, interviews, etc.). In that sense, they can be defined as craftsmen in the same sense that avant-garde booksellers and record dealers (to use two of Bourdieu's examples in *Distinction*) can be deemed thus.

I will further this distinction by referring to Science and Zero Quatro as being what Levi-Strauss[152] calls *bricoleurs*, in that they work with "whatever is at hand", using heterogeneous tools and equipment that they have collected but which, prior to being presented with a project, had no pre-defined use. We can see this in "Caranguejos com Cérebro" in the way that they use symbolism from Josué de Castro and futurism (i.e. the antenna symbol), cherry pick a Washington study as evidence of neglect, use the regional culture that they grew up with and the scene that they have become a part of, all to create the issue (the project) and their solution. Levi-Strauss specifies that the difference between a *bricoleur* and a craftsman is that a *bricoleur* will use "devious means" and, Science and Zero Quatro, who ultimately are not experts on social or economic development within urban spaces, are devious in regards to how they present the problem and its solution. Their text lacks scientific rigour, yet it was effective in both giving voice to the issue and in presenting a solution that they sought to achieve.

Yet, surely any counter-cultural movement is led by *bricoleurs*, in that they are working with a variety of non-conformist tools in which to make an impression on the dominant culture? I would therefore add one extra descriptor to Zero Quatro and Science and that is to define them as "committed bricoleurs" as they are committed to a cause just like the committed intellectuals, seeking to change the configuration of knowledge and power, primarily by changing the direction of that knowledge so that it comes from "below" in the hierarchy of power. The reason I don't label the *mangueboys* "committed intellectuals", despite their use of clearly intellectualised reasoning is because, as popular musicians, they are following a different lineage of

152 Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), pp. 16-22.

thought and traditions to that of the intellectuals.

The role of Science and Zero Quatro as craftsmen, and especially Bourdieu's notion of "artistic craftsmen" who are close to small businessmen as they make their living from selling their craft, can be seen in their first national TV appearance, on São Paulo's Programa Livre show in 1993, in which CSNZ perform a song and the presenter then talks with both about their bands and the scene in Recife.[153] Both Science and Zero Quatro reinforce the ideas they have already expressed in "Caranguejos com Cérebro" – the fusion of regional with universal, the symbolism of the *mangue, caranguejo* and *antenna.* They are essentially marketing their product, outlining why they are different to the other musicians working in Brazil. The show allows them the opportunity to accrue cultural capital from their unique conception of a *nordestino* identity. This was a chance for national TV viewers to gain an idea of a contemporary and urban *nordeste*.

As committed bricoleurs in an increasingly hyper-connected world, they were able to look beyond what was happening in their local environment to embody identities from around the globe. With this in mind, could it be argued that their diversity is a consequence, striking in its distinction, because of their global outlook?

Anti-Intellectual Culture and Changing Authenticity

Peterson & Kern[154] found that diversity in musical tastes (defined as highbrow, middlebrow and lowbrow with different genres apportioned to these categories) in the US from the 1980s onwards may be due to a number of different factors, all of which stem from what they see as a generational change that has seen elite snobbery replaced with what they describe as "omnivorous appropriation". In their research they showed that people in the USA who would commonly be thought of as having highbrow tastes changed their

153 Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fIiGlXVFxY [accessed 30 January 2019]
154 Richard A. Peterson and Roger M. Kern, "Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore", *American Sociological Review*, 61.5 (1996), 900-907 (pp. 900-907).

appreciation of lowbrow music genres from 1982 to 1992. They showed that while these elitists continued to hold mainstream, middlebrow music in the same regard they showed much more fondness for lowbrow music such as rock, country and gospel in the later study. Their idea of omnivorous appropriation stems from the fact that education, access to information and changing attitudes to popular culture have led to a shift from elite snobs to elite taste-makers who promote culture which they feel is relevant, potentially 'hip' and which reinforces their values. The increased acceptance of lowbrow music is hence a way of elites reflecting their attitudes towards race, sexuality and class, for example.

Could this change have also occurred in Brazil, leading to the country's modern intellectuals becoming more interested in lowbrow cultural forms? This is certainly the case if we look at the amount of space that has been given to contemporary lowbrow forms including *baile funk* and rap, which are all regular subjects of cultural studies in Brazil in the 21st Century.[155] An early example of this trend can be seen in a book written by the noted Brazilian anthropologist Hermano Vianna (*O Mundo Funk Carioca*, 1988), which took *baile funk* as its subject.[156] This interest in lowbrow culture from typically highbrow audiences has as its consequence the increased importance of 'authenticity' in defining lowbrow cultural forms as its growing critically-minded audience has to distinguish which lowbrow culture has value. Authenticity then becomes an even more complex construction as it becomes defined by the legitimacy of the artist or artistic community as an authority on its particular cultural form, in addition to the use of symbolic patrimony and local habitus. To this we can also add two more signifiers of authenticity, that have emerged as a result of a modernising Latin America. A decrease in cultural production from the cultures of the elite (film, theatre, magazines) and popular sector (higher education, spectacles), with a move to a commercialised

155 Assessing the amount of research on folk music, including differentiating folk music from appropriated version, would require a huge amount of research, so here I'm focusing on contemporary lowbrow forms.
156 *Brazilian Popular Music & Globalization* (edited by Charles A. Perrone & Christopher Dunn) and *Microphone Friends: Youth Music & Youth Culture* are two examples of anthologies that also feature chapters on baile funk, and there are many other examples.

market in which opinions are formed by the new providers of culture (radio, television, private galleries, record labels) has resulted in the role of elitists as cultural mediators being diminished.[157] Coupled with the increasing availability of information, which also makes it harder for culture to differentiate itself, authenticity has additionally become defined by autonomy (allowing for it to differentiate itself as the most 'authentic') and its political critique or resistance, e.g. for its counter hegemonic value.[158] If authenticity had previously been defined by its opposition to foreign interests and modernisation, it had now become far more complex.

Through their local and creative autonomy, political agency, use of material and immaterial symbolic patrimony of the *nordeste*, and clear knowledge of Recife's artistic practices (folk and contemporary) the *manguebeat* movement had undoubted authenticity as a proponent of *nordestina* culture, and was able to accrue embodied cultural capital as a result of this perceived authenticity.

The fact that *manguebeat* was born from a metaphor, which signified marginality, neglect and diversity, rather than any particular stylistic or cultural boundaries, and was a movement that included broad identities (Afro-Brazilian, female, punk, Pernambucan, hip-hop) meant that it was able to appeal to multiple classes, age groups, ethnicities and other demographics. The international attention they garnered, as well as patronage of Gilberto Gil and Paralamas do Sucesso, were also important in their quick accrual of embodied cultural capital.

Tradition vs Modernity

The nature of diversity is at the very heart of the discourse on traditionalism, with hybrid genres, of which we can include *manguebeat*, being

157 Nestor García Canclini, 'Cultural Reconversion', in *On Edge*, ed. by George Yúdice, Jean Franco and Juan Flores (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), p. 31-33.
158 Jennifer Scheper Hughes and Ariane Dalla Déa, 'Introduction: Authenticity and Resistance: Latin American Art, Activism, and Performance in the New Global Context', *Latin American Perspectives*, 39.2 (2012), 5-10 (p. 5).

examples of new forms of impure genres in the modern world. García Canclini describes these impure genres as being "places of intersection between the visual and the literary, the cultured and the popular… [bringing] the artisanal nearer to industrial production and mass circulation."[159] They are hybrid genres that "from birth ignored the concept of patrimonial collection"[160], in that they did not follow the conception of a culture which is informed by a discourse on national heritage. Intrinsic within the notion of hybrid genres is the concept of decollecting, which is the actual process of ignoring national heritage collections, I.e. collections of traditional and ethnic culture in museums, galleries and publications. García Canclini contends that his conceptions of impure genres, decollecting and deterritorialization are important post-modern tools in defeating an impasse that means the continent is unable to arrive in modernity, instead continually defined by enduring traditions. Using these techniques, Latin America will be able to change traditions from being originary to impure and malleable as hybrid genres become the norm.

Key to impure genres is the use of intercultural language. This is clear in the use of *manguebeat*'s identifying names. *Mangue* is an ecological term, bit a technological term. CSNZ's name is a mixture of English and Portuguese words, with the English of Science contrasting with the Afro-Brazilian awareness inherent in Nação Zumbi (simply put *nação* is the term used to denote different performing groups/nations in *maracatu*; Zumbi was the King of a community of runaway African slaves in Brazil). Similarly Mundo Livre S/A is a play on the encroaching influence of commerce in culture (S/A is the Brazilian equivalent of Ltd, a limited company). It's using a term borrowed from business. In their music, we also find terminology from rap, local Carnival traditions, socio-economic studies, rock, samba, technology, and other musical and cultural sources.

The problem with defining *manguebeat* as an impure genre is the ambiguity inherent in that actual term. If an impure genre exists, then so also

159 García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, p. 249.
160 García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, p. 249.

should there be ‘pure’ genres. Could we term the Movimento Armorial and its erudite takes on *frevos*, *marchas* and other *nordestino* rhythms and melodies as being pure? Certainly not. The key factor in separating impure genres from earlier genres, is the notion of decollecting. By moving away from the idea of preserving traditions (and the dominance implied by placing traditions within elite and state-sanctioned spaces) these impure genres are looking to either break with tradition or ease the tension created by the debate between tradition and modernity. It’s for this reason that “post-genre” has become a term to describe new music genres in the 21st Century. By putting more focus on diversity and ‘coolness’ or ‘hipness’ rather than traditionalism, as well as there being a greater appreciation of lowbrow music, post-genres are an extension of the concept of post- as used in post-identity, post-colonial and post-modern in that it challenges earlier legitimating narratives.[161]

Differing Diversities in Popular Music

So, is *manguebeat* a post-genre or an impure genre? In other words, was it looking to break with tradition or critically and culturally reinvent these same traditions? To answer this I will make a comparison between *manguebeat* and other movements or styles in Brazilian music that have shown characteristics of diversity.

It is the tension between tradition and modernity that has helped create the hegemonic relationship between the north-east and the south-east, as the north-east turned to its traditions as a way of differentiating itself from its modernising counterpart. This, as I have shown throughout this thesis, had a huge impact on the culture that the *nordeste* produced. But this debate was not confined to just the discourse between these regions, it was a constant influence on the production of Brazil’s popular music. These tensions would resurface whenever a global trend threatened to have a strong influence on the national culture, i.e. tango, Hollywood, jazz, Brechtian theatre.[162]

161 Robin James, ‘Is the post- in post-identity the post- in post-genre?’, *Popular Music*, 36.1 (2017), 21–32 (p. 22).
162 McCann (pp. 137-145) provides a great overview of the threat felt by US culture in the

In the 1960s a movement known as *Tropicália* offered another threat to national music. The *tropicalistas* were from Bahia and proposed a "universal sound" with local and global influences to show that they were part of an international modernity, and not simply signifiers of an underdeveloped north-east. Veloso pointedly refused to "folklorise underdevelopment", expressing a need to move away from the over-sentimental portraits of the north-east.[163] The *tropicalistas*, in their universal approach, showed clear admiration for the global pop of the West, the European avant-garde and marginalised forms of Brazilian culture (*frevo*, *capoeira*, etc.), and did so through a refined lens. By incorporating influences from Brazil, as well as the more sophisticated elements of global pop (such as The Beatles' *Sgt Pepper's*), the *Tropicália* artists were able to show a creative maturity and join the discourse on Brazilian cultural identity for they were proposing that Brazilian music needed to incorporate more diverse influences, continuing the thoughts expressed by anthropophagy. As with the modernists, they received critical opposition. This was most notably felt as a result of two of the *tropicalistas*' (Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso) first appearances on national TV, performing as part of TV Record's pop music festival of 1967, with Dunn writing: "artists and critics of the national left regarded the experiments of Gil and Veloso with suspicion, if not hostility."[164]

This approach of the *Tropicália* movement to influences is mirrored in *manguebeat* when looking at the influences from the "Caranguejos" text: "Chaos Theory, World Music, Legislation about means of communication, ethnic Conflicts, Hip Hop, Chance, Bezerra da Silva, Virtual Reality, Sex, Design, Violence". Here the marginalised samba singer Bezerra da Silva is named alongside the global yet marginalised style of hip hop (or at least it was marginalised at this point in history) and the emerging style of world music that here denotes a Western genre that incorporated principally African and African-

1930s.
163 Christopher Dunn, *Brutality Garden*, (USA: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 69.
164 Dunn, p. 68.

derived influences into global pop music (I.e. Paul Simon working with Brazil's Olodum and also with South African musicians for *Graceland*; Michael Jackson's work with Olodum in Brazil was another touchstone). There is a mixture of local and global musical influences, though with the focus on marginalised forms. The other influences (chaos theory, ethnic conflicts, virtual reality, sex) reflect an awareness of global issues in the modernised world and a will to be involved in the discussions of those issues. It also shows an intercultural language, which is a hallmark of the *Tropicália* movement as well.

In *Tropicália* the intercultural language is clear in the referencing found in a song like Caetano Veloso's "Alegria, Alegria" (which mentions Brigitte Bardot and Coca-Cola) or "Bat Macumba"[165] (which transforms the ambiguous phrase "Bat Macumba", of which the word "macumba" in this sense was using a term for Afro-Brazilian witchcraft, into the cultural reference of "Batman") and in the close relationship that the movement's musicians (Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Os Mutantes, Gal Costa, Tom Zé) had with contemporary poets, film-makers and artists. Veloso's use of an image by artist Hélio Oiticica, "Seja Marginal, Seja Herói", as part of his stage show is an example of this.

Tropicália used intercultural language, just as *manguebeat*, and so can lay claim to being an impure genre. Likewise, decollecting, itself an extension of impure genres in its conception as unpatrimonial, can be evidenced by the TV Record pop music festival in which Gilberto Gil performed with a band featuring the rock group Os Mutantes (complete with electric guitar) and *berimbau* (an instrument not associated with popular music) and Caetano Veloso performed with the Argentine group The Beat Boys. Aside from the fact that they were using instruments, in particular the electric guitar, which were deemed controversial in the national discourse on Brazilian music, Veloso's performing with a group who had no Brazilian music heritage and who he never worked with again, highlights an attitude of uprooting heritage. At the same time, an argument can be made that the movement was not "impure from

165 Which was written by Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso, and originally performed by Os Mutantes

birth", as per Garcia Canclini's description. In fact, the first albums by Gil, Veloso and Costa, pre-Tropicália, were all bossa nova albums. This shows that stylistically they were at first prepared to seek fame by continuing previous traditions.

If there was an attempt by Tropicália to create a new territory in Brazil then it was through their focus on form and language, using concrete poetry as much as lyrics in the popular music tradition, as there are few common subjects throughout the canon of *Tropicália* songs (released between 1967-69). It was only later (in the 1970s) that Gilberto Gil, in particular, offered ideas of a "home state" other than Bahia in his work, exploring his African heritage in various ways.

The focus of the *Tropicália* movement was related to ideas of Brazilian national identity (not regional identities) and an aim of liberating Brazilian culture from its stylistic and ideological constraints. Their aim was not necessarily to break Brazilian traditions, but to create a schism in Brazilian popular music that would allow them to become a part of the national popular music themselves. They wished to reinvent Brazilian cultural traditions, and were successful in doing so. When Gil and Veloso returned from their exile in London they gradually became canonical figures in the mainstream genre known as MPB. In fact, the albums and singles they released once they returned to Brazil were far better received than any of the work they released during the *Tropicália* movement.

Did the *manguebeat* artists follow established principles of asserting an 'avant-garde' artistic invention in order to become part of the popular music tradition itself? As argued earlier, what's clear in the "Caranguejos com Cérebro" text is that it's a movement primarily concerned with the socio-economic situation in Recife and is using culture as a means of affecting that situation. There is no overt notion within that text to change the form of Brazilian popular music. They were not seeking to rebel from bourgeoisie musical practices in the way that Tropicália so clearly set out. Their rebellion,

their insurrection, was from out of the *lama*/*mangue* of Recife, their own social-cultural-political environment.

The major distinction between *manguebeat* and previous movements such as *Tropicália* and Movimento Armorial was their socio-political agency. This was a movement which not only wanted to change the fabric of Brazilian popular music, it also wanted to affect change in the social and political order —in a similar vein to the work of committed intellectuals such as Castro, Cabral and Rocha—and it's for that reason that I label Science and Zero Quatro as committed bricoleurs. They continued a line of modernist and avant-garde theory in the conception of their work, but did not do so to deconstruct and reconstruct traditions from the ground up. They were critical traditionalists. They renovated traditions, using their habitus as signs of authenticity (instead of the stereotyped signs that had become hallmarks of 'authenticity' in *nordeste* discourse). Their creation of a cultural universe and broad artistic community evoked some of the *nordeste*'s most desired traditionalist qualities (with the loss of community coming at a cost of modernisation) while their diversity, impurities and marginalised character were all, using García Canclini's tools, signs of a modern Latin American identity.

Power and Infrastructure

Regional Tensions

As has been described, *manguebeat* was a post-modern movement, not just looking to break from tradition, but also to empower the marginalised north-east through the creation of new territories and expanded impure genres, departing from the dominant discourses of both the *nordeste* and popular cultural tradition. This was undoubtedly a counter-hegemonic movement and, as such, found opposition in the regional state apparatus, which in the case of the cultural *nordeste*, was dominated by the figure of Ariano Suassuna.

Suassuna, like Freyre before him, was a traditional intellectual. He came from a privileged, academic background and was able to use his credentials, and the political power that came from his social class and familial upbringing, to assert intellectual dominance, contributing to a hegemony that was in place regionally in the north-east. His ethos did change, from liberal student theatre to the erudite culture of Movimento Armorial, but this was always in tune with the political ideology of the time, and especially the major shift that turned Brazil from a country undertaking radical socialist reforms in the early 60s to one governed by a military dictatorship for close to 25 years. He very rarely challenged the state, a fact that will, as per Gramsci, have aided in furthering his own ambitions and dominance. As he accrued further titles (member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, promotions within the university, state dignitary roles, etc.) this built up his institutionalized cultural capital to the point where in the 1980s Suassuna was one of the most important figures in Pernambucan culture, and as such a spokesperson for Pernambuco (and the wider north-east region) in the national arena.

The initial opposition that the *manguebeat* movement experienced from Suassuna was felt on a personal level as Suassuna was one of the professors who Fred Zero Quatro studied under at UFPE for a journalism course. He was

a professor who shocked Zero Quatro with his disdain for Western music, reserving particular vitriol for the use of "[electric] guitars and whatever contemporary instrument".[166] When the *manguebeat* movement began they were attacked by purists, amongst them Suassuna who took umbrage at Chico Science's use of an English word in his name, criticising that to be Brazilian Chico Science should use the Portuguese word for science, "ciência".[167] Here, we can see Suassuna attacking Science for not following traditions and instead opting to use intercultural language. In retaliation to Suassuna's opposition, Fred Zero Quatro would compose "O Africano e o Ariano" about him, creating a dichotomy between the oppressed figure of the African and the opposing force of 'Ariano'. Suassuna, in return, attacked Zero Quatro at the Festival de Inverno da Garanhuns[168]. It is hard to locate adequate sources that document either this particular attack or the conflict in general, as Galinsky has also noted,[169] though the following quote from Zero Quatro provides nevertheless clear evidence of the split between the *manguebeat* artists and the local government and elites:

> There is in Recife a hegemony of a certain regionalist, folkloric, traditionalist aesthetic, which is totally suffocating. The public organs, the channels that would be able to promote a certain cultural rebirth, since the economy was totally destroyed, were and are all immersed in the official regionalism, which has an academic and erudite arm, the Movimento Armorial, and a more folkloric branch, which I am accustomed to call macumba [a Brazilian syncretic religion] for the tourist. The dominant cultural politics in Recife always were this, to folklorise, to stagnate or else surround itself with the erudite, as the Movimento Armorial does. It judges itself the proprietor of the regional folk culture. Nobody else could want to drink from this fountain.[170]

In a separate interview Zero Quatro would elaborate on Suassuna's

166 Júlia Bezerra and Lucas Reginato, *Manguebeat (*Kindle edition, 2017), Chapter Ariano Suassuna.
167 Bezerra and Reginato.
168 The exact date for this is not cited, but it's stated that it happened in the same epoch. Bezerra and Reginato.
169 Philip Galinsky, "Maracatu Atômico": Tradition, Modernity, and Postmodernity in the Mangue Movement of Recife, Brazil (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 24.
170 Bim Abramo, 'Da Lama 51 Fama'. *Repu'blica* (July 1997), pp. 74.

vision of an erudite north-eastern music, accusing the Armorial movement of "difundindo sem o menor escrúpulo mundo afora uma versão mais "educada" do que a original – pouco importando que os "mestres" permaneçam ignorados, isolados em sua ingenuidade, desinformação e miséria."[171] Suassuna, with his novels and Movimento Armorial, wished to conserve north-eastern culture. His aim was to control its value as a "work of art", trapped in a rigid collection, its future worth completely dependent on its heritage value.

Adolfo Colombres, in an essay on oral culture and its appropriation by others, talks of elite figures as behaving like "jealous guardians of the 'integrity' of codified texts in opposition to the writers and poets from the society",[172] further stating that "orality, unlike writing and the media, is not unidirectional insofar as it does not expropriate from the people their creativity and the cultural control of their stories in order to transfer them to a group of specialists responsible to the elites." While this is superficially true of Suassuna it doesn't account for the fact that the Movimento Armorial combined two pedagogic functions: it brought Pernambucan customs to wider national attention and in so doing empowered the practitioners of 'folk arts', yet at the same time it instructed people to view Pernambucan 'folk art' as a static, backward-looking 'heritage' that should be performed or reproduced only under the curatorial control of bourgeoisie intellectuals, which was authoritarian and disempowering.

Suassuna's hegemony was real, especially in Pernambuco, but it was limited. The *manguebeat* artists were able to find platforms regionally, nationally and internationally (record labels, touring circuits, TV shows) that were far away from the traditional mediums of Suassuna. Through these channels they accrued embodied cultural capital, and as a result saw a change in attitude from the local government. Following their quick rise to success Zero Quatro said in 1997: "Only now, because it doesn't work any more to

171 Fred Zero Quatro, 'Vivemos a longa era da pilhagem', Suplemento Cultural – Diário Oficial do Estado de Pernambuco, January-February 1998 (p.31).
172 Adolfo Colombres, 'Literatura Popular. Palabra y Artificio: Las Literaturas "Bárbaras"', in *América Latina Palabra y Cultura*, ed. by Ana Pizarro (Chile: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2013), p. 170.

deny the strength of the movement, they've begun to provide some support here and there"[173], suggesting a change, albeit modest, in the government's attitude.

Rock Nacional

The national music circuit that provided the framework for the *manguebeat* movement to circumnavigate any oppression of their ideas by the regional elite was also one that was, at times, oppositional to culture from outside of the dominant south-east axis of Rio and São Paulo, which had been a dominant force on music right up until the beginning of the 1990s, as exemplified by the fact that north-eastern music had always needed to become inculcated to the music industry through the hegemonic south-east (*canções sertanejas*, *Luiz Gonzaga*, etc.,). This was clearly the case with the emergent movement of Brazilian rock (BRock) that became hugely popular in the 80s and 90s, especially among middle-class audiences, and which, according to Teles, created a dearth of opportunities for north-eastern music: "os 80 foram anos de hegemonia do BRock na música nacional. As gravadoras colhiam sua matéria-prima no Rio, em Brasília, um pouco menos em São Paulo e Porto Alegre […] ofuscaram os nordestinos."[174] The focus of BRock mainly in the south-east and Brasília can also be seen as a reflection of the genre's perception and consumption as a 'white' music genre, just like its US antecedent. The racial diversity of the north-east meant there was neither the audience for BRock or the necessary racial make-up for *nordestinos* to 'authentically' perform the music without significant appropriation. The outlook for *nordestinos* looking for relatable identities in mainstream music were certainly poor at this time. There were only a very select few north-eastern musicians getting any national press (Elba Ramalho, Zé Ramalho, Alceu Valença, Lenine), with some of those having their most-heralded work in the 1970s. These were also artists who were operating within the parameters of MPB, and often recording and performing in Rio and São Paulo.

173 Bim Abramo, "Da Lama 51 Fama". *Repu'blica* (July 1997), p. 75.
174 José Teles, *Do Frevo ao Manguebeat* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2000), p. 225.

Yet, while it was the case in the 1980s that BRock was predominantly focused on the south-east (with Brasília and Porto Alegre also important hubs), the decade also saw a rise in popularity for new, regional styles such as *axé* and samba-reggae (both emanating from Bahia), and *sertaneja* (which was by now akin to a music industry in itself that operated from the south and central states, but marked a shift from urban to rural styles there, and involved a markedly-different live music circuit in that region). McCann describes this break from Rio-SP dominance, which happened around 1989, as owing to "the once-provincial cities [becoming] capitals in a new network of transmission and distribution",[175] highlighting the increasing importance of the urban peripheries as centres of music production and a shift towards the informal cultural sector (i.e. by the sale of music direct from artist to audience). *Baile funk* and rap were two other forms of music, focused on the peripheral favelas of Rio and São Paulo respectively, that began to find some traction in the 1980s due to these very same reasons.

In the case of *axé* and *sertaneja*, as well as *pagode*, a type of samba from Rio de Janeiro, three of the most popular new forms of Brazilian music in the 80s, it is also true that their popularity represented a break from the intellectual dominance of Brazilian music. From samba, through bossa nova and on to MPB, Brazil's most popular musical styles had been manipulated by state and intellectual actors to follow nationalistic ideals, with sophistication and 'rootedness' being chief amongst the desired characteristics.[176] The simplification of these ideals—their simpler, rhythmic structures and sing-along vocal lines were signs of less sophistication; while their surfeit of roots was highlighted by the use of electronic instruments and low-quality sonic productions—in *axé, sertaneja* and *pagode* during the 80s led to what has been called an "alienation of the masses".[177] This music was seen as inferior by

175 Bryan McCann, *The Throes of Democracy: Brazil Since 1989* (London/New York: Zed Books, 2008), pp. 95-96.
176 Dunn (p. 7, 27, 56) cites the sophistication of bossa nova as one of its chief appeals, also detailing how bossa nova morphed into MPB; he also highlights how samba, bossa nova and MPB were all prized for their nationalist identities in defiance of the threat of cultural imperialism from the USA.
177 Frederick Moehn, *Contemporary Carioca* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), p. xiv.

intellectuals, on the left and right, and acquired little critical legitimacy. Yet, this did not stop its popularity amongst the Brazilian people. With *axé* its popularity became such a concern for the organisers of Olinda carnival that they chose to create a new rule so that *carnival blocos* would not over-play the style,[178] a decision taken to defend the carnival's local traditions over what they called a "invasão baiana".[179]

So, despite the low profile nationally of 1980s *nordestino* music acts, the changing face of the Brazilian music industry, as detailed above, was putting into place a number of factors that would benefit the *manguebeat* movement. The first of these was the establishment of media for rock music. The arrival of national rock radio stations in the north-east in the early 1990s was vital for *manguebeat* to flourish, as was the arrival of MTV with its youth-orientated, and hence rock- and rap-appreciative, image. The Abril Pro Rock festivals, as noted, also provided a local platform for *nordestinos* to see the *manguebeat* artists as they blossomed in the national and international press. The establishment of rock media and a rock touring circuit, which allowed CSNZ to support Os Paralamas do Sucesso in Brazil and Europe, gave *manguebeat* another option than to follow the traditional paths, that a *nordestina* artist like Elba Ramalho, would have had to tread, and which meant either going down a route of regional folk music or the more mainstream MPB.

The popularity of BRock, *axé*, *pagode*, *sertaneja* and samba-reggae in Brazil in the 1980s also had the impact of accustoming the press into covering music from different regions of Brazil, and alerting the public to these different movements that were happening across the country. In this sense, *manguebeat* arrived at a fortuitous moment in that it was able to arrive at a point when Brazilian music was opening up to greater diversity, and also to utilise the apparatus that was being provided by a strong rock media. A hegemony governing musical tastes and definitions of what types of 'national' music are 'authentic' or of 'high quality' that had been in place in the Brazilian music

178 Goli Guerreiro, *A trama dos tambores: a música afro-pop de Salvador* (São Paulo, Editora 34, 2000), p. 58.
179 Guerreiro, p. 136.

industry since the beginnings of popular music in the 1920s was being uprooted in the 1980s. Yúdice states that "the transition to an ever distant democracy in the eighties and nineties has brought to the surface the unworkability of social and political enfranchisement through cultural practices that formed part of a 'consensus' that dealt material wealth to elites and ever greater hardship to subalterns."[180] Yúdice cites the emergence of *baile funk* in Rio and rap in São Paulo in the 80s as evidence of this. These new cultural scenes created their own infrastructures and reclaimed social spaces. They arrived with little antecedent in Brazil, they were a reaction to what had gone before, namely to the state's implicit role in maintaining racism. In the north-east the samba-reggae scene of Salvador played a similar role. Much is made of the Afro-Brazilian musicians that helped create samba, but following that, samba had undertaken many changes, with the carnival samba played in Rio having significant rhythmic changes from its African-derived antecedents. What's more, that style of samba had massified across Brazil. In Salvador, beginning in the mid-70s, samba-reggae provided an identity for Afro-Brazilians that they were unable to find in the popular samba of Rio. It's renewed focus on drums and fusion of Afro-Brazilian (*samba duro*, *maracatu* and Candomblé rhythms have all been cited as influences) and specifically Caribbean (reggae) rhythms, offered a modern identity for young, black Bahians.[181] Other styles were following suit.

CSNZ's performance at MTV Brasil's Video Music Awards is a great example of this process of the opening up to diversification of the Brazilian national music scene. While watching CSNZ is still a thrilling experience and their set stands out for a number of reasons, there are many stylistic similarities that can be found between CSNZ and the other groups. For instance, Planet Hemp were at that point going through a phase of mixing rock with rap; *alfaia* drums were also used during metal group Sepultura's closing song (a song which was, at least, ideologically inspired by Brazil's indigenous population and their struggles), the presence of Carlinhos Brown on a number of sets was

180 Yúdice, p. 196.
181 Guerreiro, p. 58.

another example of a charismatic Afro-Brazilian performer from the north-east of Brazil (from Bahia) and, even the most conventional performance of the night, from MPB singer Marisa Monte, featured strong elements of percussion, *forró*-esque accordion and the avant-garde when she covered Os Mutantes' "O Panis Et Circensis".

Conclusion

The *manguebeat* movement did not succeed in changing the social and political order in Recife—this was too lofty an aim—but they did reconfigure the cultural order in the city, and even wider, in Brazil. They showed the potential of new cultural mediators, themselves, as 'committed bricoleurs' whose works were emblematic of a 'modern' Latin America, and who were able to utilise new cultural practices and systems (new media, DIY marketing, a growing interest in 'authentic' lowbrow forms amongst the elite). They broadened the discourse on the *nordeste* by offering a local identity that had multiple patrimonies—their 'heritage' was informed by the material (the work of the committed intellectuals) and immaterial (defined by the pseudo-traditionalists) symbolic patrimonies of the *nordeste*, as well as broader global patrimonies (the idea of worldwide heritage) and a sense of African roots that was being defined nationally and locally. Intrinsic in their success were changing attitudes to tradition, which began to lose its relationship with authenticity, and hence market value, and which was now being used to define autonomous and resistant cultural movements and artists.

The Nordeste in the 21st Century

In 2018, a new TV series on Globo, titled *Lama Dos Dias*, screened. It was a fictionalised story of Recife prior to the arrival of, but clearly informed by, *manguebeat*. Created and written by two of the movement's protagonists, Hilton Lacerda and Helder Aragão (who performed as Dolores e Morales during the movement), the show is notable for showing how *manguebeat* continues to reach out into popular culture, in the shape of a TV show on a major network. This urban portrayal of the *nordeste* shows how *manguebeat* has helped create a new identity for the region with roots in a material patrimony that no longer relies on tradition to differentiate itself from the south-east. The last two films by the Recife director Kleber Mendonça Filho—

O Som ao Redor (2012) and *Aquarius* (2016)—and the Globo television miniseries *Justiça* (2016) are other examples of the urban *nordeste* entering Brazilian popular culture, here exemplified by Filho's critically-acclaimed "art house" films and *Justiça*'s gritty drama for a mass national audience.

It's even possible that *manguebeat* has had an effect on the legacy of Suassuna. In 2017 a new play called *Suassuna – O Auto do Reino do Sol*, a musical based on characters written by Ariano Suassuna, began touring around Brazil, where it received positive critical reaction. The show takes Suassuna's characters and mythical *sertão* out of the erudite environment of the Movimento Armorial to a more popular, national conception of musical theatre. With songs written by Chico Cesar (an avant-garde musician turned protector of the *nordeste*'s traditions) and musicians from Rio de Janeiro, the show offers a more diverse approach than Suassuna ever divulged with his *aulas espetáculos* and their ambitions to teach audiences about the *nordeste*.

These instances highlight how the *nordeste* discourse has expanded, with tradition and authenticity continuing to be used as barometers of cultural capital, but with multiple patrimonies, and hence identities, showing how the *nordeste* has come a long way since being an area of drought, or even a primitive iteration of Brazilian culture.

Appendix

Appendix 1

I have found three separate versions of the "Caranguejos com Cérebro" text: the initial text submitted to the local press in 1991, the version printed in the liner notes of Chico Science & Nação Zumbi's *Da Lama Ao Caos* in 1994, and a third version that has uncertain origins (yet is used in websites created by the media companies Globo and Público, as well as Pernambuco state's official *Almanaque Centenário 1915 – 2015*). The version below is that which featured in *Da Lama Ao Caos*, and which I am showing here as it is culturally the most visible version of the manifesto—it is the version that was published in the Manguenius website,[182] the movement's own news and information portal—, and in comparison, I can not found any evidence of the original 1991 version being published in any press. The majority of the differences between the versions are small changes to structure and grammar that don't affect the significance of the text. However, where there are significant variations between the versions I have made a note.

"Caranguejos com Cérebro"
by Fred Zero Quatro

Mangue – O conceito

Estuário. Parte terminal de um rio ou lagoa. Porção de rio com água salobra. Em suas margens se encontram os manguezais, comunidades de plantas tropicais ou subtropicais inundadas pelos movimentos dos mares. Pela troca de matéria orgânica entre a água doce e a água salgada, os mangues estão

182 Archived at https://www.terra.com.br/manguenius/

entre os ecossistemas mais produtivos do mundo.[183]

Estima-se que duas mil espécies de microorganismos e animais vertebrados e invertebrados estejam associados à vegetação do mangue. Os estuários fornecem áreas de desova e criação para dois terços da produção anual de pescados do mundo inteiro. Pelo menos oitenta espécies comercialmente importantes dependem dos alagadiços costeiros.

Não é por acaso que os mangues são considerados um elo básico da cadeia alimentar marinha. Apesar das muriçocas, mosquitos e mutucas, inimigos das donas-de-casa, para os cientistas os mangues são tidos como os símbolos de fertilidade, diversidade e riqueza.[184]

Manguetown – A cidade

A planície costeira onde a cidade do Recife foi fundada, é cortada por seis rios. Após a expulsão dos holandeses, no século XVII, a (ex) cidade "maurícia" passou a crescer desordenadamente as custas do aterramento indiscriminado e da destruição dos seus manguezais.

Em contrapartida, o desvairio irresistível de uma cínica noção de "progresso", que elevou a cidade ao posto de "metrópole" do Nordeste, não tardou a revelar sua fragilidade.

Bastaram pequenas mudanças nos "ventos" da história para que os primeiros sinais de esclerose econômica se manifestassem no início dos anos 60. Nos últimos trinta anos a síndrome da estagnação, aliada à permanência do mito da "metrópole", só tem levado ao agravamento acelerado do quadro de miséria e caos urbano. O Recife detém hoje o maior índice de desemprego do país. Mais da metade dos seus habitantes moram em favelas e alagados. Segundo um instituto de estudos populacionais de Washington, é hoje a quarta pior cidade do mundo para se viver.

Mangue – A cena

Emergência! Um choque rápido, ou o Recife morre de infarto! Não é preciso ser médico pra saber que a maneira mais simples de parar o coração de um sujeito é obstruir as suas veias. O modo mais rápido também, de infartar e esvaziar a alma de uma cidade como o Recife é matar os seus rios e aterrar os seus estuários. O que fazer para não afundar na depressão crônica que paraliza os cidadãos? Como devolver o ânimo deslobotomizar e recarregar as baterias da cidade? Simples! Basta injetar um pouco da energia na lama e estimular o que ainda resta de fertilidade nas veias do Recife.

Em meados de 91 começou a ser gerado e articulado em vários pontos da cidade um núcleo de pesquisa e produção de idéias pop. O objetivo é

183 The 1991 version add to the end of this sentence: “…apesar de sempre serem associados à sujeira e à podridão.”
184 The 1991 version only lists “fertilidade e riqueza”.

engendrar um "circuito energético", capaz de conectar as boas vibrações dos mangues com a rede mundial de circulação de conceitos pop. Imagem símbolo, uma antena parabólica enfiada na lama. [185]

Os mangueboys e manguegirls são indivíduos interessados em: quadrinhos, tv interativa, anti-psiquiatra, Bezerra da Silva, Hip Hop, midiotia, artismo, música de rua, John Coltrane, acaso, sexo não-virtual, conflitos étnicos e todos os avanços da química aplicada no terreno da alteração e expansão da consciência.[186]

[The 1991 and third version (implying that the third version was also an early version of the text) both feature a final paragraph which was cut from the 1994 version: “Bastaram poucos anos para os produtos da fábrica mangue invadirem o Recife e começarem a se espalhar pelos quatro cantos do mundo. A descarga inicial de energia gerou uma cena musical com mais de cem bandas. No rastro dela, surgiram programas de rádio, desfiles de moda, vídeo clipes, filmes e muito mais. Pouco a pouco, as artérias vão sendo desbloqueadas e o sangue volta a circular pelas veias da Manguetown.”]

185 The 1991 version adds another potential symbol: “Ou um caranguejo remixando ‘Antenna’ do Kraftwerk no computador.
186 The 1991 version offers a revised list of interests, which also includes “Teoria do Caos”, “World Music”, “Legislação sobre meios de comunicação”, “Realidade Virtual”, “Design” and “Violence”. The unverified third version also lists “colapso da modernidade”, “ataques de predadores marítimos (principalmente tubarões)”, “moda”, “Jackson do Pandeiro”, “Josué de Castro”, “rádio”, “sabotagem”, “Malcom Maclaren” and “Os Simpsons”.

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