

BEYOND NATIONS: A THEMATIC HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes an on-going project, the collaborative *Thematic History of Music in Portugal and Brazil*; it details its context, rationale, concept, structure and the process that led to its public presentation and preliminary development at CESEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. The importance of Africa in the understanding of some facets not only of modern popular music, but also of 16th-18th century genres in Portugal and Brazil is particularly stressed; examples of both polyphonic and instrumental music are given to illustrate this early influence.

KEYWORDS: transnational history, cultural exchanges, cross-Atlantic networks, African influence

Western Music is often regarded as a unified field, but it can articulate different approaches, intellectual concerns and aesthetic values. These cannot fail to be projected also into historical construction. Music, by its very nature, is uniquely able to engage people and travel far and wide in their memories and shared practices; it is also a privileged means of construction and negotiation of societal identities and subjectivities. Music History is increasingly regarded as part of this game. It supposes a vantage point, selective decisions, and perceived connections; it is guided by axiomatic beliefs, value judgements, and narrative paradigms.

Current historical narratives about music have been long dominated by a central European vantage point built on ideas of artistic progress, aesthetic autonomy and national supremacy. They are thus ripe for challenge and reconstruction. The shortcomings of the Western Music discourse, linked to central European traditions committed to writing, becomes evident in its undervaluation or outright failure to acknowledge Mediterranean music practices, oral or popular traditions and also global connections.

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I will not deal here with the Eastern Mediterranean, which deserves its own analysis. What I wish to call your attention to, is that to the west of Genoa, Rome and Naples, the Mediterranean opens to the Atlantic, and since before 1500 it has been in touch with Western Africa and central and south America. Iberian culture and Latin America, where music practices are documented since the 16th century, have fallen however outside the radar of current histories of Western Music. These have also overlooked the lasting impact of African presence on both the European and American sides of the Atlantic. Adding to the ignorance or prejudice of mainstream scholars, the nationalistic agendas of an earlier generation of Portuguese, Spanish and Brazilian musicologists have also obscured the international identity of their music. There is clearly a need to present the world with a unified effort to study and promote north-south, intercontinental musical exchanges as a significant and influential part of Western cultural history.

Appeals for the renovation of music historiography have been voiced, from different perspectives, since the late 20th-century. Yet only a few changes have come to pass. The crossing of frontiers between “high” and “low” cultures in Western music and the valuation of semi-popular genres have only slowly taken place, mainly as far as the 20th-century is concerned (Cook & Pople 2004, Fulcher 2010, Seaton 2017). In spite of their strengths, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (2005), single-authored by Richard Taruskin from a contextualist stance, and the volume *Histoires des musiques européennes* under the encyclopaedia *Musiques* (2003-2007) directed by Jean-Jacques Nattiez, bring little novelty to established narratives if seen from a southern vantage point. The integration of the American panorama into the larger history of Western Music has occurred only in a very timid way both there and in the successive updates of Grout/Palisca’s *History of Western Music* by J. Peter Burkholder (2005, 2009, 2014). The eight-volume *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica* edited by Carredano & Rodriguez (2009-2018) crosses the Atlantic but is largely a projection of Spanish academic strength along traditional historiographical lines, allowing only three chapters for Latin-America before 1800 and failing to provide, from 1800 onwards, a dialogue between Spanish and Hispano-American histories, which occupy different volumes.

The musicological community, and its larger public, are therefore still waiting for a fully fledged example of how music historiography can be reconfigured through teamwork according to the most recent, critical perspectives. This, besides countering nineteenth-century metanarratives, should go beyond the linear chronology, work/composer, centre/periphery, nationalistic paradigms still in force, and attempt to redress the balance between oral and written, northern and southern artistic approaches. An opportunity to help enforce this change has now been created in Portugal.

Although it would be justified to approach the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America as a whole, the opportunity to encompass both Spanish and Portuguese-speaking territories in a single historical narrative was not seized in the editorial project by Carredano & Rodriguez referred to above; Portuguese and Brazilian musicology was thus confronted with the need to create a complementary, updated narrative of its own.

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The Iberian geographical context is however a necessary point of departure; it has provided a valuable perspective to rethink intercultural phenomena (Ferreira 2004, 2015a, 2016c, 2016d). One should be reminded that Portugal, once the southern component of Galicia, is part of a larger Iberian cultural framework and that most of the Peninsula, including what eventually became Portuguese territory was under Islamic rule during four centuries. Cultural contact between Christian and Islamic realms continued until the 15th century, when Portugal began its expansion along the Moroccan coast. Beginning with the conquest of Ceuta in Morocco in 1415, Portuguese interest in West Africa led to an increasingly ambitious exploration of unmapped territories to the south. This was upheld by commercial interest, political acumen, religious zeal, navigational skills and military might. Once the possibility of reaching India by sea was secured, and with it, access to profits gained by direct merchandizing of spices and luxury goods, the Portuguese King proceeded to consolidate his control of sea routes in the south Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, which depended on wind regimes and control of selected ports. Brazil and Africa were instrumental in this larger context, which eventually led the Portuguese, in the first half of the 16th century, to establish commercial outposts also in Malaysia, China and Japan.

Music travelled overseas under different guises: melodic formulas, improvisational skills and melodies known by rote; notated books and trained singers; instruments and their players, like the organists sent by the King of Portugal to the King of Abyssinia. Polyphony had reached Ningpo in China by 1541 and São Vicente in Brazil by 1551; works by Morales and Guerrero were sung in Luanda, Angola, in 1578.

Export of musical practices was coincidental, under particular conditions, with reverse musical influence. The exploration of the Western and Central African coast brought to Lisbon (and Seville) a rising number of African slaves and their descendants, who in the 16th century came to be a sizeable portion of the population, especially in Lisbon. Imitations of black expressive identity appeared then on the theatrical stage, eventually finding their way into musical scores. An *ensalada* by Mateo Flecha el Viejo, possibly written in 1525 or shortly thereafter sets black sayings to music with characteristic syncopation. At the same time, culturally assimilated blacks or mixed race participated in standard musical practice. The famous composer and theorist Vicente Lusitano, who in the mid-16th century polemicized in Rome against Vicentino, was of African ascent. Yet religious music was apparently impenetrable to acculturation, except, from around 1600, through the religious villancico in the vernacular language, used to celebrate the most joyous festivities, especially Christmas.

9

Solo

(Tutti)

S.I. que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

S.II. que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

T.I. que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

B.I. que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

B.II. que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

mi qu'elle que tu -

19

Solo

B.I.

ros ple - to de ma - ni - con - go man - di - ga por huns no - va que fa - ze - mo me dá

Example 1a. *Olá zente*, bars 9–29 (ed. Matta 2008: 1–13)

Example 1b. *Oitavado*, excerpt (Budasz 2002; ed. Budasz 2001: 386-88)

Central and West African musical ensembles were coordinated through the adoption of a cyclic rhythmic pattern, or timeline. In the above example (Ex. 1a) we can see that the syncopated, symmetrical rhythm of the villancico *Olá zente*, related to the standard West African timeline, has its counterpart in a dance, called *arromba*, or *oitavado*, from the late 17th-century (Ex. 1b), associated with Africans living in Lisbon (Budasz 2001). Although an equivalent pattern existed in early Iberian music (Ferreira 2015a), the ethnic associations of both the villancico text written in proto-creole, and the *oitavado* dance, favours the idea that in these particular contexts the model coincided with, or was incorporated into the cultural practices of communities rooted in Africa.

O - lá pli - mo Ba - ci - ão, o - lá pli - mo Ba - ci - ão, le - van - ta,

Example 2a. *Olá plimo Bacião*, 1647 version, incipit (ed. Matta 2008: 71-78)

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Example 2b. *Paracumbé* 7^o tom, excerpt (Budasz 2002; ed. Budasz 2001: 368-69)

In another villancico, dating from 1647 (Ex. 2a), we can recognize a 12-beat timeline, repeated once; this pattern occurs in two other settings of this same text (*Olá plimo Bacião*) and, slightly modified, in another villancico from Coimbra, *Aquí puesto de rodillas*, all from around the same time (Matta 2008-2012). This rhythmic cycle exactly corresponds to the *cumbé* or *paracumbé* dance, as notated for guitar around 1700 (Ex. 2b). Although the *paracumbé* has been associated with Angola (Budasz 2001), it may be significant that so far in written music only 12-beat patterns have been traced, typical of the areas accessed through Guinea and Mina, and not 16-beat patterns, which point to Angola, further south; these would later become very important in the Caribbean and Brazil (Kubik 1979, 2014). This, with some delay, accords with the succession of documented slave-trade cycles before prohibition: roughly, the cycle of Guinea, or Senegambia (sixteenth century), the cycle of Angola (seventeenth century), and the cycle of the Mina Coast and the Gulf of Benin (eighteenth and early nineteenth century).

Black slaves had been increasingly exported to Brazil, where, with the dramatic reflux of indigenous groups, they left a strong imprint on several kinds of music. The economic development of Brazil was slow, and eventually became intertwined with Africa: the archdiocese of Bahia, created in 1676, had jurisdiction also over São Tomé and Angola in Africa. An Atlantic triangle, Portugal-Brazil-West Africa, fed economic production through slavery. Afro-influenced genres of song and dance were construed for centuries around the north-south Atlantic triangle, even after Brazilian independence, and up to the 20th-century.

Brazilian historiography has produced, since the last quarter of the 20th century, impressive and abundant research on colonial slavery (Klein & Luna 2010, Hébrard 2012); this has demonstrated that slaves had agency and ability to act, coupling accommodation with resistance, and that the slave system did not necessarily follow racial lines (Paiva 1995, 2007). The most recent historiographical novelty is the emergence of Africa as a fully engaged partner, and not only the distant origin of a culture that travelled more or less intact across the Atlantic, on the same boats as the slaves: “Africa now emerges also as one of the cardinal points in a network of circulating goods, people, representations, and ideas that spread out across the Portuguese colonial empire and the countries born from it. This network was material, certainly, but it was also symbolic and intellectual.” (Hébrard 2012, p. 91). Such awareness has not yet been properly filtered into musicological research, exceptions notwithstanding (Budasz 2007).

At another level of intercultural exchange, Portugal, from the early 18th century onwards, had a pivoting role in the establishment of Italian-rooted music prac-

tices in south-America, including opera, which reached the Amazon already by the 18th-century. One should also be reminded that, contrary to all European colonizing powers, Portugal once had its capital across the Atlantic: for some time it was ruled from Brazil after the court established itself in Rio de Janeiro in 1807 in the wake of the Napoleonic invasions. Brazil's independence was a move eventually controlled by the Portuguese crown prince, heir to the Imperial throne, who, after ruling in Rio as Emperor, later became King of Portugal. Thus Rio became heir to part of the royal musical library, now divided there between the Metropolitan Cathedral and the National Library, and music in Brazil became, even after its declaration of independence in 1822, even more inseparable from its Portuguese heritage. Studies on music from Portugal and Brazil have accordingly been contributing pioneering reflections on both the circulation and appropriation of south-European music at all levels of society, and cultural miscegenation or stylistic hybridity.

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The urge to reach fuller understanding of the cultural, social, historical, and political dimensions of music inspired many musicologists during the closing decades of the 20th century. According to Nicholas Cook (2008), musicology shifted then “towards the understanding of music in its multiple cultural contexts, embracing production, performance, reception, and all the other activities by virtue of which music is constructed as a significant cultural practice”.

All this impacted, to different degrees, musicology written by Portuguese-speaking authors. The academic community went through a dramatic growth both in Portugal and Brazil in the past twenty years, and became increasingly integrated into larger international networks. Two Portuguese research centres dedicated to music, INET and CESEM —both evaluated as “excellent” by the European Research Council in 2014, a rating confirmed in the 2019 external evaluation — have been bringing to Lisbon musicologists from all over the world, either as visiting scholars or as post-doctoral fellows. While INET specializes in ethnomusicology, CESEM has been especially concerned with the historiographical and epistemological dimensions of music. This has been done in close connection with Brazil, either directly or through a dedicated autonomous network, *Caravelas*, which focuses on over three hundred years of shared political history. The larger concerns of the international musicological community were thus assimilated, and were at the same time newly scrutinized through the lenses of an intercontinental identity.

In both Portugal and Brazil, increased epistemological awareness of political and ideological issues in relation to music produced an important revision of the relevant historiography (Ulhõa 2007, Neto 2010, Leoni 2010, Blomberg 2011, Ferreira 2011, Rodrigues 2011, Neto 2012, Abreu 2014, Ferreira 2015c). It also produced a number of studies touching on, or exploring the relation of music to politics and power (Contier 1998, Araújo 2002, Silva 2005, Pereira 2007, Budasz 2008, Rees 2009, Vargas 2010, Cardoso 2011, Nogueira 2011, Carvalho 2012, Castro 2013, Grey 2013, Palombini 2014, Cruz 2016, Ferreira 2016a, Cachopo 2017). This was on a par with attention to the

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conditions attending music practice — psychological, technological, and organizational — and the anthropological dimensions of ritualized behaviour (Giacomini 2006, Souza 2007, Holler 2010, Zamith 2011, Esposito 2013, Silva 2016). The discussion of social or individual identity in the experience of music in connection with gender and sexuality, or sociological interest in the role of women as artists and listeners converged with an increased valuation of private contexts of music-making (Faour 2006, Nogueira & Fonseca 2013, Esteireiro 2016, Jesus et al. 2016).

The tendency to bring popular music within the reach of historical musicology took giant steps as well as far as southern genres and theatrical traditions are concerned (Abreu 1999, Sandroni 2001, Poletto 2004, Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia 2005, Wisnik 2007, Freire 2011, Cruz 2013, Cymbron 2015, Vermes 2015, Colvin 2016). Other studies concerning style, learning procedures, productive systems and travelling musicians have illuminated the crucial importance of transnational exchanges (Brito 1989, Nogueira 1997, Budasz 2004, Magaldi 2004, Freeman 2006, Alvarenga 2008, Lanzelotte 2009, Lago 2010, Fagerlande 2011, Neto 2011, Cranmer 2012, Cymbron 2012, Dias 2012, Fernandes 2012, Goldberg 2012, Sá & Fernandes 2014, Cranmer 2016, Ferreira 2016b, Páscoa & Rodrigues 2016).

Much of the musicological effort during the last 25 years in Portugal and Brazil was nonetheless understandably directed to the preservation, cataloguing, study and edition of musical sources, and the research on, and recovery of historical instruments (Duprat 1995, Neves 1997, Castagna 2000, Ferreira 2005, Doderer & Machado 2009, Alvarenga 2011, Matta 2008-2012, Figueiredo 2010, Doderer & Machado 2012, Marques 2012, Figueiredo 2014, 2016, Alvarenga 2016). Excavating biographical information about musicians and their activity continues to be crucial to document music and their place in society (Mariz 1997, Mattos 1997, Fernandes 2005, Cabral 2008, Diniz 2009, Lanzelotte 2009). Stylistic and analytical studies are still needed to characterize artistic or traditional practices, and trace influences or personal traits (Ferreira 1992, Nogueira 1997, Bezerra 2000, Freeman 2006, Nogueira 2006, Ferreira 2007a, Ferreira 2007c, Rocha 2008, Salles 2009, Alencastro et al. 2012, Lago 2012, Così 2014).

Indigenous traditions, after the pioneering syntheses of Azevedo (1938) and Camêu (1977) were the subject of many anthropological studies (e.g. Hill 1993; Seeger 1980, 1987, 2015), feeding a contextual approach to music (Bispo 1999, 1999-2002; Piedade 2011), while the connection with history was subject to critical revision (Bastos 2006; Budasz 2006; Barros 2006, 2018); connections with archaeology, in order to investigate pre-colonial practices and historical continuities, were also explored (Barros et al. 2015). Particularly valuable are those studies concerning African heritage (Kubik 1979, Pinto 1991, Béhague 1998, Pinto 1999-2001, Fryer 2000, Crook 2005, Cardoso 2006, Tugny et al. 2006, Budasz 2007, Naveda 2011, Lucas 2012, Graeff & Pinto 2012, Tinhorão 2012, Dettmann 2013, Hertzman 2013, Lucas & Lobo 2013, Peçanha 2013, Reily 2013, Ulhôa & Neto 2013, Graeff 2014, Kubik 2014). Although much is still to be done, the quantity and scope of published contributions already justified the compilation of a Bibliographic Guide for Afro-Brazilian Music (Gray 2014).

The idea of furthering musicological cooperation between Portugal and Brazil has been voiced before, but writing a history of music together is something else. I included this as a long-term goal in CESEM's strategic plan encompassing 2015 to 2020, but preliminary work started only in February 2016. Consultation with colleagues followed; on 22 June a brief international meeting was convened. Suggestions were incorporated into a draft project and, in September, tentative contacts made for a future Consultative Board. I made public presentations of the preliminary draft in Belo Horizonte (Brazil), in late October, and Aveiro (Portugal), in early November. From December onwards a few meetings took place with consultants and two public round-tables were organized during a Symposium at Goiânia (Brazil), allowing the draft to develop into a full project. In 2017 non-academic extension partnerships were established on both sides of the Atlantic, and more recently contacts have been made with possible institutional partners in Brazil, both public and private.

The main challenges addressed by this project are: (1) to overcome the ingrained nationalistic historical paradigm, be it rooted in Absolutist, Liberal-Republican, or Modernist ideas; (2) to overcome artificial barriers between areas of musicological inquiry, exploring a diachronic approach to informal musics on a par with notation-based repertoires; (3) to challenge the universal applicability of the analytical paradigm and hierarchies of genre originating in 19th-century Germany, using alternative paradigms and acknowledging the centrality of vocal music in southern traditions; (4) to challenge territorial closeness, underlining the Atlantic context (including the West and Central African coast), regional dynamics (Iberian Peninsula, South America), cross-influences and cultural encounters.

In short, we have embarked on a plan for large-scale, team-based musicological research from the earliest documented record to the 21st century, over a geographical area encompassing Portugal, its Atlantic islands, its colonial outposts along Western and Central Africa, and Brazil, according to historical approaches informed by recent critical debates among the international community. We also decided to bring this research under a novel umbrella, a thematically structured history of music accessible both online and on paper, favouring superimposed chronologies, the dialectics of space, mediality, circulation and cultural exchange to the current linear and spatially static paradigms.

The planned history of music in the intercontinental Atlantic triangle has been structured according to six strands or sets of contents (described as a "volumes" for convenience, on account of their printed counterparts), each edited by two scholars, one of them from Portugal, the other from Brazil, under my own direction. These scholars were chosen on account of their expertise in the respective sub-fields. A seventh volume will contain indexes, chronologies, maps, iconographical materials and navigational clues.

Volume one, edited by Paulo Ferreira de Castro and Diósnio Machado Neto, will address **Ideas**, that is, how the different modes of discourse on music (theoretical, didactical, historiographical, philosophical, etc.) contributed historically to the definition of the musical object and corresponding practices in Portugal and Brazil; and

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also how the recent contributions of social and human sciences (in the domains of anthropology, sociology, hermeneutics, semiotics, etc.) find in music of the intercontinental Atlantic triangle a fertile ground for application, an opportunity to add to and develop contemporary thought in unique ways.

The following three volumes will be dedicated to religious, theatrical, and other practices, encompassing both notation-based and informal musics; each will be focused on a specific set of spaces. Volume two, edited by João Pedro d'Alvarenga and Fernando Lacerda Duarte, will address **Cults** or music in religious spaces, from the earliest documented stages to contemporary protestant music and Afro-Brazilian practices. Volume three, edited by David Cranmer and Márcio Páscoa, will be centered on theatrical **Stages**, encompassing not only dramatic music, but also theatre, dance and concert events. Volume four, edited by Luísa Cymbbron and Alberto Pacheco, will be centred on ceremonial **Places** connected to Court and State, including the military; entertaining places (other than the theatre), both closed and open; and teaching places.

The fifth volume, edited by Paula Ribeiro and Heloísa Valente, will acknowledge the role of **Mediations** on musical practices, with special emphasis on transmission technology, both old and new, and the ways it affects musical thought and reception: orality, musical notations, instruments, reproduction industries, and modern media (radio, cinema, TV, Internet). The sixth volume, edited by the present author and Rogério Budasz, will address cultural **Encounters**, including migratory impacts, travelling routes, and musical transfers and accommodations of all kinds.

The editors will have the direct assistance of junior scholars and graduate students, and be able to commission specific work by external collaborators. A Consultative Board will allow the research team to gather information or guidance concerning specific matters.

The proposed schedule for this project presupposes the parallel development of its six strands over the course of three years each, through a combination of basic research, workshops, thematic symposia, an annual comprehensive seminar, and writing. We hope to find the additional funding needed to make it possible, and also the stamina, imagination, and diplomatic flair that such a project entails. If successful, it could inspire other musicologists, in other regions, to cooperate in transnational networks for the common good of intellectual debate, shared knowledge, increased awareness of cultural exchange or musical variety, and a more balanced historical view.

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МАНУЕЛ ПЕДРО ФЕРЕИРА

ИЗВАН НАЦИЈА: ЈЕДНА ТЕМАТСКА ИСТОРИЈА

(РЕЗИМЕ)

У овом чланку описан је пројекат који је тренутно у току (2018–2022): заједничка *Темајска историја музике у Португалији и Бразилу*. Описан је контекст, разлози за започињање оваквог пројекта, његова структура и процес који је довео до јавног представљања и прелиминарних истраживања при Центру за проучавање социологије и естетике музике CESEM/FCSH, Нови универзитет у Лисабону. Посебно је наглашен значај Африке за разумевање неких карактеристика не само модерне популарне музике, већ и жанрова португалске и бразилске музике од XVI до XVIII века. У циљу илустровања овог раног утицаја дати су примери и полифоне и инструменталне музике.

Постојеће историје музике у Португалији и Бразилу старије су од четврт века, а музиколошке заједнице у обема земљама у великој мери су еволуирале у односу на моменат објављивања ових публикација. Поред тога, последњих деценија интензивирале су се прекоатланске везе међу научницима, а порасла је и критичка историографска свест; обе околности довеле су до спознаје да је историја музике с обе стране Атлантика у земљама у којима се говори португалски језик недовољно и неадекватно репрезентована. Због тога је циљ ове тематске историје да превазиђе како националне историјске парадигме, тако и германоцентрични поглед на музичку прошлост, којим су била обојена проучавања музике у јужним земљама. Територијални опсег овакве тематске историје обухвата троугао Иберијско полуострво – Африка – Јужна Амери-

ка, са додатним референцама на друге континенте, обухватајући обе Земљине хемисфере. Вештачке поделе на писане и усмене изворе, уметничку и популарну музику, биће одбачене. Вишеструкост перспектива омогућиће нам да проучавамо не само композиторе и њихова дела, већ и идеје, рецепцију и историјат институција, професионална умрежавања, извођачке праксе и друго.

Кључне речи: транснационална историја, културалне размене, трансатлантско умрежавање, афрички утицај