

BOSSA NOVA AND NATIONAL IDENTITY OF BRAZIL

WHITE IN POETRY, BLACK AT HEART?

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Abstract

The music scene in Brazil was transformed by a new and innovative style 'bossa nova' in the 1950s, developed by young middle-class white men from Rio de Janeiro. Whether or not bossa nova can be considered a music genre that represents a Brazilian identity is an important aspect in terms of how it has been evaluated. This music has been criticised for its foreign influences and its lack of elements of social commitment that can be found in the Brazilian music produced before – samba – and after – tropicália – bossa nova. It is possible that behind this criticism lies a reluctance to modernise samba. Bossa nova emerged during the presidency of Kubitschek, a time marked by a rapid development of Brazil. Similar to the modernist literary movement in Brazil of 1922, bossa nova can be considered to represent a new art that seeks what is typically Brazilian (in terms of language, folkloric elements such as the use of the guitar, and innovation in form). Another comparison that can be made is the one between bossa nova and Portuguese 'cantigas de amigo', which sought cultural elements that differentiated Portuguese identity during the Middle Ages. The comparison of these two cultural objects so disparate in time and style allows, firstly, to study the role of a musical composition as an element of national identity, as well as raising important questions in terms of colonial models, such as; how does the notion of saudade differ in the interpretation of the two countries, Brazil and Portugal? Can it refer to a pre-colonial paradise for Brazil? Can it, in the case of bossa nova, refer to a time when Rio de Janeiro was still the capital of the country? Racial issues are also relevant to be raised in this context: Does bossa nova celebrate a cultural hybridization through music that is 'white in poetry, black at heart' as Vinícius de Moraes sings in "Samba da benção", or is it, on the contrary, an elitist cultural appropriation that took samba from the tias baianas to the rich apartments of white men in the south of Rio de Janeiro?

KEYWORDS: Bossa Nova; National identity; Saudade; Samba

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1. Introduction

The music scene in Brazil was transformed by a new and innovative style ‘bossa nova’ in the 1950s, developed by young white men of the middle class in Rio de Janeiro. It is a type of chamber music for small audiences, subtle both in composition and in lyrics, treating the daily and simple aspects of life. Despite its simplicity, the music is refined, and the themes are romantic with a lyricism “of love, smiles, and flowers”¹. Three key figures of this music genre are João Gilberto², Antônio Carlos Jobim (also known as Tom Jobim³) and Vinícius de Moraes⁴, sometimes referred to as “the Holy Trinity of bossa nova” (Barcellos 2006: 31, my translation).

A problem that should be raised discussing this topic is the problem of Brazilian representivity – and what this representivity means. Because of its foreign influences of jazz, and its successful exportation to the United States and then to Europe, it has sometimes been criticised as not being essentially Brazilian (Barros 1965; Nogueira 2000; Tinhorão 1998). An example is the criticism of musician Dilermando Reis who claimed that the new genre “mischaracterised our music. And it is necessary to fight against this. We have our own way of playing and singing which is threatened to disappear, because our musicians are too influenced by what comes from outside” (Nogueira 2000: 90, my translation). Another example is José Ramos Tinhorão, when he describes bossa nova as music that is disconnected from the popular music tradition of Brazil (1998: 309). Bossa nova’s relation to Brazil’s tradition and to foreign influence is a problem that will be discussed later.

A second reason for criticism is that, different from the popular music that came before and after, bossa nova lacks the characteristics of excess, representing an exuberant Brazil, “the locus par excellence for vitality” (Naves 2000: 40, my translation). In the country of carnival, extraverted joy is a part of the national identity or *brasilidade* (Freire Filho 2015: 420). The samba parades show an image of a country of many colours, festivities, playfulness, and of happy people celebrating life, and Brazilians take pride in this. As Gustavo Barcellos states, bossa nova is introverted music in an extroverted country (2006: 24).

Despite the accusations, Júlio Medaglia claims that this movement is “representative of the exact spiritual characteristics of the Brazilian people” (apud Barcellos 2006: 69, my translation). Due to the diversity of Brazil’s ethnic and cultural traits, it is interesting to consider what these ‘spiritual characteristics’ could mean, and what the implications are of attributing a set of inner traits to a collective. A discussion of national identity is always, to some extent, an artificial attribution of traits to a large and diverse population. According to Benedict Anderson, the nation is always an ‘imagined community’ (1989: 16).

¹ “O amor, o sorriso e a flor,” the title of João Gilberto’s second album

² Bahia, 1931 – Rio de Janeiro, 2019

³ Rio de Janeiro, 1927 – New York, 1994

⁴ Rio de Janeiro, 1913 – idem, 1980

For the definition of a national identity, José Mattoso uses the ideas of the social psychologist Erik Erikson, arguing that three aspects are important: (a) distinguishing one object from another, (b) giving it a meaning, and (c) giving it a value (1988). The nation needs to distinguish itself from other kingdoms, have a political expression, a territory, and an autonomy extended over time. According to him, a national consciousness is a process that can take centuries, and cannot be fixed to a single moment (1986: 5-6). There are different phases of construction of a national identity. Moreover, it is not composed of a single ethnic group or of a single cultural reality (1988: 16).

In the case of Brazil, Roberto da Matta approaches Brazilianness or *brasilidade* with the following words, while recognizing that many aspects are omitted:

"It is country, culture, geographical location, [...] and also temporality that can be accelerated in the carnival celebration; that can be stopped in death and memory and that can be brought back in the good memory of saudade. [...] It is no longer something inert, but a living entity, full of self-reflection and consciousness" (1984: 8, my translation).

Important elements stand out in this quote: carnival, saudade, self-reflection, etc. Another symbol for brazilianness that is considered to contribute to the creation of an imagined community is football. Barcellos, in speaking of a shared Brazilian "soul" and, therefore of common psychological characteristics, centers this brazilianness around the heart or 'cordiality' (2006: 17). Important concepts for Brazilian characteristics are, according to his study, intimacy and intuition. These elements present themselves in bossa nova with its intimate chamber music style, and its many references to love. According to Roberto da Matta "there may be one Brazil, but many *brasilidades*," one raw and one erudite, one "looking back and the other aiming at a longed-for but unattainable progress," and even "*brasilidades* inside and outside Brazil" (1981: 1-2, my translation).

Beyond the question of whether or not bossa nova reflects the spiritual characteristics of brazilianness, we can ask ourselves whether the music represents a reality that is specifically Brazilian. The elements referring to Rio de Janeiro, such as the beach or the Redentor, and the Brazilian variant in which the music is sung, can be arguments in favor of the bossa nova's Brazilian representativeness. Titles such as "Ela é Carioca", "Garota de Ipanema" and "Corcovado" already indicate the importance of Rio de Janeiro. The verse about "the waters of March closing the summer" (my translation) in "Águas de Março" expresses a Brazilian reality because March is the end of summer in Brazil, while in the United States this is not the case. A more in-depth discussion of these arguments will be presented later.

Furthermore, it should be noted that bossa nova first and foremost has its roots in samba, the Afro-Brazilian music that originated from the percussion jams and dances that slaves and former slaves of the Bahia state brought from Africa (McGowan and Pessanha 1998: 19-20). Samba is one of the most popular cultural expressions in Brazil and has become an emblem of Brazilian identity and authenticity. According to Hermano Vianna it symbolizes

“the hopeful fiction that Brazil has transcended racial prejudice” (Vianna 1999: xiv)⁵. In *Tropical truth*, Caetano Veloso refers to bossa nova as a continuation of an ever-changing samba, that was already in a process of innovation towards a more refined variety by distancing itself from fast pace forms (2002: 24). The *batucada*⁶ became more and more reduced, until it eventually resulted in the *batida* of bossa nova, which still shows samba beats, but they are concealed (26). The guitar accompaniment borrows rhythms from samba, reproducing the percussion of instruments such as the tamborim or the surdo drum (Moreno 1982: 134), which results in rhythms that are “complicated, unexpected and yet typically Brazilian” (135).

Irna Priore summarizes the differences between bossa nova and the traditional Brazilian music that preceded it, and thus also the criticism against bossa nova, in the following way:

“Bossa nova was considered elitist (as it was produced by the upper middle class), while samba was produced by the lower class; bossa nova was naïve (its main subject matter was usually innocent love affairs), while samba used more realistic subjects such as the hard life in the slums; bossa nova was whispered, while samba was performed by singers with powerful voices” (2008: 113)

Thus, samba stems from a cultural hybridization and exhibits a strong African identification. The songs express and criticize social realities of lower classes, and advocate for social integration. It is at the moment when this genre gained popularity and became slowly removed from marginality in the mid 20th century, that bossa nova came to be. Possibly, the upper middle class did not recognize themselves in this form of expression, and developed bossa nova as a conservative reaction against the new opportunities for social mobility in samba production. In this sense, the new music could be considered cultural appropriation. This is however a radical point of view, which will be nuanced throughout this paper.

Despite their differences, both samba and bossa nova are cultural expressions of a Brazilian state of being. Even though cases have been made, on the one hand, for bossa nova as a continuation of samba, and, on the other, as a break from it, there is general consensus that it can neither be classified as jazz, nor as samba:

“Bossa nova's main appeal, therefore, was that it combined a prestigious foreign element, American jazz, with a traditional Brazilian form, samba, and, in the process, created a music that was so exciting and fresh that its popularity spread not only throughout Brazil but to the United States and Europe as well.” (Moreno 1982: 135)

From these different sources it becomes clear that the issue of whether or not bossa nova can be considered as a quintessentially “Brazilian” music style is a concern to many, and an important aspect to the valorization of this music. This discussion will therefore be the focus of this thesis. The question I aim to answer is: could it be that bossa nova is an active

⁵ For a more profound discussion of the racial associations of samba and bossa nova: cf. [2.3.] e [4.4.].

⁶ A style of samba characterized by rapid and repetitive percussion.

symbol of a national identity, and activates a particular meaning of Brazilian national identity, with links to the country's (pre)colonial past? And if yes, how? To answer these questions I will focus on several aspects.

Firstly, an introduction to the historical moment in which the bossa nova movement emerged will be presented [2]. This chapter will focus on the music as a reflection of the utopian project of modernity under president Juscelino Kubitschek. As I will argue in this chapter, the socio-historical developments of the 1950s are key to understanding a change in the mentality of Brazilian people, which explains the roots of bossa nova, as well as its popularity in Brazil and on an international level. Then follows a discussion of the relationship between bossa nova and Brazilian modernism in literature [3]. This literary current is crucial to the autonomy of Brazilian art. It is characterized by an intention to differentiate Brazil from colonial models and is considered to be “a genuinely Brazilian art” (Menotti apud Bosi 1994: 338, my translation). Therefore, it is useful to see how Brazilian modernism influenced bossa nova, which developed shortly after. The analysis consists of identifying some modernist literary techniques in the bossa nova lyrics, and will look into the use of indigenous cultural elements that are expressed in a modern register, to see if bossa nova creates a dialogue with its pre-colonial past in the same way Brazilian modernism did. In the next chapter [4], a comparison will be made between bossa nova and the Portuguese ‘cantigas de amigo.’ This medieval type of music developed at a crucial time for the formation of a Portuguese identity, which individualized Portugal as different from its surrounding countries. A comparison with these cantigas is interesting to see what similarities and differences occur in the concepts used for Portuguese identity formation, on the one hand, and Brazilian identity, on the other. A selection of recurring themes and images will be discussed, such as the emotional state ‘saudade,’ the idyllic image of nature, and the representation of women in these songs.

With this study I aim to contribute to the debate about bossa nova’s position in Brazilian culture and correct some of the misconceptions that separate this style of music too much from its future, but especially from its past in Brazil. Whereas studies up until now have mainly focused on the social context that surrounded the bossa nova movement, I will combine this perspective with a formal study of the lyrics of a selection of bossa nova songs, and draw links with Brazil’s colonial past. Even though I will not enter into a theoretical analysis of the music, some of its musical characteristics will be mentioned where relevant. Thus, I would address certain contradictions of the bossa nova movement: the absence of social critique and representation of the lower classes on the one hand, but its production or validation of a certain state of Brazilianness on the other; its introverted nature, which was, however, very successful in an extraverted country; the “white in poetry, black at heart” as Vinícius de Moraes sings in “Samba da benção”.

The selection of bossa nova songs that will be referred to can be found in the corpus. The majority of these songs was recorded in the period from the late 50s until the early 70s. The most famous examples “Chega de saudade,” “Garota de Ipanema” and “Desafinado”

were part of the first stage of bossa nova's production. After 1964, bossa nova became less popular in Brazil due to the changed political situation (military coup). The songs published after this year are considered later examples, these include "Águas de março," "Samba de uma nota só" and "Samba em prelúdio." The songs "O barquinho" by Nara Leão (1986) and "Onde anda você" by Vinícius de Moraes (1987) are the latest examples used in this study, a period in which bossa nova had considerably lost popularity.

2. Bossa Nova: a “Middle Class Ideology”

2.1. Introduction

Because “music cannot be studied in a vacuum” (Priore 2008: 110), it is important to consider the bossa nova movement as a product of its time. Songs often echo social realities and are elements of a collective identity. Therefore, the climate of “liberty, idealism and self-confidence” (Barcellos 2006: 29-30, my translation) during the period of bossa nova is significant in understanding this genre and its characteristics. According to Adriana Evaristo Borges bossa nova was “a strong propagating instrument of a modern country,” (2007: 48, my translation) and functioned as a model or standard that was then exported to the rest of the world. It was a means to draw a specific image of Brazil, one that had already been established, but was captured and exported through this music.

In this chapter I will discuss the historical moment in which bossa nova emerged, as well as consider how this music reflects a new vision of Brazil. Firstly, this chapter will discuss Juscelino Kubitschek’s government, with a discourse analysis of some elements found in his speeches. These speeches are first-hand sources that offer the most accurate insight into his philosophy.⁷ Secondly, this chapter will focus on bossa nova songs, in light of the spirit of a specific generation of carioca middle class during the presidency of Kubitschek. Doing so, this analysis will provide insight in the ways bossa nova not only reflects a specific Brazilian social reality, but also a *zeitgeist*.

2.2. The Bossa Nova President

Bossa nova emerged during the presidency of Juscelino Kubitschek, also called “o presidente bossa nova” (Barcellos 2006: 29), a popular and democratically elected president who served from 1956 to 1961. A few years before, in 1954, the administration of the “most weighty figure in Brazil’s 20th century political history” (Fausto 2014: 193), Getúlio Vargas, was cut short because he committed suicide after a series of accusations against his government. Vargas had been dictator of Brazil’s authoritarian political system ‘Estado Novo’⁸, a system that was inspired by the principles of state corporatism (Vannucchi 2021) and has been called “semi-fascist” (Wyckoff 1960: 757) in the international context of regimes such as Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. Vargas later returned as a democratically elected president (Fausto 2014: 193). The years before Kubitschek’s administration are best characterised by political struggles and instability, with many divisions; between regional oligarchies and populists, between large landowners and rural workers, between *integralistas* and *comunistas*⁹, cosmopolitan and indigenous, north and south, etc. Skidmore calls the period from 1930 to 1964 in Brazil “an experiment in democracy” (1967), with a lot of power asymmetries and remnants of the old hierarchic structures and of slavery. Kubitschek’s

⁷ The selection used is one proposed by the *Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão*.

⁸ As in Portugal under Salazar (1933-1974), with the same denomination.

⁹ For more information about this conflict: cf. de Castro & Ronci (2007: 154).

administration was followed by a very short presidency of Jânio Quadros, who resigned after 8 months in office, followed by another populist regime under president João Goulart, which would be overthrown by a military coup supported by the conservative elite (de Castro, et al. 1991: 160-161).

The years of Kubitschek's administration (1956-1961) are characterized by the president's strong ambitions to accelerate industrial development in Brazil and to internationalize Brazil's economy. In a speech about his Operation Pan America (1959), a project with which Kubitschek aimed to bridge the economic gap between North and South America (Kubitschek 2008: 387), he says: "We know, all of us, that we urgently need to keep up with the pace of the modern world" (Kubitschek and Pinto 2010: 34, my translation). There was thus a preoccupation with modernity, and the pace at which the country developed in comparison with other nations. The ambition to turn Brazil into a more modern and industrialized country appears in Kubitschek's speeches almost as a holy mission. He appeals to God to inspire them and give them a feeling of "the greatness of our mission," this mission being to affirm "the strength and creative power of the Brazilian nationality" (10). He goes on to claim that: "There is no higher mission than that. There is no nobler crusade for those who have become powerful and strong thanks to the spirit of initiative and creative work" (31).

It is important to note the optimism with which he expresses this mission, which is typical of the confidence of a newly elected president. He refers to Brazil as "a country on a fast march to a great destiny, and not just a country of the future" (Kubitschek & Pinto 2010: 19), "a country that does not allow itself to lag behind and marches forward, courageously, helped or unhelped, towards a destiny of greatness" (59). Kubitschek emphasizes the need for other countries to "consider us as a country on an accelerated journey to industrialization" (20). These statements affirm Brazil's independence and potential, and can be considered to have evoked in Brazilian citizens a sentiment of optimism for the future.

A well-known expression of Juscelino Kubitschek is his ambition to compress fifty years of progress into five, namely the idea that under his government a development that would normally take place in fifty years, would be accomplished in merely five (Moreno 1982: 134). His mandate prioritised investment in transport and energy sectors, with a particular emphasis on the automobile industry (Specht et al. 2009: 170). Creating a strong economy, the country would generate wealth and Brazil's social inequality would reduce. Thus, Kubitschek's 'Plano de Metas,' was launched, an economic program consisting of 31 goals (169). According to this plan, it was impossible for the economy to progress without the participation of foreign nations. For this reason, foreign companies made their entrance in Brazil. The relationship with foreign capital is, however, a complex one, and Kubitschek's economic plan based on external financing, first led to a high GDP rate, but later led to foreign indebtedness and inflation (Donnelly 1973: 412; Specht et al. 2009: 172).

The interest in foreign capital was a concern to some, because of the infamous reputation of US interventions. The Brazilian president responded to these worries in the following manner:

“We are no longer a colonizable nation. To believe in the possibility of being enslaved by foreign influences . . . is an offense to our national personality and to our character as a formed people. We are a nation going through serious difficulties, but we are already an important country.” (Kubitschek and Pinto 2010: 20, my translation).

Once again, he insists on Brazil’s independence and worthiness of a place as a developed nation. In a speech about Operation Pan America he uses the metaphor of maturity to refer to the continent’s development, saying “we are mature enough” (36). In this same speech he goes on to claim: “Independently, freely, but always united, we will be able to set the pace with our time” (38). In this quote we once again find the metaphor of keeping up with the pace of modernity.

Despite his focus on modernity, which he saw as necessarily linked to foreign investments, there was a need for Kubitschek to gain the benevolence of more traditional thinkers. In his speeches he would emphasize his care for tradition, “the noble traditions of respectable names” (18) and claim that his policies in terms of internationality did not negate a deep respect for Brazil’s traditions. To cite his words, he simultaneously felt “a fierce love for the homeland and a curiosity for what goes on on the other side” (18). This representation of tradition and modernity, and of the homeland and foreign nations, not as in a clash but as reconciled, will be an important factor for art forms of this period, such as bossa nova.

Perhaps the most daring of Kubitschek’s campaign promises was the construction of a new federal capital, Brasília, created from scratch in the center of the country. The interiorisation of the capital to the high plains of Goiás state had already been a dream of many before, but it was Juscelino who made the transfer of the capital effective. The works began in late 1956, and the new city was already inaugurated four years later, in 1960, with a modern architectural complex designed by Oscar Niemeyer. Brasília came to be known as a symbol of modernity, and a symbol of the new Brazil.

Kubitschek defines the importance of the construction of the new capital in the inauguration speech of the city:

“This newly born city has already taken root in the soul of Brazilians; it has already raised the national prestige on all continents; it has already been pointed out as a powerful demonstration of our will to progress, as an index of the high degree of our civilization” (Kubitschek and Pinto 53, my translation).

It is significant that he mentions the raised prestige of Brazil in other countries, since part of his campaign was to establish a new image of Brazil seen from abroad, for example with the construction of the new city, meant to “offer the world a proof of how much we are capable of accomplishing” (47). This is a moment of exceptional optimism for the future of Brazil. The new capital represents “the establishment of a nucleus, around which countless other achievements will be processed” (52). The president further reinforces this optimism with the straightforward statement: “We will not return to the past” (51).

The construction of Brasília, and more broadly speaking, the project of an ultra-modern Brazil, had repercussions in all the arts. For example in the field of architecture

with the buildings of Oscar Niemeyer, but also in graphic design, concrete poetry, Cinema Novo, pop art, and bossa nova; all of them tried to draw an image of Brazil as a modern country, and depicted ideas of social progress (Gava 2006: 55). These different art forms are thus “a reflection of the preoccupation with the contemporary that had captivated the Brazilian psyche” (Moreno 1982: 134), a reflection of a philosophy and optimism of which Kubitschek was the mouthpiece, a reflection of the ‘Brazilian Dream,’ as it may. Furthermore, the reconciliation between traditionalism and modernization became a theme in novels, poetry, painting, sculpture, cinema, as well as music, a theme that logically came about from being witness to a rapidly modernizing country.

In conclusion, Brazilians saw a bright future ahead of them in the late 50’s. This optimism was not only generated by the economic plan of Kubitschek, and the futuristic city of Brasília with its famous buildings of Niemeyer, but also by the victory of the national soccer team in the 1958 World Cup. The image of the future prospects of Brazil was that the country could exchange its place in the periphery and instead become a developed nation (McGowan and Pessanha 1998: 61). This vision that Kubitschek, the bossa nova president, drew for Brazil was modern, industrialized, independent, freed from colonial links, and capable of shaping their own destiny. This was a Brazil removed from the margin. The new context where rapid developments were achieved brought about a strengthened cultural industry, new consumer audiences, and thus a need for a new contemporary style in music, something unique to a more modern Brazil. It is therefore significant to note that bossa nova’s name literally means “new fashion” or “new way” (56).

2.3. Bossa Nova: Apartment Music

Bossa nova songs are generally apolitical. They do not criticize social injustice the way samba does. This raises the question of why it is necessary to include a section of this study to the political situation of that time. However, it is precisely this political climate that allowed for bossa nova artists to be apolitical. Furthermore, bossa nova indirectly integrated the philosophy of Juscelino Kubitschek’s government, and can be seen as a cultural product of his nationalist and utopian project to create a modern Brazil. The link between the two is not a direct link, it is no propaganda of Kubitschek’s administration, but instead an indirect reflection.

The perspective taken in these songs is that of the upper middle class in Rio de Janeiro, especially the ones living in Rio’s south zone (McGowan and Pessanha 1998: 61). These people are considerably wealthy and embody a generation of optimistic young people. Bossa nova expresses their “middle class ideology” (Moreno 1982: 134). It suggests the idea of a sophisticated life without being aristocratic, of a comfort that is not identified with power (Mammi 1992). Herein lies its novelty and its strength.

As mentioned earlier, the traditional Brazilian samba was confronted with a rapidly modernizing Brazil, and therefore there was a demand for a more contemporary style, with a new complexity and sophistication that the traditional music lacked. The use of instruments

was reduced to just a simple guitar¹⁰, whereas samba relied on a large repertoire of drums, tamborims, scrapers, shakers, etc. Furthermore, bossa nova created a new specific sound, with dissonant tones and frequent key changes, which also involved a break with previous musical traditions in Brazil. The samba rhythms adjusted to a new reality, while maintaining their basic pattern structure.

The foreign influence of Kubetschik's government also echoes in bossa nova songs, with the influence of jazz coming from the United States. Bossa nova integrated foreign musical elements, re-thinking samba in more relaxed harmonies that resembled American jazz. Furthermore, in the early and mid 1960s bossa nova rapidly became popular in the United States, with interpretations by artists such as Ella Fitzgerald, Elvis Presley, Coleman Hawkins, etc., and through several translations of bossa nova songs such as "The Girl from Ipanema"¹¹ ("Garota de Ipanema") and "Waters of March"¹² ("Águas de Março"). There was thus a mutual influence, and a close affinity between bossa nova and the United States.

The positive atmosphere of the decade around Kubitschek's presidency can easily be recognized in the optimism and overall happy tone of bossa nova, even though this happiness is of an introverted nature. The "tristeza" in "Chega de saudade" is quickly overturned by "Mas se ela voltar, se ela voltar / Que coisa linda, que coisa louca" and even quicker in "Garota de Ipanema" when after the first two lines that lament the speakers' loneliness, the song goes on as follows: "Ah, a beleza que existe / A beleza que não é só minha" and "O mundo inteirinho se enche de graça." The focus on love and beauty, along with nature, is a constant in bossa nova lyrics, and expresses a general *joie-de-vivre*.

Another example of this positive tone is the frequent appearance, in these songs, of the linguistic use of the diminutive (Barcellos 2006: 28), for example "inteirinho" in the aforementioned line from "Garota de Ipanema," or "peixinhos" and "beijinhos" in the lines "Pois há menos peixinhos a nadar no mar / Do que os beijinhos que eu darei na sua boca" from "Chega de Saudade," and "cantinho" in "Um cantinho de céu e o Redentor" in "Carta ao Tom 74," to name just a few examples. This use of the diminutive adds to a familiar and light-hearted tone. It can also be linked to a typical Brazilian language, since diminutives are generally more common in Brazilian Portuguese than in European Portuguese¹³ (Biderman 2001: 969).

Furthermore, there is an emphasis on peacefulness, for example "A paz que sonhei," in "Ela é carioca." The image bossa nova draws of Brazil is a peaceful one, in direct opposition with its violent colonial past. On top of that, it could even be considered a utopian image, which is demonstrated in the lines "Da janela vê-se o Corcovado / O Redentor, que lindo / Quero a vida sempre assim" from "Corcovado." The last line implies that the current state the speaker is in is a perfect situation. This utopian image especially applies to Rio de

¹⁰ See [3.3] for a more elaborate discussion on the use of the guitar

¹¹ 1964, recorded by Astrud Gilberto and Stan Getz

¹² Translated by Tom Jobim himself in 1972

¹³ For a more elaborate discussion of the typically Brazilian Portuguese of bossa nova, cf. [3.4].

Janeiro: “Rio teu mar, praias sem fim” and “Rio de sol, de céu, de mar” (lines from “Samba do avião”). The way Rio de Janeiro is presented is focused on its beauty consisting of the simple elements: beach, sun, sea, and sky.

The special importance of Rio de Janeiro in bossa nova, offering a vision of Brazil that almost solely consists of Rio de Janeiro, could be interpreted as a reaction to the fact that they had only just lost their position as the capital city, and given that title to the new city Brasília instead.

The positive tone is connected to the absence of social critique in bossa nova. The music sings in a simple and generic way about love and beauty, and sometimes even just about music itself. Because of this apoliticalness the bossa nova muse Nara Leão distanced herself from the movement saying “Chega de bossa nova. Chega disso” in an interview for *Fatos e Fotos* in 1964:

“No more bossa nova. No more singing for two or three intellectuals a little apartment song. I want the pure samba that has much more to say, that is the people’s expression . . . I have nothing, nothing at all, to do with a music genre that is not mine, that is not even true” (Castro 1990: 348).

Her accusation that bossa nova is not even true is a striking statement. Bossa nova is not true or sincere in the sense that it is not representative of Brazilian society. In the quote she also describes bossa nova as apartment music, or “uma musiquinha de apartamento”. This is linked to a new way of living which was partially a result of successive urbanization projects. It furthermore correlates with a shift in the center of music production. The squares and the famous houses of the *tias baianas*, meeting points of people of distinct social classes and places of pivotal importance to the creation of samba, were neglected in terms of sanitation or simply vanished due to increased urbanization in Rio de Janeiro (Pontes and Cesar 2019: 672). The space of the apartment can be considered as a symbol of a new notion of living, a place of refinement in a modern city. Rio de Janeiro had become a city where the cabarets and theaters of the Praça Tiradentes area were overshadowed by the nightclubs and movie theaters of Copacabana; where the automobile, whiskey, records and the habit of listening to them at home in the company of friends emerged as activities for people of higher social class, and were synonymous with sophistication (672). This new way of living had implications in terms of class and race issues. The boundaries between the interior and exterior places of music production corresponded to different social groups (672). Even though “there is no *a priori* separation of musical expression according to racial or ethnic identity” (Hertzman 2013: ix), bossa nova’s criticism is inextricably linked to racial and social issues. Therefore, the relocation of music production has many more implications than just a change of environment. The fact that bossa nova artists removed samba-like music to this new location, together with the observation that bossa nova artists are almost exclusively white men, suggests an implicit racial bias in this music.

Lastly, bossa nova has been crucial in bringing a new perception of Brazil to other countries. It was revolutionary that a genre that was created in a Latin-American country, came to occupy such a successful place in the music scene of the United States.

“Bossa nova has immensely contributed to the development of a *sui generis* Brazilian identity, suggesting a closer link to love and beauty in an almost utopic way. Bossa nova was instrumental in rebuilding the Brazilian identity not only within Brazil’s borders but also in terms of the overall perception of Brazil elsewhere” (Tremura 2017: 10).

Brazil came to be known as a place of sun, of love and of an endless beach, as sings Tom Jobim in “Samba do avião.” This image is a Brazil of only Rio de Janeiro. Furthermore, his “Garota de Ipanema,” which is about a girl passing by on Ipanema beach, became an iconic image all over the world, and the song is an international anthem of Rio de Janeiro to the same extent that Barry Manilow’s “Copacabana” is. The words of bossa nova artists resonated, especially in the United States, as inviting descriptions of a romantic postcard Brazil, which contrasted starkly with the other face of Brazil that gained international interest, namely the one of the slums or *favelas*.

To sum up, bossa nova reflects a specific social reality and vision of a modern Brazil, which it then projected to other parts of the world. It echoes the lifestyle and optimism of the upper middle class of Rio de Janeiro’s south zone during Kubitschek’s presidency. On the other hand, it might be a conservative reaction against the social mobility that Kubitschek’s government had generated. The music departed from samba, and integrated foreign elements of jazz. Furthermore, the center of music production was moved from a public place outdoors to the private apartments of middle class people. Bossa nova’s affinity to the United States, its rupture with certain samba traditions, and its apolitical themes, are what caused criticism of the genre. However, the importance of bossa nova in innovating the Brazilian music scene and then exporting Brazil’s image to the rest of the world cannot be denied.

2.4. Roaring 50s

The bossa nova president, Kubitschek, proposed a vision of Brazil characterized by rapid developments in terms of industrialization and an international economy. His government generated optimism and confidence in Brazil, especially with the construction of the new capital Brasília. In his speeches, Kubitschek insists on Brazil’s independence and its worthiness of a place as a developed nation.

Being witness to the rapid developments made in the country, Brazilian art forms started to adjust. For this reason there was also a need for a more contemporary style in music, as the traditional samba was considered to have stagnated. This contemporary style came to be in Rio’s south zone, where members of the upper middle class sought to introduce a new sophistication to samba music. Their ideology is one of a sophisticated life without being aristocratic, of a new and comfortable way of living in a modern city. Besides being modern, Rio de Janeiro also has a historical side with a past as capital of Brazil and even of the

Portuguese empire¹⁴. Through bossa nova, the *carioca* people possibly wanted to express that Rio de Janeiro was still the center of cultural production.

Despite the apolitical nature of bossa nova lyrics, it is important to note that it is the political climate of this period that allowed for this absence of social critique. The music has an overall happy tone with an emphasis on peacefulness, representing a Brazil that is freed from links to the violence of colonialism. This positivity is depicted through a frequent use of diminutives, but especially through themes and images that generate a beautiful Rio de Janeiro. It will be a huge leap from this idealized bossa nova scenario to the military coup of 1964, and for this reason the bossa nova movement is considered short-lived, although its influences are still perceptible today.

Whereas in the United States the 1920s or ‘Roaring Twenties’ are known as the Jazz Age, this decade was for Brazil still a time of political and economical instability that eventually culminated in the revolution of 1930. Despite knowing a certain cultural revolution in the 20s, as will be discussed in the next chapter, the decade of the 1950s or “era desenvolvimentista” (Biderman 2001: 964) knew a change in cultural values that spread to a larger part of society, and was for Brazil a more ‘roaring’ time. It is therefore not surprising that it is in this decade, what can be called ‘the roaring 50s’, that Rio de Janeiro flourished, not just in Brazil, but in the whole world. This would, just as in the United States, only be a temporary prosperity, until the military coup in 1964.

Kubitschek’s interest in foreign capital echoes in bossa nova because of its close affinity with the United States, which has been another reason for criticism. Kubitschek claimed that his policies in terms of internationality did not negate a deep respect for Brazil’s traditions, and this reconciliation of tradition and modernity, of love for the homeland and interest in foreign countries, also resonates in bossa nova’s foreign influences that are reconciled with the samba tradition.

Lastly, part of Kubitschek’s campaign was to establish a new image of Brazil seen from abroad. This image of Brazil was exported through bossa nova, which quickly became popular on an international scale. Thus, the perception of Brazil from abroad was one of an idyllic Rio de Janeiro, and implied a closer link with love and beauty.

¹⁴ The Portuguese court was transferred to Rio de Janeiro in 1808, and Rio de Janeiro was the capital of the Portuguese empire for 13 years.

3. Bossa Nova and Brazilian Modernism

3.1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the decade of the 50s allowed for a revolution in music production due to its political context. In this chapter, the focus will shift from political to artistic context, and we will make a jump back in time to the 1920s, which saw a cultural phenomenon, especially in literature, that would set an example for Brazil's self-image. This phenomenon is Brazilian modernism.

The origin of literary modernism in Brazil is *A Semana de Arte Moderna* of 1922, the meeting point of a progressive group of the educated bourgeoisie of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The artists that contributed to the Semana – as for example Oswald de Andrade, Mário de Andrade, and Guilherme de Almeida – advocated for a substitution of the existing national mentality, as well as for artistic and literary autonomy of Brazil. A renewal of the national mentality involved breaking both thematically and formally with previous artistic tendencies in Brazil, for example the ones established by the *Academia Brasileira de Letras* (Bosi 1988: 174). The autonomy of Brazilian art involved breaking with European models – such as Italian and German, – as opposed to creating a mere copy of these trends. A parallel can be drawn to romanticism in Europe, in which authors explored their national past. In the middle of the Romantic period, namely in 1822, Brazil became independent. Therefore, Brazil only sought to explore its roots creating a national literature later, in modernism. The result is, according to Menotti del Picchia, poet and official speaker of the second night of the Semana, that Brazilian modernism is “a genuinely Brazilian art” (Bosi 1994: 338, my translation). Because this literary current is so significant in relation to the study of cultural identity and autonomy in Brazil, it is interesting to draw links with the bossa nova movement, which originated shortly after.

This chapter aims to identify modernist sensibilities, and especially those connected to national identity, in bossa nova music. The first question I aim to answer is: how did Brazilian modernism free itself from colonial impositions? Secondly, how does bossa nova relate to the aesthetic universe of modernist literature in Brazil? In order to answer this second question, some modernist literary techniques that can be found in bossa nova will be discussed (formal characteristics such as concision and fragmentation), as well as similar themes and elements of indigenous culture that are expressed in a modern register. The interest in a colloquial Brazilian language will be discussed in a separate section. Lastly, the two aforementioned questions will be brought together in a conclusion on the links between these two artistic movements, and on how they both affirm an autonomous Brazilian identity.

3.2. Brazilian Modernism: “A Genuinely Brazilian Art”

As already mentioned, literary modernism in Brazil consisted, on the one hand, of a renewal of the existing national mentality, and on the other, of the artistic and literary autonomy of Brazil. This meant breaking with previous artistic tendencies in Brazil, as well as

breaking with European models – Portuguese but also models established by other communities such as Italian and German –, which had up until then dominated the Brazilian art scene. Because of this radical break with colonial models, offering a differentiated profile of reality in Brazil as opposed to Europe, Brazilian modernism is considered to be of great importance to the country's autonomy in terms of cultural identity.

On the one hand, similar to the European literature of that time, Brazilian modernism was a reaction to the modernity of the Second Industrial Revolution, of which futurism was a vibrant testimony. The intellectuals of the *Semana* were familiar with the European avant-garde centred in Paris and were inspired by their *-isms* (Bosi 1994: 332). On the other hand, the Brazilian modernists held a certainty that the Brazilian roots, both the indigenous ones as well as the African roots, request a primitivist aesthetic treatment, which necessarily distances itself from colonial models (341). This results in a conflict between foreign inspiration and the need to break away from the same works that inspired them. Brazilian modernists were thus haunted by the “paradox of forging Brazilian authenticity through foreign modes and fashion” (Lang 2002: 198).

Oswald de Andrade, a key figure of Brazilian modernism, was preoccupied by this paradox. His “Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil” criticizes the imitation of foreign models and instead calls for a junction of modern Brazil with the primitive Brazilian roots, culminating in an artistic and cultural revolution. Furthermore, the manifesto presents an analogy between cultural products and brazilwood (“Pau-Brasil”), an important economical export product that gave its name to the country. Through this analogy he expresses the need for Brazilian cultural products to turn into products for exportation as well. His manifesto was a means to fight “the historical imitation of European models.” Oswald de Andrade can therefore be seen as “a key de-centering” figure “of a New World vanguard” (Perrone 1996: 11), since he de-centered the European control over the arts. Mário de Andrade, another founder of Brazilian modernism, not related to Oswald de Andrade, picks up this economic metaphor in a letter to Joaquim Inojosa in 1924, in which he writes that Brazil would contribute little to the world economy if it produced wine or wheat, already manufactured by Italy and Russia. He writes that the Brazilians should prefer rubber, sugar, coffee, or meat, which, being unique to their country, could help meet the needs of other nations (Moraes 2003: 43).

A few years later Oswald de Andrade returns to the issue of foreign influence in “O manifesto antropófago,” through the analogy of cannibalism, namely, eating the enemy in order to fortify the self. He applied this to cultural influence: foreign influences are digested and transformed into something new and better. By proposing a devouring of European cultural goods, Oswald de Andrade refuses the supremacy of Europe and affirms the superiority of the indigenous element. This cultural anthropophagy made it possible to destroy the European avant-garde as a source for imitation, while at the same time admiring them and acquiring their qualities. The manifesto offers a reconciliation between admiration and animosity towards colonial cultural models.

Through these two analogies – brazilwood and anthropophagy – Oswald de Andrade offers possible solutions to the paradox of foreign influence and Brazilian authenticity, a paradox that is equally relevant to bossa nova.

In the search for an essentially Brazilian literature, the elements that most accentuated the differences between Europe and Brazil were the wild, uncultivated nature and the figure of the Indian, which thus became the central objects of Brazil's national imagination (Pereira 1998: 1). However, it is not as simple as to state that the difference between Brazilian and European modernism lies in its primitivist aesthetic. The European vanguard showed an intention to rescue the primitive imaginary as well, a primitivism that had been lost or repressed by the prevalence of excessively rationalist and positivist thinking in bourgeois society (9). This appears in psychoanalysis, surrealism and expressionism as a search for inner meaning, "the exploration of the individual dreamy world and, in a broader sphere, the marvellous encounter with images and rhythms of non-European cultures" (my translation, Bosi 1988: 103). Even though the use of a primitivist imagination is not unique to Latin America, the angle taken by the Brazilian modernists differs from the exoticism that can be found in European modernism. The 1922 movement "would accentuate authentic aspects of the life of the Indian, viewing him not as a gentle - embryonic man, but as primitive, whose interest resided precisely in what it brought that was different, contradictory to European culture" (Cândido n/d: 20, my translation). The aesthetic primitivism of Brazilian modernism, achieved through a valorization of the figure of the Indian¹⁵, thus aimed to highlight their differences with the colonial models (Bosi 1988: 174).

Furthermore, there is a proposal in Brazilian modernism to think of Brazilian identity as a hybrid country, a "people of a thousand origins, stranded in a thousand boats, with disasters and anxieties" in the words of Oswald de Andrade (Bosi 1994: 336, my translation). This multiplicity of ethnic and cultural traits is another element that differentiates Brazilian culture from Europe. According to Alfredo Bosi, what underlies the modernist movement is its celebration of "luso-afro-índio-caboclo" elements (1988: 136). He refers to the work *Macunaíma*, a novel by Mário de Andrade (1988) about a young man that travels from his home tribe in the jungle to São Paulo and back. Through a fusion of several indigenous legends and folklore elements, the book offers a complex representation of Brazil's different ethnicities and cultural threads. However, in *Macunaíma* there is no synthesis of this plurality. On the contrary, the author insists on the incoherent and disconnected way of being of its main character (Bosi 1988: 136-7). Hybridity, which had up until that point been a cause for crisis in Brazilian literature, becomes a solution in Brazilian modernism (Pereira 1998: 12). Brazil's plurality is no longer a constraint to Brazilian modernists. Instead, a festive affirmation of this hybridity takes its place, which celebrates Brazilian culture as being primitivist, mestizo, and at the same time bearer of European heritage (Cândido 2006: 127).

¹⁵ A visual example is 'Abaporu' by Tarsila do Amaral (1928).

This celebration of hybridity reminds us of Freyre's lusotropicalism, a term that implies a romanticization of miscegenation. Gilberto Freyre's trilogy – *The Masters and the Slaves* (1933), *The Mansions and the Shanties* (1936), and *Order and Progress* (1957) – changed the image of Brazil, regarding it as a fusion of three cultures – native Indian, Portuguese and African. Moreover, it told an alternative story of colonization, one with progressive and benevolent racial mixing at the base, instead of violence. Despite the controversial nature of this theory, it has been crucial in Brazil's self-image and clearly echoes in modernist literature.

Thus, the paradox of foreign influence and Brazilian authenticity is consciously dealt with in modernist literature. Despite drawing on the European avant-garde for artistic inspiration, the literary current consciously freed itself from colonial models. The modernists differentiate themselves from Europe by representing Brazilian realities, in a Brazilian language. Furthermore, there is a new-found appreciation of the Brazilian Indian, a figure that required a primitivist aesthetic different from the European exoticism. Lastly, the plurality of Brazilian culture is no longer seen as a constraint, but instead celebrated in literary works as a powerful element of Brazilian identity.

3.3. Bossa Nova's Relationship with Modernist Literature in Brazil

The two main features of Brazilian modernism are its formal liberty and its nation-building project to self-legitimize Brazilian art (Bosi 1994: 336). It is interesting to identify how these features occur in bossa nova. Because it is impossible and insufficient to analyse a song as if it were a poem made to be read, the musical dimensions of bossa nova will also be taken into account.

A first interesting aspect that relates to the formal liberty in modernism is the liberty of rhythm in bossa nova. Changes in rhythm occur frequently and do not appear in fixed patterns. This is called a syncopated rhythm, a rhythm that is frequently interrupted and is characterized by unexpected stresses or accents (Murphy 2006: 37). These unexpected changes follow the accents of the lyrics sung, thus "[t]he very sound of sung Brazilian Portuguese creates its own music" in bossa nova (37). An interesting example is "Desafinado" by João Gilberto: the unexpected note that occurs when singing the tonic syllable of "desafino" represents a transgression to the harmonic patterns of conventional popular music (Naves 2015: 36). Significantly, this corresponds to the meaning of the lyrics, "desafinado" meaning 'out of tune'. The lack of fixed patterns in bossa nova results in a fragmented music, which reminds us of the fragmentation in Oswald de Andrade's modernism. However, it should be noted that this liberty in bossa nova to transgress from conventional patterns could stem from the influence of jazz, likewise characterized by such irregularities (Schuller & Morrison 1986: 13-15), or from samba which made similar use of syncopation (Chasteen 1996: 30).

Another type of fragmentation can be found in the lyrics of the song "Águas de março" by Tom Jobim and Elis Regina, which evolves from coherent sentences to a mere

experimentation with sounds at the end of the song: “Ida, ol, oite, orte, aço, zol.” This example reminds us of bruitism, an avant-garde trend, closely related to dadaism, which denies the power of language and replaces it with a spontaneous repetition of meaningless sounds and sounds from animals or nature (Kristiansen 1968: 459). This can be linked to the European avant-garde’s primitivist tendencies, since these sounds sought to reproduce African rhythms, and even words from African languages.

A second formal similarity between bossa nova and Brazilian modernism is the use of meta-references. The several manifestos on Brazilian modernism already indicate that these authors participated in self-reflection on literature. This metafiction can unsurprisingly also be found in their poetry, for example in “Motivo” by Cecília Meireles (1939): “Eu canto porque o instante existe / e a minha vida está completa. / Não sou alegre nem sou triste: / sou poeta.” Another example is Manuel Bandeira’s “Poética” (1922): “Estou farto do lirismo comedido / Do lirismo bem comportado / . . . / Estou farto do lirismo que pára e vai averiguar no dicionário o cunho vernáculo de um vocábulo.” The authors thus consciously reflect on language.

This use of meta-references also occurs in several bossa nova songs. Examples are: “Que isto é bossa nova, que isto é muito natural” in “Desafinado,” “Eis aqui este sambinha feito numa nota só / Outras notas vão entrar, mas a base é uma só” in “Samba de uma nota só,” and “pra¹⁶ fazer um samba com beleza / É preciso um bocado de tristeza” in “Samba da bênção,” to name just a few examples where bossa nova songs comment on the nature of the song or the music itself. According to George Lang, this “metatextual practice” that pervades both bossa nova and Brazilian modernism “remains key to understanding Brazilian identity” (2002: 197). The general importance of meta-textuality or meta-references to Brazilian culture can be traced back to Machado de Assis, one of Brazil’s most influential authors (Fitz 1997: 44). This self-reflexivity can be seen as a symptom of a consciousness in the Brazilian arts to trace its roots, and deliberately contemplate its position in relation to its cultural heritage.

A third striking formal resemblance between bossa nova and the modernist literature is concision. Mário de Andrade claims in his manifesto *A escrava que não era Isaura* that the text should be “summary, essence, substrate” (65, my translation). Mário de Andrade differs in this aspect from Oswald de Andrade. Mário proposed a serious modernism, that is edifying and systematic, in which art has a didactic purpose. The simplicity and more refined diction of Mário de Andrade echo in the lyrics of bossa nova. Oswald de Andrade, on the other hand, is a non-believer of any instructive intention of art. His works are characterized by anarchy, and a deconstruction of crystallized ideas (Naves 2015: 47). These features echo in tropicalist music, a style that developed after bossa nova and combines the most disparate pieces of the cultural repertoire. The opposition between the deprived bossa nova and the excessive tropicália, therefore corresponds to two antagonistic traditions within the modernist movement.

¹⁶ Note the use of “pra” here, a representation of spoken language.

In João Gilberto's music concision is found as a perfect balance between the text and the melody, where anything that would destabilize this balance is eliminated and only the essential remains. The lack of emotional emphasis, the soft volume at which he sings, and the use of just a single guitar, everything with perfect timing, all illustrate that anything unnecessary is eliminated from the song. Therefore, the music corresponds best to modernism as proposed by Mário de Andrade.

Santuza Cambraia Naves argues that, due to its simplicity, bossa nova stands in stark contrast with the nationalism of an exuberant Brazil, the modernist nationalism that can for example be found in the music of composer Heitor Villa-Lobos¹⁷ (2015: 38). This exuberance also echoes in *trópicalia* or in samba. The question is whether bossa nova can be considered as expressing Brazilian identity despite its lack of exuberance, and thus, if this extraverted style is an essential part of the Brazilian spirit. Mário de Andrade writes in a letter to Joaquim Inojosa in 1924 that the *abrasileiramento* or Brazilianization that characterizes modernism does not mean regionalism or even Brazilian nationalism. He writes that it merely means that, in order to enter the concert of the nations that were considered to be artistically civilized, Brazil had to compete using its personal part, what singularizes and individualizes it (Moraes, 42). This is how bossa nova is quintessentially Brazilian. It may not be a celebration of Brazil in the extraverted way, but it is nonetheless a celebration Brazilian realities. Similar to how the modernists often wrote tributes to the urban reality of their city São Paulo, bossa nova songs are celebrations of the city Rio de Janeiro. In "Samba do avião," for example, Tom Jobim sings: "Rio eu gosto de você" and "Rio de sol, de céu, de mar." Bossa nova celebrates Brazilian realities of Rio de Janeiro, of Brazilian music, of Brazilian women, and everything that sets Brazil apart from other countries.

Another argument raised when previously discussing bossa nova's authenticity is its foreign influence. To return to the two analogies of Oswald de Andrade relating to the "paradox of forging Brazilian authenticity through foreign modes and fashion" (Lang 2002: 198), it is important to highlight how bossa nova took the qualities of jazz and turned it into a new musical genre. Bossa nova cannot be reduced to a subgenre in jazz. Despite the many influences bossa nova suffered – North-American jazz, Mexican bolero, Brazilian samba, xaxado, waltz and other rhythms – João Gilberto is still considered to have created a new language in music, with his radical break from previous musical traditions and the invention of the *batida* (Naves 2000: 36). Likewise, Brazilian modernism sought to renew previous tendencies and create a new code in literature (Bosi 1994: 331). This new creation should, according to Oswald de Andrade in his "Manifesto antropófago," not be one of *tabula rasa*, but instead emerge by updating the varied and finite repertoires of existing cultural traditions (Naves 2000: 37). Bossa nova can thus be interpreted as an act of cultural anthropophagy. Moreover, the music became a successful cultural export product, just as the brazilwood in Oswald de Andrade's analogy.

¹⁷ Heitor Villa-Lobos also belongs to modernism, and studied in Paris with other modernists.

Another important modernist element in terms of Brazilian identity, as mentioned before, is the rendering of indigenous or folkloric elements in a modern way. An example from Brazilian modernism is *Macunaíma* by Mário de Andrade, which draws on several indigenous legends. Furthermore, his poem “Poema” is inspired by the mermaid Iara, a well-known Brazilian myth. Another example is Jorge de Lima’s *Poemas negras*, in which he explores Afro-Brazilian folklore and its traces in the north-east of Brazil. The interest in folkloric elements is thus not only oriented toward the indigenous traditions, but also to the ones rooted in African culture.

An example of a folkloric element in bossa nova is the use of the guitar for jazz-like repertoires. As mentioned earlier, the use of a single guitar in bossa nova involved a break from traditional music. However, it should be noted that even though samba is now associated with instruments such as tamborins, drums, scrapers, and shakers, the song that is considered to be the first recorded samba, “Pelo Telefone” (1916), was played by guitarist Donga, even though it was originally written for piano (Hertzman 2013: 1) The guitar, being a folkloric instrument, knows a history of associations with criminality, and in the early 1900s guitar players on the streets of Brazil were susceptible to police abuse (53). Wilson das Neves, a key figure in the history of samba, even prohibited his son from playing the guitar, claiming the violin or piano were better instruments (120). The guitar is also associated with the music of former slaves, in music styles such as blues. This was a revolutionary new interpretation of an instrument that was considered to be an instrument of the streets.

Furthermore, bossa nova turned samba, afro-brazilian music, into a more erudite form. The afro-brazilian percussion patterns of samba received a new interpretation in João Gilberto’s *batida*, using the guitar as percussion. There is a similarity here with the native Brazilian music capoeira, wherein the single-string African-Brazilian instrument *berimbau* is used as percussion (Fontoura, et al. 2002: 147). A more specific example of an indigenous element in bossa nova is the reference to “Matinta-pereira” in bossa nova song “Águas de março” by Tom Jobim. The matinta-pereira has several meanings. It is a mysterious bird that lives in the *sertão* and has a specific sound that spreads in multiple directions, but it could also be synonymous for the figure Saci from Tupi-Guarani mythology (Ferreira 1986: 1534). Saci is a one-legged young creature that appears and disappears where he wants thanks to his magic cap¹⁸. A third possible interpretation is that matinta-pereira is an old woman who is cursed to turn into a bird (Fontes 2021). This song by Tom Jobim also contains other references to Brazilian culture: the cultural phenomenon “festa da cumeieira,” the drink “garrafa de cana,” and the local types of trees “peroba do campo,” and “caingá candeia.” As already mentioned, bossa nova artists often sing about Rio de Janeiro. An important word in relation to this city is *carioca*, which nowadays means ‘from or related to Rio de Janeiro.’ Carioca stems from the Tupi-Guarani language, *Kario’oka*, meaning the house of a white

¹⁸ An interesting source for a modern interpretation of the Saci legend is the recent netflix series *Cidade Invisível*.

settler (Cunha 2001: 85). Other words that derive from the Tupi-Guarani language instead of the European Portuguese are the names of places, such as Ipanema or Guanabara. All of these examples establish links with Brazil's pre-colonial past, in a more modern register.

Despite these links with pre-colonial Brazil in bossa nova lyrics, it could be questioned whether this implies a valorization of the Brazilian Indian. This valorization is certainly less present than it is in Brazilian modernism. Regionalism is also more difficult to be found. Furthermore, the carelessness of bossa nova and its optimistic tone contrast with the colonial violence that lays at the foundation of Brazilian culture. However, if brazilianization means using what singularizes and individualizes Brazil in the face of the European art scene, as Mário de Andrade wrote, bossa nova certainly qualifies as such.

A last similarity between bossa nova and Brazilian modernism is their similar interest in representing a typically Brazilian language. As this element requires some extra explanation as to what a typically Brazilian language entails, it will be discussed in the next section.

3.4. Brazilian Colloquial Speech

Since the question of a Brazilian linguistic-cultural identity was part of the modernist project, it is interesting to shed some light on the characteristics of Brazilian Portuguese (hereafter referred to as BP), and how it distinguishes itself from European Portuguese (EP). Due to these different varieties, Portuguese is a pluricentric language (Silva 2018: 838). Different nations apply a different norm, but not a different system.

One aspect of BP is its mixture with indigenous languages such as Tupi. When Portuguese was introduced in Brazil during the 16th century, it first appeared as mixtures with indigenous languages known as *linguas gerais*. The use of *língua geral* was prohibited by Marquês de Pombal in 1754 (Biderman 2001: 963-964), but it has left its marks on the Brazilian variety. Another source of influence are the various African languages spoken by the slaves. During four hundred years of coexistence, indigenous people, Africans, mestizos and whites have been mutually acculturating. However, the Portuguese norm had the upper hand and provided a centralized frame of reference. The arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Brazil in 1808 also caused a change in the cultural panorama of Brazil, with repercussions on the linguistic level (964). Brazil's independence, in 1822, would give rise to a need for a differentiated linguistic-cultural identity, and over time elements that are specific to Brazilian speech gained importance and were eventually written down as a new norm by the *Academia Brasileira de Letras*. The two varieties can thus be considered as being different in *norm*, but not in *system* (969).

One important aspect in which BP is distinct from the European norm is the field of phonetics. There is an important difference in intonation. Different prosodic structures can be found, and these differences can be put into three categories. The first one is the inventory of nuclear contours (Wetzels, et al. 2016: 163), namely differences in terms of signalling utterance types, such as commands or requests. They create different melodies, or the same

contour can have a distinct meaning in the two varieties. The second category is intonational phrasing (163). In EP only the intonational phrase, or the largest phonological unit, shows tonal boundary marking, whereas in BP there can be tonal boundaries to mark the edge of a prosodic unit that is smaller than the intonational phrase. The third category is pitch accent distribution (163). There is a denser distribution of tonal events in BP, and some pre-tonic syllables acquire accentual-like characteristics (Frota, et al. 2015: 280). Aside from intonation, another distinction is the pronunciation of unstressed vowels, which is more open in BP (Biderman 2001: 968). Other striking differences include the palatalization of /t, d/ before /i/ (Wetzels, et al. 2016: 93), the suppression of the final -r in infinitives such as *faz[é]* and *cant[â]*, and lastly the semi-vocalization of the velar /l/ at the end of syllables, such as *anima[w]* and *Brasi[w]* (Biderman 2001: 968).

In terms of morphology and syntax, a few differences worth noting are the following. Firstly, the position of pronouns is different; the postverbal position of the reflexive pronoun in PE becomes a preverbal in BP. Let us look at these examples from Assis' study (2007: 10):

(1) *Sentei-me cá com ele e ficámos a conversar.* (EP)

(2) *Me sentei aqui com ele e ficamos conversando.* (BP)

In these sentences we notice another syntactic difference: the use of the gerund form instead of *a* + infinitive. The forms of treatment differ as well. In BP the form *você* can be found for the second person singular, whereas EP uses the form *tu*. The pronoun system with *você* includes the corresponding possessive pronoun *seu(s)/sua(s)*, and the object pronoun *te* (Biderman 2001: 968). It is thus a combination of second and third person elements from EP. It is also important to note that EP is pro-drop; pronouns are usually omitted when they can be inferred, whereas in BP they are more often present (de Assis 2007: 12). For example (Kato & Duarte 2014: 3):

(1) *A Maria, ∅ fala bem no microfone.* (EP)

(2) *A Maria, ela fala bem no microfone.* (BP)

Other differences include the use of *a gente* in BP which replaces the pronoun *nós* (Kato & Duarte 2014: 3; Lopes 2003), and the use of the verb *ter* with the meaning of 'exist' where EP would use *haver* (968-969).

Lastly, Brazilians make some lexical choices that differ from EP. These are due to (1) a different physical reality and (2) a different culture and history (Biderman 1973). The first reason explains different denominations for fauna and flora, words that in the case of Brazil often go back to indigenous roots. The second reason explains differences in the frequency of certain words. This is why, for example, words as *vinho*, *sopa* and *peixe* are more frequent in EP, and *carne*, *arroz* and *feijão* are more frequent in BP (970). However, it should be noted that there are regional differences. In Amazon regions and coastal regions of Brazil the word *peixe* becomes more important, for example (971). Another illustration of differences due to the physical reality of both countries is in the semantic field of agriculture. Regarding rural life, the two countries diverge profoundly. In Portugal this referential universe mainly consists of small properties. In Brazil, on the other hand, agricultural production is mostly located in a

framework of large properties (*latifúndios*), often of a business nature, that exploit monocultures in huge extensions and that make use of wage labor (972). Examples are small differences in meaning for words such as *roceiro* (BP) and *aldeão* (EP), which both would translate to ‘farmer,’ or between *aldeia* (EP) and *lugarinho* (BP), both meaning ‘village.’ There is also a distinction regarding the denomination of the property. A *fazenda* in Portugal will mean a smaller piece of property than what it means in Brazil (972).

The aforementioned characteristics do not encompass the entirety of differences between the two varieties, but it does give an idea of the main points of difference. With these distinctions in mind, it is possible to move on to the discussion of how and why Brazilian modernism incorporates this typical Brazilian language, and then, in turn, how this reflects in bossa nova.

Brazilian modernism shows an interest in colloquial Brazilian speech, incorporating this *fala brasileira* at a literate level (Bosi 1994: 354). The creation of a national art needed an *abrasileiramento* or ‘Brazilianization’ of language. An example of colloquial language in a modernist text is the poem “A menina e a cantiga” by Mário de Andrade, in the line “Qué mi dá, vó?” The words are cut short and represent the direct speech of the *menina*. Other examples include the use of “pra” instead of “para,” “inda” instead of “ainda,” contracted forms such as “senvergonha” and syntactic structures such as “a carta de você” instead of “sua carta” (Rodrigues 2013: 105). However, this type of language received criticism, as it was sometimes considered to be the language of São Paulo, rather than representing a universally Brazilian colloquial speech (105). Nevertheless, there is an unmistakable interest in colloquial Brazilian speech, and this interest is maintained in bossa nova songs.

For a brief analysis of the Brazilian Portuguese used in bossa nova, I chose the song “Chega de saudade” by João Gilberto. This song is considered the ground zero of bossa nova and was elected by the ‘Rolling Stone magazine’ as the 6th greatest Brazilian song (Spessoto 2021). This song includes examples of the most relevant differences. A linguistic analysis of more bossa nova songs would definitely be interesting, but is beyond the scope of this investigation.

A first feature that can be observed is the palatalization of /t/ and /d/ before [i], with a frequent use of words rhyming on *saudade*: *felicidade*, *realidade*, *cidade* (for example: “Chega de saudade, a realidade é que sem ela [...]”). In addition, we find an example of the generalization of *você* in “Não quero mais esse negócio de você viver assim.” Another element that stands out is the phrase “diz a ela” instead of “diz-lhe.” This syntactic structure with the preposition 'a' for the indirect object is typical of BP. In the next verse, “porque eu não posso mais sofrer,” the presence of the personal pronoun also marks the Brazilian variant, because PE is a pro-drop language.

To find more subtle differences in pronunciation, we will now zoom in on a specific phrase from “Chega de Saudade:” “Pois há menos peixinhos a nadar no mar do que os beijinhos que eu darei na sua boca.” Note also the use of diminutives in this phrase, linked to the positive tone of bossa nova. This is also a way of expressing a typically Brazilian

Portuguese. Firstly, vowels are more open in BP: "menos" is pronounced as *m[ɛ]nos* and not as *m[e]nos*, and "a nadar" is *[a] n[a]dar* and not *[ɐ] n[ɐ]dar*. The /a/ repeated in "darei na sua boca" is a more open sound than it would be in EP. Another difference is the pronunciation of the final letter 'r' in the words "mar" and "nadar." In BP it is pronounced as a sonorous uvular fricative [ʁ], whereas in PE it is pronounced as an alveolar vibrant [r].

Of course, more BP features can be found. Even if an example with *a gente* does not occur in "Chega de saudade", it can often be found in other songs of bossa nova, because it is generalized in BP. An example is: "onde a gente ficava, onde a gente se amava" in "Onde anda você". Another frequently encountered feature is the use of the gerund where PE would use the infinitive preceded by the preposition 'a', for example in the line "Estou morrendo de saudade" in "Samba do avião" by Tom Jobim. An example of a Brazilianism in bossa nova is the word "molejo" in "Samba da benção" by Vinícius de Moraes: "um molejo de amor machucado" meaning 'waddle'. The spoken part of "Samba de benção", interspersed between the parts of the song that are sung, have more examples of Brazilianisms, such as "Xangô" and "saravá". The use of the vocative "viu" in "Este é o maior que você pode encontrar, viu?" ("Desafinado" by João Gilberto) illustrates that it is a colloquial language, which corresponds to the content of the songs dealing with everyday aspects of life.

From these examples we note that bossa nova songs are sung in a typically Brazilian language, and the typical rhythms and words of this variety help to create the specific sound of bossa nova. In addition to the phonological characteristics, Brazilian syntactic and lexical characteristics were found.

3.5. Conclusion

The Brazilian modernist movement was haunted by the conflict between foreign inspiration, and the need to break away from those works that inspired them to create something authentically Brazilian instead. Through two analogies – brazilwood and anthropophagy – Oswald de Andrade offers a possible solution to the paradox: establishing Brazilian cultural products as export products, and the devouring of foreign influence, or, acquiring their qualities by destroying them. Thus, he offers a reconciliation between admiration and animosity towards European cultural models. This paradox is equally important to bossa nova, a music style that has been criticized for its foreign influences, and for its exportation to the United States. If we apply the analogies of Oswald de Andrade to bossa nova, this music qualifies as a successful example of cultural anthropophagy, and has turned into an export product similar to the brazilwood.

A first feature of the Brazilian modernist literature that can be identified in bossa nova is its formal liberty. In bossa nova this occurs through a lack of fixed patterns in terms of rhythm, and experimentation with sound in some lyrics. Another feature discussed is concision and refined form, which corresponds best to the modernist ideas proposed by Mário de Andrade, a less anarchic literature than the one proposed by Oswald de Andrade. A third comparable element is the interest in colloquial Brazilian speech, the best fitting language to

represent Brazilian realities. The use of meta-references, referring to the music or text itself, also proves to be a key characteristic in Brazilian art. Furthermore, the modernist interest in rendering indigenous or folkloric elements in a modern way appears through an aesthetic primitivism. The valorization of the indigenous figure is less present in bossa nova, yet some links can be drawn with pre-colonial Brazil. For example, the use of the guitar for jazz-like repertoires was an innovative new interpretation of a folkloric instrument, and the afro-Brazilian samba beat received a more erudite interpretation in bossa nova. Furthermore, there are occasional references to Brazilian cultural phenomena or legends and some words that stem from the Tupi-Guarani language. These elements re-inforce Brazilian identity as necessarily linked to its pre-colonial, non-European roots.

Lastly, modernist texts are characterized by their nationalist ideas. In terms of nationalism, an argument often made negating bossa nova's authenticity is that its introverted style contrasts with the exuberance that characterizes Brazil, an extraverted country. This vitality can be found in other Brazilian music genres. However, Mário de Andrade defines the Brazilianization of modernism as a method to use that which singularizes and individualizes Brazil. As discussed, bossa nova celebrates Brazilian realities in a Brazilian language, which corresponds to the modernist movement. The modernist texts often praise urban São Paulo, whereas bossa nova praises the idyllic landscape of Rio de Janeiro and everything that is associated with it. Thus, these two artistic movements both affirm an autonomous Brazilian identity.

4. Bossa Nova and the Portuguese ‘Cantigas de Amigo’

4.1. Introduction

A second, albeit very distinct, cultural phenomenon that serves well for a comparison with bossa nova are the medieval ‘cantigas’. The cantigas originated at a crucial time for the formation of a Portuguese identity, namely between the first and second crusade (1099-1147) (Lapa 1955: 5). They first circulated as an oral tradition, and were copied into manuscripts later. There are three subgenres of cantigas: (1) the *cantigas de amigo*, (2) *cantigas de amor* and (3) *cantigas de escárnio ou mal-dizer*. This chapter will be focussing on cantigas de amigo, which show the most relevant similarities with bossa nova. These songs deal with sentiments of love and ‘saudade’ or longing for an absent lover, and are told from the perspective of a female voice, even though they were written and performed by a male troubadour. With these songs the Portuguese sought their own models that differentiated this nation from the rest of Europe, and especially from other Iberian kingdoms. Likewise, over the course of the 20th century, Brazil was in search of models that separated this nation from surrounding countries, and from their colonial link to Europe, more specifically to Portugal. Therefore, it is interesting to draw a comparison between bossa nova and the medieval Portuguese cantigas, to see if similar themes and images can be found in the nation building of the colonizing country, on the one hand, and the colonized country, on the other. Identifying the contact points between these two genres will bring insights in relation to national identity and differences in interpretations or associations of for example saudade, nature, religious elements, and the portrayal of women.

The selection of songs chosen for this comparison are the following. For the cantigas de amigo: “Ondas do mar de Vigo” by Martin Codax, “Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino” and “Nom poss’eu, meu amigo” by D. Dinis, “Foi-s’o meu amigo a cas d’el-rei” by João Airas de Santiago, and “Sen meu amigo manh’eu senlheira” by Juião Bolseiro. These cantigas were chosen on the basis of showing clear characteristics of cantigas de amigo, and offering good examples of the images and concepts that will be compared. The most relevant examples of bossa nova songs for this chapter are: “Chega de saudade” by João Gilberto, “Garota de Ipanema” by Tom Jobim, “Samba em prelúdio” and “Samba da benção” by Vinícius de Moraes, and “Preciso aprender a ser só” by Elis Regina.

First I will briefly discuss similarities and differences in the forms of the cantigas and the bossa nova songs. Then I will move on to the content and tone, which is the main focus and will be brought in relation to certain concepts that have to do with national identity in Portugal or Brazil. This part is split up in the following sections: ‘Saudade,’ ‘Lost Paradise,’ ‘Religion,’ and ‘Speaker and Women Image.’

4.2. Form

The cantigas de amigo consist of a relatively simple and repetitive form. In the cantiga “Ondas do mar de Vigo” by Martin Codax for example, the verses are short and concise:

“Ondas do mar de Vigo / se vistes meu amigo? / e ai Deus, se verrá cedo / Ondas do mar levado, / se vistes meu amado? / e ai Deus, se verrá cedo?” and so on. This is a repetitive structure, characterized by the use of a refrain “e ai Deus, se verrá cedo?” Generally, these songs contain one thought that is repeated with slight variations. In the aforementioned verses we find an *aab* rhyme scheme, which is frequently found in cantigas de amigo, along with *aabb* rhyme schemes (Cohen 2009: 125). In “Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino” by D. Dinis there are repetitions of “ai flores, ai flores” and of “se sabedes novas do meu amigo.” Sometimes these repetitions show variations, for example “amado” instead of “amigo,” or “verde ramo” instead of “verde pino.” The examples of parallelisms in this song imply duration. Time passes and still the lover does not come, which results in increased restlessness for the speaker. The repetition of “ai” could be interpreted as a type of vocal percussion. In these cantigas all verses have more or less the same length, generally ranging from 7 to 12 syllables, and are sung to the same melody. The main formal characteristics of the cantigas de amigo are their concise verses, the repetitive structure making use of a refrain and parallelisms, the strophic form (every verse is sung to the same melody) and an *aab* or *aabb* rhyme scheme (Cohen 2009: 125).

Formally, the cantigas de amigo and the bossa nova songs show some important similarities and thus prove to be comparable, even though they are very distant in time, the former being medieval compositions and the latter stemming from the 20th century. Bossa nova does not have the strict strophic form that characterizes the cantigas, yet the same concision and similar cases of repetitions, parallelisms, and rhyme can be found. For example, “Garota de Ipanema” consists of short and straight forward lines that repeat a simple thought: “Ah, por que estou tão sozinho? / Ah, por que tudo é tão triste? / Ah, a beleza que existe” and so on. These lines contain end rhyme (“triste” and “existe”), but there is no strict rhyme scheme. The parallelism implies lamentation, especially through the repetition of the interjection “Ah,” comparable to the aforementioned “ai” in the cantigas. Another example of a parallel structure is found in “Samba em prelúdio:” “Teus abraços precisam dos meus / Os meus braços precisam dos teus.” This is a chiasmus; the structure is repeated but the words ‘teus’ and ‘meus’ are inverted. There is a very similar case in “Preciso aprender a ser só” by Elis Regina: “Meus olhos choram a falta dos teus / Esses teus olhos que foram tão meus.” In “Aguas de março” by Tom Jobim and Elis Regina there is a parallelism that is carried on throughout most of the song: “É um caco de vidro, é a vida, é o sol / É a noite, é a morte, é um laço, é o anzol” and so on. However, at the end, the lyrics become more experimental and eventually they appear to be mere sounds “Ida, ol, oite, orte, aço, zol.” Similar to how the content of the song turns fluid, resembling the waters of March, the form turns more fluid as well. To sum up, the cantigas and bossa nova songs employ some of the same rhetorical devices and are similar in their simplicity.

4.3. Saudade

The Portuguese word 'saudade' is salient in lusophone culture. It is among the most frequent emotion words in the Portuguese language and pervades many poems, novels, as well as song lyrics (Farrell 2006: 235-236). According to Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos in *A Saudade Portuguesa*, the meaning of saudade is "the memory of having enjoyed something in times past, which does not return; the pity of not being able to have it in the present, or of only enjoying it in remembrance; and the desire and hope of in the future returning to the old state of happiness" (1996: 32, my translation). It is not so simple as to equate saudade with nostalgia or melancholia, due to these temporal dimensions. Unlike nostalgia, saudade has resonance in the past, present, and future. Aside from the past dimension of lost happiness, there is a present dimension of something or someone that is absent, and a future dimension of the improbable and desirable, but also of optimism and hope. Vasconcellos claims this feeling is typical of the Portuguese, although it is incorrect to claim that other languages do not know this feeling, for which she mentions the example of *Sehnsucht* in German. Yet, there is no language that shows an exact correspondence to the Portuguese saudade, and neither do similar terms like *Sehnsucht* possess the same importance and frequency as saudade in the Portuguese language, nor its mysterious nature and affective connotations (31). Saudade is a distinctive feature of the Portuguese melancholic psyche and its musical and lyrical manifestations, much more than *Sehnsucht* is characteristic of the German soul (32). Because saudade is considered to express the "tender, gentle, submissive, resigned qualities of Portuguese passion" (my translation, 35), it is an important characteristic of Portuguese identity, which becomes clear through many artistic manifestations. Language is, after all, the "most original and national work of art that each nation creates and develops" (40, my translation).

A comparison of saudade in both bossa nova and the cantigas de amigo will lead to insights about the differences in interpretation and importance to national identity. It could be argued that the Brazilian collective feeling of saudade differs from the Portuguese one and is not a mere colonial imposition. According to Roberto Gambini, the Brazilian saudade stems from a longing for the past paradise before the Portuguese invasion. This feeling of disconnection from the past is the core wound to the Brazilian soul (Feldman 2001: 55).

Firstly, I will discuss the interpretation of saudade offered in the Portuguese cantigas de amigo. The cantigas generally express saudade for the 'amigo' who is absent, for example at war, or married to another, or travelling at sea. We find this saudade in rhetorical questions of the type 'have you seen my friend?' addressed to the natural elements. For example: "se vistes meu amigo?" in "Ondas do mar de Vigo" by Martin Codax, addressed to the sea, or "se sabedes novas do meu amigo?" in "Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino" by D. Dinis. This type of saudade is a serious and sorrowful one with little hope for the future. There are often references to death, either as a fear that the lover has already died, or as an expression of the impossibility to live without him. An example is "quand'el veer, já eu morta serei" in "Foi-s'o meu amigo a cas d'el-rei" by João Airas de Santiago. In this quotation the speaker expresses

her fear that sorrow will kill her before her lover returns. This entire song carries this feeling further, when she asks her friends not to reveal to him the causes of her death when he returns, because he would die too. Saudade is thus capable of killing a person. Another example are the first lines of “Nom poss’eu, meu amigo,” a cantiga by king D. Dinis: “Nom poss’eu, meu amigo / com vossa soidade / viver.” This is another case in which we find the impossibility to live without the lover.

The saudade of this type, with the association of ‘I cannot live without you,’ can be found in bossa nova lyrics as well. However, in bossa nova this is not expressed as literally, and it is a less tragic saudade. The examples “Eu sem você não tenho porquê” and “sem você meu amor eu não sou ninguém,” both from “Samba em prelúdio,” express a similar feeling, but it is clear from both the lyrics and the melody ending on a cheerful higher tone that this does not carry the same weight. However, the same link between death and saudade is found. The example “Samba em prelúdio” is comparable to the cantiga de amigo “Levad’ Amigo” by Nuno Fernandes Torneol in which the troubadour sings about a separation with the lover in the morning for unknown reasons, and the birds that sang of their love, their branches are disappear: “Vós lhi tolhestes os ramos em que siám / e lhis secastes as fontes em que beviam.” In this example, nature represents the psychological state of the speaker, and this emotional state is one of “chama sem luz, jardim sem luar . . . um barco sem mar, um campo sem flor” in the Brazilian bossa nova “Samba em prelúdio.”

Another example is “Por Deus entenda que assim eu não vivo / Eu morro pensando no nosso amor” in “Preciso aprender a ser só.” This line resembles, both in terms of form and in terms of content with the reference to God, to a Portuguese cantiga de amor, another type of romantic lyricism of the medieval troubadours. The cantigas de amor differ from the cantigas de amigo in one key aspect: the voice of the cantigas de amor is a male voice that sings to his loved one, a woman. Other differences include their influences, style and tone, which tends to be more aristocratic and related to the court in the cantigas de amor (Bagley 1966). However, these subgenres sometimes overlap in tone and style. An example of a cantiga de amor is “Que soidade de mia senhor hei” by D. Dinis. The aforementioned line from “Preciso aprender a ser só” corresponds to the saudade found in this cantiga: “rog’eu a Deus que end’há o poder / que mi a leixe, se lhi prouguer, veer / cedo; ca tal a quisso Deus fazer, / que, se a nom vir, nom posso viver.” In this example he asks God to let him see his lover, for he feels so much saudade, and God had made her in such a way that without her he cannot live. Despite these examples, this type of saudade is rather rare in bossa nova, and there is an overall happier tone in relation to saudade. The feeling occurs in more light-hearted instances, and does not appear to be as sorrowful as the saudade in the cantigas.

If we look at João Gilberto’s song “Chega de saudade,” the title already gives away that this is an excellent example of the expression of saudade in bossa nova. The song starts with the lines “Vai minha tristeza / E diz a ela que sem ela não pode ser,” which implies the missing of a certain “ela.” The song goes on: “Chega de saudade, a realidade é que sem ela / Não há paz, não há beleza, é só tristeza / E a melancolia que não sai de mim.” Words as

“tristeza” and “melancolia” are clearly related to saudade, an emotion that the entire song aims to express. From these lines, the song seems to be of a sad nature. From this first part we could argue that the saudade he feels is primarily a negative one. However, there is optimism in the next lines: “Mas se ela voltar, se ela voltar / Que coisa linda, que coisa louca.” This is the positive and sweet future dimension of saudade, which bossa nova draws upon more frequently, whereas the saudade in the cantigas is more tragic and lacks this hope for the future.

Another bossa nova song in which saudade has a central position is “Carta Ao Tom 74,” by Vinícius de Moraes. The song goes: “lembra que tempo feliz, ai que saudade.” In this case it is not saudade for a person, but more generally for a time that is past, a “tempo feliz” in Rio de Janeiro, a “Rio de amor que se perdeu.” This is the past dimension of saudade, for a general loss of glory and happiness. There is a positive sweetness associated with sadness because “mesmo a tristeza da gente era mais bela.” In this song there is also a future dimension of hope, in the line: “É preciso inventar de novo o amor.”

If we turn to another example, namely “Eu sei que vou te amar” by Vinícius de Moraes and Maria Creuza, we find a very serious saudade in these lyrics: “Eu sei que vou sofrer / A eterna desventura de viver / À espera de viver ao lado teu / Por toda a minha vida.” The idea of an eternal suffering and a waiting that does not end reminds us of the Portuguese saudade found in the cantigas de amigo, where there is little hope of a return. Yet in this same song there is an instance where the sad saudade is accompanied by a sweet and happier thought looking forward to the future: “A cada ausência tua, eu vou chorar / Mas cada volta tua há de apagar / O que essa tua ausência me causou.” Another song in which this future dimension becomes very clear is “Samba da bênção” by Vinícius de Moraes, a song that comments on itself and on music, namely in the lines: “A tristeza tem sempre uma esperança / De um dia não ser mais triste não.” This implies the sweet sadness that is typical of the bossa nova music, and according to Vinícius de Moraes necessary “pra fazer um samba com beleza.”

The multiple temporal dimensions of saudade –past, present and future– can each be found in these bossa nova lyrics. We find the present dimension as a person that is missed in “Chega de saudade,” the past dimension as saudade for a happy Rio de Janeiro that is lost in “Carta Ao Tom 74,” and the future dimension of a possible regression, or of a new invention of love, in various examples.

A difference between the cantigas de amigo and bossa nova is thus that the cantigas are more tragic. They take on a confessional tone that is predominantly a sad one with little hope for the future. As already mentioned, the songs tell the story of a desperate woman waiting for her lover to return, with little optimism and frequent references to death. The saudade in the cantigas is a sorrowful one from a domestic space¹⁹, a female perspective of restlessness and endless waiting. The saudade in bossa nova, on the other hand, tells a

¹⁹ However, not always, cf. "Sedia-m'eu na ermida de Sam Simion" by Mendinho sung from an island.

different, less tragic story. The bossa nova songs use a more light-hearted tone, from a male perspective. The implications of the female perspectives will be discussed later [4.6].

4.4. Lost Paradise

Returning now to what was mentioned before, that Brazilian *saudade* stems possibly from a longing for Brazil's pre-colonial past, a significant question to ask is if the *saudade* found in bossa nova is associated with a feeling of disconnection from the pre-colonial past, and if it thus differs from the Portuguese concept of *saudade* in this sense. It should also be noted that there is no colonial sense at this time in Portugal.

To address this question it is interesting to repeat the lyrics of “Samba da bênção” that have mentioned before: “Para fazer um samba com beleza / É preciso um bocado de tristeza”. This sadness necessary for samba always has “a hope / Of one day not being sad anymore” (translation). Thus, according to Vinícius de Moraes, there is necessarily a connection between *saudade* and samba. He goes on to sing: “o samba nasceu lá na Bahia / E se hoje ele é branco na poesia / . . . / Ele é negro demais no coração.” Samba itself gives thus a new meaning to *saudade*. African and European elements come together in this music, similar to how these elements come together in Brazil’s national identity. Both samba and *saudade* do not escape from the multicultural influences that characterize Brazil. Samba can in this case be interpreted as including bossa nova, since “Samba da bênção” is a bossa nova song.

The lines of Vinícius de Moraes that samba is “white” in its poetry, but “black” at heart, requires some further analysis. As mentioned earlier, musical genres do not inherently adhere to racial or ethnic categories, “music practices are not ‘white’ or ‘black’ . . . until someone says they are” (Hertzman 2013: ix). However, samba has historically been highly racialized, and to some extent symbolizes Afro-Brazilian identity. According to Vianna, adopting samba as the national music of Brazil could be considered a way to show that Brazil had transcended racial prejudice (Vianna 1999: xiv). The lines of “Samba da bênção” reflect this ideology, that samba celebrates the hybridism of Brazil and evolved from its African origins to a fusion with “white” poetry resulting in bossa nova.

Bossa nova frequently draws on the typical Brazilian nature, and more specifically the Mount Corcovado and the beaches of Rio. It could be argued that this idyllic natural landscape can be interpreted as a past paradise. However, the use of nature is a frequent strategy in not only the bossa nova songs, but also in the cantigas. In both cases they often draw on images of the sea. In the cantigas natural elements are sometimes personified and appealed to, for example the waves in “Ondas do mar de Vigo” and the flowers in “Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino.” The natural elements are called for to ask if they know about the lover and if he will come soon. The use of the four natural elements – water, fire, air, earth – in the cantigas represent the psychological state of the speaker. The isolated nature of “Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino” represents the speaker’s loneliness, and the sea in “Ondas do mar de Vigo” is connected to the speaker’s restlessness. In bossa nova there are numerous allusions to Rio de Janeiro’s nature, and although this is not the same as the personifications

made in the cantigas, Rio is sometimes personified: “Rio você foi feito pra mim” and “Rio eu gosto de você” in “Samba do avião” by Tom Jobim. Furthermore, there are a lot of references to the sea in bossa nova. To name just a few examples: “Rio de sol, de céu, de mar” and the “praias sem fim” in “Samba do avião.” Here, these natural elements represent the happiness of the speaker. Another example is the song “Ela é carioca” by João Gilberto: “Eu vejo na cor dos seus olhos / As noites do Rio ao luar / Vejo a mesma luz / Vejo o mesmo céu / Vejo o mesmo mar.” The list of elements represent the different emotions the speaker feels when thinking of this woman. Natural elements are thus a tool to express the psychological state of the speaker in both genres and there is no convincing evidence that in bossa nova this is linked to the Brazilian past paradise.

Along with the themes of saudade and love, an important concept in bossa nova is peacefulness. This peacefulness is often connected with one of the natural elements as well, as for example “Na luz do seu olhar / A paz que sonhei,” also from “Ela é carioca.” Furthermore, in bossa nova there is an association between peace and saudade, which stands in stark contrast with the restless and anxious woman waiting for her lover that we find in the cantigas. Bossa nova presents peaceful situations: “tudo isso é paz” in “O barquinho” by Nara Leão. Either it is a woman that brings peace, or Rio that brings peace, or the music itself brings peace and this is expressed through meta-references. While in bossa nova all elements contribute to something peaceful, in the cantigas de amigo everything contributes to the restlessness of the speaker. Bossa nova’s peacefulness could represent a past paradise that is longed for. This is because the bossa nova music, a key artistic movement in terms of Brazil’s national identity, moves us as far away as possible from the nation’s colonial past. An emphasis on peace and the longing for peace, occurring in an explicit relation with saudade, is a difference in connotation of what saudade means in Brazilian bossa nova to what it meant for the Portuguese troubadours.

4.5. Religion

Another aspect in which the cantigas express a more serious tone, aside from saudade, is religion. This is logically linked to the historical context, the cantigas stemming from a time when religion played a much larger role in people’s lives. In the cantigas de amigo, the devotion for Jesus and Maria is translated into mundane poetry (Lapa 1955: 5). In “Ondas do mar de Vigo” for example, the question “e ai Deus, se verrá cedo?” is repeated. This is a question addressed to God, expressing the speaker’s concern of when she will see her lover again. In this quote we find the idea that only God knows the answer. In “Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino” there is a similar appeal to God: “Ai Deus e u é?” In this question the speaker asks God where her lover is.

In bossa nova, on the other hand, religious elements are far less frequent. However, the ones that do occur have a similar function, albeit in a less serious tone. In “Chove lá fora” for example Tito Madi sings: “só deus sabe dizer / como é infinda / a dor de não saber . . . onde estás, como estás / com quem estás agora.” In this line the idea of the all-knowing God

returns. Another example is: “Por Deus entenda que assim eu não vivo / Eu morro pensando no nosso amor” in “Preciso aprender a ser só.” In these cases God’s knowledge refers to how the speaker is feeling, so this understanding is only possible for God, whereas in the cantigas God’s knowledge refers to knowledge that the speaker does not have (namely about the person that is missed). Although the use of religion in both types of music can be compared, they carry a different weight and function.

4.6. Speaker and Woman Image

As already mentioned, the cantigas de amigo are female-voiced, but despite their female speaker, they were written and performed by male troubadours. Bossa nova, on the other hand, generally depicts a male perspective. However, this is not always the case. In “Samba em prelúdio” for example, there are two voices that alternate. This does not occur through dialogue, but rather in an overlapping manner. In this song the female perspective is marked in the lyrics: “Estou tão sozinha.” In “Águas de março,” as sung by Tom Jobim and Elis Regina, there is also an alternating perspective. Here the voices change rapidly, sometimes within the same line. This song does not represent a coherent dialogue either, but instead it is an enumeration in which the two voices complement each other or list variations on what has been said before.

Cantigas de amigo, sung by a troubadour, can also present alternations in speaker. For example in “Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino” by D. Dinis, there is a dialogue between the female speaker and the personified flowers. This occurs in a symmetrical form: first the woman asks questions to the flowers, and in the second part the flowers answer. Generally speaking, however, the cantigas express a female perspective, whereas bossa nova is sung from a male perspective.

The cantigas thus represent male attempts (by troubadours) to understand and expose a female perspective through music. Therefore, it is interesting to analyse how this femininity is portrayed, and through which associations and images this female portrayal emerges. Some of the cantigas imply a sensual woman. Eroticism can be implied by referencing the night. “Sen meu amigo manh'eu senlheira” by Juião Bolseiro, for example, is a lament of having to sleep alone, because the night passes so much faster with her lover. The lyrics in bossa nova song “Preciso aprender a ser só” remind us of this cantiga, since the speaker needs to learn how to sleep without feeling “teu calor.” The references to the night contrast with many associations of love and light. In “Sen meu amigo manh'eu senlheira” this association occurs when the speaker complains about the long nights without her lover, and the light that does not come. Light could be a metaphor for her lover, because: “se masesse com meu amigo, a luz agora seria migo,” “masesse” here is a conjugation of the verb ‘maer’ which means to stay overnight (*Littera - FCSH*), thus this line translates to ‘if I would spend the night with my friend, the light would be mine.’ In the bossa nova song “Samba em prelúdio” a similar example can be found: “Eu sem você . . . sou chama sem luz.” This is another example where

light, associated with the natural element fire, represents the psychological state of the speaker.

Aside from the occasional sensual reference in relation to the night, the main image of women in the cantigas de amigo is the female trope of a faithful wife who stays at home waiting for a man's return, similar to the myth of the waiting Penelope in Homer's *The Odyssey*. The man wanders the seas, while the woman's mind wanders at home because of anxiety for her husband's safety. By representing a troubled female perspective, the cantigas do offer a psychological complexity.

In bossa nova we find an unmistakably sensual woman image. "Olha que coisa mais linda / Mais cheia de graça / É ela, menina / Que vem e que passa" in "Garota de Ipanema," for example. In "Onde anda você" the female body is specifically referred to saying: "Onde anda esse corpo? / Que me deixou morto / De tanto prazer." References to intimacy such as "Os meus braços precisam dos teus" ("Samba em prelúdio") or "abraços e beijinhos e carinhos sem ter fim" ("Chega de Saudade") are very frequent in bossa nova songs.

Aside from explicit references to the female body, bossa nova presents its image of a woman through some metaphors and associations. For example, women and the city of Rio de Janeiro are interconnected in "Ela é carioca". The speaker sees in the eyes of a woman the moonlit nights of Rio. Furthermore, women and music are interconnected: "Onde anda esse corpo?" quickly followed by "Onde anda a canção?" in "Onde anda você" by Vinícius de Moraes and Toquinho, thus establishing a connection between music and the woman's body. There is also an association between women and saudade, for example: "Uma mulher tem que ter qualquer coisa além de beleza / Qualquer coisa de triste / Qualquer coisa que chora / Qualquer coisa que sente saudade" in "Samba da benção" by Vinícius de Moraes. This expresses the idea of the woman as personification of a sweet sadness. In bossa nova there is often an appraisal of women, of Rio de Janeiro, of music, and of a sweet sad feeling, and these elements are clearly interconnected.

To sum up, the subgenre of cantigas de amigo usually portray the female speaker as a faithful woman who stays at home waiting for the return of her lover. Saudade plays an important role here, taking the form of saudade for the male lover that is gone. In bossa nova, on the other hand, the woman is portrayed as a sensual and desirable thing. She is praised, similar to how the city and landscape of Rio de Janeiro are praised, and to how feelings related to saudade are praised. That is why some associations are established between these: women, Rio de Janeiro, saudade, and music. The women of bossa nova are more physical, whereas the cantigas offer more psychological complexity. However, in both the cantigas and the bossa nova songs women have little agency, and are mere tropes of either fidelity or sensuality.

4.7. Conclusion

Formally, the cantigas de amigo and bossa nova songs show some similarities in terms of rhetorical devices and general style that prove that they are comparable genres, despite

originating in very different times and places. Both are characterized by concise verses, a repetitive structure, and end rhyme. However, cantigas are more rigorous in form, while bossa nova shows more variation.

In relation to saudade, an important theme for both genres and for Lusophone culture in general, there is a similarity in the idea of 'I cannot live without you'. However, the cantigas are more sad in expressing this longing. They tell the story of a desperate woman waiting for her lover's return, with little optimism for the future and frequent references to death. Often it is a longing for a domestic space, from a female perspective. The saudade in bossa nova, on the other hand, tells a different story. The songs of bossa nova use an overall happier tone, and resort more often to the positive, sweet dimension of longing for the future. Thus, all temporal dimensions of saudade can be found in bossa nova lyrics. The interpretation of Brazilian saudade as a longing for the pre-colonial past can implicitly be found in bossa nova music through links to Afro-Brazilian cultural heritage, and the emphasis on peace and a desire for peace. This is a difference in the connotation between what saudade means in Brazilian bossa nova and what saudade means in Portuguese cantigas.

The lyrical I in the cantigas de amigo is usually a female voice, although they are written and performed by male troubadours. In many of the songs there are references to eroticism, which implies the image of a sensual woman. This implies the image of a sensual woman. However, the main image of women in the cantigas de amigo is the feminine trope of a faithful wife who is waiting for a man's return. Bossa nova, on the other hand, generally represents a male perspective, a sensual image of women, with explicit references to intimacy and the desirable female body. In addition, the portrayal of women is marked by some metaphors and associations: Rio de Janeiro, music, and saudade. Despite these differences in physical and psychological complexity, in both the cantigas and the bossa nova songs women have little agency, and are tropes of either fidelity or sensuality.

5. Conclusion

The question raised at the beginning of this study was: is bossa nova a symbol national identity, and does it activate a particular meaning of the Brazilian national identity Brazilian national identity, with links to the country's (pre)colonial past? The problem of Brazilian representativeness in bossa nova has been an important aspect for the valorization of this musical genre. Criticism in terms of the absence of Brazilian values is often linked to the foreign influences in this music, as well as its foreign success. In addition, the absence of social criticism in the lyrics of the songs, which instead deal with the theme of innocent love, has raised criticism that this music is elitist and too far away from the reality of Brazil. Another element of criticism is its introverted, soft-voiced nature, which seems to be in contrast with a tradition of loud and extroverted styles, an exuberance that has also been associated with Brazilian identity. It is important to note that the musical style that developed after bossa nova, and after the military coup of 1964 – *tropicália* with Chico Buarque – is a musical style rich in vitalist elements, and full of denunciations of social inequality.

Counter-arguments that place bossa nova within the Brazilian tradition, and do not consider it as a small intermezzo that has little or nothing to do with what came before and after, are for example its basis in samba. Despite the radical innovations of bossa nova, several music critics claim that this music is a trend within a samba that was already making innovations of this kind. They emphasize the recurrence of samba rhythms, or hidden beats of samba, in bossa nova music. In the discussion about whether bossa nova is a continuation of or a break from samba, I would claim that it is neither one nor the other. With elements of samba, elements of jazz, and elements that are completely its own, the result is a fresh and “new way” or ‘bossa nova.’

Another important aspect, as mentioned, are the themes of the songs, which are centered around Rio de Janeiro. Even though the image of Brazil can be considered idyllic with its lyricism “of love, smiles and flowers,” the bossa nova artists sing about elements of the Brazilian landscape and society that they are proud of and want to celebrate. The fact that this musical style has been crucial in establishing a new perception of Brazil abroad, proves that it is, first and foremost, about Brazil.

When critics describe the music as disconnected from tradition, or too much influenced by realities that exist outside Brazil and too little by what happens inside this country, this attitude may imply a general reluctance to accept innovation. Bossa nova was a logical product of its time, where the modernization in terms of economy that was propagated by President Kubitschek led to a general interest in contemporaneity for the Brazilian people. This resulted in innovations in all the arts. Thus, bossa nova reflects the optimistic atmosphere of the late 1950s – especially after the construction of Brasília –, the concern with modernity, the mission to make Brazil a developed nation, and the self-confidence that Brazil is no longer colonized or colonizable. Moreover, the internationality of Kubitschek's policies echoes in bossa nova, with the idea that foreign influences and the Brazilian tradition are not necessarily

in a confrontation, but can be reconciled. More importantly, what the lyrics and music of bossa nova express is an upper middle class ideology of carioca white men. These songs are produced by a new generation of people, leading a sophisticated life without being aristocratic, enjoying a comfort that is not linked to power. Moreover, this life is an urban life, from the private spheres of apartments, which contrasted with the public spheres of the samba schools. The samba rhythms have undergone a change in time, to a more contemporary music, as well as a change in space, social class, in the number of artists and instruments, in race, and – although to a lesser extent – even in gender.

One way in which this reconciliation with foreign influence is represented in cultural products is through two analogies offered by the modernist writer Oswald de Andrade. One is the analogy with the brazilwood, according to which cultural products should become export products. The second analogy is one with anthropophagy, that is, the devouring of foreign influence and thus acquiring its qualities, destroying it or denying its authority. These analogies originated in the conflict between admiration and animosity toward colonial or European models. The Brazilian modernist movement was a literary current that wanted to break away from the mere imitation of these models and create something completely its own.

In the comparison between bossa nova and modernist literature, a few things stood out: the freedom in form or lack of fixed patterns and the experimentation with sound, the concision (although in modernism this is not a general characteristic, but one that applies to modernism as proposed by Mário de Andrade), an interest in Brazilian colloquial speech and the use of meta-references as a way to question the position of the artistic object in relation to the cultural heritage of Brazil. One element that deserves particular attention is the link between Brazilian modernism and Brazil's indigenous past. Folkloric elements appear in this literature through an aesthetic primitivism, in which the Brazilian *indio* emphasizes the differences between Brazil and Europe. This is found less in bossa nova, however this music cannot be totally separated from the pre-colonial past. Through the use of the guitar, Afro-Brazilian rhythms, occasional references to traditional phenomena or legends, and the typical language that includes some words that come from Tupi-Guarani, bossa nova reinforces the conception of Brazil as necessarily linked to its pre-colonial, non-European roots and influences. Finally, what the modernists called "abrasileiramento" or a method to highlight that which singularizes and individualizes Brazil, recurs again in bossa nova because it celebrates Brazilian realities in a typically 'Brazilian' language. While the modernists praised the city of São Paulo, bossa nova praised the idyllic landscapes of Rio de Janeiro and its associations, thus also affirming an autonomous Brazilian identity liberated from colonial ties.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the comparison with medieval Portuguese cantigas de amigo are, first, that saudade assumes a central role in these two genres. It is a crucial concept for Lusophone identity, but it can be considered to have taken on a different interpretation over time in different countries. While saudade in medieval cantigas is told

from a female perspective with a strong association to tragedy, *saudade* in bossa nova is more positive with a clear focus on the future dimension of hope. Another difference in interpretation is the association of Brazilian *saudade* with an idyllic pre-colonial past. The lyrics of “Samba da bênção” by Vinícius de Moraes establish a relationship between *saudade* and samba, referring to the Afro-Brazilian roots of samba and how these roots were influenced in a bilateral relationship with “white poetry” in Brazil. Both samba and *saudade* do not escape the multicultural influences that characterize Brazil. Moreover, Brazilian *saudade* is intrinsically linked to ideas of peace and a desire for peace, associations that are absent in the *cantigas*. *Saudade* in the case of bossa nova is not only an idealized pre-colonial past, linked to aesthetic primitivism, but also comes in the form of the absence of a social compromise. In the context of the Kubitschek administration, bossa nova serves as a utopian adulation of a world without divisions, and a nostalgic love for this world, envisioned by the city of Rio de Janeiro, the former capital of and still aspiring to be the cultural center of Brazil. The *saudade* in bossa nova can thus also be a *saudade* for a time when Rio de Janeiro was still Brazil’s capital.

Other elements of comparison with the songs are the similar form: the concise verses, the repetitive structure, and the final rhyme. In terms of the use of religion, some religious can be compared in both types of music. However, they have a different weight and function, which can be linked to the historical period of the music. The portrayal of women shows some similarities in terms of eroticism. However, in the songs, one finds the stereotype of a faithful and concerned woman. In bossa nova intimacy and sensuality are expressed more explicitly and women are associated with beauty, Rio de Janeiro, music and *saudade*, elements that are all equally celebrated and interconnected.

As mentioned in the introduction, Roberto da Matta talks about “many *brasiliidades*”. A national consciousness is something that, according to José Mattoso, can take centuries and consists of several phases, for which he refers to the psychosocial work of Erik Erikson. It cannot be reduced to a single moment or a single social group. Therefore, bossa nova reflects one Brazilianness, a building block, a temporality, while samba was another, and *tropicália* is still another. But the phases of identity stay always present in some form, so bossa nova can still be considered today as part of an introverted and intimate *brasilidade*.

As is the case with many debates, the answer to the problem of the representativeness of bossa nova lies somewhere in the middle, and at the same time in a totally different place. In between jazz and samba, but at the same time something completely new. Not in New York or in the Bahia, but in Rio de Janeiro. It does not represent the harsh reality of poor people, as we find in samba and in more recent funk music, nor the upper aristocracies, but rather expresses the voice of a new middle class, not elitist, not populist, but optimistic, “white in poetry, black at heart,” Carioca, and above all, Brazilian, even if it is only a part of what this means - *brasilidade*.

6. Bibliography

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7. Appendix: Corpus

| Nº | Title | Artist | Album | Year | Label |
|----|---------------------------|--|---|------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Chega de saudade | João Gilberto | Chega de saudade | 1959 | Odeon |
| 2 | Desafinado | João Gilberto | Chega de saudade | 1959 | Odeon |
| 3 | Ela é carioca | João Gilberto | João Gilberto en México | 1970 | Orfeon Videovox; Philips |
| 4 | Garota de Ipanema | Antônio Carlos Jobim | Inédito | 1963 | Verve |
| 5 | Corcovado | Antônio Carlos Jobim | The Composer of Desafinado, Plays | 1963 | Verve |
| 6 | Águas de março | Antônio Carlos Jobim, Elis Regina | Elis | 1972 | Philips |
| 7 | Samba do avião | Antônio Carlos Jobim | The Wonderful World of Antônio Carlos Jobim | 1965 | Warner Bros |
| 8 | Eu sei que vou te amar | Vinícius de Moraes, Maria Creuza | En La Fusa con Maria Creuza y Toquinho | 1970 | Diorama |
| 9 | Samba em prelúdio | Vinícius de Moraes, Maria Creuza, Toquinho | En La Fusa con Maria Creuza y Toquinho | 1970 | Diorama |
| 10 | Carta Ao Tom 74 | Vinícius de Moraes, Toquinho | Vinícius & Toquinho | 1974 | Philips |
| 11 | Onde anda você | Vinícius de Moraes, Toquinho | Personalidade | 1987 | Verve |
| 12 | Chove lá fora | Tito Madi | Chove lá Fora | 1957 | Continental |
| 13 | Preciso aprender a ser só | Elis Regina | Samba, Eu Canto Assim | 1965 | Philips |
| 14 | Samba de uma nota só | Nara Leão | Dez Anos Depois | 1971 | Polydor |

| | | | | | |
|----|-------------|-----------|-------------------|------|---------|
| 15 | O barquinho | Nara Leão | Garota de Ipanema | 1986 | Philips |
|----|-------------|-----------|-------------------|------|---------|