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BRAZILIAN MUSIC IN SYDNEY 1971-1984:
AN EMIC-ETIC APPROACH
TO THE STRUCTURE OF FOLK MODELS

by

Michael J. Ryan

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
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Department of Music
University of Sydney
1989
To my wife Colleen and daughter Kelly for their endless patience and support, and to the tolerance of diversity and enrichment of life through music.
My sincerest gratitude is owed to all those who have contributed to the development and completion of this thesis. I am indebted to Daniel Bertolone and Samy Sabag who first introduced me to South-American music and South-American immigrant musicians in Sydney, and who provided the initial inspiration for this research. Special thanks are due to Professor P. Platt and Dr. Graham Hardie for their understanding and encouragement, to Dr. Drid Williams and Professor Diane Austin for their valuable criticisms and discussion, and in particular to my supervisor Dr. Allan Marett without whose expertise, patience and demands for detail, this thesis could never have been written.

Finally, my greatest debt of gratitude is owed to all those individual Carnaval and samba participants, enthusiasts and specialists in Australia and Brazil, particularly those Sydney Brazilians who gave their time and knowledge with endless enthusiasm and patience during what has been, for me, a most enriching part of my life. copyright 1989
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ABSTRACT

This thesis represents an attempt to develop a new approach to the study of changes in the music and musical organisations of recently settled urban immigrant groups. The theory underlying this was developed so that new methods of identifying and interpreting musical change would contribute to a better understanding of the important role that music plays in the lives of immigrants in a new and foreign environment. This approach focuses on the role of music as a vehicle for interethnic interaction, and as an expression of the cultural diversity typical not only of multicultural urban Australia, but also characteristic of most urban settings.

The theoretical position adopted in this thesis holds that change in the music and musical organisations of immigrant groups is best understood in terms of the individual participant’s folk models (belief systems, attitudes, actions) and degree of musical experience.

The Introduction argues that due to the lack of detailed studies of the music of recently settled immigrant groups, there are very few if any models on which to base such a study. I therefore commence with an examination of six major approaches to sociological change developed in the social sciences and the ways in which these approaches have been incorporated into ethnomusicological approaches to musical change.

The assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of those approaches for the material discussed in this thesis provides the groundwork for the introduction of a new approach to change which combines a modified interpretation of the Pikean emic-etic concepts with the concept of ‘folk models’, a term coined by Holy and Stuchlik (1981) defined generally as the whole range of people’s notions about the social and natural world in which they live. The appropriateness of the emic-etic approach to the structure of folk models resulted from the conviction that it could supply the additional apparatus for analysis that was missing from traditional approaches to change which
assume, a priori, notions of the homogeneity of immigrant groups in post-migration locations.

Having established a model appropriate for the study of urban ethnic music, I then demonstrate the suitability of the approach by applying it in an analysis of the musical and musical organisations developed by first-generation Brazilian immigrants in Sydney between 1971 and 1984. That time span is broken up into three major periods according to significant events in the history of Brazilian immigrant musical activity in Sydney. Chapters II through IV are each concerned with one of those periods.

The identification of organisational and musical change revolves around an examination of re-enactments of aspects of the traditional Carnaval bailes and desfiles of Rio de Janeiro, Brazilian carnival manifestations chosen by Brazilian immigrants for imitation in Sydney. Two Brazilian-styled carnival organisations known as Sambação and the Brazilian Samba Social Centre were formed by Brazilians in Sydney. The participants in those organisations, which were modelled after the Rio Escolas de Samba (official carnival organisations of Rio de Janeiro), were a mixture of Brazilians and non-Brazilians. Thus, in the formulation and application of the modified emic-etic approach to musical change, prime consideration is given throughout this thesis to the processes and results of shared social and musical interaction between Brazilians and non-Brazilians with a view to demonstrating how the interacting individuals have contributed to the structure of the Sydney carnival organisations (Sambação and The Centre), and how these interactions have influenced the structure of the musical product, and the various uses and functions of the music.

Finally, the changes that were identified during Periods 1 to 3 of Brazilian-influenced musical activity in Sydney are summarised, and evaluated in terms of the folk models theme. Volume II of this study contains Figures (tables, diagrams, illustrations), Examples, (musical transcriptions), Glossary and Bibliography.

The prime concern throughout the study is to demonstrate that immigrant groups do not constitute homogeneous cultural units in the post-migration location. Indeed, idiosyncratic divergence is as much a determinant of musical or social structure and changes to those structures as is cultural or group consensus. Certainly, immigrants in the post-migration location exist in a constant state of interaction, through work, employment, music, entertainment, religion, etc., with other members of the host society. As such, they are constantly re-evaluating their folk models in the light of new cultural
information. Hence, evaluations of their actions as vital members of a dynamic society and the contribution that they make to that society should not be based on idealistic or static notions of 'loss of tradition' or 'dilution of culture', but rather on the realisation that expansion of previously existing folk models takes place for the individual immigrant as well as the non-immigrant individuals with whom he or she interacts in the post-migration location. The types of change and the significance of change is related to the individually held and commonly shared folk models.

The conclusion is that the emic-etic approach to the structure of pre-migration and post-migration folk models offers a practical alternative to previous methods of analysing change in urban ethnic music, particularly in connection with the music of recently settled immigrant groups.
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about musical change and urban ethnic music, particularly the music of recently settled immigrant groups. The immigrant Brazilian population in Sydney provides a case study for a new theory of musical change (the modified emic-etic theory) which will emerge as the chapters of the study unfold. The process of discussing the theory is as important as the ethnographic material, thus it is necessary to begin with some historical aspects of ethnomusicology itself.

During the last three decades attention has been continually drawn to the need for ethnomusicological studies that deal with musical change and the development of appropriate theory and method. As early as 1958, Nettl pointed out that 'the historical aspects of ethnomusicology can be grouped into two principal classes, origin and change', and predicted that 'while the study of origins seems impossible to pursue further, the study of change promises to be of even greater interest when some of the methodological problems have been solved'. This concern has been frequently restated by a number of leading ethnomusicologists.

The study of the dynamics of music change is one of the most potentially rewarding activities in ethnomusicology. Change in music is barely understood, either as concerns music sound as a thing in itself or the conceptual behavioral activities which underlie that sound.

... relatively little is known concerning processes of musical change, and... relatively few attempts have been made to translate direct observation into theory.

The main purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the need for a comprehensive theory of music and music-making, and for studies that seek to


distinguish musical change analytically from other kinds of change, and radical change from variation and innovation within a flexible system.  

... ethnomusicology until recently tended in the main to ignore music that seemed to represent instability, in favor of tiny remnants of traditions that they could assume to have gone unchanged ... Investigating recent change is a new development.

A second and equally underexplored area of ethnomusicological investigation is that of the music of urbanised immigrant groups, and in particular, that of recently settled immigrants. This is an area in which change is a particularly important factor. From the mid-1950s onwards, following the lead of anthropologists, ethnomusicologists started to realise the value of cities as valid locations of research. As Nettl has noted however, studies which took place in the cities rarely gave ‘much specific consideration to the cities as such, but ... concentrated rather on enclaves that have preserved authentic rural traditions or maintained ancient classical court musics’. The focus in such studies was clearly on continuity rather than change and urban studies which examined musical transculturation through intercultural contact often employed ‘perjorative expressions’ reflective of the ethnocentricities and prejudices of their authors.

Two major studies of urban music which emerged in the late ‘70s, were Nettl’s (1978) Eight Urban Musical Cultures which underlined the need for the advancement of urban ethnomusicology and Schramm’s paper, entitled ‘Ethnic Music, the Urban Area and Ethnomusicology’ in which she emphasised the newness of the field of urban music research, particularly with reference to the music of urban migrant groups:

"Ethnic" and "urban" are terms which of late, have been claiming an increasing share of our attention. The first has long been ensconced in the language of ethnomusicology; the second until recently has been no more than

---


7 The term ‘transculturation’ was defined by Kartomi as a process of musical change whereby ‘... a group of people select for adoption whole new organizing and conceptual or ideological principles - musical and extramusical - as opposed to small, discrete alien traits’ (1981:244).

a peripheral concern, and the two were hardly ever concerned with each other.\(^9\)

Researchers of urban ethnic music\(^{10}\) who consider the significance of changes in music performed by recently urbanised immigrants are still a small proportion of the overall number of ethnomusicologists in the USA. Despite the growing interest in urban ethnic music research in the Americas since 1979, the bulk of the literature remains descriptive, and sound analytical methods are rare. While the field of urban ethnic music research is becoming established in America, urban ethnic music research in Australia is, by comparison, still in its infancy. Thus, Marett observed:

\[
\ldots \text{Australian ethnic music offers a unique and as yet unexplored potential. Migrant communities in Australia are not only sufficiently large enough to allow for significant cultural activity (it has been estimated that 42\% of the population in Sydney, for example, is made up either of first or second generation migrants) but are also young enough - that is, have arrived in Australia sufficiently recently - to allow detailed investigation of both their musics, and their musical institutions on Australian soil.}\(^{11}\)
\]

The previous discussion has identified two relatively new and important areas of concern within the discipline of ethnomusicology; namely, the study of musical change, and the study of the music of recently settled immigrants. It is the aim of this thesis to address these two areas of investigation in detail by means of an examination of the music and musical organisations of Brazilian immigrants in Sydney between the years 1971 to 1984. This time span corresponds with the first signs of organised Brazilian musical activity in Sydney and the dissolution of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre,


\(^{10}\) The term 'ethnic', whether used as a prefix to music, culture, art, or cuisine, carries inherent definitions of self-and-other. In the United States for example, ethnic music, according to Erdely, denotes the 'diverse musical traditions of national and ethnic groups which came to the United States with the so-called 'new wave of immigration' from the 1880s onward' (1979:115). Likewise, as Lepervanche noted, while some argue that ethnicity applies to all of us, in Australia, the term 'ethnic' has been coupled with 'minority' so that Aborigines and recent immigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon background and their children are ethnic whereas the culturally dominant Anglo-Saxon majority is not' (Lepervanche 1980:24-25). As Schramm notes, however, 'ethnic music events are not restricted to members of the corresponding ethnic group; art music performers may also be performers of other styles . . . To create order on the basis of the assumption that diversity is merely the sum total of a number of discrete musics or social groups counters the reality that in the urban area, these diverse units do not merely co-exist but interact' (1982:9). Thus, my use of the term 'urban ethnic music' in this study is not intended to reinforce the self-and-other dichotomisation.

a social and musical organisation formed by Brazilian immigrants, which from 1979 to 1984 was Australia's principal Brazilian ethnic community organisation.

Prior to 1971 there were fewer than 100 Brazilians residing in Sydney. Since 1971, approximately 1200 Brazilians have emigrated to Sydney from the cities of Brazil. As urban people, they chose to re-exact social and musical aspects of the annual Carnaval of Rio de Janeiro initially in order to establish social contact with each other and, more significantly, to maintain a sense of their identities as Brazilians.

My interest in and involvement with Brazilian music began well before the commencement of my formal training in ethnomusicology in 1979. In 1973 I heard my first live performance of Brazilian samba. This informal performance, which took place in a Sydney music shop, was provided by Daniel Bertolone, a professional Uruguayan musician who had at that time only just emigrated to Sydney. The energy, intensity, and syncopations that he played on the guitar or tapped on the nearest available object were unlike those rhythms typical of the local popular and jazz music styles with which I was accustomed through listening or performance as a professional trumpeter.

Shortly afterwards in 1974, I formed a musical association with Daniel Bertolone and was subsequently introduced to many leading immigrant musicians from the various South-American communities resident in Sydney. During numerous formal and informal performances with those South-American-born musicians between 1973 and 1980 I had ample opportunity to learn, through participation and observation, how the music of samba and other South-American musics were performed, and more importantly perhaps, about their notions of the uses and functions of their music both in Brazil and Australia.

Of particular interest to me at that time was the wide array of attitudes expressed by the musicians concerning the value that they placed on their traditional musical forms. Some musicians, in an attempt to gain acceptance by local non-South-American musicians, soon rejected traditional musical styles that they had previously regarded as symbols of their ethnic identities as Brazilians, Uruguayans, Argentinians. By contrast, other musicians wishing to maintain a sense of their South-American identities eventually adopted and performed traditional musical genres which they had initially rejected as undesirable in projecting their identity in the host society. At the outset, many musicians with whom I performed seemed as keen to forget their traditional musical styles as I was to learn them.
Significant changes in musical style and repertoire were particularly evident whenever we performed for non-South-American audiences. Such modifications resulted from the musician's embarrassment over the use of song lyrics in Spanish, or the immigrant musician's belief that Anglo-Saxon Australian audiences were not only in some cases incapable, but also seemingly unwilling, to endure the lengthy rhythmic percussive improvisations essential to the traditional South-American styles they performed. Such behaviour was typical of immigrants who had been professional musicians prior to their arrival in Australia. Musicians who had acquired their musical skills after arrival in Sydney on the other hand, were often keen to capitalise on their ethnicity through performances of traditional music. In some cases, they did not possess sufficient knowledge to undertake such performances. Consequently, the so-called 'traditional styles' that they claimed to present were often noticeably lacking in musical elements central or essential to the tradition.

My musical involvement with South-American immigrants in Sydney between 1973 and 1979 showed that, regardless of the existence of the varying degrees and levels of musical experience prior to migration, music was a vital part of their daily existence. Almost all of the musicians had difficulties with the English language. Many, particularly those who arrived as political refugees, had suffered a drop in occupational status and most were employed in low-skilled, low-income occupations in Sydney. For example, in Uruguay, Daniel Bertolone was a highly-respected professional guitarist well before he turned 20. Since his move to Australia in 1973, he has spent a great part of the past 16 years working in factories or unemployed. He feels that his ethnicity is a barrier to achieving both musical and social and economic mobility in Sydney.

From 1979, my interest in immigrant music in Sydney focused mainly on the music and musical activities of Sydney Brazilians. The information obtained at that time provided the starting point for my formal research into Brazilian immigrant music and musical organisations in Sydney from 1980 to 1984. As the music of Brazilian immigrants in Sydney (1971-1984) has mainly revolved around their re-enactments of aspects of the Rio Carnaval12 their musical activities are best explained in terms of three major periods, namely:

---
12 The Rio Carnaval is a pre-Lenten celebration that takes place each year in Brazil. While carnival festivities are common throughout Brazil, none reach the proportions of the Rio Carnaval which has gained international fame.
Period 1 (1971-1976), the time during which Brazilian immigrants in Sydney organised their first communal musical activities which centred around their re-enactment of a Rio Carnaval baile (indoor carnival celebration).

Period 2 (1978-1982), which was marked by the formation of Sydney's first Rio-styled carnival organisation - Sambação - whose Brazilian members were devoted to the re-enactment of elements of the Rio Carnaval desfiles (outdoor competitive street parades).

Period 3 (1979-1984), which corresponds with the formation and eventual dissolution of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre; the second Rio-styled carnival organisation in Sydney to adopt and modify musical and visual elements of the Rio desfiles.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS

Chapter I addresses the question: to what extent do anthropological and sociological models provide adequate explanations of ethnomusicological data, particularly the processes and types of musical change? In an attempt to answer this question I examine the ways in which the major anthropological and sociological approaches to change have influenced ethnomusicological explanations of musical change in general and explanations of change in urban ethnic immigrant music in particular. Chapter I concludes with a discussion of the modified emic-etic approach that I have adopted for the analysis of the system of beliefs and attitudes connected with the re-enactments of Brazilian Carnaval in Sydney.

Unlike the majority of approaches to urban ethnic music in which undue emphasis is placed on pre-migration musical 'traits' as ethnic group markers, the modified emic-etic approach takes into account both the emic and etic perceptions of the pre-migration/post-migration folk models associated with the Brazilian and Sydney carnival organisations, in particular as it affects interpretations of Brazilian carnival music. It will be shown that carnival participants and enthusiasts in Brazil and Sydney may supply emic or etic information or both. Indeed, in the formulation of an appropriate method for the study of change in urban ethnic music, folk model divergence as well as folk models consensus will emerge as an important factor.

Having laid the theoretical ground work in Chapter I, Chapter II, III and IV provide for the application of the folk models theme. Chapter II is concerned with
the years 1971-1976 (Period 1 above) of Brazilian immigrant music in Sydney. A
demographic profile of the Sydney Brazilian population is followed by a summary of
their carnival celebrations in Sydney during the period and a discussion of the
significance of those celebrations for Brazilian and non-Brazilian participants. This is
followed by a brief discussion of the music of Brazilian Carnaval marcha; with a
comparison of the principal musical style performed for the carnival bailes in Brazil
with that of the Sydney Brazilians in their Sydney carnival baile re-enactments during
that time. The Sydney baile re-enactments will be shown to vary according to the
different folk models held by Brazilian and non-Brazilian Sydney baile organisers and
enthusiasts.

In the section on musical analysis, the focus is on the transcription and analysis
of two songs; 'As Pastôrinhas', a traditional Brazilian Carnaval marcha-rancho
performed at the 1974 Sydney Carnival, and Marcha do Cangurús, a song composed in
Australia by a Brazilian immigrant, first performed in the 1975 Sydney Brazilian
carnival baile. This analysis focuses on social and musical changes encountered in the
Australian baile re-enactments and the reasons for such change. The analysis and
identification of change demonstrates that participants, both immigrant and non-
imigrant musician, may supply emic or etic information or both, and that the degree
of change or non-change and its significance varies according to the ethnic and musical
backgrounds of those individuals and their relevant folk models.

Chapter III is concerned with the years 1978-1982 (Period 2) of Brazilian
immigrant musical activity in Sydney marked by the formation of Sambação, the first
carnival organisation formed by Brazilians in Sydney which imitated the Brazilian
Escolas de Samba. Sambação lasted from 1978 to 1972. During that time, the
organisation went through three significant stages of transformation, firstly as a result
of the initial predominance of Brazilian-born members, secondly as a result of the
interaction between those Brazilians and subsequent non-Brazilian members, and
thirdly from the influences exerted by Australian-born members who outnumbered the
Brazilians during the last phase of Sambação’s existence.

In imitation of the Brazilian Escolas de Samba, Sambação’s musical and social
activities resolved mainly around re-enactments of the Rio carnival parade (desfile) and
its music, samba-enredo. Indeed, samba-enredo is the only type of music performed by
the Rio Escolas de Samba during the desfile and was the style of music used by
Brazilian members of Sambação in Sydney.
Chapter III comprises four main sections. While the changes in Sambação result from the interaction between all members, the application of the folk models theme is best demonstrated through a closer study of individual cases. The first section thus commences with biographical details of certain Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of Sambação. Next comes a brief summary of the formation of Sambação, its objectives and activities in Sydney between 1978 and 1982. The structural components of Sambação (Stages 1-3) re-enactments of the Rio desfiles will then be compared with the same components of the actual Rio desfiles. This will provide the basis for the identification of specific, primarily non-musical changes.

The bulk of the literature on Brazilian carnival music and samba-enredo in particular, is descriptive and lacking in detailed musical analysis. Due to the comparative nature of this study, however, explanations of the modifications to the Brazilian desfile and samba-enredo in Sydney rest in part on an understanding of Carnaval and carnival music in Brazil. Information from experienced Brazilian musicians in Sydney and Brazil, field work recordings collected during a period of research in Brazil in 1985, and written source material will provide the basis for the identification of musical elements which are central to the samba-enredo musical tradition in Brazil. That information will then serve as the basis for the identification of changes that have occurred in the baterias (musical ensembles) and selected examples of samba-enredo and desfile music for each Stage of Sambação.

The final part of Chapter III comprises a summary of those changes, both non-musical and musical that were identified throughout the chapter. The significance of those changes are then interpreted in terms of the folk models theme for the general Sambação membership and for those specific individual Sambação members selected for closer study. In each case, the application of the modified emic-etic approach to change will demonstrate that the varying degrees of Brazilian/non-Brazilian participation affected the structure and function of Sambação's carnival organisation and carnival music.

Chapter IV, focuses on the years 1979-1984 (Period 3) of Brazilian musical activity in Sydney marked by the formation of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre, the second Escola de Samba formed by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney. Members of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre (also referred to as the Centre), like the Brazilian members of Sambação, were concerned with maintaining aspects of their pre-migration Brazilian identities through the projection of aspects of the Rio Carnaval desfile to members of the Brazilian and non-Brazilian Sydney population. At the same time, the
carnival re-enactments were a vital part of the expression of their post-migration identities as Brazilian-Australians.

Similar in structure to Chapter III, Chapter IV commences with biographical details of certain Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of the Centre. The history of formation of the Centre and its musical activities in Sydney is then given. Next, the structural components of the Centre are compared with the traditional components that govern the structure of the Rio Escolas de Samba. As was the case with Sambação, this comparison allows for the identification of specific changes, primarily non-musical, to the Centre. Particular attention is given to the ways in which non-Brazilian musicians, institutions, government bodies and entrepreneurs influenced the direction, rate, and types of change in the Centre.

The Centre's bateria (musical ensemble) is then examined and selected performances of samba-enredo by the Centre analysed. The summary of the central structural elements of samba-enredo contained in Chapter III is used as the basis for the comparative evaluation of the Centre's sambas-enredo. The changes, both non-musical and musical identified throughout the chapter are then summarised and interpreted in terms of the folk models theme for the general Centre membership and for those individuals whose backgrounds were outlined at the start of the chapter. The application of the modified emic-etic approach to change will demonstrate once again that the varying degrees of Brazilian/non-Brazilian participation and contrasting cultural and musical backgrounds of the Centre's members affected the structure and function of the Centre and its carnival music interpretations.

In the final part of Chapter IV, the types of organisational and musical change identified for Periods 1-3 are summarised and cross-referenced. Conclusions are drawn regarding the types of change that occurred and the significance of those changes for Brazilian and non-Brazilian participants.
FIGURES AND EXAMPLES IN VOLUME I

Note. These are the figures and examples which appear in Volume I. For a list of the figures and examples that appear in Volume II see the introduction to Volume II.

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CHAPTER I

A SUMMARY OF THE APPROACHES TO SOCIAL AND MUSICAL CHANGE

This study is one of the first detailed studies of the music of a recently settled immigrant group. As such, there are few if any existing models on which to base the study. In order to establish a model appropriate to the material discussed in this thesis, I will examine the ethnomusicological literature both on the broader issue of change and the more specific issue of change in the music of immigrant groups in order to (a) identify the often unstated theoretical models that inform such studies, (b) critically discuss from a theoretical perspective the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches, (c) assess the appropriateness of those models for the material under discussion in this thesis.

The following discussion will first focus on six major approaches to change in their approximate order of chronological emergence in the social sciences, namely: evolutionism, racial determinism, diffusionism, acculturation (including neo-evolutionism), functionalism, and structuralism. A definitive account of each has not been attempted, but rather a broad outline which will lay the groundwork for subsequent discussions of the incorporation of these approaches in the ethnomusicological literature that deals with change.

It is important to note that overlap sometimes occurs when seemingly mutually exclusive approaches are combined as the basis for ethnomusicological explanations of change. Therefore, instead of treating each approach as a completely isolated unit, attention will be drawn to such overlap that results from theoretical commonalities between certain approaches either singularly or when combined. For example, in ethnomusicology, Bruno Nettl's research has since the 1950s provided influential models for studies of culture contact and change. Nettl's theoretical approach has been informed by the mixing of aspects of models such as neo-evolutionism and acculturation. Nettl's neo-evolutionist perspective, while not stated, is implicit in his formulation of a continuum of motivational adaptation (1978).¹ This continuum embraces changes which, Nettl claims, parallel the varying degrees of 'modernization'.

‘adaptation’ and ‘Westernization’ of ‘non-Western’ cultures as they adopt and incorporate aspects of Western music into their indigenous musical systems. The implications for ethnomusicological research of such terms as ‘modernization’ and ‘adaptation’ borrowed from the social sciences will be examined in more detail under the discussion of the application of neo-evolutionist theories to studies of change.

The borrowing of acculturationist theories is evident in Nettl’s adoption of terms such as ‘syncretism’ to describe the ‘development of new musical styles and repertoires’ which result from culture contact. Underlying Nettl’s typology of the processes and results of culture contact (which includes Westernization and modernization), is the acculturationist belief in the autonomy of cultural systems encapsulated on the broadest level in the Western/non-Western dichotomy. Like the neo-evolutionist theory of adaptation, acculturation is, however, a loaded term which also carries preconceived and often biased opinions concerning the direction and type of change resulting from such contact as will be demonstrated later during the discussion of acculturation.

Evolutionism

In their search for a universal science of history, the nineteenth century cultural evolutionists shared a common belief that ‘the world in which they lived could be illuminated by the hypothesis that human culture had undergone progressive and cumulative growth’. Human development was categorised according to the various ‘progressive’ stages through which it was purported to have developed based on ‘the assumption of a unilinear evolutionary history of all cultures on earth.’ For example, Morgan, by means of an elaborate developmental scheme, ‘envisioned human history as consisting of three major ‘ethnical periods’ - Savagery, Barbarism, and Civilisation’ defined in terms of ‘technological innovations’. Culture (behaviour patterns, and modes of thought acquired by humans as members of society) was regarded as constituting a unit which could be viewed holistically.

Evolutionist approaches to culture change emphasised changes in the entire system and ignored factors such as the various rates or types of change that may occur

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within the anthropologist's complex unit. The direction of change was assumed to remain constant, that is simple to complex. Explanations of change were based primarily on conjecture, inference and logical deduction and the role of human behaviour as a prime determinant was generally ignored.

Explanations of sociocultural change based on the notions of quantitative cumulative development in human culture emphasised the importance of material rather than ideological factors as determinants of change. White, for example, proposed that 'culture evolves as the amount of energy harnessed per capita per year is increased, or as the efficiency of the instrumental means of putting the energy to work is increased'. As Wolf noted, however, evolution is not characterised merely by quantitative cumulation but also by qualitative change in organisation. By extension, musical change, like cultural change is not always progressive. Cumulative theories in music ignore the changes to music that could result from factors such as the individual's decision-making process and the diffusion of styles via contact between different cultures.

Following the trends of the social sciences, music historians likewise sought explanations of musical change using analogous unilinear stages of musical development in the belief that, like culture, all musical systems or styles ultimately progressed through the same set of musical stages.

Simplicity in music was equated with 'earlier stages' of human development

The basis of all music and the very first steps in the long story of musical development are to be found in the musical utterances of the most undeveloped and unconscious types of humanity such as unadulterated savages and inhabitants of lonely isolated districts well removed from any of the influences of education and culture.

Parry went on to conclude that 'true folk music begins a step higher' when these 'primitive fragments of tune and rhythm . . . are strung together upon principles which

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give an appearance of orderliness and completeness'; a 'power' which Parry claims 'does not come to human creatures till a long way above the savage stage'.

In summarising the assumptions underlying the evolutionist's explanation of the origins of music, Allen noted that according to evolutionist theories 'music created itself like other organisms... the various divisions of music were first united... [and] that progressive evolution took place to the definite clear cut forms of modern art.'

Accordingly, speculating on the question of future patterns of change in Japanese music, Parry proposed that

*If Japanese music is spared the contamination of modern European music, it will probably go through the same phases as early medieval music, and the Japanese sense of harmony will develop in the same manner as that of Europeans did long ago.*

Explanations of change in African musical studies have also been influenced by evolutionist notions of 'progress' and 'development'.

*We have found that the majority of tribes prefer one or other of the many pentatonic scales, a few prefer the hexatonic, while the most musically developed use heptatonic scales.*

Kubik, in criticism of major ethnomusicological studies of African music such as those by Hugh Tracey and A.M. Jones, wrote that the use of evolutionist culture-based theories for the classification of groups and their music is invalid. As an example, Kubik cites the Jones study of 1949 in which he claimed that the Bantu are

*... progressing musically in the same way as our forefathers. At the present stage they are moving from unison to harmony and have reached the stage of "organum," that sort of harmony our forefathers delighted in around the years 900-1050 A.D.*

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8 Ibid.


Certain global theories of change and development in music have also been based almost exclusively on evolutionary unilinear notions of progress from simple to complex musical forms. For example Sachs, in his book The History of Musical Instruments, based his chronological account on the belief that 'as man advanced from a primitive to a higher form of civilization there came a corresponding evolution in the folk and ritual instruments used'. Similarly, in his account of the musical development of mankind from the 'Stone Age to Modern Times', Sachs paralleled musical change with cultural evolution when he equated 'the oldest music; one step melodies' with the lowest cultural level. Melodies which employ the interval of a second he writes, 'are so frequent in the very lowest civilizations that we must assign then to the earliest known societies of mankind'.

Sachs' cumulative theory of melodic evolution was adopted by Trevor Jones in his examination of Australian Arnhem Land music (1957) evidenced in his claim that the melodies of the Aborigines of Arnhem Land illustrate Sachs' theory that "melodies started with only two notes" and that "evolution was additive; more and more notes at certain distances crystallized around the nucleus of two notes". In keeping with theories of musical and cultural evolution whereby cultural groups were rated according to Eurocentric hierarchical constructs and criteria, Jones wrote that

In general, then, Arnhem Land music is richly endowed with interesting and most effective devices of harmony and counterpoint and contains a small amount of music that is polyphonically more highly developed than any other primitive music known. We should, nevertheless, not lose sight of the fact that by far the greater part of this music, as of all non-European music, is essentially monophonic.

In adopting and applying theories of cultural evolution to music, musical evolutionists such as Parry, Tracey, A.M. Jones, T. Jones and in particular, Sachs, assumed that, like culture, all musical systems or styles ultimately progressed through the same set of musical stages. Music was viewed as a system. Thus, changes to

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17 Curt Sachs has provided major theories and explanations connected with the history of the world's music and musical instruments based on evolutionist notions of cumulative progress and development. In addition to those studies cited in this thesis, publications such as 'The Rise of
musical systems as a whole were emphasised irrespective of the diversity of the individual parts within that system and the direction of change was assumed to remain constant (simple to complex).

Nettl, in criticism of the use of evolutionary schemes as the basis for group classification stated that

One of the problems faced by the classifier of tribes according to evolutionary principles is the selection of representative material. There would be different results if one used the average or most common, the simplest, or the most complex material within a repertory as a basis for comparison. Furthermore, the assumption that all cultures ultimately pass through the same set of musical stages is invalid unless one makes the grossest sort of distinctions.\(^1\)

Merriam, discussing the inappropriateness of evolutionism as a theoretical approach for current ethnomusicological investigation noted that

Least acceptable today are evolutionary theories of the development of music, particularly those which, through the use of what is now regarded as an invalid comparative method,\(^2\) arrayed facts from cultures around the world into systems which 'proved' the deductively-formulated theory. . . . We need not consider such formulations, which led to systems through or stages of culture through which mankind must inevitably move.\(^3\)

As the previous discussion shows, due to the universalistic determinism of evolutionism, explanations of change were based primarily on conjecture, inference and logical deduction. Individual behaviour as a prime determinant of musical change was overlooked in favour of materialistic factors whereby it was assumed that groups with

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Music in the Ancient World East and West' (1943) clearly reflect the evolutionist framework that informed his writings.


\(^2\) The early evolutionists Morgan, Tylor and Spencer were 'universal historians who made use of the comparative method in order to achieve a more detailed and, on the whole, more accurate rendering of the sequence of cultural change which led from the paleolithic hunters to industrial civilization' (Harris 1968:169). As Merriam noted, in connection with theories of social evolution in anthropology, 'the comparative method was based essentially on a deductive theory' whereby, 'cultural facts were applied more or less indiscriminately to prove the already deduced theory' of cumulative and progressive social evolution (Merriam 1964:52). In connection with ethnomusicology, however, the comparative method 'eschews the application of fact to support deductive theory, and instead aims at controlled comparison which, through inductive application, will lead to generalization on an even-wider basis' (ibid., 53).

the most complex social or technological organisations were the most advanced. Evolutionist approaches it seems have little to contribute to our understanding of musical change, particularly in connection with the music of immigrant groups.

In 1986 Blacking emphasised external factors of change, particularly cognitive factors and human behaviour, when he defined musical change as ‘changes of ideas from within musical systems’. While Blacking drew attention to the role of individual decision-making in musical change, his definition clearly stems from a number of basic traditional evolutionist assumptions concerning what he refers to as the ‘basic biological and psychic unity of the species’. The term ‘psychic unity’ refers to a notion postulated by evolutionists Morgan and Tylor whereby it was believed that there existed a basic psychic unity among all mankind as part of mankind’s basic mental equipment which resulted in similar patterns of sociocultural development in dissimilar cultures. Accordingly, on the basis of such notions, in connection with musical change, Blacking advocated that ‘all musical behaviour and action must be seen in relation to their adaptive function in an evolutionary context, whether this is limited to their functions within the adaptive mechanisms of different cultures, or extended to their functions in biosocial evolution’. Although Blacking drew attention to the importance of cognitive factors of change, his basic evolutionist presuppositions result in a type of cognitive determinism which, when applied to the music of an immigrant group for example, restricts an interpretation of the processes of adaptation for it is assumed that human adaptation is total and the directions of change are in a sense preordained.

Racial Determinism

Along with culture-based theories of evolution, racial determinism, that is the theory that biology rather than culture explained variation in human behaviour, has also been used as a theoretical framework for explanations of musical change. Darwin’s materialist explanation of the origin of the species which resulted in a major confrontation between theology and science contributed significantly to the racial interpretation of history. On one hand, as Harris pointed out, it can be argued that

Darwin's theories of 'survival of the fittest' were concerned with organic rather than sociocultural evolution. Nevertheless, 'the idea that contemporary savages might be as intelligent as civilized people was simply inconceivable' in Darwin's notions of natural selection and human progress and perfection.\(^{25}\)

*It can be said with certainty that he [Darwin] was a racial determinist; that he believed the preservation of the fit and elimination of the unfit produced biocultural progress.*\(^{26}\)

Social Darwinism was used from the late 19th to mid-20th Century as a justification by groups who believed in their own cultural superiority

*The Nazis argued for the superiority of the 'Aryan race.' European colonialists proclaimed the 'White man's burden'; to justify the exploitation of native peoples they argued that these populations were inferior. In the United States the supposed superiority of the white race was standard segregationist doctrine.*\(^{27}\)

By extension, approaches which draw on theories of Social Darwinism making use of racial criteria as the basis of explanations of musical change are particularly objectionable. Helen H. Roberts study of folk song performed by 'Maroons' (black Jamaicans of African origin) from within a 'restricted, fairly homogeneous population' within Jamaica, sets out to establish the limits and ranges of song variation. She concluded, however, that

... much of the variation which does occur in the passing of songs from one person or district to another is the result of imperfect knowledge and a bridging of gaps by invention, whimsical local applications of names and incidents, forgetfulness and mishearing. The tendency of the negro to mishear is almost too well-known to mention.\(^{28}\)

In general, her use of racial determinism as a criteria for musical change is a matter of contention due to her inference that the negro is yet to advance along the evolutionary path of his white masters. Thus, her explanation of variations is seen not only as racially determined, but she perceives the variation typical of oral culture as

\(^{26}\) Ibid., p. 122.  
the result of racially determined forgetfulness. Black Jamaicans are put firmly at the
bottom of the scale of musical and cultural evolution.

Clearly, the use of racial determinism, evolutionist models and the resultant form
of cultural imperialism which 'relegated Africans and African cultures to a place
somewhere in the basement of a globally conceptualized hierarchy' contributed little
to the development of Black African musical identity as explanations of 'mechanisms
of change in African music' were viewed through the 'tinted lenses of common
stereotypes about African cultures during the declining colonial era in which they lived'.

Diffusionism

In addition to theories of evolution and racial determinism, ethnomusicologists
have adapted and modified diffusionist theories in anthropology as the basis of their
explanations of musical change. In anthropological terms, diffusionism involves a
process whereby aspects of culture pass from one group to another. By means of
historical reconstruction, the diffusionists focused on paths of diffusion in order to
understand how the traits that made up a given culture came together in one place in
one time. Thus, diffusionism was concerned more with the mechanisms of change
rather than the significances of change.

In a theoretical attempt to formulate a universalistic theory of change the
cultural and musical evolutionists viewed culture as a homogeneous unit. The
diffusionists instead focused on large spacial categories (societies, civilisations). For
example, in the United States diffusionist thinking in culture studies culminated in the
concept of 'culture areas', that is, 'geographical units based on the contiguous
distribution of cultural elements'. The culture-area concept resulted originally from
American ethnographic research aimed at the mapping and classification of North and
South-American tribal groups; Harris added that 'tribal entities' were grouped 'in
relationship to some geographically delineated aspect of the environment'. For
example, Wissler (1917) in his ethnography of North and South-American Indians,
attempted to delineate his culture areas on the basis of 'food areas'.

30 Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory, 373.
31 Ibid., pp. 374-75.
Merriam noted the adoption by ethnomusicologists of cultural-diffusionist theories when, in 1964, he wrote:

Some mention must be made . . . of the establishment of music areas, since they are derived from the anthropological concept of culture areas so intimately connected with diffusion studies. Only two attempts to delimit music areas have been made, for North American Indians by Nettl (1954a), and for Africa by Merriam (1959a).32

Contrary to the above claim by Merriam, attempts have been made by ethnomusicologists to define musical areas for cultures other than those cited above. In the case of Brazil, Joaquim Ribeiro was, according to Béhague, 'the first to propose, in 1944, a set of four musical areas, based on musical genres: embolada (north-east); moda (south); jongo (several zones of Bantu influence); aboisos (cattle herding zone of the hinterland of Sertao)'. Correa de Azevedo (1954) later proposed nine musical areas based on his comprehensive classification of the distribution of musical genres and instruments.33 Shortcomings in Azevedo's nine tier classification were noted by Behague who wrote that Azevedo's classification is 'useful as a working tool, but omits Brazilian indigenous music as a result of the extremely limited attention that this has received'. In addition, it has had to disregard the numerous overlappings of distribution of folk genres.34 In connection with Australian Aboriginal music, Moyle (1969) proposed six musical areas on the basis of tribal areas and geographical distribution of sound instruments.35

As Harris noted with regard to diffusionist studies in anthropology, one of the principal weaknesses with the culture area concept is that 'if too much emphasis is given to the natural geographical substratum, the mapper falls victim to a naive form of geographical determinism'.36 Culture-area typologies proved unreliable. The arrangement of cultures based on natural environmental factors, natural resources and the like has contributed little to an understanding of cultural differences, similarities and change. Furthermore, the process of determining the number and types of units that constitute a culture area is entirely capricious. Similar difficulties occur with the

34 Ibid.
36 Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory, 375.
establishment of music areas. Although it may be argued that unlike the culture area the music area focuses on a single aspect of culture, immense complexities surround the identification of the units that constitute a single musical style, let alone an entire musical area. Nevertheless, explanations of musical change are more often than not dependent on such identifications.

Kulturkreise, the name given to the diffusionist trend in Europe, also refers to a second basic diffusionist concept, namely that of Culture-Circles; 'large complexes of traits which had lost their former geographical unity and were now dispersed throughout the world'.\(^{37}\) This 'law of diffusion' as proposed by Kissler (1926), formed the basis of the 'age-area principle'; a method for inferring the relative age of traits from their cultural distribution.\(^{38}\) The chief axioms of the age-area principle was that the most widely distributed traits around a center would be the oldest.

In their attempts at the reconstruction of musical history, musical theorists have elaborated on the idea of cultural circles using musical instruments in their schemes. For example, three premises proposed by Sachs regarding the diffusionary process form the basis of the age-area principle. Namely

1) An object or idea found in scattered regions of a certain district is older than an object found everywhere in the same region.

2) Objects preserved only in remote valleys and islands are older than those used in open plains.

3) The more widely an object is spread over the world, the more primitive it is.\(^{39}\)

The above reference clearly reflects the importance afforded to environmental and geographical factors as prime determinants in the process of diffusion. At the same time, a more vital issue is at hand. Concerned with the question of origin, Sachs posed the question: '... is the world-wide distribution of musical instruments due to migrations from a few centres of inspiration, or rather to the fact that man, at a given stage of development, must invent the same tools and implements?'\(^{40}\) Sachs, in

\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 373.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., p. 376.

\(^{39}\) Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, 62.

\(^{40}\) Ibid.
response to his own question, clearly revealed his evolutionary assumptions when he stated his belief that 'each of the oldest ideas and inventions came from one center'.

Sachs's assumption of single origin is also reflected in his formulation of a stratified taxonomy of musical instruments (Idiophones, Aerophones, Membranophones, Chordophones) whereby the ordering of his four categories paralleled simple to complex hierarchical cultural-evolutionist taxonomies. Each category was treated as a separate species in a manner analogous to the classifications used by natural historians. More specifically, the Hornbostel-Sachs classificatory system, a refinement of the Mahillon (1888) system formulated for the Museum of the Brussels Conservatoire, was similarly influenced by the types of classificatory system and the 'ranking of the divisions within the system by means of specific headings, as especially in zoology and botany with expressions like class, order, family, species, variant'. Accordingly, the musical instruments are treated as artifacts and classified through the application of a rigid set of distinctions inappropriate for systematic integration of world-wide instrumentalia and human behavior included in producing sound. Central to the alternative classificatory system provided by Lysloff and Matson and, by extension, omitted from the Hornbostel and Sachs system was 'consideration of the dynamic interaction between instruments and human behavior, developed in a manner which facilitated cross-cultural comparison'.

For Sachs then, the process of change and paths of diffusion were mechanistic processes intertwined with preconceived evolutionist notions of cumulative development. Furthermore, regardless of the detail in Sachs's history of musical instruments, his interpretation of diffusion and change remains speculative due to the uncertainty of the theoretical formulations which he has employed. As Lévi-Strauss noted in criticism of the diffusionist approach to change:

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Ibid.


The main appeal of the alternative system formulated by Lysloff and Matson is that it appears to be non-hierarchical and goes beyond the usual classifications of instruments as static objects or artifacts. Instead, 'the system recognizes each sound-producing instrument not only as a physical object and as a source of sound production, but also in terms of person's participation (both direct and indirect) in humanly produced sound' (1983:232).

Ibid., p. 213.
The ‘cycles’ of cultural ‘complexes’ of the diffusionists, like the ‘stages’ of the evolutionist, are the product of an abstraction that will always lack the corroboration of empirical evidence.46

The study of musical instruments by Picken as recently as 1975 has contributed significantly to our knowledge of the types of folk instruments and their musical function in Turkey. At the same time, Picken’s book reflects in part, the continuing use of diffusionist and evolutionist theories and approaches to change such as those formulated by Sachs in his earlier writings. Along with the adoption of diffusionist theories also comes a carry-over of certain associated theoretical problems. For example, Picken concludes that ‘in view of the evidence from distribution and from history, there can be little doubt that the composition of contemporary instrumentation of the Western Turks of the modern Turkish State is largely to be understood in terms of diffusion’ which he attributes to the operation of either or both of two processes; ‘transport by a migrating population’ or ‘transport as merchandise’.47 While this may be so, as was the case with Sachs, underlying Picken’s study are assumptions of musical change based on evolutionist theories.

Musical instruments are utensils. They are functional extensions of human anatomy . . . and as such we should expect them to exhibit changes in time correlated with a changing and/or refining of function, analogous to the evolutionary refinement of a line in the performance of a progressively circumscribed and more sharply defined function. We know as a matter of fact that musical instruments have evolved in time.48

Picken’s description of musical instruments as ‘utensils’, ‘artifacts’ and ‘machines’ reflects an undue emphasis on materialistic, technological and biological determinants of change and an insufficient consideration of human behavioural and ideological factors. As Picken wrote:

Although musical instruments are in most cases artifacts, it is legitimate to refer to their transformation in time as an ‘evolutionary’ process, based on selection, and analogous to the increasing adaptation of a limb to a particular, specialised function or set of functions. It is the type, rather than the individual, that undergoes transformation—as with biological objects.49

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46 Claude Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology Translated by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (Norwich: Fletcher and Son Ltd., 1979), 5.

47 Laurence Picken, Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey (London, 1975), 578.

48 Ibid., p. 565.

49 Ibid., p. 570.
In addition, as was also the case in the Sachs study, ecological environmental determinants also played a major role in his study of the paths of diffusion of Turkish musical instruments.

... it is to be concluded that those features of physical geography which facilitate or hinder the spread of plant-species also facilitate or hinder the movements of human populations - the bearers of musical instruments.\footnote{Ibid., p. 579.}

The concept of single origin as exemplified in the writings of Sachs and the contrasting concept of independent invention constitute two vital issues underlying the diffusionist approach to explanations of change. On one hand, the belief is likened to that of cultural evolution - culture traits 'have been invented or discovered but once, and from that single instance all other examples of its occurrence have been derived by means of borrowing or diffusion'.\footnote{Clyde Kluckhohn, "Some Reflections on the Method and Theory of the Kulturkreislehre," \textit{American Anthropologist}, 38(2)(1936):176.} In opposition to the concept of single origin, the less dogmatic concept of independent invention holds that traits demonstrating the same or similar qualities are not necessarily linked to the same common ancestor.\footnote{A contrasting genre of diffusionist studies may be noted in connection with British social anthropologists such as W. H. R. Rivers. The classical British evolutionary approach to anthropology focused on diffusion from a primary centre. In contrast, Rivers rejected an evolutionary hypothesis on empirical grounds and focused on regional diffusion through the application of a genealogical method as a tool for elucidating social organisation (for a detailed examination of River's diffusionist approach see Langham, \textit{The Maturing of Social Anthropology at Cambridge University}, 1976).} Nonetheless, it is not methodologically sound to assume either.

Of greater significance is the primacy afforded the notion of traits in determining the paths and mechanisms of diffusion. Like the diffusionist's 'culture area', the definition of a musical area rested on a breakdown of the area or musical system into traits or trait complexes. In musical terms, diffusionism revolved around identification of the cultural origin of a musical artifact or trait. In light of its importance in diffusionist studies the term requires examination.

The term 'trait' is defined as pertaining to 'a particular feature of mind or character; a distinguishing quality (of one's nature); a characteristic'.\footnote{\textit{Oxford English Dictionary}, 3rd ed., s.v. 'trait.'} In music, trait may be said to refer to an element of a musical system that helps distinguish that system from another. The term is, however, a far more loaded term than is implied

\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 579.}
in the previous definition. On one hand, the concept of trait is a product of the anthropological study of the biological characteristics of the human species whereby explanations of human variability in racial terms were based on the isolation, identification and distribution of traits, that is particular blood groups. As Kluckhohn noted, the diffusionists insistence that the connection between the traits which distinguish a cultural area is an historical one is contradicted by the use of biological metaphors in which the culture-circle is treated like an organism.54

Moreover, the main problem with the diffusionist approach to cultural as well as musical change was that it resulted in a picture of culture as a composite of unrelated, separable components or trait lists. While the comparison of traits and customs produced probabilistic explanations for their similarities or differences in various cultural areas, the results were based on speculation. More importantly perhaps, the structural-functional interrelationship of the chosen traits was ignored. One assumption fundamental to the diffusionists stressed that 'the association of cultural elements rests solely upon an historical connection and not upon an inner relation of the elements themselves'.55 From the viewpoint of the functionalists, such an approach to the study of culture was inadequate. Accordingly, Herskovits noted the functionalist's objection to the diffusionist's application of trait lists when he wrote that

\[\ldots \text{the theoretical position of the functionalists} \ldots \text{maintains that the fabric of a culture is so tightly woven that to separate a single strand from it is to do violence to the whole} \ldots \text{. The very concept of trait was inadmissible, since the aim was to gather materials which revealed the totality of the existing patterns of behavior.}\]56

Writing from a structuralist viewpoint, Lévi-Strauss also criticised the use of trait lists.

*The diffusionist breaks down the species developed in the comparative method in order to reconstruct individuals with fragments borrowed from different categories. But he never succeeds in building more than a pseudo-individual, since the spacial and temporal coordinates are the result of the way the elements were chosen and assembled instead of being the reflection of a true unity in the object. . . . Their history remains conjectural and ideological.*57


55 Ibid., p. 166.


57 Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, 5.
It may be argued that diffusionism has contributed to the study of music and musical change. For example, with the use of distribution maps such as those formulated by Picken for Turkish musical instruments, it is possible to demonstrate the location and usage, or absence of a particular instrument in a certain group of cultures and thus lay claim to changes in the construction of the instrument or even for its absence. As is the case with studies of the diffusion of certain cultural traits, however, we can never conclude with certainty that the events actually occurred in the way suggested by the proposed reconstruction. Furthermore, as human behaviour and ideation was afforded a minor role in the diffusionist approach to change, it rendered the approach incomplete. As Lévi-Strauss suggested, diffusion studies

\[\ldots\text{ do not teach us anything about the conscious and unconscious process in concrete individual or collective experiences, by means of which men who did not possess a certain institution [musical instrument or style] went about acquiring it, either by inventing it, by modifying previous institutions [musical instruments or styles], or by borrowing from the outside.}\]  

Theories of Acculturation (Including Neo-Evolutionism)

Due to a priori assumptions which govern their use, classical evolutionism, racial determinism, and to a lesser degree diffusionism, may be considered as inadequate methodological models for the study of sociocultural and musical change. The continued use of acculturation theories in the social sciences and ethnomusicology suggests that this is not, however, the case with acculturation theory. As Merriam noted in connection with anthropology: '... the accumulation of materials in anthropology concerning acculturation provides one of the largest single bodies in the discipline'.

Remarking on improvements in acculturationist methodology, Bee has suggested that, due to the focus of acculturation studies on relatively recent and on-going cultural transmission, the tracing of diffusion by acculturationists has 'become less speculative than it was in the 1920s'. In a more critical manner, however, Bee also noted that the rapid advancement in technology and communication over the past 20 years has increased the complexities of methodological issues such as the determination of

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58 Ibid., p. 7.
60 Bee, Sociocultural Change, 115.
the processes of integration when recipient cultures are being bombarded
with a deluge of new ideas through the spread of literacy, use of items such as
transistorised radios, and increased mobility between urban and rural areas. 61

Commenting on the current use of acculturation theory in anthropology, Bee
noted that regardless of the 'numerous variations in the basic format of the
acculturation approach . . . it is still being applied in most cases to practical issues of
modernization or development involving the major powers of the East and West with
the so-called Third World countries. 62 Following those trends in anthropology,
ethnomusicologists have, since the 1950s also derived major theories of musical
acculturation and change mainly from studies of Western/non-Western musical
contact.

There is sufficient evidence to demonstrate the contribution of the social
sciences to the development of acculturation theory in ethnomusicology and the
associated theoretical problems that may arise. Following a brief discussion on factors
relating to the emergence of the acculturation approach in anthropology, the discussion
will focus on an examination of the overlap between acculturation theory in music and
the social sciences and a number of specific major issues which have resulted from that
cross-disciplinary interrelationship. The term 'acculturation' will be discussed in light
of recent criticisms in ethnomusicology. The two terms 'adaptation', and
'modernisation', associated primarily with neo-evolutionist theory, have also been
singled out for examination as they have served not only as the basis for explanations
of sociocultural and musical change but are also taken as a priori determinants of such
changes.

In documenting the emergence and development of anthropological strategies for
the study of sociocultural change, Bee (1974) drew attention to some important
differences between diffusionism and acculturation, also termed 'culture contact'. Bee
noted that 'by 1936 the acculturation movement had become so important that a group
of bright young anthropologists (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits 1936) drew up a brief
but concise memorandum designed [not only] to give coherence to the approach' but
also to legitimise acculturation theory as a valid anthropological approach to change. 63
The thrust of that 1936 memorandum lay in their argument that, due to insufficient

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61 Ibid., p. 118.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid., pp. 94-5.
consideration for human internal factors of change, diffusionist studies provided incomplete explanations of sociocultural change. As Smith noted, the diffusionists were 'united in their belief that changes originate mainly outside a given unit or pattern, and that the researcher's duty is to locate the peculiar, if recurrent, channels through which a change exerts its influence on a particular unit or area.'\(^{64}\)

In 1954, a second memorandum on acculturation was presented at the Social Sciences Research Council's 1954 Seminar. Acculturation was then defined as changes resulting from the contact between two 'autonomous' or 'structurally independent systems'; each culture representing a 'unit of analysis'.\(^{65}\) While both approaches, that is diffusionism and acculturation, shared common assumptions concerning the 'homogeneity' of culture areas, the broader term 'acculturation' also encompassed a focus on processes of change as distinguished from the processes of diffusion; the prime concern of the diffusionists.

In turn, diffusion was seen only as one step in a three part acculturation process:\(^{66}\) the first step is diffusion; the second consists of the recipient's evaluation of the transmitted idea or traits; the last step is the integration of the new traits or ideas in the recipient's cultural system.\(^{67}\) Thus, while diffusion produced accounts of traits and customs primarily as structurally unrelated, acculturation focused more on the integration of traits and customs 'with the emphasis heavily on modifications resulting from diffusion rather than on the diffusion itself'.\(^{68}\)

In 1955 Merriam sought to indicate how musical investigation could be used to support anthropological theory.\(^{69}\) In keeping with the trends in anthropology, through his study of intercultural contact between two pairs of cultures, namely Western culture and the Flathead Indians of western Montana, and Western culture and urban Africa south of the Sahara, Merriam attempted to demonstrate how an investigation of musical change resulting from culture contact could throw light on anthropological

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\(^{65}\) Bee, *Sociocultural Change*, 110.


research into acculturation. Merriam developed theories regarding 'points of contact for mutual exchange of musical traits'. One such theory states:

*When two human groups which are in sustained contact have a number of characteristics in common in a particular aspect of culture, exchange of ideas therein will be more frequent than if the characteristics of those aspects differ markedly from one another.*

Merriam's assertion is clearly formulated to focus on integrational processes of musical change whereby degrees of musical similarity or compatibility, or what are identified as central musical traits, were principal determinants of change. As noted in the previous discussion of Diffusionism, however, the notion of traits is problematic in that it results in static explanations of change. Structural independence and homogeneity of the acculturating groups was mistakenly taken as an a priori assumption in such studies.

As is the case in the social sciences, the acculturation approach to change in music in the ethnomusicological literature has, in the main, been applied to issues of modernisation or development where the major powers of the West come into contact with non-Western countries. The focus in such studies is on the integration of musical traits into the recipient culture, usually the non-Western culture. The principal objection to the term acculturation, the prime expression used to describe cross-cultural integrational processes, is that it emerged during the late colonial time in the context of the study of what were then called 'primitive cultures'. 'It came to be used when intercultural contacts mostly involving colonial people being subordinated and required to adjust [(assimilate, adapt] to the cultures of the Western colonial powers*. Kartomi points out that 'musical and other cultural coercion of "primitive races" by "racially superior" people was an essential component of the ideological framework within which the word "acculturation" was spawned'.

One major criticism of the acculturation thesis is that what acculturation studies tend not to recognise is that very often the patterns of adaptation are influenced by the relative power of the societies that come into contact. Adaptation in fact was most intensive in the subordinate culture in those areas that were of most interest to the

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70 Ibid., p. 28.


more dominant power in the relationship. For example, the Europeans moving into East Africa were much more interested for their own purposes in transforming economic life than in transforming religious life. Changes do ultimately flow through the whole society but the rate of change varies in a sense, according to those areas of the subordinate culture that are targeted by the superordinate culture. Thus, the rate and magnitude of change in the acculturation process may not be uniform, depending on the differential power of the two groups, and what style of colonisation or conquest it is. The European settlement of Australia provides a direct contrast to the East African situation. Europeans did not make attempts to incorporate Aborigines into their society in any particular way and when the Europeans began to expand out agriculturally, they employed forms of agriculture that did not need intensive labour. The results are different patterns of the acculturation process (Professor Austin, University of Sydney: personal communication).

The rate and magnitude of musical change in a subordinate group was likewise influenced by the differential power of the two groups and style of colonisation that took place. In the case of Tonga for example, the indigenous island music and dance was soon targeted for change by Methodist missionaries. As Kaeppler wrote, 'Christianity and formal schooling had profound effects on Tongan life, and dance [and accompanying song] was no exception. Methodism became almost a state religion, and the old dances were considered "heathen" and not in keeping with the precepts of Christianity.' Australian aboriginal music and dance was, by way of contrast, largely ignored in keeping with the contrasting styles of colonisation to which the Aborigines were exposed.

The term 'adaptation' is defined as 'the process of modifying a thing so as to suit new conditions'. Irrespective of contrasts in the rate and magnitude of change between various groups such as those cited above, the term 'acculturation' tended to imply a one-way process of change whereby the so-called acculturating group (usually the subordinated non-Western or recently urbanised immigrant group) forsake their traditions as they move closer to the dominant cultural group.

The worldwide history of Western colonisation and domination of non-Western cultures is a fact that can not be overlooked. Ethnocentric prejudices that have

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74 Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd ed., s.v. 'adaptation.'
resulted from the realities of cultural domination have likewise played a major role in
dictating anthropological and ethnomusicological interpretations of the value or
non-value of syncretic processes and products of musical change. In the light of those
facts, acculturation studies may be discussed broadly in terms of two significantly
contrasting approaches to change: the 'purist' or 'preservationist' approach and the
'syncretist' approach. Syncretism, a process of integration defined as 'the attempted
union or reconciliation of diverse or opposite tenets or practices'\(^75\) has been a major
concern in both disciplines.

In connection with the 'purist' approach, Kartomi wrote that 'with some recent
exceptions, Western writers on music have tended to disapprove of musics of mixed
Western and non-Western descent, ignoring them or dismissing them as objects
unworthy of attention'.\(^76\) Kauffman used the expression 'ethnocentric idealism' to
describe the purist motivation for the preservation of 'authentic' unadulterated musics.
'Ethnocentric idealism', he wrote, is

\[\ldots\text{one type of idealism... based on an almost missionary-like zeal to record}\]
\[\text{all the traditional music possible within a short period of time, before it is}\]
\[\text{forever replaced by the banal sounds of Western 'pop' music and the horrible}\]
\[\text{syncretic babblings of those who are no longer practicing their traditions.}\]\(^77\)

For the purists, syncretism was not only a process of integration but all too often,
also an undesirable product of integration. As Blacking noted; 'the "purists" assume
that radical changes in [musical sounds] \ldots \text{reflect some sort of moral decay}', and that
the 'restoration and promotion of "authentic" music of the people will help to
re-animate the life of the community'.\(^78\) European studies of folkloric purity such as
that by Kurt Reinhard clearly reflect such beliefs and attitudes. Accordingly,
remarking on the changes to certain Turkish folk music traditions resulting from the
diffusion via radio of 'corruptive' popular urban musical influences, Reinhard wrote
that musical change

\[\ldots\text{is brought about by the radio which has penetrated into even the most}\]
\[\text{forgotten areas. The idea that everything that others do, that one hears on the}\]
\[\text{radio is better and ought to be copied is very common. The music diffused}\]

\(^{75}\) Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd ed., s.v. 'syncretism.'

\(^{76}\) Kartomi, "Culture Contact," 227.

\(^{77}\) Robert Kauffman, "Shona Urban Music and the Problem of Acculturation," Yearbook of the

by the radio . . . is nothing but music of various unsavoury and superficial, popular songs composed in a popular style which are nothing other than mediocre songs adapted to the fashion of the day under a familiar veneer, songs and dances in a Turkish manner but remaining works of short popularity without deep roots in Turkish folklore. We have observed many times that the inhabitants of even the most remote village, nomads in camps refuse to sing their beautiful folk songs, pretending that they no longer know the song. 79

In their desire for the preservation of 'authentic' musical traditions, purists such as Reinhard automatically link musical change with moral decay. In opposition, the 'syncretists' welcome syncretic processes and results based on the assumption 'that the vigorous production of new sounds indicate that the community is adapting successfully to changing circumstances'. 80 As Blacking noted; 'The 'syncretists' have emphasised that in many 'folk' music traditions innovation and change are valued and applauded'. 81 One such example of a syncretist approach to musical change may be found in the study of Afghanian popular music by Baily (1976). Unlike Reinhard who interpreted influences resulting from diffusion of popular musical styles via radio as corruptive on traditional folk styles, Baily argues that musical change in the form of modernisation, is but 'one element in a more general cultural 'reorientation' in Herat'. 82 Accordingly, Baily writes that

It has been the policy of the government to break down local allegiances and divisions, and to instill in the people a spirit of nationalism. In Afghanistan, the creation of a national popular music propagated to the provinces by radio may have performed an important function in this process. Music may serve as an area of shared experience which helps to delineate the boundaries of a nation; perhaps at a deep level the sentiment of Afghan popular music is a sentiment of national identity. 83

Both extremes are clearly problematic. On one hand, the purist approach favours non-change. Change is unrealistically viewed as a threat to the assumed harmonious stability of a society or culture. On the other hand, while the syncretists welcome change, their notions of adaptation, particularly in cases of Western/non-Western musical contact nevertheless also reflect certain ethnocentric notions. As


81 Ibid., p. 8.


83 Ibid.
was stated in the discussion of the term 'acculturation', adaptation also carries an underlying idealist assumption that the acculturating group will automatically adapt to or assimilate towards the stronger and often larger superordinate group. As will be demonstrated in the following discussion, terms such as 'adaptation' and similarly, 'modernisation', when viewed from the neo-evolutionist perspective of sociocultural change, carry such explicit notions and a priori assumptions regarding the directions of change, and to a large extent the musical fate, of the supposedly weaker of the acculturating groups.

While the application of culture-based evolutionist theories in ethnomusicological literature in general, and in connection with musical change in particular is well documented this is not the case for neo-evolutionism. Nonetheless, the implicit connections between acculturation theory and neo-evolutionism are sufficiently evident to warrant an investigation of neo-evolutionism and its undeniable influence on studies of culture contact and musical change, particularly between Western and non-Western groups.

Neo-evolutionism, according to British sociologist Anthony Smith, marked 'the revival of evolutionary thought in both cultural anthropology and functionalist sociology' since the Second World War. Indeed, there was a specific movement in the USA by that name. How then does neo-evolutionism differ from classical evolutionism as an approach to the study of social change? To what extent have ethnomusicologists adopted neo-evolutionist theories as approaches to musical change, and what are the relevant strengths and shortcomings of such an approach either singularly, or when combined with other theoretical approaches?

On one hand, neo-evolutionism and classical evolutionism both share the same basic aim; to understand the processes of social order and social change based on a shared common assumption that change to the unit under investigation is generated

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84 Smith, Social Change, 45.

85 Four leading exponents of the American neo-evolutionist school are Lelsie White, Julian Steward and M. Sahlins and E. Service. White was best known for his development of a new basis for a theory of cultural evolution based on what he regarded as the expanded use of energy by cultures through the evolution of technology (see White, The Evolution of Culture, 1959). In opposition to White's universal materialistic evolutionist theories, Steward's form of evolutionism concentrated on specific adaptations to an environment (see Steward, Theory of Culture Change, 1955). In an attempt to reconcile Steward's and White's views, Sahlins and Service proposed two varieties of evolution, 'specific' and 'general' (see Sahlins and Service, Evolution and Culture, 1960), whereby 'specific evolution was equated with divergence and adaptation to local natural and cultural habits; general evolution with stages of progress' (M. Harris, 1969:652).
from within the system itself, and cumulative; that is always progressing or growing from a simple to a more complex structural ordering.

While classical evolutionists provided universal theories of general evolution with a focus on the largest entities (humanity, civilisations), neo-evolutionists concentrated instead on medium-sized entities (particular cultures or societies). Thus, instead of general theories of evolution, the latter proposed theories of 'specific', 'partial' and 'multilinear' evolution where 'cultures were viewed as discrete entities, each of which faced peculiar problems of adaptation to its environment'\(^{86}\). This important distinction between general and specific evolution was summarised by Robert Bee as follows:

... the evolution of culture is "general" evolution, a development of successive forms (hunting-and-gathering bands, agriculturalist, industrial revolution, Atomic Age) through long periods of time. "Specific" evolution ... is the development of local cultures or groups of cultures through relatively short periods of time. The key note of specific evolution is cultural diversity, brought about by a wide variety of localised factors: environment, diffusion, invention and the like.\(^{87}\)

Three main postulates provide the framework for the neo-evolutionist theory of social change: differentiation, reintegration and adaptation. In traditional evolutionism, the concept of differentiation, as applied by Durkheim, referred to a universal theory of social evolution whereby occupational specialisation was a principle of social and behavioural organisation which 'regulated the basic pattern of cohesion and ensured social stability'.\(^{88}\)

For the neo-evolutionists, structural differentiation was a process of imminent change generated from within the structure itself as a result of a discontinuity in the interdependence of the parts which formed the system or unit as a whole. While differentiation expanded the focus of traditional static functionalism to include a broader interest in diachronic and causal analysis, it was criticised for its 'centrifugal trend' of disintegration whereby continued differentiation would lead to an inevitable dissolution of all social ties.\(^{89}\)

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\(^{86}\) Ibid., p. 47.

\(^{87}\) Bee, Sociocultural Change, 145.


\(^{89}\) Ibid., p. 19.
Reintegration, a second major postulate of neo-evolutionism was advanced by Smelser in 1968, whereby he advocated that 'tendencies to disintegration are inevitably counteracted by reintegratory mechanisms, which re-equilibrate a disturbed system'. Smith wrote that differentiation and reintegration 'explain the general course and form of social change as it affected different societies'.

According to Anthony Smith, adaptation, the third postulate of neo-evolutionism, 'has its counterpart in the Darwinian theory of evolution'. Neo-evolutionism claims that in order to survive all systems must adapt to the requirements of their environment. In this light, adaptation is both the cause and result of differentiation and reintegration.

Ethnomusicologists have applied neo-evolutionist theories, often mixed with other theoretical models, to studies of musical change in specific cultures whereby adaptation is taken as a process and result of change. For example, Roberto Nodal, in his study entitled 'The Social Evolution of the Afro-Cuban drum', linked the changing status of the bata drums and associated music - the son, with the changing status of Cuba's blacks: 'The social ascendancy of the drum reflects equally the gradual upward mobility of Cuba's black people'. Prior to the full acceptance of the bata and son in Cuba, the structure of the drum underwent significant modification and alteration as part of its adaptation to the Cuban environment.

... although the existing laws forbade the use of African drums, blacks successfully used subterfuges to get around the laws. In many instances they changed the structure of the drums, adding metal keys and wooden strips from barrels of olive cases to the construction of the instruments. All kinds of transformations were tried so that the blacks could conceal the African origin of the drums and make them resemble "white drums" - thus highlighting their Creole character.

In Nodal's study, neo-evolutionist assumptions of adaptation were linked with evolutionist notions of cumulative change: 'by 1917, the son was finding acceptance in

90 Ibid., p. 21.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid., p. 23.
94 Ibid., p. 160.
the poor districts of Havana ... undergoing a slow evolutionary process as it did so. Its musical structure became more complex, certain traditional musical instruments were replaced by new [modified] ones.\textsuperscript{95} The strength of Nodal's study is in the way in which the historical-musical contribution of Cuba's blacks was acknowledged as a prime factor in creating vital aspects of present day Cuban cultural-musical identity rather than interpreted simply as a process of upward social mobility. As Nodal wrote:

\begin{quote}
... the Afro-Cuban drum has been evolving for more than four centuries, and will continue to change with time. Even today we are witnessing profound rhythmic and melodic transformation in regard to the drum. The drum is in fact a most integral part of Cuban culture and life.\textsuperscript{96}
\end{quote}

As stated earlier (p.25) a basic postulate of neo-evolutionism was that in order for survival, all systems must adapt to the requirements of their environment. Likewise, 'modernisation', or 'modern' and 'modernising' as Smith (1973) pointed out, are terms which are associated with notions of survival, as he says, 'progress and progression ... dependant on the observer's value preferences'. In his discussion of the significance of modernisation in the framework of neo-evolutionism, Smith noted that

\textit{The neo-evolutionary functionalists are particularly prone to this approach. 'Modernisation' for them is an attribute of history. Some see it as an increase in social [or musical] complexity, others as growing mastery over the environment... Clearly, modernisation signifies progress; the birth and growth of forces which enrich and strengthen the social fabric.}\textsuperscript{97}

\textit{Modernisation then is a conscious set of plans and policies for changing a particular society in the direction of contemporary societies which the leaders think are more 'advanced' in certain respects.}\textsuperscript{98}

Nettl, whose research has provided influential models for studies of culture contact appears to have favoured the Western/non-Western dichotomy as the basis for his formulation of theories and methods of evaluating musical change in culture-contact situations. For example, Nettl formulated a continuum of motivational adaptation whereby at opposite ends of the continuum a culture's desire for survival

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., p. 161.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., p. 172.
\textsuperscript{97} Smith, \textit{The Concept of Social Change}, 61.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., p. 62.
without change is contrasted with 'complete westernization' defined by Nettl as the 'incorporation of a society into the Western cultural system'.\textsuperscript{99} In the middle of the continuum is a third kind of motivation called 'modernization' described by Nettl as 'the adoption and adaptation [by an assumed non-Western culture] of Western technology and other products of Western culture'.\textsuperscript{100}

The implicit neo-evolutionist assumption in Nettl's notions of 'modernization' linked with his Western/non-Western analytical dichotomy suggests that when external conditions change, society adapts through differentiation evident in the expansion (Nettl's term Westernization) of a non-Western musical system to include 'central characteristics' of Western music (functional harmony, musical instruments, notational systems, etc.). As Nettl himself concludes; the musical actions connected with Westernization and modernization 'may be interpreted as adaptive strategies for survival of the musical system'.\textsuperscript{101} Along the same lines, in his study of Persian popular music Nettl claims that 'there is no doubt that the study of the popular music culture of a non-European civilization provides important insights into the role of music in the process of modernization and development' [underline mine].\textsuperscript{102}

Regarding theories of culture contact, it may be argued that Nettl's use of loaded terms such as 'modernization' and 'adaptation' undermine in part the usefulness of his analytical models.

By way of contrast, Kauffman argues that while the incorporation of 'Western' musical instruments such as the electric and acoustic guitar in Shona urban music has resulted in change to the Shona musical products, the music-making process has remained constant. Thus, in Kauffman's analysis, the 'significance of Shona urban music is not in the [Western] products used, either materially or musically, but in how these products are related to the traditional Shona process of music making'.\textsuperscript{103} The strength in Kauffman’s approach to acculturation reflects his awareness of and concern for traditional aspects of ethnocentric idealism which have resulted in biased evaluations of change; a type of idealism which, according to Kauffman is

\textsuperscript{99} Nettl, "History of World Music," 127.

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., p. 134.


\textsuperscript{103} Kauffman, "Shona Urban Music," 55.
... based on the premise of a universal aesthetic which a Western musician feels he has the right to bring to bear upon a non-Western music which he does not understand. With this approach, the foreign scholar dares to make aesthetic judgments (balance, proportion, variety within formal structures, rhythmic and melodic interest, etc.) upon a music for which these principles may be inappropriate.¹⁰⁴

Regardless of the inherent problems, acculturation theories of change may contribute to our understanding of musical change provided that greater consideration be given to ideational factors as well as material factors of change. The neo-evolutionist notion of sociocultural and musical systems as adaptive systems is useful in studies of culture contact which include immigrant groups, when the incorporation of external, particularly so-called Western musical influences into a non-Western musical system is not based on notions of moral decay expressed in terms of loss of authenticity or purity, or alternately based on Western ethnocentric notions of unilinear adaptation whereby it is assumed that a subordinate cultural group will automatically forsake their traditions as they aspire towards assimilation into the superordinate culture group. It must be borne in mind that people not only adapt to their environments but more importantly, that they also determine the shape of their environment. Changes to music which result from the immigrant musical contribution do not necessarily ‘upset’ the equilibrium of the broader social or musical system.

Thus, Kauffman’s observations of the significance of change in Shona urban music highlights what should be regarded as a priority in culture contact studies. Namely, a greater degree of primacy should be afforded to the diachronic and synchronic significance of the musical changes or non-changes resulting from culture contact rather than to the naming of the processes and results, particularly those that may, through historical usage, be deemed as deterministic or positivistic. Furthermore, explanations of change should be based primarily on the actor’s or participants interpretation of what constitutes change or non-change and his or her notions concerning the relative significances of those changes to the syncretic musical product under examination; an approach that Nettl has most recently come to advocate and one which, due to its appropriateness for the ethnographic material discussed later on, has been adopted and expanded in this thesis.

The literature of ethnomusicology in the last fifteen years (1970-1985) has been importantly concerned with change as a significant factor in the comprehension of the musical world. Conventional history has played a part in this literature, but the most prevalent area of interest has been the study of change in the interaction of cultures and segments of cultures, and in

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 47.
particular, in the confrontation between Western and other societies as reflected in musical sound, behavior and ideas. The interface and possible contrast between the (supposedly) objective view of an outside researcher and the perception of the culture's insider has had a major role in musical ethnography and analysts, but largely in synchronic studies.105

Functionalism

Kottak defined 'functionalism' as the 'School of sociocultural anthropology associated with Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, both of whom avoided speculations about origins and advocated study of psychological and social functions of institutionalised behavior in human societies'.106 The functionalists spurned the evolutionist and diffusionist perspectives of history as essentially diachronic. Focusing on society rather than culture, the functionalists instead drew attention to the synchronic meshing of traits, their structural relationships and interpenetrations in real life based on notions of functional unity, that is the belief that 'all parts of a social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony and internal consistency'.107 The concept of stability as a defining characteristic of structure, provided the major theoretical framework for the functionalist identification and interpretations of change.

While not necessarily mutually exclusive, a distinction has been drawn between 'static' and 'dynamic' functionalism. Static functionalism, a concept associated with anthropologists such as Evans-Pritchard and Radcliffe-Brown, adheres to the concept of stability in that it views a system as if it is in 'a state of equilibrium in which the component parts are mutually adjusted into a working whole'. The system is taken as a harmonious atemporal meshing of elements. For example, the theoretical framework for Radcliffe-Brown's synchronic laws and principles of structural-functional analysis were based on the validity of the biological organismic model.108 Harris accordingly noted the concept of social 'unity' hypothesised by Radcliffe-Brown when he wrote

*The structural-functionalist's basic assumption is that social systems maintain themselves for significant intervals of time in a steady state during which a*

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high degree of cohesion and solidarity characterises the relationships among its members.109

The main weakness of the organismic analogy was the uncertainty in identifying all the components that constituted a functional unit. Nevertheless, according to Radcliffe-Brown, 'the functional method aims at discovering general laws and thereby at explaining any particular element of culture by reference to the discovered laws'.110 The static synchronic functionalist approach described above gave little consideration, however, to the study of change and focused more on a preservation of the status quo. As Geertz wrote in criticism of the functional approach in dealing with social change:

*The emphasis on systems in balance, on social homeostasis, and on timeless structural pictures, leads to a bias in favor of 'well-integrated' societies in a stable equilibrium and to a tendency to emphasise the functional aspects of a people's usages and customs rather than their dysfunctional implications.*

In contrast to the static functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown, exponents of dynamic functionalism such as Malinowski and his followers postulated that a social system may be in a state of dysfunction or disequilibrium, so that a 'functional system' may contain elements which are in conflict and do not fit harmoniously.112 Instead of resulting in a dynamic theory of culture change whereby conflict was taken as an important vehicle of change, conflict or dysfunction was viewed not as an inherent part of social reality but rather as a departure from or threat to the normative and integrative elements of social life.113 Thus, it may be argued that both approaches were concerned more with non-change than change.

With either approach the social structure was given priority in the functionalist's analysis rather than ecological, ideological and technological factors. Furthermore, as Bee noted, in describing social dynamics, the functionalists tended to focus on internal factors within sociocultural systems rather than on external factors such as culture

109 Ibid.
112 Bee, *Sociocultural Change*, 137.
contact, choosing to ignore the dynamics of intercultural transmission. In addition, history was afforded a minor role in functionalist studies due to the uncertainty and conjecture surrounding historical reconstructions.

Functionalistic techniques of analysis have been applied to studies of music and used in conjunction with other theoretical approaches in the development of ethnomusicological theory. One such example may be found in Cantometrics, an approach developed by Lomax based on aspects of functionalism and evolutionism.

According to Lomax, Cantometrics provided a universally applicable method for the systematic study of song-style variance on a global basis.

From the functionalist perspective, in stressing the internal fit of cultural and musical traits, Lomax based his universalistic theories on the functionalist analogy which sees culture as an organism in which every part contribute to the maintenance of every other

(a) Wordiness and precision of the sung text vary directly with the technological range and social complexity per society.

(b) A similar relationship exists between the narrowness of average melodic intervals and sociocultural complexity.

(c) Melodic embellishment and rhythmic freedom (rubato) are reliable predictors of the extent and rigor of social stratification.

In his universalistic theory of musical change, Lomax based explanations of musical change 'on the assumption that musical variations are related to variations in culture, and that there are correlations between musical and cultural change'. Such universalistic laws as proposed above by Lomax reflect an extreme functionalist position whereby in keeping with a biological organismic model of culture, it is assumed that change in one aspect of culture results in inevitable changes to all other aspects. As universalistic 'laws', such notions are invalid due to the positivistic and deterministic way in which they parallel social and technological complexity with musical complexity.

114 Bee, Sociocultural Change, 142.
115 Alan Lomax, Cantometrics (Berkeley: University of California, 1976).
Drawing on evolutionist notions of cumulative progressive development, Lomax proposed an 'hypothesis of universal associations between song style features and the process of cultural evolution'.\textsuperscript{118} As Erickson noted:

\ldots Lomax argues that certain features of song co-vary with universal trends of sociocultural evolution and that other song features show social correlations (on a worldwide basis) reflecting the general adaptive needs of human society.\textsuperscript{119}

Moreover, on the basis of such universalistic assumptions, Lomax claimed that there existed a direct, fixed and proportionate relationship between social complexity and musical complexity with song styles as evolutionary markers.\textsuperscript{120} His adoption of such unilinear evolutionist notions is reflected in his "continuum of differentiation" whereby European "high culture" song style receives the highest rating of complexity. The assessment of cross-cultural correlations on the basis of such notions or laws are tenuous due to the subjective positivism of Lomax's theoretical framework and the way in which such a mechanistic model predicts unilinear and cumulative change and ignores musical ambiguity, variation and lack of cultural consensus concerning such causational relationships as social stratification, sociocultural or musical complexity.

As an alternative to the positivistic universalistic approach formulated by Lomax, Wild has suggested that the subject of musical semantics

\ldots needs to be examined at the level of individual societies and their musical styles and the goal changed from deterministic explanation to more humanistic interpretation. The thesis remains the same, however: that music communicates information about society, and thus music has semantic content.\textsuperscript{121}

By way of demonstration, Wild analyses the interrelationships between the social and musical structures of the Warlbiri of Central Australia. On one hand, Wild draws attention to certain 'static' characteristics of Walbiri social and musical life when he proposes that parallels existed between non-developmental ideology of Walbiri social

\textsuperscript{118} Erickson, "Reanalysis of Cantometric Data," 279.

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., p. 283.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., p. 282.

life and the resultant ‘non-developmental quality of the music’. Furthermore, traditional male/female Warlbiri relationships were, according to Wild, extended to the area of musical performance. Writing on the societal role of Warlbiri women, Wild noted that

In Warlbiri social life women are mainly involved in the more limited domestic sphere of action in contrast to the community-wide political and ritual sphere of action of men. Warlbiri women have their own ritual life ... although their ritual roles are subsidiary to and less spectacular than those of men.

Wild draws attention to the extension of male/female relationships to the area of musical performance and structure when he proposes that women clearly play a subsidiary role in musical performance

They [the women] have a considerably narrower melodic range than the men and sing only at one level ... [and] the sound of the women's accompaniment is more muffled.

By way of contrast, Wild drew parallels between changes to the song series due to improvisational freedom permitted the performers and the types of behavioural freedom identified as a normal part of Australian Aboriginal societies. As Wild postulated with regard to the functional connections between Warlbiri social and musical life

... despite the logical tightness of their societies, [Aboriginal] individuals traditionally had a great deal of individual freedom, a general characteristic of hunting and gathering societies. Aboriginal societies were not authoritarian, and the everyday activities of individuals lacked precise coordination and strong direction. Individual freedom of action was an imperative of the essentially individualistic activities of hunting and gathering groups, and this is reflected in the freedoms given to individuals in group musical performance.

The Lomax and Wild approaches to change are both functionalist in that each researcher proceeds from the notion of ‘functional systems’ whereby interdependence of elements within a certain structural boundary is assumed. Lomax sought to
establish universal theories of musical causality regarding what he identified as correlations between musical style and culture on the basis of a positivistic, deterministic, and often ethnocentric evaluation of song style. Although Wild focuses on correlations between song style and culture his conclusions are not used as the basis for the identification of broader theoretical assertions or universalist laws.

The success of Wild’s analysis results from the fact that rather than attempt to formulate hypotheses based on speculative cross-cultural correlations between socio-cultural and musical information, Wild focused instead on a single society, the Warlbiri. His interpretation of the interrelationships between chosen cultural and musical phenomena resulted from an intensive period of participation-observation of Warlbiri social and musical life whereby his explanations of change were influenced primarily by his discovery of the hidden mental structures of Warlbiri society.

**Structuralism**

In addition to anthropological and sociological models such as classical evolutionism, racial determinism, diffusionism and acculturation, ethnomusicologists have drawn on linguistically based models. Structuralism is one such model which, sometimes in conjunction with some of those models discussed earlier, has been used as a theoretical framework for the study of music and musical change.

Structuralism has its antecedents in the seventeenth and eighteenth century rationalist thought which ‘conceived of the thinking human being as inherently rational’. Structuralism first emerged as a systematic theory in the linguistics systems of Ferdinand de Saussure and was given application outside the purely linguistic sphere in the work of the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. Following philosophical rationalist assumptions concerning the universal structure of the human mind, Saussure sought, through linguistic analysis, to clarify the logical system that comprehends all linguistic systems. This science of communication, referred to in linguistics as ‘semiotics’ focused on the interpretation of signs and symbols.

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127 Ibid., p.53.
Working from the premises of Saussure, Lévi-Strauss adopted and applied Saussure’s structuralist analytic techniques to cultural systems in order to identify what he believed were universal unconscious structuring properties of the human mind.

The unconscious activity of the mind consists of imposing forms upon content, and if these forms are fundamentally the same for all minds - ancient and modern, primitive and civilized (as the study of the symbolic function expressed in language, so strikingly indicates) - it is necessary and sufficient to grasp the unconscious structure underlying each institution and each custom, in order to obtain a principle of interpretation valid for other institutions and other customs, provided of course that the analysis is carried far enough.\textsuperscript{128}

Structuralism has been used in Anglo-American social science ‘as an analytical concept to break down sets into their constituent elements, an essentially atomistic exercise’.\textsuperscript{129} Lane writes that, in contrast to diffusionism, the ‘essential quality of the structuralist method . . . lies in its attempt to study not the elements of the whole, but the complex network of relationships that link and unite those elements’.\textsuperscript{130} Structuralism is ‘a method whose primary intention is to permit the investigator to go beyond a pure description of what he perceives or experiences . . . in the direction of the quality of rationality which underlies the social phenomena in which he is concerned’.\textsuperscript{131}

Evolutionism, diffusionism, and acculturation provide mainly diachronic accounts of musical change. Structuralism, like functionalism, focuses on the synchronic level of explanation and thus provides an internal, somewhat static view of the structure of the system under analysis.

. . . structuralist analysis is centrally concerned with synchronic as opposed to diachronic structures; its focus is upon relations across a moment in time, rather than through time. For the structuralist time as a dimension is no less, but also no more important than any other that might be used in analysis. History is seen as a specific mode of development of a particular system, whose present, or synchronic nature must be fully known before any account can be given of its evolution, or diachronic nature.\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{128} Lévi-Strauss, \textit{Structural Anthropology}, 21.


\textsuperscript{130} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., p. 31.

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid., pp. 16-17.
Regarding the adoption and application of structuralist theories by music researchers, Patricia Tunstall noted that ‘structuralist approaches to music may be divided roughly according to the type of theoretical model used’. Accordingly, Tunstall identified two basic approaches. Namely, music semiotics or semiology, influenced by structural linguistics, and procedures based on the anthropologically oriented procedures of Lévi-Strauss. In defining the application of structuralist theories adopted from linguistics, Tunstall wrote that

The basic premises of musical semiologists are those of structuralist theory. In the structuralist tradition, they insist upon the isolation of music from its social functions in the initial stages of study. They proceed on the belief that, although musical utterances may appear unsystematic or idiosyncratic, all utterances refer to a systematic universe of musical categories for their constructive properties. And they rely on structuralist techniques to disclose the underlying relationships between every musical element and every other.

The basic objection to the above approach is to the validity of such a synchronic or static approach which isolates ‘music from its social functions’ and in doing so, views the musical ‘code’ as an autonomous structure thereby ignoring the social context as the single most crucial epistemological variable in ethnographic method and description. Such an approach contributes little if anything to an understanding of musical change as the identification of change is dependant on a diachronic as well as synchronic approach with a particular emphasis on context. I therefore support the argument put forward by Feld that ‘what is required of the most powerful ethnomusicological theory is the ability to formally account for the interplay of sound structure with the context and cultural assumptions of its creators/listeners’.

What then are the advantages if any in using a structuralist approach to music and musical change based on theories adopted from structural anthropology. Unlike the semiological approach, there is a consensus among Straussarian-influenced structuralists such as John Blacking and Steven Feld which favours the description of musical structures as expressive of cultural patterns. Moreover, while the ‘functionalist ethnomusicologists study the social context of music to illuminate the function of music

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133 Tunstall, "Structuralism and Musicology," 57.
134 Ibid.
135 Ibid.
137 Ibid.
in society' the structuralist ethnomusicologist studies social context 'to discover how it activates musical structures'. The emphasis is not on 'social rules about music, but on the "relationships between the rules of systems of musical and social communication"'.

A prime example of this type of application of structuralist analysis in ethnomusicology may be found in Steven Feld (1982). According to Feld, the Kaluli expressive modalities of weeping, poetics, and song, in their musical and textual structure reflect specific symbolic elements of the myth 'the boy who becomes a muni bird'. Feld argues that the myth is a crystallisation of relations between Kaluli sentimentality and its expression in weeping, poetics, and song.

To avoid the static perspective that would result from the exclusive use of a structuralist approach to his ethnographic data, Feld uses aspects of structuralism in conjunction with hermeneutic models, specifically, ethnographic models borrowed from Geertz (1973) and Hymes (1974) whereby in a cultural analysis, due consideration is given to the interpretations gained from the researcher's direct experiences.

These two positions, the structural and the hermeneutic, are considered by many to be clearly opposed: In one instance the anthropologist is thought of as decoder and translator and in the other as experiencer and interpreter. It appears to me, however, that it is necessary to integrate the study of how symbols are logically connected with the study of how they are formulated and performed in cultural experience.

Indeed, Feld was not the first to combine structuralism and hermeneutics, two apparently inconsistent approaches. The French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, in his essay 'Social Life as Text', seeks to reconcile those two approaches in that he says, you require a structuralist analysis in order to get at what are the absolutely, in a sense, taken for granted categories, the structuring of people's experiences, but isolating those taken for granted categories does not, in itself, provide an interpretation of the nature of the experience.

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138 Tunstall, "Structuralism and Musicology," 60.


140 Ibid., p.15.

The emphasis in Feld's approach is clearly upon the cognitive dimensions of musical activity. Feld's approach combines what may be considered as the 'precision' of the purely structural approach that seeks to discover hidden organisational structures on the basis of myth and linguistic analysis with due consideration for the cultural consensus and interpretation. While not directly concerned with musical change, it is clear such an approach could provide a solid methodological foundation for explanations of change within a selected time span based on the correlation between changes in the structure of a musical system and the participant's notions of such change.

Blacking too has based certain of his studies on the application of a structural approach. For example, in his article 'Deep and Surface Structures in Venda Music', Blacking bases his cultural and musical analysis on a structuralist approach in an attempt to 'describe both the music and its cultural background as interrelated parts of a total system' on the assumption that 'because music is humanly organized sound, there ought to be relationships between patterns of human organization and the patterns of sound produced in the course of organized interaction'.142 The value of such an approach lies in the fact that explanations of change are derived primarily from the structural interrelationships within the systems under investigation rather than from a priori deterministic and external materialistic factors.

For Blacking, the key to understanding structure and in turn changes to such structure lies primarily in the cognitive processes of the actors. Like Feld, who bases his analysis of structures in Kaluli music on the actor's information, observation and participation, Blacking adds that 'there are other aspects of the Venda musical tradition which are forever changing and which cannot be learned except by total participation in Venda society and by unconscious assimilation of the social and cognitive processes on which the culture is founded. These are the deep structures of Venda music which determine what comes next in a melody and how a new idea may be expressed in music'.143

Immigrant Groups - Studies, Issues and Change

A survey of the ethnomusicological literature concerned with the music of immigrant groups has revealed that explanations of change continue to be influenced


143 Ibid., p. 95.
by outdated and contentious notions of musical and cultural 'purity' with an undue emphasis on the transplantation, continuity and preservation of pre-migration traits as cultural and musical markers.

In her discussion of the approaches to the study of ethnic groups, American Sociologist Adelaida Reyes Schramm states:

*Up until the first half of the 20th century, the overriding tendency has been toward culture traits (in the cultural relativistic sense) as ethnic group markers. This is perhaps a consequence of identifying ethnic groups minimally as "immigrants and their children", bearers of a culture alien to that of the host society. Hence the prevalence in the early studies of ethnic group characterisation in terms of pre-migration patterns.*

Nettl's Eight Urban Cultures (1978) reflected his concern with the need to improve the methods of evaluating the processes of musical and cultural change involved in urbanisation. The book marked the development of new directions whereby post-migration social and musical determinants were given due consideration alongside pre-migrational culture traits. As Schramm noted in her review of the book: 'Nettl's premises are excellent. He points to the "special nature of the cities", the complexity of the sociomusical system, and the inevitable ramifications of these facts for ethnomusicological investigation.' Schramm was critical, however, of that aspect of Nettl's approach which derives from acculturation theory:

*... identification of discrete traits and their quantification take precedence over structural relations as a methodological concern. Although such conceptual tools as "marginal survivals" are not actively endorsed, they are nevertheless employed.*

The studies presented in Nettl's book included only one study of an immigrant group. This study, by Ronald Riddle, in which he examined the musical activities of San Fransisco's Chinese community, is essentially descriptive and not concerned with

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147 Ibid.
the specific formulation of a concise methodological model that could be applied to other immigrant groups.

As recently as 1984, Slobin criticized continuing trends in urban ethnic music research when he wrote that

*The expressive culture, including the music, of the ethnic groups of the United States has not been given much scholarly attention. What little has been done has often relied on models like decline and loss of Old World traits.*\(^{148}\)

In this thesis, I have drawn on the theories and approaches to the study of immigrant groups proposed by Schramm. Like Nettl, Schramm favoured a methodological approach that focused on the understanding of social and musical change as it resulted from ‘specific types of human interaction within certain environments’ rather than one which focused on pre-migration culture traits.\(^{149}\)

Schramm, however, added a new dimension to the first studies of urban music established by Nettl, through her examination of the terms ‘ethnic’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘urban’ and their implications for the methodologies concerned more specifically with immigrant groups. Accordingly, Schramm noted the ‘flaws’ in what she called the enclave approach:

*Ethnicity is not a matter of cultural differences on the level of "form" but a matter of boundaries set up through the articulation of differences and the use of symbols perceived to be cultural or assigned meaning by members of the group and by outsiders . . . . The notion of enclave is obsolescent for the study of ethnic groups particularly in urban centres where they proliferate. Mobility characterizes much of urban life. Places of residence, of work and of musical activity coincide less and less in cities. Population distribution is determined by a highly complex interplay of economic, social and governmental pressures.*\(^{150}\)

In other words, Schramm concluded that an undue emphasis on homogeneity ignores the real aspect of changes to ethnic identity that frequently occur with the immigrant’s move to a new host society. It is not possible for immigrants to maintain a fixed and homogeneous ethnic identity because ethnic identity is not static; it is subject to change. In a similar manner, American ethnomusicologist Steven Blum

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\(^{149}\) Schramm, "Ethnic Music," 17.

\(^{150}\) Ibid., p. 9.
advocated a more satisfactory approach to the study of immigrant music and changes to that music when he wrote that

One advantage of studying music from periods which are historically remote, or from places which are geographically remote, is that there are few people to contradict us besides other ethnomusicologists . . . . The situation changes when we are studying a so-called subculture which exists in our own country at the present time. Although we ourselves may not be members of that subculture, and perhaps not even speak the same language, we are both affected by certain vital common factors and symbols of the society at large.

As demonstrated in the previous discussion, the most consistent problem in the ethnomusicological literature on the music of immigrant groups stems from the undue emphasis that researchers place on the identification and discussion of the continuity and preservation of pre-migration traditions and their enclave approach to the treatment of the immigrant group, both of which result in unrealistic, static notions of cultural and musical homogeneity and preservation rather than change. As Saussure noted in relation to linguistics, time let alone ideational and materialistic factors, is a fundamental factor of change. An illustration of the problem may be gained if we apply Saussure's linguistic theory of time to immigrant music:

What would happen if a language spoken [music played] at one clearly delimited point - e.g. a small island - were transported by colonists [immigrants] to another clearly delimited point - e.g. another island? After a certain length of time various differences affecting vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation [or in the case of music - rhythm, text, structure] and the like would separate the language of the source (S) from the language of the settlement (S').

It is wrong to imagine that only the transplanted idiom will change while the original idiom remains fixed or vice versa. An innovation may begin on either side or on both sides at the same time . . . . What created the differences? It is illusory to think that space alone was responsible.

Thus, on one hand, the whole notion of basing explanation of musical, or by extension, social change on the degree of continuity of, or departure from what are asserted to be 'traditional' pre-migration social or musical features surviving in the post-migration location is fraught with problems. How does one establish a basis then for comparison between the pre-migration traditions and subsequent post-migration interpretations given that the music is not static in either location?


While ethnomusicologists have been able to adapt or invent terms suited to the discussion of musical change, their theories and assertions have, in most cases, not been backed up with solid musical evidence. All but a few of the ethnomusicological studies examined in this chapter lacked musical transcription and analysis. Music, the central subject of the discipline of ethnomusicology is, it seems, taking a second place to cultural perspectives and interdisciplinary dimensions based predominantly on functionalistic, deterministic and positivistic perceptions of music. Regardless of the call for attention to individual decision-making processes as factors of change, as will be demonstrated in more detail in the examination of major ethnomusicological studies of immigrant music which follows, scholars of musical change appear to continue their preoccupation with materialistic rather than ideational factors as determinants of social and musical change.

Immigrant Groups - Studies

Human migration over centuries has contributed significantly to the cultural diversity of the world's population. From the 1880's onwards for example, millions of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe have settled in the United States and added their musical genres to the existing ones. Nevertheless, due to the low status afforded urban immigrants in the United States in the early part of the twentieth century, their musical contribution to their new environment was ignored or viewed as unworthy of scholarly investigation.153 As Davidson pointed out, 'at the turn of the century, influential leaders in political and literary circles were highly critical of the backwardness of immigrants. They viewed the culture and traditions of these people as "a menace to American culture"'.154 Public and scholarly interest in ethnic music increased after World War II, however, through National Folk Festivals and the gradual rise in the status of national and ethnic groups.

While limited in scope and depth, the main corpus of ethnomusicological literature concerned with urban immigrant music has been provided by American scholars. As Nettl (1978) observed, the broadening of the field to include various types of popular music, Western music and immigrant music which began in the 1960s, produced studies on then recently urbanised immigrant groups such as the 'Poles of

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Detroit, the Hungarians of Cleveland, the Slovaks of Pittsburg, the Puerto Ricans of New York and the Jews of Los Angeles'.

My own reading of those early studies confirmed Nettl's claim that the focus in each was on the retention of non-urban folk traditions. Ethnic group characterisation was couched in terms of pre-migrational culture patterns. This was expressed in terms of an ideology which sought 'authentic', 'pure' and 'unadulterated' folk traditions. Indeed, such notions formed a barrier to the study of the processes of musical change and more importantly perhaps, of understanding the results of such processes.

Such are the studies of folksinging of Hungarians in Cleveland researched and written by Stephen Erdely between 1964 and 1978. Erdely is a prominent figure in urban ethnic music research in the United States and as such, his studies deserve closer examination. In an article published in 1964, Erdely, by means of the classification of over 300 songs and information collected from members of the Hungarian-American Singing Society during 1961-1962, investigated the use of folksinging in the maintenance of Hungarian-American ethnic identity. Erdely adopted the Hungarian threefold classificatory systems of Bartok and Kodaly as the basis of his classification of Hungarian-American folksongs in order to demonstrate how, regardless of an outsider's view of the Hungarian-American community as a homogeneous unit, the diversity within the musical repertoire of the singing society reflected the 'heterogeneous' pre-migration and post-migration make up of the societies' Hungarian-born members.

As part of his methodological approach to the material, Erdely acknowledged the role of individual behaviour (the actions, notions and belief systems) of the Hungarian immigrant singers and their ethnic identity (the symbols that they choose as representative of the ethnic identity in the host country) as determinants of musical change. His conclusions appeared, however, to be more concerned with notions of authenticity and purity of song style as evidenced in his assertion that 'most members of the Hungarian American Singing Society were born in small communities and those


parts of Hungary which remained unaffected by urban civilization. Apart from his enclave approach to the music in its indigenous setting whereby it is assumed that those communities are free from outside musical influences, Erdely's study fails to take into account the important effects of urbanisation on the music after transportation to the new location and the changed role and status of the music as part of the broader non-Hungarian-American environment of which it had become a vital part.

Erdely's 1978 study of Hungarian folksinging in Cleveland focused in more detail on the 'traditional and individual traits in the songs of three Hungarian-Americans' who had emigrated to the United States during World War 1. In this second study, a greater emphasis was placed on the pre-migration and post-migration backgrounds and decision-making processes of the three singers as determinants of musical retention and change. Nevertheless, as was the case with the 1964 study, the focus in this later study remained fixed on the preservation of, in Erdely's words, the 'cultural conservatism' of traditional pre-migration Hungarian musical 'traits' as evidenced in Erdely's unsubstantiated claim that his participant's songs 'are largely unaffected by settlement in the New World'.

While certain song elements may in a sense remain static or fixed, such a claim ignores unavoidable changes such as changes to the status of the songs not only in the pre-migration location but also in the new location in connection with the status of other existing non-Hungarian local musical genres. For example, in Hungary the songs are considered traditional and may be afforded a high status whereas in the United States the songs may be described by non-Hungarians as ‘ethnic’ songs and, depending on the location and relevant status of the immigrants, may be considered as inferior to the longer established American folk and popular styles.

An article published one year later in 1979 entitled 'Ethnic Music in America: an Overview', reflects Erdely's continuing emphasis on preservation and purity of traditional style and his static explanations of the uses and functions of immigrant music. Regarding the music of 'iso' singers of the Albanian-American community of Boston, Erdely writes that 'the Albanian-American "iso" group exhibits the survival

160 Ibid., p. 118.
of ancient traditional folk practices'. Erdely adds that 'the sentimental aspect, which characterizes the majority of singing societies, is manifested in the aim to preserve [underline mine] the native language, music and culture'. With reference to Gypsy and southern European instrumental groups in America, Erdely remarked that 'among the instrumental groups, one finds authentic folk ensembles ... [and] musical practioners of ancient traditions and revivalists of forgotten ones' [underline mine]. Once again the emphasis is on a static approach to change with an undue emphasis on continuity and preservation of so-called 'authentic' song styles.

Erdely's work is an example of the approach criticised by Schramm. In the brief examination of selected studies by Erdely between 1964 and 1979, the musical characterisation of an ethnic group relied mainly on the indentification and role of pre-migration musical forms with an emphasis on the preservation rather than change to the musical systems under investigation.

In 1973-74, researchers at the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies applied Lomax's functionalist-evolutionist theory of comparative analysis and musical change to a vast collection of recordings of Canadian ethnic music by means of a statistical survey and computerised analysis. They attempted to identify and explain how the singing styles amongst Canada's ethnic populations differed from one another and from the styles in the corresponding homelands. A summary of the results were published in 1974 in a paper by Carlisle entitled 'Ethnomusicology in a Multicultural Society'. In keeping with Lomax's functionalist-evolutionist theories of musical change, Carlisle's explanations were based on the assumption that variations in music were related to variations in culture and that correlations exist between musical and cultural change.

Moreover, according to Carlisle, varying degrees of survival or loss of traditional musical elements reflect the varying degrees of musical and cultural 'assimilation', 'evolution' or 'acculturation'. The study provides little other than a static view of music and culture. For example, Carlisle claims that 'the French Canadian village

162 Ibid., p. 119.
163 Ibid., p. 125.
society has permitted the survival in Canada of many old French songs which have been lost in France itself,\textsuperscript{165} and 'not all authentic details of folksong performance [in Canada] have been amalgamated or lost, and the statistical survey shows that distinctive musical traits remain'.\textsuperscript{166} Carlisle's study reflects an undue emphasis on the preservation of transplanted music styles and contributes very little to our understanding of the dynamic functions of those transplanted musical styles and the inevitable changes that they have undergone.

Along similar lines, in his 1978 study of the musical behaviour of Korean-Canadians, Song Bang-Song provides a 'socio-musicological approach to the investigation of the Korean minority group'. Using demographic statistics and statistics correlated from participant's responses to questionaires, he attempted to demonstrate how Korean-Canadian musical preferences reflected various 'degrees of acculturation' along a 'general acculturation scale':

\begin{quote}
When we look closely into the general characteristics of Korean musical behavior in Canada, it is evident that a vast majority of bicultural Koreans would like to sustain their own musical traditions and to transplant them into this multicultural society. This theory can be affirmed when we observe their personal interest in Korean traditional music.\textsuperscript{167}
\end{quote}

In criticism of such notions of immigrant group cultural and musical homogeneity, Schramm wrote that

\begin{quote}
... forms, institutions and practices [musical or otherwise] which appear to be carry-overs from pre-migration culture [are not] to be regarded merely as survivals or extensions of previous practices, for all too frequently, their functions change dramatically in the new environment. An undue emphasis on the pre-migration cultural content of ethnicity... inhibits our understanding of ethnicity as process and the important role that it plays in socio-cultural [and musical] change.\textsuperscript{168}
\end{quote}

As was the case with the approaches used in the studies by Erdely and Carlisle, shortcomings in Bang-Song's study likewise result in his overemphasis on the maintenance of ethnic identity via the preservation of the 'musical traditions of their

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., p. 98.

\textsuperscript{166} Ibid., p. 102.


[the Korean-Canadian's] homeland' in Canada. Bang-Song contends that 'all in all, our observations make it possible to presume that the bicultural Korean immigrants in Canada may not have undergone a drastic change as far as their musical behavior is concerned'. Bang-Song's enclave description of the Korean-Canadians as a 'marginal' ethnic minority group ignores the dynamic function of the group as part of the larger Canadian society.

Since 1980, there appears to have been no significant increase in the numbers of studies that examine the music of recently settled immigrant groups. Preservation and continuity appear to continue as the focus of scholarly attention rather than the processes and results of change. For example, Wrazen, in her 1983 study of the music of the Polish Highlanders of Toronto, when describing a performance of the traditional Polish dance from the Goralski by immigrants in Toronto, claimed that 'except for the environment (a baseball hall, people sitting in groups around tables) and the dress (some were in costume, others were not), this could have been a dance in Podhale [south of Poland] thirty years ago'. Such a statement completely fails to discern beyond the actions of the participants, their concepts of their actions and their notions of change.

According to Wrazen, the Goral community 'seems to be an example of "marginal survivals" in Toronto'. Wrazen implies that the membership of the Polish Highlanders Association of Canada consists exclusively of Polish-born immigrants. No mention is made of non-Polish members, or of the function of the organisation for those members (and it is likely that there are some), or of the effect that their participation in the organisation had on the structure of the music and dance forms and on their functions as symbols of Polish identity. Also overlooked are the various factors of change that result from the constant and continuous intercultural contact between Polish-born and non-Polish born members of the broader community. As was the case with the studies by Carlisle and Song, Wrazen's study was also lacking in musical transcription and analysis.

Two articles by Dale Olsen published in the same year (1983) dealt with aspects of Japanese musical life in South America. One article documented the history of

the formation, structure and function of Japanese music clubs in São Paulo, Brazil. While the focus in Olsen's study is on the performance of traditional Japanese musical styles, Japanese popular culture in Brazil is also discussed. Nonetheless, the paper is descriptive rather than analytical, lacking in musical transcription and analysis. Musical change through interethnic contact is also ignored. The second article, while also lacking musical transcription and analysis, warrants closer examination, however, as it is one of the few studies which claim to contain a detailed model that may be applied to the study of the music of immigrant groups on a global level.

In studying the music of Japanese immigrants to Peru and Brazil, Olsen (1983b) adapted a model proposed by sociologists Gordon and Kitano for the study of acculturation and assimilation of Japanese immigrants to the United States of America. According to Olsen's model seven areas of investigation, which he called 'social variables' were proposed, namely: 1) National Origins Group 2) Social Class 3) Period of Immigration 4) Location 5) Generation 6) Host Country Constraints 7) Host Country Economic and Political Conditions. Although each of Olsen's variables overlapped at times, each variable examined specific social and musical aspects of Japanese musical activity in Peru and Brazil. Olsen's variable 1 - National Origins Group - for example, examined the influence of pre-migration national origin groups on the type of Japanese music performed in the host country; his Social Class variable examined the interrelationship between the types of music performed by Japanese in Peru and Brazil and the corresponding degrees of social status of the performers according to class structure in those locations.

Through the application of those seven variables described, Olsen endeavoured to illustrate three major factors related to the musical life of immigrants in a new host country. Namely 1) 'that the musical interests of immigrant groups are socially determined and governed by variables that can explain the developments of such musical interests in the host countries' 2) that 'the musical awareness of a particular group of people, or a sub-culture, can measure the cultural identity and cultural assimilation of that group' and 3) that 'music can be studied as a socially determined phenomenon that expresses how particular groups feel about themselves.'

The main attraction of Olsen's model is in the systematic construction of that model and its potential for providing detailed socio-musical information through the cross referencing of the seven variables proposed. On the other hand, however, Olsen's model may be criticised as positivistic in that he proposes that the application of his seven variables alone may provide a complete account of the processes and results of social and musical continuity and change not only in the case of the Brazilian and Peruvian Japanese, but also in any immigrant group chosen for investigation. The formulation of his analytical construct appears to be based on a process of selection that ignores the possible heterogeneity of the Peruvian and Brazilian Japanese populations and their own notions of what constitute determinants of stability and change. In addition, his loose use of terminology, and what Schramm would call, his 'enclave' approach also need to be examined.

Throughout Olsen's study his use of the terms musical, cultural and generational assimilation was problematic. Musical assimilation, he wrote is the 'joining together of different musical styles' but assimilation is a much more loaded term. In studies on Australian culture, such as that by Borrie (1954), assimilation in Australia was defined as

\[ \ldots \text{the process by which non-British groups have of necessity, because they have been small minorities in an environment which has had relatively little economic, social or cultural flexibility, had to conform to the patterns of the majority.} \]

In this light, assimilation may imply a denial of the right of the immigrant group to maintain its own cultural identity. On the other hand, integration, or transculturation, terms which imply the opposite results to assimilation, suggest a full and equal participation of the minority group or immigrant group in the host society whereby the whole host society is transformed through the absorption of the minority groups. While Olsen was able to identify the types of factors that affected the Japanese in Peru and Brazil through the use of his seven socio-musical determinants, he failed to satisfactorily demonstrate how or why those determinants affected their musical activities outside of the confines of the Japanese immigrant community.

Furthermore, his evaluation of what he called 'musical, cultural and generational assimilation' concentrated on the retention of traditional aspects of the Japanese music and culture and paid little attention to the contributions of the Japanese to the broader

\[ \text{174 W. D. Borrie, } \text{Italians and Germans in Australia} \text{ (London: Angus and Robertson, 1954), xiv.} \]
sense of Japanese-Peruvian or Japanese-Brazilian ethnic identification. His preoccupation with pre-migration traits was also evident in his unrealistic claim that 'musical assimilation does not occur in Brazil because the Brazilian-Japanese have been able to maintain the Japanese musical homogeneity with complete freedom of expression'.

In case there is any doubt that Japanese musical activity extends beyond the enclave, I can offer the following observation: During a fieldwork trip to São Paulo, Brazil in 1985 I had the occasion to witness a group of Japanese-Brazilians as they performed contemporary urban Brazilian carnival music in an organisation which they had formed along the lines of the Brazilian urban carnival organisations (Escolas de Samba) of Rio de Janeiro.

Olsen claimed that his model 'should be useful not only for similar studies of Japanese immigrants in other parts of the world, but also for the investigation of musical activites of other immigrant goups as well'. An attempt to apply Olsen's model to the study of Brazilian immigrants in Sydney would, however, necessitate considerable modifications to that model due to the vastly different pre-migration and post-migration situations of Japanese in South America and Brazilian immigrants in Sydney. Whereas the Japanese have been in Peru and Brazil for almost a century almost all of Sydney's Brazilian immigrants are first generation settlers. Thus, Olsen's choice and application of his seven variables revolved around socio-cultural distinctions that he makes between pre-war and post-war immigrants to Peru and Brazil.

Urban Ethnic Music Research - Australia

While the field of urban ethnic music research in America is gradually becoming established, urban ethnic music research in Australia is, by comparison, in its infancy. Although detailed historic, sociological and ethnographic literature is available on Australia's immigrants from the early settlers to the more recent arrivals, urban immigrant music remains a sadly neglected area of scholarly investigation evident in the distinct shortage of published source material on the subject. As Kartomi noted as recently as 1984, 'research into, musics practised by Australian migrants in Australia has [just] begun'.

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176 Ibid., p. 68.
The continuing neglect of research into the music of immigrants in Australia may be accounted for simply by the shortage of Australian ethnomusicologists. At the same time, it may be argued that negative views of the immigrant presence in Australia (recently settled Vietnamese immigrants are currently the target of openly hostile, neo-racist ideology and behaviour), and associated devaluations of the immigrant musical contribution in general, also disuades research interest. New scholars entering the field of ethnomusicology are, with the exception of those involved in the research of Australian aboriginal music, encouraged to follow the more traditional paths of their predecessors and conduct field work in ‘foreign’ cultures in ‘exotic’ locations outside of Australia.

Thus far, it appears that the music of Greek immigrants in Australia has received the most attention. Greek immigrants in Victoria form the largest Greek population in the world outside of Greece itself. Jacqueline Clark’s 1978 unpublished undergraduate thesis entitled ‘Some Aspects of Greek Music in the Melbourne Area in 1978’ provided some valuable insights into the role of music as a symbol of ethnic identity for two Melbourne Greek-born musicians - Tassos Ioannidis and Christos Ioannidis.178 The texts of certain original compositions with their references and themes relating to their personal struggles and those of other immigrants in Australia demonstrate one important function of music as a vehicle for the maintenance of ethnic identity and its role as a part of the process of human adaptation to a new cultural environment.

Musical change is, according to Clark, a major focus in her study. Several different processes of culture change related to theories of acculturation and culture contact, namely innovation, variation, invention, tenation, culture borrowing or diffusion provide the framework for Clark’s explanations of musical change. Obviously, due to the comparative nature of Clark’s study, her identification of continuity and change in Greek music in Australia rested in part on her identification of musical elements of the traditional styles in Greece that were believed to form the basis of certain of the Australian performances and it is in this area that shortcomings occured. For example, Clark provided a table of ‘selected traditional Greek rhythmic patterns’ yet failed to identify her method of identification of those particular rhythmic patterns.

Unlike the American studies examined earlier in this chapter, which in the main, lacked transcription and analysis, Clark’s thesis is predominantly transcription and

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analysis. Unfortunately, however, her method of analysis is based on a process whereby the songs are reduced to the ‘aggregate of characteristics’ or ‘stylistic traits’ through ‘systematic’ identification of such things as tone repetition, melodic contour, and inner tempo. Such a reductionist and statistical approach to analysis which results only at best in a compilation of static unrelated constituent musical parts considered out of context does little to distinguish the Australian performances from the Greek compositional models upon which they were supposedly based, the significance of those ‘idiomatic’ musical elements for the musicians themselves, or the dynamic functions of the music in light of its status within the broader non-Greek musical population.

In addition, when the songs are performed by the two Greek immigrant musicians in conjunction with other musicians and non-traditional musical instruments, the other musicians remain completely unidentified. No reference is made to the vital affect of their presence in determining the structure of the music and the processes and results of change operative within each song, or the musical or non-musical reasons for their inclusion in the performances.

Although lacking the detail of Clarke’s study, aspects of Lebanese and Greek immigrant music in Melbourne were dealt with in a more satisfactory manner by Parkhill. In an article published in 1983 entitled ‘Two Folk Epics from Melbourne’, Parkhill examined original compositions by Melbourne Lebanese musician John Harb, and Greek-born immigrant musicians Kostas Tsourdalakis and George Tsourdalakis.179 The Lebanese-styled composition recounted a Melbourne Grand Final football match; the Greek-styled composition the demise in 1975 of Gough Whitlam, leader of the Australian Labor Party at that time; immigrant compositions ‘concerned directly with life in Australia’.180 In his analysis of the Lebanese composition, Parkhill’s identification of the compositional-formula of *zejal*181 serves as the basis for his identification of ‘syncretic features of *zejal* in Australia’ particularly evidenced by the inclusion of English ‘words and phrases such as ‘mate’, … [and] ‘no worries’182 and what Parkhill claims are the narrative substitution of symbols for real subjects (football players represented as ‘giants’). Along similar lines, his discussion of the Greek-

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180 Ibid., p. 126.

181 According to Parkhill, the term *zejal* refers to a “tradition of sung poetry in various metrical, strophic and stylistic form … which has lasted in the Middle East for hundreds of years” (Ibid., p. 127).

182 Ibid., p. 129.
Australian composition rests on its connection with traditional elements of Cretan music that were part of the composer's musical repertoire before his arrival in Australia.

While both compositions contain traditional musical stylistic features, the strength of Parkhill's examination lies in the amount of attention given to the dynamic function of the song in the context of the host society. The song structure, particularly the texts, are shown to be reflective of the immigrant composer's involvement and sense of identification with the broader Melbourne population. Omitted in Parkhill's article, yet evident in the articles by Olsen and Erdely for example, is the notion that processes of social and musical adaptation must be described in terms of continuity, preservation, musical purity, or conversely, in terms of loss and abandonment. Parkhill's article clearly demonstrates how, through music, immigrants not only adapt to their new post-migration location but more importantly, how they contribute to and in turn shape the society in which they live.

Of similar value is Barwick's 1987 article on Italian traditional music in Adelaide.183 Due consideration is given to divergence as a significance factor of musical change. Italian music in Adelaide, according to Barwick, refers to the music of 'the Calebresi, the Furlani, the Veneti, the Marchigiani, and all the rest who came to Australia, each with their own cultural baggage'.184 Changes to Italian music in Adelaide, manifested for example in the substitution of musical instruments, standardisation of performance presentation, and the adaptation and creation of a repertoire of migration songs all serve to demonstrate the Australian Italian context of the performers.185 Barwick promotes the idea that positive benefits of interethnic musical interaction provide a better venue for interaction between the musical traditions of different cultures in Australia. Multicultural concerts tend to stereotype the ethnic performance by failing to accommodate the 'changeability' that is a normal part of what keeps an oral tradition alive.186

Also concerned with the dynamic function of ethnic music within the broader Australian context is the preliminary study of aspects of Turkish immigrant music in

184 Ibid., p. 51.
185 Ibid., p. 53.
186 Ibid., p. 48.
Sydney by Marett (1988). While the Greeks are long established settlers to Australia, Turkish immigrants, like the Sydney Brazilians, are recently settled immigrants, having mostly emigrated to Australia only after 'the conclusion of a migration agreement with Turkey in 1967'. In his investigation, Marett sets out to 'assess the role that one type of music, namely folk music, plays in the Turkish community, and in particular to study the types of occasion on which this music is performed, and the function of the music on such occasions; secondly, to ascertain whether the music has undergone, or is undergoing any change in its new environment'. Regardless of the brevity of the study, Marett demonstrated by means of transcription and analysis, how the texts rather than the music of selected original songs composed in Australia by one Turkish immigrant reflect the modifications to pre-migration Turkish musical models and, more importantly, the insights into the structure and role of those compositions in the new context which form part of the individual immigrant experience. These insights are based on the immigrant's own notions regarding the uses and functions of their music in the pre-migration location and the significance of changes to the music in Australia.

Extensive research has been carried out by the present writer since 1974 amongst Sydney's South American-born immigrants. The results have been presented in a number of unpublished research papers and documented studies. Musical change has been the focus of investigation with an emphasis on socio-musical changes resulting from performances involving interethnic contact between South-American immigrant musicians and musicians of other contrasting ethnic backgrounds in Sydney. Prime consideration was given to the dynamic function of the ethnic music performance as a vehicle for the expression of Australian multicultural identity. For example, in a detailed study of the 1980 Sydney Festival del Sol, the present author demonstrated that, regardless of the social, historical, political and musical differences that existed within South America, immigrants from those countries who attended the Festival were able to achieve a collective post-migration expression of their cultural and musical identities. It was based on Andean musical styles such as the huayno and the cueca, traditional dance-music styles which, due to the diffusion of the Inca culture

188 Ibid., p. 80.
189 Ibid.
throughout the Andean region of South America, have cut across ethnic lines and borders. At the same time, some immigrants readily accepted changes to their musical traditions in Sydney (for example, the substitution of non-traditional instruments for traditional ones) that they claimed they would have rejected in their pre-migration countries.

The previous survey substantiated initial claims regarding the central issues and weaknesses in the majority of approaches to urban ethnic music research. Namely, the over-emphasis on pre-migration musical traits as ethnic group markers which resulted in static notions of musical continuity and purity. In a majority of those immigrant studies examined, it was assumed that ethnic groups to some extent, represented culturally homogeneous isolated systems; simple carry-overs or extensions of pre-migration practices. Assumptions such as these are to be rejected if due consideration is to be given to the processes and results of change through interethnic interaction. By way of further criticism, as Slobin added, concepts like 'loss, survival and acculturation [and for that matter, Olsen's 'musical assimilation'] . . . provide only a partial way of understanding the complex process that is ethnic communal behaviour [musical or otherwise].'¹⁹¹ Like Schramm, Slobin emphasised the importance of a group's 'self-conceptualization'; what Schramm referred to as 'ascription', as a means of determining how an ethnic group arrives at 'a communal consensus of self-identity'.¹⁹² Consequently, musical changes revolve around a 'notion of home', that is, according to Slobin, 'any and all aspects of culture that the group chooses to recognize.'¹⁹³ In turn, 'outsider's decisions' regarding degrees of authenticity of acculturation are of secondary importance in an analysis of change. In Slobin's words,

... traditional notions of loss and survival, of authenticity and acculturation, will not do; they simply miss the point. Flexibility and ingenuity are also ethnic traditions.'¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 35.
¹⁹³ Ibid.
¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 40.
None of the previously examined anthropological, sociological or ethnomusicological models provides a suitable theoretical or philosophical framework for 1) the study of a recently settled immigrant group such as the Brazilian immigrants in Sydney 2) changes to their music and music organisations as a result of interethnic contact and 3) the significance of those changes in light of the dynamic function of the immigrant group or organisation as part of the broader society of which it is a vital part. Along with notions of cultural homogeneity, it is often implied or assumed in studies of immigrant music that all members of a particular ethnic group share a common knowledge about the traditional pre-migration structure, uses and functions of the music that they choose as reflective of their ethnic identities. Pre-migration determinants of change, if discussed at all, are generally based mainly on etic (the researcher’s) rather than emic (the actor’s) descriptions and expressed in terms of trait lists.

The terms emic and etic (coined from the words phonemic and phonetic) were first used by missionary-linguist Kenneth L. Pike (1947) in the field of descriptive linguistics to distinguish between the participant’s or actor’s notions and the researcher’s or observer’s notions of the structure of a particular linguistic system under investigation. Since its initial use in linguistics, the emic-etic approach has been used in the social sciences. Accordingly, it should be pointed out that the ‘native viewpoint’ is explicitly associated with the emic point of view. As noted by Harris, any research programme which calls for ‘cracking the code which the native communicators employ . . . incorporates the strategy of emic studies. Concerning the use of the emic-etic approach in ethnomusicology, Bruno Nettl wrote that

*The interface and possible contrast between the (supposedly) objective view of an outside observer and the perception of the culture’s insider has had a major role in recent developments in musical ethnography and analysis, but largely in synchronic studies. The “emic-etic” contrast has not, however, been a principal issue in the study of change.*


My research into Brazilian carnival music in Brazil and Sydney began well before the commencement of my formal training in ethnomusicology (see Introduction pp.xii-xiii). Accordingly, the initial collection of field data was carried out without preconceived theories or models for the analysis of musical change, let alone the formulation of any specific change typology. Extensive research and musical analysis in Sydney led me to formulate theories of change based initially on my own perceptions, primarily etic, of the music and musical contexts. Later, after field work in Brazil, I approached change in the interpretations of Brazilian carnival music in Sydney based on a correlation between my own etic/emic perceptions and the wide array of explanations provided by Sydney Brazilians concerning the specific function of the marcha and samba-enredo musical instruments, rhythms and styles in general. The obvious lack of consensus regarding the music was, like explanations from the same Sydney Brazilians regarding the structure and function of the Escolas de Samba in Brazil and Sydney, reflective of their contrasting backgrounds and degrees of musical experience.

As noted by Nettl, the emic-etic approach has been applied mainly to non-immigrant cultures in which the principal focus of investigation and discussion has been on stability rather than social or musical change. The study of a recently settled immigrant group such as the Sydney Brazilians and musical change, however, requires an approach that accommodates the conflicts and divergencies between the immigrant's pre-migration and post-migration notions and actions concerning the traditional cultural and musical symbols that they adopt and re-enact, albeit modified, in the post-migration location.

As argued in the discussion that follows, an emic-etic approach to the structure of pre-migration and post-migration folk models is considered appropriate for such ethnomusicological investigation. The following discussion commences with an examination of the terms 'emic' and 'etic' and their application as research strategies in the social sciences and ethnomusicology. Next comes a discussion of the modifications that were necessary to render the emic-etic approach suitable for the study of the Sydney Brazilians and corresponding degrees of change in their music.

As previously stated, the terms emic and etic were coined by the linguist Kenneth Pike. Following on from earlier theorists such as Sapir who emphasised

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198 Edward Sapir made a considerable contribution to linguistic anthropology through his examination of the relationships between the formal and unconscious structures of culture and language. (For example, see Edward Sapir, Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality (David G. Mandelbaum, ed.) (Berkeley: University of California Press,
the interdependence between language and other aspects of cultural behaviour, Pike proposed that language and behaviour constituted a 'structural whole', the ordering principles of which could be discovered through the application of a single unified theory of structural analysis. Pike claimed that the value of the emic study was first, that led to an understanding of the way in which a language or culture was constructed, not as a series of miscellaneous parts, but as a working whole. While the emic and etic distinction is a vital one, Pike's application of an emic-etic approach was, however, clearly designed primarily to investigate 'the area of synchronic structural description'. As Pike wrote:

*We specifically are not attempting any testing for analogies (1) in reference to the transmission of culture, nor (2) in reference to change in structure in time or (3) in geographical spread, or (4) in reference to problems of culture contact. Nor (5) are we attempting to discuss postulations concerning cause-and-effect relations between substructures within a culture, or between culture structures and environment.*

While Pike acknowledged that 'the analysis of structural wholes in behavior is... complicated by individual differences', his dependence on the notion of a well integrated system and 'essential wholes', resulted in a static structuralist viewpoint whereby differentiation of a language or cultural system was regarded as dysfunctional and threatening to the preservation of the status quo. Thus, Pike's emic-etic model is based on notions of ideal behaviour. The focus is on consensus and static homogeneity based on assumptions of structural systemic stability, the results of which produce a type of positivism which not only fails to handle individual variation and ambiguity on the emic level but, more importantly, is clearly unsuited to the study of change.

In 1972, in her studies of New Guinea Highlands music, missionary-ethnomusicologist Vida Chenoweth adopted and adapted the Pikean concepts as the basis for her systematic method of musical transcription and analysis of what she

1949).


200 Ibid.

201 Ibid., p. 642.

202 Ibid., p. 80.
described as 'ethnic melody'. In defining her use of the emic-etic dichotomy, Chenoweth wrote that

What is emic in music had to do with the conception of it, while what is etic has to do with the perception of it.203

Chenoweth stressed the importance of the emic or 'insider's' viewpoint in defining the structure of the musical system. Her application of the Pikean concepts drew analogies to phonemics and phonetics:

Any etic observation is immediate. A first transcription of a musical composition is etic. What is heard is notated without insight into that culture's musical universe. That is, the transcriber writes what he hears as different pitches, intervals, rhythms... but he hears them from the point of view of one outside the culture... What is emic in music has to do with the [participant's] conception of it.204

Borrowing from theories developed in descriptive linguistics, Chenoweth also proposed that

Like language, music is ordered and operates within a closed system. As the descriptive linguist discovers the grammar of a speech system in oral tradition, the ethnomusicologist can discover such a distinctive grammar in the music system of a people.205

Her analysis and conclusions are, however, based primarily on a mechanistic form of structuralist positivism which ignores ambiguity in favour of statistical consensus. Like Pike's linguistic paradigm, Chenoweth's analytical model rests on similar notions and assumptions regarding the static existence of 'whole' systems with structurally unified codes. Musical 'grammar' refers to 'the significant elements of a music system and their distribution in relation to each other and in relation to the larger units of which they are components'.206 While it may be possible to define the boundaries of a linguistic system, the identification of musical systems and musical areas is, as was noted during the discussion of diffusionism and acculturation, far more problematic. Such notions of musical and cultural homogeneity are totally

204 Ibid., pp.50-51.
205 Ibid. p. 11.
206 Ibid.
inappropriate to the situation of urban immigrants in a culturally diverse urban setting where cross-cultural interaction is the norm.

Pike's emic strategy revolved around a consensus of behaviour. Likewise, Chenoweth's application of the emic-etic linguistic paradigm is also based on assumptions of structurally unified systems which favour stability and continuity over change. Moreover, a prediction about behaviour is reliant upon such notions of systemic stability. In studies of recently settled immigrants, the identification of pre-migration structural factors based on consensus and static continuity does not automatically provide a suitable analytical framework for the analysis of the same structural elements in the post-migration location. Such assumptions are of limited value in dealing with changes to the music of recently settled immigrants such as the Brazilians in Sydney whereby ambiguity and individual human variation are key determinants which can influence the structure and function of urban ethnic music.

The traditional application of the emic-etic approach in ethnomusicology may be summarised as follows. Through participant-observation, the researcher would form an etic evaluation of the actors (culture bearers) and their events (musical performances, etc.). As Harris noted in his discussion of the use of the terms in ethnography, the 'created' significances of etic descriptions are not dependent on the subjective 'meanings' and 'purposes' of the actors. Emic studies, on the other hand, 'require one to enter the world of purpose, meaning and attitudes'.

Problems which impede the emic-etic approach are that the actor may be a poor observer of his own inner state or, conversely, that the participant's explanations may be unquestionably accepted as true accounts. Instances whereby 'native' notions and actions were in conflict are overlooked or ignored.

In determining the structure of the music and musical organisations introduced into Sydney by Brazilian immigrants and the uses and functions of those structures for Brazilian and non-Brazilian Sydney participants, I have turned to an analysis of the 'folk models', a term used in British social anthropology and defined by Holy and Stuchlik (1981) as 'People's own concepts of their actions, their reasons and

207 Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory, 571.
explanations for them, and more generally, the whole range of their own notions about
the social and natural world in which they live, or in the Sydney Brazilians’ case,
the pre-migration environment in which they lived, namely Brazil, and the
post-migration environment where they now live - Sydney. I adopt the viewpoint put
forward by Holy and Stuchlik who state that

A society’s comprehension of itself or its ‘folk model’ forms an integral part of
its social order and, further, this social order cannot be sociologically [or
musically] explained unless native comprehension is seen as the basic set of
data for such an explanation. People’s notions about their world are as much
part of the substance of anthropological [and ethnomusicological] studies as
their overt actions.

Thus, the term ‘folk models’ may be taken to comprise both emic and etic
notions and viewpoints of the culture bearers. In the traditional use of the emic-etic
approach, cultural consensus was afforded primacy and idiosyncratic human variation
was either ignored or viewed as dysfunctional to the stability of the systems under
investigation.

As I pointed out in the introduction to this study, however, the Brazilian
immigrants in Sydney were all first generation settlers. In addition, almost all of those
immigrants who took part in the Sydney carnival organisation Sambaçao, either as
organisers, musicians or dancers, lacked first-hand experience with the same elements
in Brazil. Consequently, the structure and function of Sambaçao and the immigrants’
musical performances, and changes within those structures was influenced by the
multiplicity of individual and collectively shared folk models operating amongst the
Brazilian and non-Brazilian members within that Sydney organisation.

According to Holy and Stuchlik, a central issue to the analysis of folk models is
that ‘there is no single overriding model held by all members of a society; there may
be a multiplicity of parallel and interrelated models and specific models are being
generated through the processing of available information’. Therefore, an issue crucial
to the present study is neglected in the bulk of studies on immigrant music.

208 Ladislav Holy and Milan Stuchlik, The Structure of Folk Models (London: Academic Press,
1981), v.

209 Ibid. jacketnotes.

210 Ibid.
To illustrate this point more clearly, let us say Brazilians A and B, unrelated strangers, emigrate from Rio de Janeiro to Sydney around the same time. In order to establish social contact with other Brazilian immigrants, to maintain a link with Brazil and their sense of Brazilian identities, they join Sambação, a Rio-styled Sydney carnival organisation (Samba School) formed by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney who had chosen for re-enactment and as prime symbols of their Sydney Brazilian identities, elements of the Rio annual Carnaval and carnival music samba-enredo (the main type of music performed by members of the Rio Escolas de Samba, carnival organisations whose membership is predominantly lower-class black Brazilian slum dwellers).

Brazilians A and B are both male. According to indigenous Brazilian racial classifications, A is a branco, a white Brazilian of Portuguese ancestry, and B is a preto; a black Brazilian of African ancestry. In Brazil, A had a middle-class social and economic background whilst B, whose lifestyle was somewhat typical of the social conditions of blacks in the Americas, had a poor social and economic background. A was a non-musician in Brazil. His principal involvement with the music of samba-enredo and the Escolas de Samba (Samba Schools) was that of passive observer once a year during Carnaval. For reasons of class, status and personal safety A refrained from membership and participation in a Rio Escola de Samba.

Brazilian B on the other hand, was a percussionist in a leading Rio Escola de Samba for many years and had a working knowledge of the structure and function of the Escolas de Samba and music of samba-enredo. B lived for his involvement with his Samba School and their performances of samba-enredo, both of which provided him with a vehicle for self-esteem, a community support system, a source of personal identity and escape from the reality of his impoverished life style.

Despite their contrasting social and economic backgrounds in Brazil and the different values that each immigrant afforded the music of samba-enredo and the Escolas de Samba, after arrival in Sydney, A and B shared a common social and economic status in Sydney as unemployed non-English speaking immigrants. In turn both sought membership in the Sydney Samba School (Sambação).

Regardless of his lack of first-hand pre-migration knowledge of the structure of the Escolas de Samba and samba-enredo, A becomes a leader in the Sydney Samba School, takes up a percussion instrument and plays alongside B in the organisation's musical group. In analysis of their scenario one must bear in mind the following. The contrasting pre-migration social and musical backgrounds and carnival experiences of
A and B, combined with their post-migration notions and actions that they wittingly or unwittingly developed as a reaction to their new environment, in turn, affected their interpretations of the Rio *Carnaval* and carnival music in Sydney.

Thus, participants may supply emic or etic information or both. In the case of immigrant A for example, his views on the specific use and function of *samba-enredo* in Brazil, may be regarded as at least partially etic (i.e. an outsider's view) whereas immigrant B can provide emic statements. The statements of both A and B regarding the post-migration structure and function of the re-enacted style are both emic because both are centrally involved participants.

Due to the importance of pre-migration socio-musical determinants in the study of change in the music of the Sydney Brazilians, it was necessary to expand the traditional emic-etic approach to provide the necessary additional layers of analysis that were required in comparing the contrasts and divergencies between the actor's pre-migration and post-migration folk models and resultant actions. Thus, in this thesis, I base my explanation of musical change primarily on the investigation and comparison of the pre-migration/post-migration folk models and the comparative investigation of those models with my own emic/etic analytical models of the structure and function of the music, organisation, etc. This approach required that I conduct field work not only in the post-migration host country but also in the immigrant's home country in order that a comparison may be drawn between the immigrant's explanation of pre-migration folk models with emic-etic descriptions of folk models obtained by me from observation and from persons in Brazil. A reliance exclusively on emic-etic information obtained through participation and observation with the immigrants in the post-migration location only would have been inadequate as a basis for explanations about changes to traditional music that take place in the post-migration location.

During my entire period of fieldwork with Brazilian immigrants in Sydney, I could not obtain satisfactory explanations concerning the essential musical features of Brazilian *samba-enredo*. While all Brazilian members of Sambaçao agreed that the *samba-enredo* was a principal symbol of their Brazilian identities, due to the contrasting social and musical backgrounds of the Sydney Brazilians, contrasting folk models existed as to the structure, uses and functions of the musics in Brazil. Thus, it was clearly inaccurate to refer to 'a departure from traditional music practices' in a Sydney performance of *samba-enredo* when a majority of the musicians had no first-hand musical experience or involvement with *samba-enredo* from which to depart. For example, what represented major musical change for one immigrant was simply minor
change for another. Thus, although to all outward appearances a performance may appear to have changed dramatically, it may still retain its function as an acceptable symbol of Brazilian identity for certain Brazilian members of Sambaço. That is to say that, regardless of changes, it was emically correct in the post-migrant location. It was only after both emic and etic perceptions of the pre-migration/post-migration folk models were taken into account that a satisfactory basis for explanations of change was achieved. Indeed, the modified emic-etic approach supplied the additional zones of explanation that were missing from the traditional application of that approach. The expanded emic-etic approach also focuses less on the description and function of the event and more on an understanding of change and the significance of change through an understanding of the conflicts and divergencies between the participant's notions and the events.

Traditional notions of etic descriptions of ethnomusicological data seem to stem from 'an a priori assumption of a type of "objectification" . . . where the self of the enquirer is presumably excluded from the investigation and/or where the selves of the people being investigated are somehow isolated, 'cut-off', as it were from the investigator and the rest of the world'.211 But, every folk model presented by an ethnomusicologist, anthropologist, etc., is in the last instance constructed by her/him. In consequence, as Holy and Stuchlik note, a methodological question arises as 'to what extent it can be said to represent or correspond to the actors notions'. While the folk models presented in anthropological works are, of course, authorised by the anthropologist, 'the important thing for the anthropologist's [or ethnomusicologist's] explanation is not that it must resemble the folk model or be a duplication of it, but that it must not include any elements not included in the folk model'.212

While in a certain percentage of musical performances organised by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney Brazilians were the principal performers and participants, performances also occurred within the larger non-Brazilian community. More importantly perhaps, irrespective of the location of the performances and intended use and function of the music, non-Brazilian performers and participants were always involved. Thus, when adopting or formulating theories of musical change, prime consideration has been given throughout this thesis to the processes and results of shared musical interaction between Brazilians and non-Brazilians with a view to


212 Holy and Stuchlik, The Structure of Folk Models, 28.
demonstrating how the interacting individuals have contributed to the structure of the Sydney carnival organisations (Sambação and the Centre), the structure of the musical product, and the various uses and functions of the music and associated symbolic elements for Brazilians and non-Brazilian musicians and organisation members.
Since 1971 approximately 1200 Brazilians have emigrated to Sydney from the cities of Brazil. During the time span chosen for this study (1971-1984) Brazilian immigrant musical activity in Sydney revolved primarily around the re-enactment of social and musical aspects of the annual Carnaval of Rio de Janeiro.

The Rio Carnaval takes place in Rio's inner-city and outer-city suburbs each year on the last weekend before Lent. Outdoor street parades, referred to in Brazil as desfiles, are the main attractions of the Rio Carnaval and focus on the competitive participation of the Brazilian carnival organisations called the Escolas de Samba or Schools of Samba. Indoor carnival celebrations called bailes, which are held in town halls and hotels, provide for non-competitive participation. The baile celebration is informal and open to adults of all classes.

As stated in the introduction to Chapter I (see pp.xiii-xv), Brazilian musical activities in Sydney are best explained in terms of three major periods which coincide with significant historical factors such as the emergence of Sambação (1978) and the Brazilian Samba Social Centre (1979), the two Rio-styled carnival organisations formed by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney. Chapter II is concerned specifically with the years 1971 to 1976 (Period 1) of Brazilian immigrant music in Sydney, a period during which the Rio Carnaval baile and baile music - marcha was the main source of inspiration and imitation for the Brazilian-influenced Carnivals in Sydney.

Chapter II comprises two main Sections. The first Section begins with a brief yet critical examination of the 'popular consensus model' of Brazilian Carnaval, a term used in this thesis to refer to notions of the existence of a collectively shared folk model of Carnaval. It will be argued that the popular consensus model of Carnaval places undue emphasis on cultural homogeneity and consensus and masks over the reality whereby Carnaval is as much a reflection of folk model divergence as it is of folk model convergence. This argument will be taken up in greater detail in Chapter III.
Next will come a demographic profile of the Sydney Brazilian population. The significance of sociological and musical change in the re-enactments of aspects of the Rio *Carnaval* in Sydney is best understood in terms of the individual's folk models and degree of musical experience. A summary of the pre-migration/post-migration backgrounds will therefore be provided for two Brazilian immigrants, Tristão de Aguiar and Edison Cardoso, who were selected on the basis of their contrasting backgrounds, folk models, degrees of emic-etic carnival experience and the important roles that each played in the introduction of the Rio *Carnaval baile* and *baile* music into Sydney. This will be followed by a brief summary of the history of Brazilian-influenced carnival *bailes* in Sydney during Period 1.

The focus in the second main Section will be on musical analysis. To make sense of changes in selected performances of Brazilian *Carnaval marcha* in Sydney during Period 1, I will first examine aspects of the music as it is performed in Rio de Janeiro. For that purpose, I have chosen to analyse and compare three versions of a popular Brazilian *marcha-rancho* called *As Pastõrinhas;* Version 1 - the original 1938 Brazilian recorded version, Version 2 - a 1930s Brazilian sheet music version of the original song, and Version 3 - a 1973 Brazilian recorded version. The analysis of Brazilian Versions 1-3, combined with information about *As Pastõrinhas* and Brazilian *Carnaval marcha* in general (obtained from field work and written sources), will provide the basis for the identification of changes in the 1974 Sydney Version (Version 4) of the same song.

This section will also include an analysis of *Marcha do Cangurús,* an original song based on the Brazilian *marcha* structure, composed in Australia by Brazilian immigrant Tristão de Aguiar and first performed in the 1975 Sydney carnival *baile*.

In the musical analysis section the focus will be on the uses and functions of the Brazilian *Carnaval baile* in Sydney for Brazilian and non-Brazilian participants and the significance of the changes that took place in light of the contrasting folk models that existed amongst the musicians involved. Explanations of change will be based on the emic-etic approach to the structure of folk models outlined in the previous chapter (see Chapter I, pp.56-65). Accordingly, it will be demonstrated that (a) changes were caused by divergent rather than convergent carnival folk models and contrasting degrees of emic and etic carnival experience, and (b) the degree to which those folk models were either individually held or collectively shared affected the significance of those changes.
**Carnaval - The Popular Consensus Model**

Prior to field work in Brazil, an analysis of the activities of the Sydney Brazilians indicated that they shared a common folk model and supported the popular portrayal of the Rio Carnaval and carnival musics *marcha* and *samba*. When they reminisced about Brazil, or discussed what they regarded as important aspects which helped distinguish their culture from others, references to Carnaval and carnival musics *marcha* and *samba* were always included in their conversation. Their descriptions of the role that those cultural manifestations and musics played in connection with their sense of their identity as Brazilians in Brazil and Australia, seemed to match those descriptions diffused through commercial channels of communication such as tourist promotions authorities, television and journalistic articles. In Brazil for example, the Rio Carnaval is officially promoted as Brazil’s most popular national festivity. As suggested in a tourist calendar published and distributed by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Brazilian Tourist Authority

*The whole of Brazil vibrates to Carnaval. In the streets, in clubs, from the smallest town to the largest city, Carnaval is celebrated . . . . Everyone takes part in this explosion of gaiety, the most important popular festival in the country.*

Newspaper reports in Sydney likewise emphasise the ‘popular consensus model’ of the Rio Carnaval as a musical and festive expression which supposedly encapsulates and epitomises the spirit of Brazilian national identity. An article which appeared in the Sydney Spanish Herald (1979) described the then newly-formed Brazilian Samba Social Centre (a Brazilian-styled carnival organisation formed in 1979 by Brazilians in Sydney) and its activities as a reflection of such a consensus of Brazilian national festive identity:

*The Samba School (The Brazilian Samba Social Centre) will present in the streets of Sydney, some of the traditional dance that made Brazil known to the whole World . . . . The Brazilian Samba Social Centre will promote the famous Carnaval of Brazil in Australia, through parades in the streets and carnival balls [my translation]*

Another Sydney article entitled ‘Rio Comes To Bondi’ heralds the ‘exotic’ contribution of members of the same organisation four years later in 1983.

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1 Brasil Tourist Calendar (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Brasileiro de Informação Turística, 1980).

2 Spanish Herald, 4 Sept. 1979.
The grande finale [of the 1983 Latin American Festival at Bondi] will be led by 30 members of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre in colourful and exotic costumes, as if they were just off the streets of "Rio".3

The above article holds the promise that, in keeping with the popular consensus model, spectators to the Bondi festival will witness a slice of the Rio Carnaval in Sydney as Brazilian immigrants, assumedly, all 'just off the streets of Rio' and, by extension, all experienced sambistas (Brazilian carnival performers), re-enact their transplanted Brazilian carnival traditions in Sydney.

In such reports, references to non-Brazilian involvement are usually omitted. No mention is made of non-Brazilian participants or musicians who may have taken an active part in the activities. Their presence is ignored seemingly in favour of an account which views the 'ethnic group' as a homogeneous cultural unit or subcultural unit within the larger 'non-ethnic' Sydney population; an 'exotic' and 'colourful' group whose members are intent on the preservation of aspects of their former traditions. Indeed, as was the case in 1979, performers in the 1983 event were a mixture of Brazilians and non-Brazilians and only small percentage had any emic dance or musical experience in a Rio carnival parade.

Despite the widespread acceptance of the popular consensus model of the Rio Carnaval, assumptions of the existence of a national musical identity or national musical folk model based on determinants such as geographic location or shared ethnic origin are open to criticism due to the inherent notions of cultural and musical homogeneity upon which such assumptions are based. In popular descriptions, the term 'traditional' is used in reference to music as a convenient way of describing, and by extension implying, that people of a particular culture share a consensus of opinion as to the musical aspects linked with their notions of musical-cultural identity. As noted earlier (see p.68), Brazilian Carnaval and associated musical styles marcha and samba are, for example, upheld as principal festive and musical expressions of Brazilian national identity. Such claims of cultural consensus mask, however, realities such as the virtual exclusion of the indigenous Brazilian ethnic groups from Brazilian urban social, musical and political life.

The Rio Carnaval baile is of little significance to the Taulipang Indians living in the far reaches of the upper Amazon. Indeed, the totality of 'Brazilian culture' is a reflection of a multiplicity of folk models, lifestyles, musical genres, religious systems, etc. The same criticism may be levelled at notions of the existence of an Australian

national identity. Like Brazil, Australian 'culture' is also characterised more by musical and cultural divergence than by consensus, regardless of the continuation in Australia of inherited musical systems such as AMEB\(^4\) which reflect the interest of those more concerned with the preservation of a musical status quo than the acceptance of the realities of the contribution of multiculturalism to Australia's music.

Brazilians in Brazil are not united, nor are Brazilian immigrants in Sydney. By extension, the re-enactment of a Brazilian carnival *baile* in Sydney does not constitute a prime symbol of musical-cultural identity for all Brazilians living in Sydney. The Sydney Brazilians are characterised by a diversity of pre-migration and post-migration background on levels such as religion, socio-economic and occupational status, lifestyle and musical taste. Although the Sydney *baile* re-enactments were the only visible signs of organised musical activity during Period 1, they were not the only forms of Brazilian musical activity in Sydney.\(^5\) More importantly, those Sydney re-enactments were only actively supported by a minority (approximately 10%) of the total Sydney Brazilian population, a fact which is in conflict with the popular notions of the *baile* in Brazil as an expression of identity on a national level. Indeed, the Sydney *baile* re-enactments, like the Sydney Brazilian population itself, reflect diversity rather than consensus.

**Demography**

Due to the significant increase in Latin-American immigrants to Australia after 1971 (from 11 039 in 1971 to 74 138 by 1976 - Australian census statistics), they are considered as one of the 'new waves' of immigrants for Australia.\(^6\) The combined impact of those various Latin-American national groups has only really been felt in Australia since the mid-1970s. Consequently, a history of Latin-American immigration to Australia is still forthcoming. Vanda Gorecki (Ph.D candidate, Department of

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\(^4\) The initials A.M.E.B. stand for the Australian Music Examinations Board which is administered by the Office of the Minister for Education. This system, based on a British examinations system is heavily biased towards Western classical music traditions. This form of bias reflects a general belief in the musical supremacy of classical music over other non-classical musical traditions such as rock, jazz, and ethnic/immigrant music which is excluded from that system.

\(^5\) Between 1976 and 1979 Jayder de Oliveira, one of Sydney's best known Brazilian immigrant musicians, and his group The Cockroaches, were regular performers at Sydney Latin music nightspots such as La Vina (Leichhardt, Sydney). In contrast to the traditional, albeit at times noticeably modified, *baile* and *samba* styles which were the main focus of the Sydney *baile* re-enactments, Oliveira's music, mostly original compositions, featured the witting musical blending of traditional elements of Brazilian *samba* and *marcha* with elements of rock, pop, and jazz evident in original compositions such as Sydney Samba. This mixture of carnival *samba* and pop gained wide support from many of Oliveira's non-Brazilian fans.

Anthropology, University of Sydney Australia) has undertaken such research. Gorecki's study excludes, however, a history of immigration and demography of Brazilians in Sydney due to what she claims are significant cultural differences between Brazilians and other Latin Americans, differences of language and lifestyle which Brazilians in Brazil and Sydney alike identify as cultural markers (Gorecki: personal communication 1985).

Figure 1. Latin-American-born Immigrants in Australia (1891-1971) (see Vol.II, p.1).

In the few brief articles by Australian sociologists which contain information on Latin Americans in Australia, references to Brazilian immigration are, due to the comparatively small numbers of Brazilians within that total Latin-American Sydney population, usually fleeting or lacking in detail. Nevertheless, Paul Anderson (1973) was able to trace, via census statistics, the immigration patterns and individual populations of Australia's Latin-American-born immigrants from the years 1891 to 1971. As shown in Figure 1, there were on average only around 100 Brazilian-born persons living throughout Australia during that period. This was a relatively high proportion of the total Latin-American population until around 1971 when the Brazilians were grossly outnumbered by the sudden influx of Argentinian, Chilean, Peruvian and Uruguayan immigrants to Australia.

Figure 2. Brazilian Immigrants in Australia (1971) (see Vol.II, p.2).

1971 Australian census statistics provide a more specific profile of the Brazilian immigrant Australian population. Figure 2 shows the Brazilian population in each Australian state. The bulk of Brazilian immigrants were concentrated in New South Wales (376) and Victoria (361). Anderson noted that '70% of all of the Latin Americans in Australia are residing in the major urban area of Sydney-Newcastle-Wollongong'. Of the total N.S.W. Brazilian urban population of 359 (1971), an estimated 300 persons lived in the Sydney Metropolitan Area. A demographic breakdown of Brazilians in Sydney according to local government areas (1976 census statistics) reveals that by 1976 a significant majority (approximately 78%) of Sydney's Brazilians had settled in central Sydney and the nearby inner-city suburbs, areas

7 Ibid.
8 Ibid. p. 4.
situated conveniently near to the factories and hotels where, according to Sydney Brazilians (Lopez, Forte, Sabag), those Brazilian immigrants mostly worked.

Figure 3. Distribution of Latin-American Immigrants in Sydney (1976) (see Vol.II, p.2).

The Brazilians of the early and mid-1970s may be distinguished from other South-American ethnic groups in Sydney by their distribution. Since 1971, large numbers of Uruguayans, Chileans and Argentineans, have concentrated mainly throughout the nine Sydney suburbs listed in Figure 3. Contributing factors to that continuing trend are the availability of cheaper rents and housing, the location of government hostels and the desire of many Uruguayans, Chileans, etc., to move near or live with family members who had arrived earlier to Australia and settled in those suburban areas. In addition, a majority of those South-American (non-Brazilian) immigrants were assisted settlers who in many cases were, for political reasons, forced to leave their countries and seek refuge in Australia.9 Brazilians on the other hand, came to Australia mostly by choice for economic reasons or adventure; a move classified by (Anderson et al.) as 'innovative migration'.10 They arrived as unassisted settlers and in fewer family groups.

From the very beginning of their settlement in the early 1970s Brazilians were incorporated into the broader non-Brazilian Sydney population mainly through their widespread distribution throughout the Metropolitan area. Marriages between Brazilians and Australians also took place. Due perhaps to the cosmopolitan and pluralistic makeup of Brazil's main urban centres with their own long histories of immigration and intercultural interchange,11 Brazilians lacked the type of exclusivity expressed by the other South-American groups who, rather than unite under the

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9 Anderson et al. suggest that the sudden influx of South-American immigrants to Australia, particularly in the years 1971 to 1984, was due mainly to political rather than innovative factors. Accordingly, they claim that immigrants from Uruguay, Chile and Argentina 'emigrated largely to escape from the political and economic changes in their own countries which seriously threatened their way of life. The middle classes of these countries were the ones most affected by increasing rates of inflation and political events' (1979:4).


11 Brazil has a long history of immigrant settlement, particularly in the major urban areas of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Belo Horizonte. As noted in the World Book Encyclopedia, 'about 60% of the Brazilian people have European ancestry. Many of them are descended from the early Portuguese, Spaniards, and Germans. Large numbers of Japanese and Lebanese have also emigrated to Brazil. More than 25% of the Brazilian people are of mixed ancestry - European, Indian, Negro. About 10% are Negro and about 1% are Indian' (World Book Encyclopedia, 1984:474-475).
auspices of a single South-American communal association, sought to preserve aspects of their individual identities through the formation of separate clubs such as the Uruguayan Club, the Peru-Inca Sporting Club and the Chilean Club. As will be demonstrated later in this thesis, that element of Brazilian individuality influenced, to a significant extent, the ways in which Brazilians in Sydney modified elements of the Rio Carnaval baile and desfile, to suit the Sydney environment and their communal and personal needs.

Due to the cultural diversity of Brazil’s urban centres from which the Brazilians had departed, the Brazilian immigrants of the early 1970s were, in theory, ideally suited to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Sydney’s inner-city suburbs where the majority chose to live. For those immigrants with money and English language skills, mostly professional Brazilians, (approx. 23% of the total Brazilian Sydney population), settlement in Sydney was achieved with minimal inconvenience. For others the transition was not so easy. Australian census statistics (1971 and 1976) show that the majority of Brazilians moved into the low-income occupations in Sydney. Regardless of their desire for a full and equal participation in their new cultural environment, in most cases, language problems hindered social and economic mobility and cross-cultural interchange.

As suggested by Samy Sabag, Sydney’s first official South-American community worker and confirmed by Brazilian immigrants and Sydney carnival participants Tristão de Aguiar and Marilane de Mello, differences of language and lifestyles moreover, prevented the Brazilians from forming alliances with ethnic groups from other parts of South-America. As mentioned earlier, most of the non-Brazilian South-American ethnic groups were quick to achieve relative independence through the establishment of separate registered clubs and community organisations. In contrast, due to the transient and independent nature of the Brazilian immigrants, they did not establish a registered organisation or regular meeting place until 1978.

Certainly, for the reasons previously identified, it would be incorrect to suggest that a Brazilian ‘community’ existed in Sydney during Period 1 of their musical and organisational activities. Due to the socio-economic and occupational diversity amongst the Sydney Brazilians, the Sydney Brazilian population was divided along

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12 Inner-city and eastern Sydney locations such as Newtown, Glebe, Darlinghurst and Bondi are known for their diversity of cuisine styles, ethnic organisations, and diverse multicultural populations.

13 According to Table 70 of the 1981 Australian Census, only 59% of Brazilians were employed in the labour force. The majority of employed Brazilians at that time were males (228 males - 165 females). Of the total number employed, 33.6% were process workers. The remaining occupational
the lines of the social and occupational divisions that exist in Brazil.\textsuperscript{14} It was in that social and cultural context that Brazilian immigrants, in Sydney, mostly those with language problems and who were employed in low income occupations, sought a means by which they could establish social contact with each other and maintain aspects of their identities as Brazilians. Edison Cardoso and Tristão de Aguiar have been prominent figures in the history of Brazilian musical activity in Sydney, particularly during Period 1. As demonstrated in the discussion that follows they approached the Sydney baile re-enactments from contrasting musical and professional backgrounds and degrees of carnival experience.

**Brazilian Immigrant With Pre-Migration Emic Musical Experience of Carnaval**

**Tristão de Aguiar - Background**

Tristão de Aguiar, referred to by Brazilian immigrants (Lourenço Forte, Marilane de Mello and others) as 'Maestro', was a professional musician in Brazil and was well settled in Sydney before the first signs of organised musical activity had begun. Tristão de Aguiar was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1938. He started playing clarinet at the age of 13 as a member of the military college that he attended in Rio. After he left the college he became involved with local bands and, given the competition for survival amongst Rio's musicians, survived as best he could as a professional musician. As de Aguiar stated, "the pay was always very bad unless you cracked the market and became a big star" (de Aguiar: interview Feb. 1984). During that time, he performed with Brazilian musicians such as Deodato, who later gained international fame.\textsuperscript{15} In Rio de Janeiro, de Aguiar played a wide array of musical styles such as samba, Brazilian romantic music (samba-canção, serenada) and carnival

\textsuperscript{14} Information in the World Book Encyclopedia highlights some of Brazil's social problems; 'There is a wide range of living standards in Brazil. Although many Brazilians live comfortably, most of the people do not share the country's economic progress. Many families live on the simplest food, and their homes have mud walls and thatched roofs. The majority of the workers are poorly paid by U.S. standards, and many unskilled laborers live in crowded slums. The gap between the rich and the poor is a serious problem' (1984:469). (For a detailed analysis of such divisions, see the 1966 book 'Racases e Classes Sociais do Brasil' - 'Races and Social Classes in Brazil' by Octavio Ianni). Those Brazilian immigrants involved in the Sydney baile re-enactments on a regular basis and in an organisational capacity were mostly employed in low-income occupations in Sydney (Cardoso, Lopez and Forte: personal communication). Professional Brazilians informed me that for reasons of class and status, the refrained from involvement in the Sydney bailes and what they implied was the low status of the Sydney re-enactments.

\textsuperscript{15} Emur Deodato, born in Rio de Janeiro, was a professional Brazilian musician who gained international fame in the mid-1970s after his move to the USA. He is best known for his Latin-influenced arrangements of tunes such as the 2001 Space Odyssey, Baubles and Bangles, Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun, and Rhapsody in Blue (see CTI records 6489014 (1972), 6489015 (1973).
marcha. He was also musically active in Rio during the emergence of bossa-nova in the mid-1960s and was part of that general development.\textsuperscript{16} He played the guitar as well as the clarinet.

Out of necessity his income as a musician was occasionally supplemented through work in an oil refinery where his father held an administrative position. As de Aguiar remarked wryly, "I was not prepared to starve and if you're not prepared to starve you'll never be a great musician... isn't that the life of every artist". During 1963 de Aguiar and his wife travelled throughout Argentina and Uruguay with money that he had accrued at the refinery. On his return to Rio in 1964, de Aguiar was taken with the idea of travel and exposure to people from cultures other than his own. Curiosity rather than a desire for social and economical mobility promoted his ideas for future travel. His initial choice for migration was the United States but he lacked the necessary finances and, on the advice of another Brazilian friend, settled instead for emigration to Australia.

He arrived in Sydney in 1967 with his wife, his two children and without his musical instruments. At first, de Aguiar intended only to stay in Australia for two years and then revert to his original plan and go to the USA. After a short stay in the Matraville hostel he moved to Albury then on to Brisbane. He spent a month in a hostel there and eventually moved into a rented home after he took work in the Golden Circle factory. He eventually found long-term employment in 1970 in Sydney at the Shell Oil Refinery where he worked for 12 years up until his retirement for health reasons in 1983.

In 1974 at the time of the first real signs of organised Brazilian musical activity in Sydney marked by the introduction of the baile re-enactments, de Aguiar had already acquired English language skills and was, by his own admission, reasonably settled and comfortable with his cultural surroundings. Change was not a new prospect for de Aguiar. In fact, his ability to change and meet the demands of a new and foreign country resulted in his continuation as a resident in Sydney and the subsequent abandonment of his original plans to move to the USA immediately following the compulsory two year probationary period which was a condition of his emigration to Australia.

Compared with the plight of some South-American and Brazilian immigrants who arrived severely disadvantaged in Australia as political refugees after being torn from their country and family or having escaped the squalor and poverty of Brazil's urban slums, Tristão de Aguiar's story of emigration to Australia is one of comparative success. Due to his outgoing nature, curiosity and desire to communicate with people from other cultures, he quickly established a place for himself and his family in Australia. Employment was continuous and financially rewarding and Tristão de Aguiar expressed no depth of regret over the loss of his professional musical activities after arrival in Australia. His involvement with the Sydney Brazilians stemmed mainly from his normal desire to help others rather than a search for a 'lost identity' or desperate need for survival or the achievement of upwards social or economical mobility.

Brazilian Immigrant Without Pre-Migration Emic Musical Experience of Carnaval

Edison Cardoso - Background

Along with Tristão de Aguiar, Edison Cardoso was one of the principal organisers of the Sydney baile re-enactments. His background details are different from those of Tristão de Aguiar as are the reasons behind his involvement in the Sydney performances. Edison Cardoso was born in 1940 in the far north of Brazil in a city called Belem. In 1968 he moved with his family to Rio de Janeiro. Although he was not a musician he was always involved in the Rio carnival movement as an organiser. While he had some amateurish experience playing the surdo (large drum) in Rio de Janeiro his main occupation was that of professional soccer player, an occupation that he developed whilst living in Belem. His brother João Cardoso, who also later moved to Sydney, was, however, a surdo player whilst in Belem and found work as a professional surdoist in a band during the family's two year stay in Rio.

Edison Cardoso came to Sydney, Australia in 1971 on an invitation from the Hakoa Soccer Club who hired him on the basis of a video tape that was made in Brazil and sent to the Sydney soccer club. Cardoso arrived in Australia as an unassisted settler and played for Hakoa in 1971. Problems with English and discrimination within the club resulted in the termination of his contract with the team and a change in occupation as he was no longer able to continue in his chosen profession. Since 1972, Cardoso has worked mainly in the hotel industry as a cleaner.

17 The Hakoa Soccer Club is a part of the Hakoa Club, a social club located at Bondi, Sydney and frequented mainly by Jewish Patrons.
When Cardoso arrived in Australia in 1971 there were, according to Cardoso, little if any signs of Brazilian musical activity. He listened to the occasional radio programme on Brazilian music but "was unable to find a place in Sydney where he could hear Brazilian music performed". His musical identity was not, however, linked exclusively with Brazilian music. Like Tristão de Aguiar, his musical tastes were wide and varied. In addition to Brazilian carnival music, "he was very fond of jazz and pop music, any style of music as long as it was good". Problems with the English language rather than a longing for his forsaken musical traditions encouraged him to seek out the company of other Brazilians. Cardoso met Tristão de Aguiar when they both worked at the Menzies Hotel in Kings Cross. An Australian workman suggested to Cardoso that he might be better understood if, in the workman's words, he "talked with that other wog who worked here". The other "wog" was Tristão de Aguiar and the two became close friends.

Cardoso's initial involvement in the Sydney baile was in 1973 when he played the surdo in one of the two baile ensembles that provided the traditional continuous dance music.¹⁸ His brother João Cardoso played in the other group. Regardless of his limited experience with the baile rhythms in Brazil, Edison Cardoso repeated the familiar claim that "only Brazilians could play properly. Everyone could try and play but only the Brazilian could play because it was in the Brazilian's blood". Thus, he professed an emic knowledge of the baile rhythms more on the basis of his ethnicity than on the basis of any pre-migration practical musical experience that he may have had. His performances on the surdo were, as he suggested, intended only to help out with the music and his energies were directed more towards organisational aspects connected with the Sydney bailes. Commenting on various functions of the Sydney performances Cardoso remarked that

... while it was important for Brazilians to have a Carnaval in Sydney, it was also a good way to make some profit. The Brazilians here all worked hard. They had no meeting place and little time to organise a Carnaval but the Brazilians co-operated and made a Carnaval (Cardoso: interview Dec. 1984).

As shown in the above statement, due to the nature of his pre-migration involvement with the Rio baile (namely that of paid organiser), the notion of staging

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¹⁸ During the 1973 Sydney baile the musicians formed themselves into two separate groups. Group 1 comprised 2 saxophones, snare drum, and surdo, Group 2 consisted of piano accordion, tamborim (small tambourine without jingles), cuica (Brazilian friction drum), and surdo. That arrangement reflected a conscious effort by the Brazilian musicians to include in their Sydney baile, certain elements that they regarded as vital to the baile traditions, namely, the continuous music. That arrangement was also made to counteract problems of fatigue that would have resulted if the inexperienced musicians in the group had attempted to play continuously throughout the entire event.
a baile re-enactment in Sydney for profit as well as pleasure was simply a carryover of his pre-migration baile folk model. Consequently, it was with resentment that Cardoso withdrew his services as baile organiser when certain Brazilians in Sydney accused him of organising their baile solely for reasons of profit. He returned to Brazil for a holiday in 1976. Cardoso's departure was followed by a decrease in musical baile activities in Sydney until he resumed his involvement following his return to Sydney later the same year.

Brazilian Carnaval Baile in Sydney - Historical Summary

During separate interviews Cardoso and de Aguiar each commented that the first significant social gathering of Brazilians took place in a privately owned home in Paddington, Sydney. On the 31st of December approximately 80 Brazilians jointly celebrated their réveillon (New Years Eve). Wilson Palma, one Brazilian who attended that party, arrived in Sydney only two months before the celebration in 1971. He recalled that "people danced all night to Brazilian carnival music (marcha and samba) and, apart from discussing soccer, they mostly talked emotionally of the Carnaval that they would soon be missing in their homeland" (Palma: personal communication 1984).

As is often the case with new settlers, work takes priority over leisure and social activities. The Brazilians were no exception. Many Brazilians had borrowed the money to come to Australia and were busy repaying those debts or supporting other family members who had remained in Brazil. Lacking a communal organisation or regular meeting place, social contact between Brazilians during 1972 was limited to "small gatherings of families and friends" (Palma: ibid.). As one Brazilian immigrant Carlos Lopez recalled, "I don't think Brazilians in Sydney socialised much apart from Carnaval. Brazilians [in Sydney] had many problems to get money to send to Brazil. Only Carnaval . . . yes, but the rest of the time making money" (Lopez: personal communication 1984). The success of the first large informal gathering in 1971 led to a repeat of the réveillon celebration in December 1972. On that occasion, plans were made to stage a re-enactment of a Brazilian Carnaval baile to coincide with the same event in Brazil in the following year (February 1973).

Sydney's Brazilian immigrants came from Brazil's major Southern and southeastern urban centres, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Belo Horizonte. The majority came from Rio de Janeiro. Rio has the longest history of Carnaval baile and desfile celebrations in Brazil.19 Due to traditional, governmental and commercial influences,

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19 Histories of Carnaval in Brazil state that Rio de Janeiro is the major center of urban carnival activity. Riotur states, 'almost all Brazilian cities promote Carnival festivities. But in none of them the amusement reaches the proportions of the Carnival in Rio de Janeiro' (1979:3). Brazilian Carnaval was said by Riotur to have developed from the Portuguese entroduo, a carnival festivity
the Rio celebrations provided the models for Carnaval in the other Brazilian urban centres. By extension, according to Sydney Brazilians (Palma, de Aguiar, Forte), the Rio celebrations in turn formed the basis of the Rio-styled carnival celebrations organised by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney, a point which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III.

In February 1973 Brazilians in Sydney attended the first carnival baile at the Kingsgate Hotel, Kings Cross (inner-city). Edison Cardoso, one of the principal organisers of that first Sydney event identified some of the factors that gave rise to the introduction of elements of the Rio Carnaval to Sydney.

We [the Brazilian immigrants] made the 1973 Carnaval because the Brazilian people here wanted to introduce Brazilian Carnaval into Australia . . . to introduce the rhythms and at the same time, the commercial side too . . . to make some money . . . make a party . . . sell some tickets. Many people were involved in the organisation of the 1973 Carnaval including one of the directors of the Opera House who had asked me to organise some Brazilian carnival music group to perform at the Festival of Sydney. Many Australian people came to the first Carnaval in 1973. About 600 people in total. The Brazilian people were very happy to bring some Australians to see the Carnaval. The Australian people loved the Brazilian music. They danced . . . because you don’t have to be an expert in dancing [to participate] . . . if you stand there the Brazilian people pull you in (Cardoso: interview: Feb. 1984).

This statement by Edison Cardoso reinforces earlier claims regarding the non-exclusivity of Brazilian immigrants in Sydney at that time. Moreover, the first Brazilian carnival re-enactment resulted from collaboration between Brazilians and non-Brazilian organisers; the majority of participants were non-Brazilians who took part actively rather than as spectators. The quotation also shows that the Sydney baile was also designed to generate financial profit. Thus, both financial and social considerations were factors which gave rise to the emergence of a Brazilian carnival re-enactment in Sydney. According to all reports, the 1973 Sydney baile was an outstanding success for all concerned and a repeat of the event was planned for the following year (1974).

Whilst in Rio de Janeiro in 1985 I interviewed Carlos Lopez, a Brazilian professional musician who had lived in Sydney from 1971 to 1975 and had been one of the main organisers of the music for the Brazilian carnival baile re-enactments in

introduced into Brazil by the colonizing Portuguese (ibid.). Brazilian author Luis Gardel places the date of the first official carnival parade in Rio as early as 1855 (1967:7). According to Brazilian historian and folklorist Melo Morais Filho, 1855 marks the date of the first Carnival Club (the ‘Congresso das Sumidades Carnavalescas’) and float parade in Rio de Janeiro (Riotor, ibid.). The first official parade of the Schools of Samba (Brazilian carnival organizations) took place in 1933 in Rio de Janeiro (Gardel, ibid.:30-31). The style of Carnaval established in Rio de Janeiro was later imitated in São Paulo and Belo Horizonte.
Sydney during that period. Lopez had frequent contact with most Brazilians in Sydney around that time. During that interview, Lopez confirmed reports regarding the social and economic status of the bulk of those Brazilians who participated in the Sydney carnival baile re-enactments and what he considered as the significance of the transplanted event:

*Brazilians in Sydney [at that time] were mostly doing the same types of work. Very few had qualifications. Most were cleaners or storeman packers. The Carnival in Sydney was an escape valve... an escape. It was necessary for everybody. Carnaval and soccer are very important for Brazilians. It's an escape valve for stress... it's necessary.*

The third carnival in 1974 was an improvement on the first two attempts due to the help given by Tristão de Aguiar and Lourenço Forte. As mentioned previously, Tristão de Aguiar, a professional musician in Brazil, had emigrated to Australia from Rio de Janeiro with his family in 1969 and was well established socially and financially by 1974. De Aguiar spoke English well and was able to negotiate, on behalf of the Brazilians, for the hire of halls, equipment and non-Brazilian musicians. Lourenço Forte had arrived from Brazil in 1971. Like de Aguiar, Forte also had considerable pre-migration musical experience with Brazilian Carnaval as a result of his involvement with the Escolas de Samba and Escolas de Samba musicians in Belo Horizonte where he had lived.

The 1975 carnival baile re-enactment was, according to Brazilians in Sydney who participated in the event (Forte, Cardoso, de Mello) the best during Period 1 due to the quality of the carnival music produced by a band which included Brazilian and Australian-born musicians. The difficulties that arose during Period 1 through the shortage of Brazilian musicians, and the shortage of percussion instruments in Sydney, however, caused modifications to the interpretations of Rio carnival music in Sydney as will be demonstrated later in the section on musical analysis.

Following the 1975 Sydney baile, musical activity amongst the Brazilians declined. The success of the 1975 event led to rivalry between the organisers and participants. Tristão de Aguiar and Edison Cardoso were accused of staging the baile performances solely for the purpose of financial gain. Their denial and accounts of expenditure in staging the baile (fees for rehearsals, musicians, hiring of hall, etc..) were rejected by their accusers and, with indignation, de Aguiar and Cardoso withdrew their support and cancelled plans for any future carnival baile re-enactments. Edison Cardoso remarked that
after Tristão and I pulled out in 1976, there were no other Brazilians who could organise the musicians for a Carnaval. The music group from the 1975 baile disbanded. The rhythm can be played by many but the metal (section of brass instruments) must be played by professionals. Tristão had also developed serious health problems and Lourenço Forte has moved to Western Australia (Cardoso: interview: Feb. 1984).

Information from Brazilians who took part in the 1975 baile suggest that there was a dramatic reduction in the numbers of Brazilian carnival participants in the year following the 1975 baile. Edison Cardoso recalled that, "at that time many of the people who were involved in the 1974 and 1975 bailes were holidaying or had returned to Brazil" (personal communication).

By March of 1976, the issues that had forced Cardoso to withdraw as a leader were forgotten. Cardoso resumed his role as principal baile organiser and staged a small celebration at the Macabean Jewish Hall in Sydney. In the absence of suitable Brazilian musicians, the live music for the event was provided by five local musicians from other parts of South America. The group comprised: tenor saxophone (Uruguayan), electric bass (Uruguayan), electric organ (Uruguayan), electric guitar (Uruguayan), and kit drums (Chilean).

The music played on that occasion was predominantly a mixture of bossa-novas, tangos, cha-chas and rhumbas; typical urban styles of Latin-American music which do not belong to the Brazilian baile traditions. Commercial Brazilian recordings of Carnaval marcha and samba were played to compensate for the lack of traditional baile items in the group's repertoire. Nonetheless, the event was a success. Edison Cardoso later commented that

... we had a sort of bossa-nova party. It wasn't planned as a Carnaval but it turned out to be one because wherever Brazilians are it's always the same. Play carnival music and we end up with a Carnaval (Cardoso: interview: Feb. 1984).

In September of the same year (1976), Tristão de Aguiar, having regained his health, joined forces with Cardoso and together they promoted another baile celebration at the Rex Hotel in Sydney. The music group from the previous "bossa-nova" party supplied the music and the proceedings included a "floor show" which featured Chris Kennedy, the Australian saxophonist from the 1975 Sydney baile showband, Tristão de Aguiar played the guitar while Kennedy sang American versions of popular Brazilians songs such as The Girl from Ipanema.
A few months after that event, Tristão de Aguiar suffered a second heart attack and was hospitalised; Cardoso moved to the United States; Lourenço Forte was still residing in Western Australia. Thus, due to the lack of experienced carnival organisers in Sydney and the lack of unity of Brazilian immigrants in Sydney, from the end of 1976 to 1978 social contact amongst Brazilians was limited once again to small group gatherings between family members and their friends. There were no carnival baile re-enactments, celebrations or social events that enabled the Brazilians to unite and form a community.

Significance of Sydney Carnival Bailes in Terms of Folk Models

As demonstrated in the previous summary, the participants at the Sydney baile re-enactments held between 1973 and 1978 were a mixture of Brazilians and non-Brazilians, the latter more often than not, constituting a majority. The musicians in the various groups were also from contrasting cultures and musical backgrounds. A recognition of such diversity challenges the validity of interpretations of change which hinge almost exclusively on static notions of musical preservation or loss of tradition which follows the assumed transplantation of a particular tradition in the post-migration location. The Sydney performances are clearly a product of cross-cultural Brazilian and non-Brazilian interaction and interchange and are an expression of idiosyncratic divergency in the post-migration location Sydney, rather than a consensus of, or continuity of the popular consensus model of Brazilian Carnaval.

As mentioned earlier (see p.57), before I undertook field work in Brazil, my analysis and interpretation of Brazilian carnival re-enactments in Sydney was based primarily on the etic level inherent in the popular descriptions of the uses and functions of Brazilian Carnaval. Such analysis led me initially to assume that there was a cultural consensus whereby Brazilians in Brazil and Sydney shared a common view of Carnaval which matched the popular consensus model.

Field work in Brazil revealed, however, that contrasting folk models exist in Brazil as well as in Sydney which affect the significances, uses and functions of a Carnaval as an expression of Brazilian identity in both locations. Thus, as was demonstrated in Chapter I in the case of Brazilian immigrants A and B, the divergent emic-etic carnival folk models that were revealed through the emic-etic approach to the structure of folk models turned out to be of greater significance in explaining the differences in the structure and function of the Rio Carnaval and carnival music in Brazil and subsequent interpretations of aspects of the same re-enactment of Brazilian Carnaval and associated musical styles by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney.
This point is reflected in the varying degrees of Brazilian involvement in those re-enactments in Sydney. While fieldwork in Sydney and Brazil gives weight to the popular consensus models which exist on the surface, analysis, primarily non-musical, revealed that direct involvement in a Carnaval on an individual level varied in accordance with factors such as the individual's socio-economic, racial or religious background or status. Moreover, while most Brazilians in Sydney seemed to support the popular notion of Carnaval and samba as expressions of their collective ethnic identities, for reasons of class, status, personal safety, etc., as is the case in Brazil, only a small percentage of the Sydney Brazilians actually participated in the Sydney baile re-enactments.

Musical Analysis

As will be shown in more detail in the Section on musical analysis that follows, change in the Sydney baile re-enactments takes on greater significance for Brazilians and non-Brazilians alike when set against the types of diversity which exist at the level of the individual baile participant, both Brazilian-born and non-Brazilian.

An application of this emic-etic approach to the structure of folk models was demonstrated in the conclusion to Chapter I by way of the hypothesised examples of Brazilians A and B. In the remainder of this chapter, Tristão de Aguiar, Edison Cardosa and other individuals will form the focus for a similar approach. More specifically, pre-migration and post-migration background details (musical experience, preferences, changes in occupation, carnival involvement, carnival folk models, etc.) of selected individuals will be combined with musical analysis as the basis for a discussion of the significances of change in the Sydney carnival celebrations for those individuals.

As mentioned earlier (see p.69), marcha is the main style of music played and sung indoors at a Carnaval baile in Rio de Janeiro. Marcha is usually played very fast (\( \dot{\mathfrak{f}} = 180 \text{ m.m. approx.} \)) in duple-metre. Marcha-rancho, a slower version of marcha (\( \dot{\mathfrak{f}} = 120 \text{ m.m. approx.} \)), provides momentary respite from the frenzy of dance and cachaca (cane-spirit alcoholic beverage). Wind and Brass instruments (clarinets, saxophones, trumpets, trombones, tuba) are a feature of the marcha musical accompaniment which is also played on caixas (snare drums), surdos (bass drums) and various small hand-held percussion instruments, all of which will be described in more detail later in Chapter III. To a lesser extent the music of samba is also performed during a Carnaval baile, although it is associated more with manifestations of outdoor Carnaval and the Escolas de Samba.
The Rio Carnaval was the model used for the carnival bailes held in Sydney during Period 1. The significance of the changes that took place in the Sydney bailes varied in relation to the individual's emic-etic degree of knowledge and experience with the Brazilian carnival model. In order to make sense of the changes in performance of Brazilian Carnaval marcha in Sydney we need to examine aspects of the music as it is performed in Rio de Janeiro.

The literature on Brazilian Carnaval and carnival music is in the main descriptive rather than analytic. A thorough musicological investigation of the structure of Brazilian urban carnival music in general, and marcha in particular, has not as yet been published. The following analysis represents a preliminary attempt to identify essential musical elements of marcha as it is performed in a Brazilian Carnaval baile.

For that purpose, I have chosen to analyse a popular Brazilian marcha-rancho called As Pasto rinhas. The song, first performed in Rio de Janeiro in 1937, represents a "classic carnival marcha" and is still performed in Rio and other urban centres in Brazil during Carnaval each year (de Aguiar: personal communication 1984). The popularity of the song is such that it was a favourite amongst Brazilian carnival participants in Sydney and was performed as a part of the 1974 Sydney baile re-enactment. According to Lourenço Forte, the leader of the 1974 performance, "the 1938 version was a model for the 1974 [Sydney] performance . . . it's been a model ever since that song has been released" (Forte: interview Dec. 1984).

The analysis which follows commences with an analysis of the original 1937 rendition of the song as transcribed from a recorded anthology of Brazilian carnival music. Next, a comparison will be made between elements of that 1937 recording and the original sheet music copy of the song published in Brazil around the same time in order to provide additional evidence for the identification of essential features of the song.

A 1973 version of the same song, also recorded commercially in Rio de Janeiro, will also be analysed and cross-referenced with the 1937 recorded and notated version in order to identify what are said by musicians in Brazil (da Vila Matilda, da Cuica) and Sydney (Sabag, Forte, de Aguiar) to be essential musical elements not only in specific connection with the marcha-rancho - As Pasto rinhas, but also of the marcha style in general. This analysis, which will also include information about Brazilian

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marcha provided by Brazilians and written sources, will provide the basis for the identification of changes in the 1974 Sydney version of the same song.

It will be demonstrated through comparative analysis that four essential musical elements of As Pastorinhas are common to the musical accompaniment of all three Brazilian song versions and essential to the marcha style in general. These are the use of

1) a two-bar snare drum ostinato pattern (~ m n In) to stabilise the rhythms of the accompaniment.

2) an alternating weak beat (+) and resonant beat (o) surdo (low drum) ostinato pattern ( . . ) which acts as a rhythmic foundation for the song accompaniment. (This basic surdo ostinato pattern will, in this thesis, be shown in musical transcriptions as ! o).

3) "break" patterns to add rhythmic interest to the song accompaniment as well as highlight contrasting sections of the song structure such as the transition from song chorus to song verse.

4) brass and reed instruments (trumpet, trombone, tuba, saxophones) to provide an instrumental introduction and conclusion to the song, embellish the song melody and provide the important 'melodic cue patterns' which work in conjunction with the rhythmic break patterns to highlight the song melody and text and add interest and variety to the song accompaniment.

Example 1. As Pastorinhas - Version 1 (Brazil 1937).

(see Vol.II, p.3).

Example 1 is a transcription of the original 1937 Brazilian version of As Pastorinhas herafter referred to as Version 1. Version 1 lasts for 1 minute and 50 seconds. Structurally, the song comprises an instrumental introduction (bars 1-10); Section A, a 32 bar chorus sung by a solo male voice and female chorus in unison (see Section A bars 1-31), and Section B, a 32 bar verse sung solo by the male lead singer (bars 23-63). Next comes a repeat of the initial chorus (Section A) sung again in unison by the male solo singer and female chorus. The item is concluded with a repeat of the instrumental introduction (bars 95-103).
Figure A

As Pastôrinhas - Original Text and Translation

The evening star arises in the sky and the moon is dizzy with so much splendor, and the pastôrinhas consoling the moon go on singing in the streets beautiful verses of love.  

Beautiful Pastôrâ dark one, the colour of Magdalena, you have no mercy for me who suffers so much for your look.  

Beautiful child you never leave my memory, my heart never tires of loving you so.

The pastôras or shepherdesses referred to in the song text (see Figure A above) are the young women who parade in the Rio street carnivals and at the carnival balls. Gardel has written that the pastôras often appear carrying lace parasols which they manipulate 'coyly and daintily . . . as they impersonate the demure young ladies of the Victorian era'.21 According to Sydney Brazilian Lourenço Forte and Brazilians in Brazil Teixeira and Viana, the term 'pastôras' also refers to the female singers who perform in the Brazilian Escolas de Samba organisations that supply the music for the Rio Carnaval desfiles.

Figure 4. Pastôrâ Costume in Sydney

(see Vol.II. p.10).

Figure 4 shows a version of the pastôra costume worn in Sydney during a carnival street parade staged by a mixture of Brazilian immigrants and non-Brazilians. The

pastôra costume remains a favourite amongst Brazilian and non-Brazilian carnival participants in Sydney.

As Pastôrinas - Version 1 (Brazil 1937)

Due to the poor quality of the original 1937 recording some of the accompaniment instruments lack clarity of sound. Nevertheless, it is possible to discern that the accompaniment is provided by a section of brass instruments which consists of trumpet, saxophones and a trombone. Percussive instruments heard in the rhythmic accompaniment are the caixas (snare drums), pandeiro (tambourine), and the surdo (large drum).

Figure 5. Caixa

(see Vol.II, p.10).

The caixa is a Brazilian double-headed snare drum, of European origin. Various sizes include the smaller tarol. The caixa is similar in size and construction to the snare drum used in a kit of drums. The baile musicians play the caixa marching band style, that is, standing upright with the drum attached at waist level.

Figure 6. Pandeiro

(see Vol.II, p.11).

As seen in Figure 6, the pandeiro is a membranophone or rattle drum. Similar in construction to a tambourine, the pandeiro consists of a wooden or metal hoop covered on one side by a membrane or plastic head which is held in place by a metal hoop with regulating screws. On the sides of the hoop, spaced at equidistant intervals, are slits approximately 4 cm in length. Within the slits are placed small metallic discs which are held in position by metal pins running through the width of the hoop. The rhythms result from a basic hand movement which involves the thumb, fingers, and heel of the hand holding the instrument. As will be demonstrated in more detail later in Chapter III, these hand movements are sequential and require a high degree of expertise. John Schechter describes the pandeiro as 'a frame drum of Portugal, Brazil

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and Galicia (Spain). The use of the pandeiro is not limited to the Rio Carnaval in Brazil and has been widely used since the early 20th century in popular music.

Figure 7. Surdo
(see Vol.II, p.11).

The surdo is the lowest-pitched membranophone in the ensemble. A surdo is a large cylindrical drum which may either be manufactured, or constructed by a performer using whatever suitable materials are available. The surdo may appear in a variety of sizes and materials depending on musical function (see Chapter III for details and examples.) One common manufactured version of the surdo shown in Figure 7, is a large aluminium drum approximately 1 metre in length by .75 of a metre in width, covered on one or both ends by a skin, which is attached by a metal hoop with regulating screws.

Version 1 - Function of Instruments

The functions of those musical instruments in Version 1 will now be discussed commencing with the brass instruments. The introduction melody (see bars 1-10) is played by the trumpeter and saxophonists with slight harmonisation in the saxophone part (see bar 5). The trombonist plays a counter melody (bars 1-7) and concludes the introduction with the decisive and accented descending melodic pattern labelled 'melodic cue pattern 1'. The last crotchet beat of 'melodic cue pattern 1' coincides with the two-bar pattern marked 'break pattern 1' (see bars 9 and 10). The term 'break' was adopted from the Portuguese term breque, a term used by Brazilian musicians in Brazil and Sydney in reference to those periodic interruptions to marcha.

Break pattern 1 occurs six times in Version 1 (see bars 9-10 introduction, song bars 15-17, 31-33, 47-49, 63-65, 79-81). The rhythmic components of the two-bar break pattern are identical with each repeat. Namely, an accented caixa, pandeiro, and surdo sound on the first downbeat of the two-bar, silence on beats 2 and 3, and the resonant surdo sound labelled 'surdo cue beat' (see Introduction bar 10) on the last upbeat of the duration of the break.

The percussive accompaniment throughout this instrumental introduction also consists of the two-bar caixa rhythmic ostinato pattern labelled 'ostinato pattern A' (see Introduction bars 3-5). That two-bar ostinato pattern, which consists of a quaver-two

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semiquaver subdivision of the first crotchet pulse, a quaver subdivision of the next two crotchet pulses, and a semiquaver subdivision of the last crotchet pulse in the two-bar duration, is repeated twice again and concluded with an accented crotchet pulse played to coincide with the end of the trombone 'melodic cue pattern 1' and commencement of 'break pattern 1' (see bars 3-10). The function of the caixa and pandeiro is to stabilise the rhythm through the repetition of 'ostinato pattern A'.

The surdo is also used to stabilise the rhythmic accompaniment through the repetition of the rhythmic ostinato pattern marked 'surdo ostinato pattern' (see Introduction bar 3), which consists of a weak first crotchet beat followed by a resonant second crotchet beat in one bar of duple metre \( \frac{2}{4} \). That surdo ostinato pattern is repeated with slight variation (see bars 7-9) until 'break pattern 1' (bar 9) where, along with the caixa and pandeiro players, the surdo player sounds a short accented crotchet beat to emphasise the termination of the trombone 'melodic cue pattern 1' and commencement of the first break pattern. It is sufficient here to note that the alternating weak and resonant surdo ostinato pattern is the reversal of the strong/weak bass drum patterns typical of Western march music.

During the first sung chorus (Section A bars 1-32) the trumpet is, due to the poor quality of the original 1937 recording, barely audible and non-transcribable. In contrast, the trombonist and saxophonists may be heard clearly as they accompany the song melody with simple diatonic melodic phrases such as those seen in Section A bars 1-7, 9-13, and 19-30. Similarly, the trombonist, although noticeably less active than the saxophonists, also embellishes the song melody (see bars 17-19).

The percussive accompaniment to the song chorus Section A comprises a repetition of the caixa, pandeiro, and surdo ostinato patterns that were established initially in the introduction, namely caixa/pandeiro 'ostinato pattern A' and 'surdo ostinato pattern' both of which function to stabilise the accompaniment.

A number of prominent and important musical devices occur in the middle and end of Section A. Namely, the repetition of 'melodic cue pattern 1', played by the saxophonists at the mid-point of the song chorus (see Section A bars 13-16), and, as was the case initially in the instrumental introduction, by the trombonist at the end of the song chorus and transition into the song verse (see Section A bars 29-31); and the insertion of 'break pattern 1' which, as was the case when first used in the introduction, commences on the last crotchet beat of 'melodic cue pattern 1'. The momentary interruption to the general rhythmic flow of the song and accompaniment caused by
the periodic insertion of melodic cue pattern 1 and break pattern 1 are intended to add rhythmic interest to the song and, at the same time, to highlight the song text as the singers commence the second half of the chorus melody. Those cueing patterns also coincide with the harmonic modulations which occur during the transition from the end of the introduction to Section A (A major to A minor); return to A major at the beginning of the verse 1, Section B (see bars 31-34); return to A minor at the repeat of the song chorus, Section A (see bars 65-94) and return to A major at the repeat of the instrumental introduction used to conclude the song.

The functions of the various instruments described in detail during the analysis of the introductory Section and Section A (song chorus), are consistent throughout this original version of *As Pastelinhas*, Version 1. Moreover, the saxophones and trombone are used to accompany the melody with counter melodies and harmonies and to play melodic cue patterns. The *caixa*, *pandeiro*, and *surdo* are used to stabilise the song accompaniment through the repetition of rhythmic ostinato patterns and to add rhythmic interest through the insertion of rhythmic break patterns at strategic points throughout the song. The saxophone and trombone embellishments heard in the first rendition of Sections A (bars 1-32) are repeated without alteration during the repeat of Section A (bars 65-95) which suggests the use of a notated arrangement although those melodic accompaniment lines may have been pre-rehearsed and performed from memory.

Example 2. *As Pastelinhas* - Version 2 (Brazil 1930s)

(see Vol.II, p.12).

Example 2, hereafter called Version 2, is a reproduction of the original sheet music version of *As Pastelinhas* obtained from the *Museo do Imagem e do Som* (Museum of Image and Sound) during field work in Rio de Janeiro in 1985. Although arranged for piano rather than complete ensemble, a comparison of the sheet music version (Version 2), with the transcription of the original 1937 recorded version (Version 1), reveals significant similarities between certain structural and musical elements of both versions.

Versions 1 and 2 are in the same key and have the same harmonic modulations (chorus - A minor, Verse A major). The song texts and melodies are also identical and both commence and finish with the same instrumental introduction. The most significant similarities between Versions 1 and 2 are the use of the previously mentioned 'melodic cue pattern 1' and 'break pattern 1' identified first in the analysis.
of the recorded version and evident in the sheet music version (see Example 2, introductory section bars 7-10; Section A bars 13-17 and 29-32), and song verse Section B bars 45-49 and bars 61-65).

Example 3. *As Pastôrinhias* - Version 3 (Brazil 1973)

(see Vol. II, p. 15).

A 1973 recording of *As Pastôrinhias* was also chosen for analysis in order to further establish the importance of those elements of the original recorded and notated version (Versions 1 and 2), that appear to be significant to both song versions and perhaps the *marcha* style in general. The 1973 version, hereafter referred to as Version 3, was transcribed from a cassette anthology of Brazilian carnival music.24

Although this later version is a condensed version and comprises only the instrumental introduction and one song chorus, it is of sufficient length to provide the basis for a comparative discussion. Figure B below shows the instrumentation heard on the recordings of Versions 1 and 3. The only difference between the two is the exclusion of the saxophones and *pandeiro* from Version 3 and addition of the tuba.

![Figure B](image)

*As Pastôrinhias* - Instrumentation for Versions 1 & 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophones</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>Trombone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Caixas</em></td>
<td><em>Caixas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pandeiro</em></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Surdo</em></td>
<td><em>Surdo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Version 3 commences with a percussive introduction played on *caixas* and a *surdo*. The *caixa* players establish the tempo through the repetition of the *caixa* two-bar rhythmic ostinato marked 'ostinato pattern B'. With the exception of the drum roll on the upbeat quaver of the second crotchet beat in that two-bar pattern, pattern B is identical to *caixa* ostinato pattern A used to stabilise the rhythmic accompaniment of *As Pastôrinhias*, Version 1. The *surdo* ostinato pattern in Version 3, namely a weak

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beat followed by a resonant beat in a bar of duple-metre, is also identical to the surdo ostinato pattern (\[ \frac{2}{4} + \frac{2}{4} \]) that was identified in the analysis of Version 1.

After 13 bars of percussive introduction, an introduction melody identical to that identified in Versions 1 and 2 is played on the trumpet and trombone and imitated by a chorus of male and female singers (see bars 13-21). The tuba, which was absent in Version 1, provides a bass line which outlines the harmonic progression to the melody.

The song melody and text, key signature and harmonic modulations of Version 3 are identical to Versions 1 and 2. During the chorus of Version 3 (see Section A bars 1-32), the trombonist embellishes the melody with diatonic melodic phrases such as those seen in bars 2 through 32; the tuba player outlines the diatonic harmony by playing chord notes in the style normally associated with Western brass band march music. The trumpeters play in unison with the song melody.

The most significant features of Version 3, also identified in Versions 1 and 2, are the inclusion of those melodic cue patterns labelled 'melodic cue pattern 1' played in unison by the trumpeters, trombonist and tuba player at the conclusion of the introductory section (see bars 19-22), and played on the tuba in the middle of the song chorus (see Section A bars 13-16), and at the conclusion to the song chorus (see Section A bars 29-31).

Version 3 also includes the rhythmic breaks that were noted as significant in the analysis of Version 1 and 2. In Version 3, the break pattern occurs immediately after melodic cue pattern 1 during the transition of the introduction into the song chorus, Section A (see introductory section bars 21-22), and mid-chorus (see Section A bars 15-17).

Example A. *As Pastořinhas* – A Comparison of Break Patterns

### break pattern 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>As Pastořinhas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Version 1 (1937)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- \[ \frac{2}{4} \]

### break pattern 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>As Pastořinhas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Version 3 (1973)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- \[ \frac{2}{4} \]
As shown in Example A above, ‘break pattern 2’ in Version 3 differs in structure from ‘break pattern 1’, Version 1. In Version 1 the caixa, pandeiro, and surdo stop together on the first down beat of the two-bar break and only re-enter following the surdo resonant cue beat. In contrast, as shown above, in ‘break pattern 2’ Version 3, the caixa and surdo continue to play after that accented unison crotchet first down beat. Nonetheless, the break pattern in Version 3 achieves an effect similar to that heard in Version 1 due to the surdo player who, during that two-bar break, departs from his usual stabilising and repetitive alternating weak and resonant beat pattern to subdivide the second bar of the break into \( \frac{\text{\(\frac{1}{4}\)}}{\text{\(\frac{3}{8}\)}} \) a syncopated rhythmic pattern which in turn highlights the song melody.

Thus, while the Version 3 break pattern serves the same musical function as those of Versions 1 and 2, the Version 3 pattern, labelled ‘break pattern 2’ in the transcription, is more complex, rhythmically. One constant and important rhythmic device is the use of the surdo upbeat marked ‘surdo cue beat’ to mark the end of the break and cue the re-commencement of the full song accompaniment. According to Forte, that cue beat is common in Brazilian marcha and, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, is also an important rhythmic device in the music of Brazilian samba-enredo.

As Pastelinhas - Essential Musical Elements

The comparative analysis of Version 1 (original 1937 recorded version), Version 2 (original 1930s sheet music version), and Version 3 (1973 recorded Brazilian version) has resulted in the identification of four musical elements essential to the Brazilian interpretation of As Pastelinhas. Namely, 1) the use of a two-bar caixa ostinato pattern \( \text{\(\frac{\text{\(\frac{1}{4}\)}}{\text{\(\frac{3}{8}\)}}\)} \) to stabilise the rhythms of the accompaniment, 2) the alternating weak and resonant beat surdo (low drum) ostinato pattern \( \text{\(\frac{\text{\(\frac{1}{4}\)}}{\text{\(\frac{3}{8}\)}}\)} \) which acted as a rhythmic foundation for the song accompaniment, 3) the break patterns to add rhythmic interest to the song accompaniment as well as highlight contrasting sections of the song structure such as the transition from song chorus to song verse, and 4) the use of brass and reed instruments (trumpets, trombone, tuba, saxophones) to provide an instrumental introduction and conclusion to the song, accompany the song melody with contrasting melodic phrases or, at times, unison passages, and to provide the important ‘melodic cue patterns’ which work in conjunction with the rhythmic break patterns to highlight the song melody and text and add interest and variety to the song accompaniment.
Information from Brazilian musicians in Brazil and Sydney and from written sources indicate that those musical elements and devices identified above as essential to *As Pastorinhas* are a common part of the Brazilian *Carnaval marcha* style, in particular the rhythms and function of the *caixa* and the *surdo*. At the same time such variables as changes in instrumentation are a normal part of the flexibility of the *marcha* tradition in Brazil.

A discussion of those instruments in light of their general function is relevant to the interpretation of modifications to the Sydney version of *As Pastorinhas* in particular and Sydney performances of *marcha* in general and those musical elements described as essential will now be addressed in more detail.

**Example 4. As Pastorinhas – a Comparison of Caixa Marcha Patterns.**

(see Vol.II, p.19).

Example 4 shows a comparison of the *caixa* ostinato patterns of *As Pastorinhas* (Versions 1 and 3) with *marcha caixa* patterns identified by Brazilian musicians and writers on Brazilian carnival rhythms. All patterns are shown in alignment with the basic *surdo* ostinato pattern. *Caixa* ostinato pattern A played in Version 1 of *As Pastorinhas* is identical to that identified as a "basic *marcha* snare pattern" by Brazilians (Teixeira, Lopez, Vianna, Matilda, and da Cuica) and Sydney Brazilians (de Aguiar, Forte, Sabag, Concalves, de Oliveira). That two-bar *caixa* ostinato pattern labelled 'basic pattern', which was also heard in numerous live performances of carnival *marcha* in Brazil is, according to all sources of information, one of the most common *marcha* patterns.

The Version 3 *caixa* ostinato pattern B differs slightly for the "basic" pattern and demonstrates some of the flexibility of the genre whereby the musicians create their own ostinato patterns while still maintaining the two-bar framework. For example, Guerrero has identified a ‘basic carnival *marcha* [snare] pattern’ and two variations (see Example 4) which, while not identical to those used in *As Pastorinhas* Versions 1 and 3, share common components such as the quaver subdivision of the third crotchet beat into two quavers, and the rhythmic intensity which results from the various subdivisions of the last crotchet beat.²⁵

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The structure and alignment of the *surdo* ostinato pattern, that is the alternating weak and resonant beat which occurs twice during each two-bar *caixa* ostinato pattern, is consistent in all examples and has been identified by those persons cited above as an "essential" and "basic" *surdo* pattern of the music of Brazilian carnival *marcha*.

*As Pastörinhas - Version 4 (Sydney 1974)*

Having identified essential elements of *As Pastörinhas* in Brazil and of carnival *marcha* in general, the analysis will now proceed with an examination of a version of *As Pastörinhas* performed by Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians in Sydney. *As Pastörinhas*, Version 4, was transcribed from a cassette recording of the 1974 Sydney Carnival made by Tristão de Aguiar, one of the Sydney Brazilians primarily responsible for the organisation of the music for the 1974 Carnival. As stated earlier (see p.84) the 1937 Brazilian version (Version 1) was a model for the 1974 Sydney performance.

Brazilians who have been active in the Sydney baile re-enactments de Mello, Sabag, de Aguiar and Palma also confirmed Forte’s claim and it is accepted that the 1974 version was indeed based on the 1937 version. The song is readily available on commercial Brazilian recordings which commemorate Brazilian Carnaval and recordings were said by de Aguiar to be in the personal record collections of certain Brazilian immigrants in Sydney. Nonetheless, as Forte claimed when asked if the song was copied directly from such a recording for its inclusion in the 1974 Sydney baile, "it wasn’t necessary as everyone here [in Sydney] knew that song, even the piano accordion player who came from Uruguay" (Forte: personal communication).

A subsequent interview with Anabal Aparicio, the Uruguayan accordionist heard on the recording confirmed Forte’s claim. Aparicio remarked that "it was normal for the musicians with whom he worked in Uruguay to include in their repertoires, Brazil’s most popular carnival *marchas* and *sambas*" (Aparicio: interview Sydney Feb. 1984). Additional information obtained during an interview with the saxophonist Carlos Lopez in Rio de Janeiro in 1985, however, suggested that musical notation was used in the reconstruction of the carnival melody. For example, when recalling the events that surrounded that Sydney performance, Lopez remarked that "we had the music for *As Pastörinhas* ... for sax and trombone ... a 1935 arrangement, the original orchestration." Although mistaken about the date of the arrangement (1937 rather than 1935) Lopez appeared to be certain about the use of the notated arrangement in Sydney. He no longer had the music, however, and was uncertain as to its whereabouts in Sydney. His claim was confirmed in Sydney in 1984 by de Aguiar and it appears certain that the arrangement in question was used. As I was unable to locate that
arrangement in Sydney I have relied instead, mainly on the original Brazilian recording for the comparative analysis of the Brazilian and Sydney version throughout this chapter.

Overview of Sydney Performance

The musical group used in the Sydney version of *As Pastörinhas* comprised the musicians and instruments listed below in Figure C.

**Figure C**

*As Pastörinhas Version 4 - 1974 Sydney Baile Ensemble*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Artist/Location</th>
<th>Location/Timespan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenor Saxophone</td>
<td>*Carlos Lopez (Rio)</td>
<td>Sydney 1971-1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto Saxophone</td>
<td>Rogerio (Rio)</td>
<td>Canberra 1970-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano Accordian</td>
<td>*Anibal Aparicio (Uruguay)</td>
<td>(Uruguay) Sydney 1970-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Guitar</td>
<td>George Sabag (Bolivia/Brazil)</td>
<td>(Bolivia/Brazil) Sydney 1973-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caixas</td>
<td>Brazilians (Rio)</td>
<td>(names unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surdo</td>
<td>Lourenço Forte</td>
<td>(Belo Horizonte) Sydney 1971-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ensemble was formed under the direction of Tristão de Aguiar (‘Maestro’) in response to a request made by Edison Cardoso, the main organiser of the 1974 Sydney carnival *baile*. Due to the shortage of experienced Brazilian musicians in Sydney the group shown above comprised immigrant musicians from contrasting Brazilian and non-Brazilian locations. The Brazilians were not only from Rio de Janeiro but also from São Paulo and Belo Horizonte, two of Brazil’s main urban centres. The accordionist was from Montevideo, Uruguay and the guitarist George Sabag was born in Bolivia but had lived in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro for a total of seven years prior to his move to Australia. All were first generation settlers to Australia having arrived around 1970.

An asterisk appears beside the names of those musicians who were professional musicians prior to arrival in Australia, namely, Carlos Lopez (Rio) and Anibal Aparicio, the accordionist from Uruguay. Lopez and Aparicio formed a professional band in Sydney in 1971 and worked in the Sydney Portuguese and Spanish clubs and
Greek community when required. The other musicians had less professional experience and varying degrees of first-hand experience with Brazilian 
Carnaval and carnival music. Lourenço Forte, while not a professional musician in Brazil, had a good knowledge of the music and musical instruments of Brazilian 
Carnaval marcha and samba.

Example 5. As Pastórinhas - Version 4 (Sydney 1974)

(see Vol.II, p.20).

Musical elements included in the Sydney version, Version 4, that were identified as essential in the Brazilian Versions 1-3 will be discussed first in relation to song structure (form, text, melody) and second, in connection with the song accompaniment (individual and combined functions of the musical instruments).

As Pastórinhas Version 4 is sung in unison by a number of those Brazilians who attended the celebration although a male and female appear to be leading the song. Tristão de Aguiar identified his own voice as that of the male lead and that of Del Oliveira as the female lead (Del was around 50 years of age and had lived in Rio de Janeiro prior to her arrival in Australia in 1971). The form of the Sydney version and modulations are the same as the original Brazilian version whereby two main sections, Section A (chorus in A minor) and Section B (a verse in A major) are alternated throughout the song (ABAB).

Example 6. As Pastórinhas - Melody, Harmony and Text Comparison
(Versions 4 and 1-3)

(see Vol.II, p.32).

In Example 6, the melody, harmonic accompaniment, and text of Version 4 (Sydney) was compared with the same features common to Versions 1-3 (Brazil). Reports from de Aguiar, the musical director of the Sydney baile suggest that, despite Lopez's claim that musical notation played a role, the Brazilian immigrants involved in the 1974 Sydney baile ensemble re-constructed the Sydney version primarily from memory. Although Carlos referred to the written orchestration he emphasised the fact that he had played the song many times in Rio de Janeiro and claimed that "every year they [that is, various baile musicians both professional and amateur in Rio de Janeiro] play this song in many clubs" (interview: Rio 1985). The musician's and singer's familiarity with the song, particularly that of the older Brazilian immigrants, is evident in the comparison of Versions 1-4. With slight exception, the melodic rhythms,
melodic phrase lengths, chord progressions, and texts of the Sydney version and Brazilian versions are identical.

The conspicuous differences in the first two bars of the Sydney version are due to the inexperience of the younger female vocalists who formed a part of the on-stage chorus. Commenting on the inexperience of those singers, Forte remarked that "the overall performance was a bit of a surprise. We didn't expect much from the girls [inexperienced singers] ... at the end of the night, they became the real stars ... the ones who saved the show" (Forte: interview 1983).

There is also a slight variation in the last text line of the Sydney version and the Brazilian versions whereby for the original song text *sempre e sempre* (forever and ever) is substituted for a phrase with an equivalent meaning - *tanto e tanto* (forever and ever). This variation reflects changes that may occur as part of a song reconstruction from memory.

Due to the diversity of their pre-migration backgrounds, the musicians responsible for the Sydney version of *As Pastörinhas* clearly lacked a common *baile* folk model. Indeed, it will be demonstrated that divergence of individually held folk models rather than folk model consensus was a prime factor which caused changes to the Sydney interpretation of *As Pastörinhas* and determined the significance of such changes for those involved. The analysis of *As Pastörinhas* (Version 4) to follow, concentrates on two types of musical change that were deemed significant by Sydney Brazilians Lourenço Forte and Tristão de Aguiar. Namely - the substitution of musical instruments and the substitution of playing technique.

**Version 4 - Changes to Song Accompaniment**

**Substitution of Musical Instruments**

An essential musical element of the Brazilian versions of *As Pastörinhas* as identified through musical analysis and field work in Brazil and Sydney is the inclusion of the melodic cue patterns that are usually played on the trombone and tuba and occasionally by the saxophonists. As demonstrated earlier during the examination of Brazilian song Versions 1 and 3, in Brazil, the brass section, known collectively as the "metal", is considered by Brazilians in Brazil and Sydney to be an essential musical feature of an indoor carnival band and paramount in the successful staging of a *Carnaval baile*. The traditional significance of the brass section was noted by Tristão de Aguiar on the basis of his years as a professional *baile* musician in Rio de Janeiro.
You can beautify [the melody] with clarinets playing an octave above the normal clarinet (piccolo clarinet) and plenty of percussion but the main instruments for a carnival baile are the trumpet and the trombone (de Aguiar: interview Feb. 1984).

The absence of the trumpet and trombone from the 1974 performance and substitution of the accordion which resulted from the absence of Brazilian brass players in Sydney gave rise to some interesting changes, most notably, the complete exclusion of, or variation, of certain melodic cue patterns traditionally associated with As Pastôrinhas and the inclusion of additional cue patterns in the percussion to compensate for the absence of the trombone.

Example 7. As Pastôrinhas - Comparison of Melodic Cue Patterns and Break Patterns (Versions 4 and 1)
(see Vol.II, p.33).

Example 7 which shows a comparison of the melodic cue patterns (hereafter shown in abbreviated form as m.c.p.) and break patterns of the Sydney version (Version 4) with those of the original Brazilian version (Version 1). Omitted from the Sydney version are m.c.p. 1, which usually precedes the first sung chorus, and m.c.p. 6 at the end of the song. Variations of the traditional melodic cue patterns occur with m.c.p. 2 (bars 13-15) and m.c.p. 3 (see bars 29-31) where the Sydney Brazilian saxophonist Rogerio plays a variation of the original melodic cue patterns. Rogerio was not available for interview; therefore it is only possible to speculate that those variations may have resulted from his reconstruction of the song from memory, his inability to read the notated scores if they were in fact used, or from his lack of first-hand musical experience with the song.

Other notable changes to the traditional m.c.p. also result from the inclusion of the Uruguayan piano accordionist, Anibal Aparicio who, on his own admission, reconstructs the song from memory on the basis of his performances in Uruguay of the original version which he learnt and played by ear. Aparicio’s interpretations of the m.c.p.s of As Pastôrinhas may be seen in m.c.p. 4 which loosely resembles the original cue pattern, and m.c.p. 5 which contains a definite mistake through the inclusion of the c# where Aparicio incorrectly anticipates the modulation to A major instead of the usual A minor which normally occurs at bar 94 (Section B).
According to Carlos Lopez, the substitution of the saxophone and non-traditional accordion for the traditional trumpet and trombone caused noticeable changes to *As Pastořinhas*. Some of those changes are identified in his following statement:

*The accordion is not normally used in Brazilian Carnaval, only trumpet, trombone, sax and small clarinet. The accordion was harmonic and was no problem in Sydney. We tried to follow the Brazilian Carnaval baile in Australia. We had only a few musicians - sax alto and tenor, drums. It was a different sound. In Brazil the sax normally plays the harmonies [that is embellishes the song melody] but in Sydney the tenor sax [Lopez himself] had to play the melodies because there was no trombone or trumpet. In Brazil the trumpet and trombone are important for the melody and they work harder and are paid more money. Sometimes their mouths are bleeding after four days of Carnaval. In Sydney we had to play the music loud to make up for those missing instruments (interview: Rio 1985).*

Lopez’s claim is substantiated through analysis of the Sydney version of *As Pastořinhas* whereby, Lopez (tenor saxophone) may be heard to double the sung melody (for example, see Example 5, Vol.II, pp.20-31, tenor saxophone line, Section A, bars 3-31, 44-finish) rather than join with the alto saxophonist and play embellishments of the song melody in the manner to which Lopez was accustomed in Rio de Janeiro.

One of the most noticeable changes in the Sydney version of *As Pastořinhas* is the complete exclusion of the traditional instrumental introduction normally played on the brass instruments (see Versions 1-3). Instead, in an attempt to cue the singers for their commencement of the song Carlos Lopez plays the melodic cues labelled ‘saxophone cue’ in Example 5 (see Vol.II, p.20, Introduction Section). Lopez stated that "this was necessary as the singers were singing the song from memory" (Lopez: interview Brazil, 1985).

Despite his intention of having "a real carnival band for the night" de Aguiar recalled that the saxophonist

*Lopez was the only Brazilian musician that he knew in Sydney at that time. They [the other baile organisers] presented an accordianist... that's not used in Brazil but that's all we had. We managed to put something together. The percussion was no problem. Everyone in Brazil is percussionist. The rhythm was no problem but for the music itself it was very hard. It was all right by Australian standards but we would have been stoned in Brazil (de Aguiar: interview 1985).*

In addition to the piano accordian and saxophone, which were used as substitutes for the missing trumpet and trombone, a modified bass drum was substituted for the
traditional Brazilian surdo. During an interview Forte remarked that the modified surdo was introduced to compensate for the shortage of Brazilian musical instruments in Sydney. That large drum, played by Lourenço Forte during the evening, "was not a surdo but a bass drum modified so that it could take the function of not only the surdo but also some of the other instruments of the percussion section" (Forte: personal communication). A cowbell was added to replace the traditional agogô (conical-shaped bells); the cymbal, "never part of Brazilian carnival music", was an innovation. Lourenço Forte described the construction of the drum and its significance in the Sydney performance:

The drum was something that a friend of mine found in a music shop. It was one foot in diameter and three feet long. At the bottom was a pedal that gave a beat upwards. In Brazil we used to beat the surdo on the top with a special stick. A cymbal and cowbell were attached to the Sydney drum. I used that drum because we didn't have any sordos at that time. It was either play that or the bass drum of a normal kit. That [modified drum] was the first surdo in Sydney and was called at that time 'surdo maravilha' – the wonder surdo – because it was so strange and complicated. Other Brazilians were surprised, especially when we used the cymbal... the cymbal is never attached to a surdo... a surdo is a surdo (Interview: Sydney May 1984).

Substitution of Playing Technique

The alternating weak and resonant low surdo beat (\( \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{8} \)) was shown through analysis to be a traditional and fundamental musical element not only of As Pastôrinhas in Brazil but also of the Brazilian marcha style in general. The same surdo pattern was also a feature of the Sydney Version of As Pastôrinhas and was used to stabilise the rhythms of the accompaniment. Regardless of the similarities between the Sydney and Brazilian song versions and function of the surdo, there are noticeable changes in the basic surdo pattern in the Sydney version. As will be demonstrated, those changes resulted more from the unusual construction of the Sydney surdo and the innovative, non-traditional way in which it was played, than a lack of musical experience on the part of the surdo player Lourenço Forte, who had pre-migration first-hand musical experience with the rhythms of Brazilian Carnaval marcha.

The inclusion of the cymbal and modified drum resulted in changes to the traditional sounds of Carnaval marcha and the way in which the large drum is usually played in Brazil. Those musical changes are evident in Section B (see Vol.II, pp.28-30, bars 32-38) where the surdo ostinato pattern, which normally regulates the beat and rhythms of the song accompaniment, becomes destabilised as Forte "loses control of his foot whilst hitting the mounted cymbal" (Forte: personal communication). Similar changes to the basic surdo ostinato may be seen to occur in Section A bars 81-95 (see
Vol.II, p.28). When questioned over his use of the modified surdo, Forte viewed those changes as a normal part of the processes connected with the introduction of Brazilian styled musical tradition in Sydney. As Forte remarked, "you do the best that you can" (Forte: ibid.).

Another important rhythmic device featured in the Sydney version of As Pastelinhas that was identified as an essential feature of the the same song in Brazil is the two-bar rhythmic break labelled 'break pattern', that occurs in the middle of each main section A and B (see Example 1 bars 17-19, 33-35, 49-51, 51-83).

Example 7 (Vol.II, p.33) contains a comparison between the Sydney break patterns (Version 4) and that of the original Brazilian song (Version 1). Version 4 (Sydney) contains six break patterns, four of which are the same as that used in the original version (Version 1 Brazil) in which a 'break' usually includes a weak surdo sound (\(\frac{1}{4}\)) on the first down beat. The accompaniment stops momentarily. The singers then continue and a resonant surdo beat (\(\frac{1}{8}\)) on the last upbeat quaver of the two-bar break (see 'surdo cue beat') cues the re-entry of the other instruments (see Example 7, bars 15-17, 47-49, 79-81, 95-97).

Regardless of the obvious degree of continuity in the Sydney version, significant changes do occur in connection with those break patterns. The musicians omit the break which normally occurs during the transition from the song introduction to the first chorus at Section A (see introduction bars 16,17). They also include an additional break pattern (see bars 103-105) not included in Brazilian Versions 1 through 3. The additional pattern is caused by Forte who signals the break by playing a succession of triplet quavers in the bar which precedes the break (see bar 102). Indeed, that cue pattern, labelled 'rhythmic cue pattern' (see bar 102), and other similar rhythmic cue patterns mark another instance of musical change connected with the function of the break patterns in the song. More specifically, as shown in the summarised transcription (Example 7), Forte occasionally introduces rhythmic cue patterns (see 'rhythmic cue pattern' bars 13-15, 29-31, 77-79, 93-95, 102-103, 125-127) that are not evident in recorded Brazilian Versions 1 and 3 and as such, do not appear to constitute a standard feature of the Brazilian interpretations. When questioned over the inclusion of those additional rhythmic cue patterns, Forte admitted that, while they were not a normal part of the song, he had introduced them in an effort to help the less experienced singers in their reconstruction of the song. Those cue patterns he said, "reminded the singers and other musicians where they were in the song" (Forte: interview 1984). That is to say that they cued the oncoming breaks which coincided
with strategic points in the song structure such as the middle and end of a song verse or chorus.

As Pastôrinhas (Version 4) - Summary of Change and Significance in Terms of Folk Model

The previous analysis of As Pastôrinhas demonstrated that substitution of musical instruments and playing technique were major types of change in the Sydney interpretation of As Pastôrinhas. Due to the divergent types of pre-migration emic-etic knowledge between members of the musical group, the significance of those changes in instrumentation and presentation varied from one musician to the next. For example, Lourenço Forte was, through his first-hand involvement with the musical instruments of the Brazilian Carnaval baile, acutely aware of the traditional construction of the surdo and associated playing techniques of the surdo and other carnival instruments. So too was Brazilian musician Carlos Lopez who had played saxophone professionally in many Rio bailes.

While both musicians admitted that they would have preferred a larger ensemble and traditional instruments in the Sydney version both willingly accepted the changes to the Sydney baile. Both agreed that it was more important to introduce the baile into Sydney regardless of the limitations presented in the new location. Lopez’s only complaint was that, due to the omission of the trombone, trumpet and tuba from the Sydney group, he had to play more than he normally did in Rio de Janeiro in order to compensate for those missing instruments and to help the singers with the melodies of the various marchas and sambas that they presented (Lopez: interview Brazil, 1985).

In the case of Forte and de Aguiar, their pre-migration knowledge of the baile traditions was primarily emic through their direct involvement in bailes in Brazil. Nevertheless, both individuals also willingly accepted the changes that occurred. By way of contrast, Aníbal Aparicio, the Uruguayan accordionist, had learnt As Pastôrinhas and the other marchas performed in Sydney whilst living in Uruguay. While familiar with the structure of the melodies, his understanding was, by Brazilian standards, more of an etic one whereby, changes in the Uruguayan versions occurred automatically in light of the different combinations of instruments used in Uruguay. Nevertheless, all the musicians shared an emic understanding of As Pastôrinhas as it functioned as a vital part of the post-migration location. In that sense, the Sydney performance of As Pastôrinhas was a musical manifestation of their varied, yet combined senses of identity in the post-migration location and as such was emically
correct. In the words of Tristão de Aguiar, "it was alright by Australian standards [or according to its new function in Australia] but we would have been stoned in Brazil".

At the same time, it may be argued that the Sydney performance of *As Pastõrinhas*, albeit changed in the ways identified, reinforced a sense of Brazilian identity for certain Brazilian participants in the Sydney carnival *baile*. One Brazilian immigrant, Aleide Forte, discussing the significance of *As Pastõrinhas* as part of her own sense of identity stated firmly that

*since you are born you hear that song. It's typical especially around Carnaval when it's played over and over again. For a foreigner [non-Brazilian] it doesn't say much but everybody [Brazilian-born] knows that back to front, even if it's just whistled or tapped* (Forte: interview May 1984).

This view was frequently reiterated by other Brazilians in Sydney who were interviewed. Brazilians interviewed in Brazil also expressed the same view when questioned on the significance of *As Pastõrinhas*. Thus, even though the music was modified in the ways previously described, the significance of the song in Sydney varies in accordance with the diversity of carnival folk models demonstrated to exist amongst those involved in the *baile* re-enactments. Thus, *As Pastõrinhas* continues to function not only as a symbol of Brazilian identity but also as a musical expression of a collective multicultural identity and musical manifestation of idiosyncratic divergency rather than musical or cultural consensus.

Thus, rather than equate those changes with a loss of tradition, more importantly perhaps, the above account demonstrates the willingness of the Brazilian immigrant musicians to introduce and accept substitutions for the usual traditional percussion instruments in their endeavour to introduce the Brazilian *Carnaval baile* to Sydney. Regardless of the contrasting *baile* folk models amongst the musicians in the Sydney *baile* ensemble and their varying degrees of emic and etic pre-migration musical experience with Brazilian *marcha*, the Brazilian musicians and organisers were concerned more with overcoming the obstacles which resulted from those differences than preserving traditional aspects of an assumed common *baile* folk model which in fact did not exist within the group.

**The 1975 Sydney Carnival Baile Showband**

**Musical Change**

The following analysis focuses on 're-alignment', a term used in this chapter to mean the non-traditional alignment of melody and accompaniment rhythms that results
from confusion over the fundamental *surdo* beat of *marcha*, namely the alternating weak and resonating *surdo* beat in duple-metre pulse that was earlier identified as essential to the *marcha* style in Brazil (see p.101).

In October 1975, three Brazilian immigrants - Tristão de Aguiar, Edison Cardoso, and Benjamin Natal - formed a committee to organise, "a big carnival *baile* with a real carnival band and metal" (de Aguiar: personal communication). Due to his pre-migration background as a professional *baile* musician and his emic knowledge of the *baile* and *baile* music, de Aguiar was in a position to organise a suitable ensemble had the local conditions provided. Despite repeated attempts, however, de Aguiar was unable to find Brazilian musicians who could play the brass instruments. To the ensemble of 1974 were added trombone and trumpet, played by Australian-born musicians, and a second large drum.

As stated previously, de Aguiar's involvement in the *baile* re-enactments was not, on his own admission, motivated by an overwhelming need to maintain his sense of Brazilian identity in Sydney. Had Cardoso not requested his help in organising the Sydney *bailes*, de Aguiar may well have continued with only minimal involvement with the Sydney Brazilians. Consequently, his open-minded attitude towards change in general was reflected in his attitude towards specific changes that were necessary to bring about the formation of a *baile* musical ensemble with the 'metal' (brass instruments). For example, when looking for brass players for the 1975 carnival show band, he purposely sought out Australian jazz musicians as he felt that they would have the flexibility required to meet the demands of a style of music that was different by Australian standards. As de Aguiar remarked, "I was looking for musicians from the jazz scene because the jazz musicians have the ability of improvising so therefore they can adapt themselves to the Brazilian carnival music" (de Aguiar: personal communication).

Printed scores for the songs and tunes that were performed during the 1975 Sydney carnival *baile* were purchased in Brazil by Edison Cardoso during a holiday in Brazil in 1974. Despite the availability of notated carnival songs, conflict arose during the rehearsals. Tristão de Aguiar recalled that the Australian trumpeter and trombonist shared the same scores as Carlos Lopez the saxophonist and experienced difficulties with the transpositions. The main problem, however, concerned the alignment of the melody (played by the Australians) with the rhythmic accompaniment (played by the Brazilians).
This problem stemmed from the contrasting Australian and Brazilian interpretations of duple-metre pulse (see earlier p.89) and the contrasting degree of emic-etic knowledge not only between the Brazilians and Australians, but also amongst the Brazilian musicians. This factor, particularly evident in the approach to the duple-metre pulse characteristic of urban Brazilian carnival music, is crucial in understanding the differences that distinguish the music of Brazilians from that of other South-American and non-Brazilian cultural groups in Sydney. In order to illustrate this point, I have included the following quotation from a partial transcript of an interview that I conducted with Tristão de Aguiar in January 1985 at his home in Sydney.

The first problem that we had was with the rhythm. João Cardoso was playing the big drum . . . every time João started, the melody played by the Australians was crossing [that is not aligning] with João's drum beat. He [the Australian trombonist] crossed and I said, "What's going on here. Why are you crossing?" The trombonist said, "I don't care where you want the 'one' but make up your mind which beat is the 'one'". We [the Brazilian musicians] never needed to think about it up until that time. I never noticed Brazilian music is the other way around. He [the trombonist] was getting it right according to how you do it here in Australia, but on the second or third bar João felt the rhythm cross and he switched again. Bates [the trombonist] said, "You fellas can't make up your mind!" After I found the trouble, I said to them [the Australians], "João is right! Our strong beat is not on the first — it's on the second". Once we fixed those parts everything else was easy because the Australians were all good readers.

The contribution of Tristão de Aguiar can be appreciated when one realises that with the exception of a few musicians, the bulk of these Brazilians, and in particular the percussionists, do not read music. They believe that their affinity with their music is an automatic part of their cultural heritage rather than a skill acquired through an institutionalised learning process. That belief, which is shared by all of the Brazilian musicians interviewed during research for this study, pinpoints one of the main differences between the Brazilian approach and the Australian approach during the rehearsals for the Sydney carnival baile. Like Tristão de Aguiar, the other Brazilians in the band took the traditional rhythmic aspects of their music for granted and assumed an emic knowledge of the music. To quote de Aguiar, they just "felt it".

When conflict arose over the alignment of the melody (played by the Australians), with the resonant beat (played by the Brazilians), the Australian trombonist introduced an element of technical analysis - "Which beat is the 'one'?" This approach forced the Brazilians to be analytical as well. Thus, conflict over the issue led to analysis, resolution, and an eventual exchange of knowledge between the Brazilian and Australian-born musicians. From that point onwards, all musicians in
the ensemble shared a common emic understanding of that essential rhythmic and organisational element of Brazilian carnival *marcha*.

Just as Tristão de Aguiar regards himself as a vital part of the Australian culture and way of life so too did he regard the performances of Brazilian carnival music in Sydney during his time as musical direction of the Sydney bailes. In de Aguiar's own words, "we adapt to the taste of the Australian people and everything turned out all right". Commenting on the effect of those changes on other Brazilians who attended the 1975 Sydney baile which featured the music performed by that combination of Brazilian and Australian-born musicians described above, de Aguiar also added that

*a lot of Brazilians came to me at the party [1975 Sydney baile] and said to me "how did you manage to put together so many Brazilians?". They couldn't believe that it was Australians so they didn't notice any difference. They are used to hearing Brazilian bands playing and the band was playing perfectly* (de Aguiar: interview Feb. 1984).

The 1975 Carnival Show Band - Significance of Change in Terms of Folk Models

Re-alignment between the melody and accompanying *surdo* rhythms was shown as a significant type of change which affected performances by members of de Aguiar's 1975 Carnival Show Band. The significance of that change was best understood when equal consideration was given to the contribution of those non-Brazilian musicians to the Sydney interpretations of Brazilian baile music. Changes to those performances, when not viewed exclusively from the perspective of pre-migration Brazilian baile folk models are interpreted quite differently. The emphasis then shifts to explanations of the significance of change in light of the function of the music as a dynamic part of the broader multicultural Sydney population. A brief examination of the baile re-enactments from the perspective of the Australian musicians also reveals other levels of interpretation and additional divergent baile folk models.

For example, in search of an Australian trumpeter for the 1975 Sydney carnival showband discussed above, Tristão de Aguiar mistakenly contacted the Australian-born jazz saxophonist Chris Kennedy. Rather than lose the job to a trumpeter Kennedy immediately professed an emic knowledge of the Brazilian carnival music. During the interview with de Aguiar in 1984, with humour, he recalled parts of that initial phone conversation with Kennedy.

*Chris Kennedy said "I'm very familiar with Brazilian music. I'm really mad about those congas and cha-chas". I started laughing and said that we don't have congas and cha-chas in Brazil but I like the way you sell yourself. We became friends for quite a while. It turned out to be quite good. Again, you
can't compare to the bands back home. We tried to do as close as possible but I knew I couldn't do 100%. We paid for the rehearsals. The rehearsals stopped when the money ran out (de Aguiar: interview Feb. 1984).

Tristão de Aguiar expressed obvious pleasure over the alliance that he also formed with Peter Bates, the Australian trombonist from the 1975 baile, and the respect that Bates earned amongst the Brazilians when, on the night of that baile, Bates ignored a bleeding embouchure and refused to break the uninterrupted flow of music that was, from the Brazilian's perspective, vital to the success of a baile. Conversely, Bates admitted that he was so taken by the rhythmic elements of the musical styles that he had acquired through the musical contact with Tristão de Aguiar, that he photocopied those musical scores of Brazilian Carnaval baile and desfile tunes and performed them to jazz rhythms when working professionally with other Australian jazz musicians.

Tristão de Aguiar added that "Peter Bates and the Australian trumpeter Peter Moran phoned him constantly after their initial involvement in 1975 and offered their services" for future baile celebrations. Thus, after contact with Brazilian musicians such as de Aguiar and João Cardoso, who both had considerable first-hand experience and emic knowledge of the baile rhythms in Brazil, the Australian musicians were also able to provide emic, that is insider's, as well as etic, that is outsider's statements about the function of the new musical style that they had acquired through cross-cultural musical contact. Unlike the Brazilian musicians, however, they were less concerned and aware about changes to the music as evidenced in the way that John Bates freely adapted marcha and samba tunes to pre-existing jazz structures.

Example 8. Original Sydney Marcha - Marcha do Cangurús
(see Vol.II, p.34).

The second musical item chosen for analysis in the discussion of Period 1 is called Marcha do Cangurús (March of the Kangaroos) and was performed at the 1975 Sydney Carnival baile by the composer of the song, Tristão de Aguiar, and Lourenço Forte. Both musicians played guitars and sang. The song was not recorded at that time. The transcription of Example 8 was taken from a recording of the same song by Lourenço Forte at his home in Sydney in 1984. During the recording Forte tried as closely as possible to reproduce the musical elements of the 1975 performance. At Forte's request, the percussive accompaniment heard on the recording was omitted from the transcription as the percussion was an unsolicited intrusion in Forte's reconstruction of the song.
Musical Change

Substitution of thematic material was a major type of change associated with the original marcha - Marcha do Cangurús. As shown in Example 8, the tempo and accompanying rhythm is established before the singing begins. In this introductory section Forte plays the rhythmic ostinato labelled ‘pattern A’. This Pattern A, is produced by the fingers of his right hand which pluck the guitar strings, and a variation of this pattern, marked ‘pattern B’ (see bars 11-13), are the two main patterns used throughout the song accompaniment. The thumb of his right hand either coincides or alternates with the finger movement to produce a bass line which consists of simple ostinati as shown in bars 1-3. Forte remarked that the guitar patterns A and B, the melody and the harmony, were "typical of the types used in traditional urban carnival marcha from Rio de Janeiro and other parts of Brazil" (Forte: interview May 1984); a claim confirmed by professional musician Sergio Teixeira during an interview in Rio de Janeiro when Teixeira listened to a recording of the Sydney composition.26

Figure D
Marcha do Cangurús - Song Text and Translation

Já vai ter Carnaval
na terra dos Cangurús.
A minha fantasia e de Koala
eu vou te dar e pala sair
de Platypus.
Com o samba aqui na Austrália
a turma não se atrapalha,
eu vou pagar pra ver
Inglez e Australiano
botar pra derreter.

There will be Carnaval
in the land of the Kangaroos.
My fancy dress is a Koala
and I will give you a hint to come
out as a Platypus.
For samba here in Australia
the "gang" never gets tangled,
and I will pay to see
Pommies and Australians
letting it all hang out.

The text of the song and translation in Figure D above are by Lourenço Forte. The words refer to the transplantation of Carnaval from Brazil to Sydney and an acceptance and juxtaposition of traditional Australian symbols - Koala, Kangaroo, and

26 Sergio Teixeira was a professional musician in Belo Horizonte (1964-1973), and was sales manager for CID (Companhia Industrial de Discos) Records, Rio de Janeiro for 8 years. CID is best known for its promotion of Brazilian urban traditional and popular musics such as samba-partido-alto, samba batucada, samba-enredo, marcha, choro (see Glossary, Vol.II). Due to his continuous involvement with Brazilian carnival music live and recorded, Teixeira was familiar with what he describes as traditional rhythms of those various styles and changes and trends within those styles over a two-decade period.
Platypus - on and alongside the traditional symbols of Brazilian Carnaval. When questioned about the phrase "the gang never gets tangled", Tristão de Aguiar said that it referred to the previously described confusion over the placement of the strong beat that took place during the rehearsals and the agreement that was reached over that issue (de Aguiar: personal communication 1985).

Marcha do Cangurús - Significance of Analysis in Terms of Folk Model

As demonstrated in the text translation above, the conflict which was a part of the rehearsal structure is manifested in the song text. The resolution of that conflict was clearly of such importance to de Aguiar that it became an essential part of the description of Carnaval in Sydney which, from de Aguiar's perspective, was clearly a positive product of the cross-cultural interaction between the Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians and participants rather than the static preservation of aspects of a traditional Brazilian festive celebration in a foreign location. Thus, one of the most positive results of the interaction between Brazilian and Australian musicians was the introduction of that newly-composed satirical song - Marcha do Cangurús - with its reference not only to the Australianisation of traditional aspects of Brazilian Carnaval, for example, the wearing of the Koala and Platypus fancy dress, but also to the interaction between Australian and Brazilian musicians - "the gang never gets tangled"; and between Brazilian and non-Brazilian participants at the Carnival - "and I'll pay to see Pommies and Australians letting it all hang out". The final line of the song clearly demonstrates de Aguiar's pleasure in seeing Australians participate alongside Brazilians in the 1975 Sydney Carnaval baile.

Change - Summary

The previous section on musical analysis identified the following categories of musical change. Namely:

1) Substitution

1.1) of musical instruments - non-traditional musical instruments were used as substitutes for certain traditional Brazilian baile instruments.

1.2) of playing technique - due either to a lack of knowledge of the traditional Brazilian playing techniques and rhythms associated with a particular percussion instrument, or to compensate for the shortage of musicians and traditional instruments, the musicians played the baile rhythms in a manner not normally associated with that musical instrument in Brazil.
1.3) of thematic material - original song lyrics relating to Carnaval in Australia were juxtaposed over traditional Brazilian Carnaval marcha rhythms instead of lyrics which usually describe carnival events in Brazil.

2) Re-alignment

2.1) of melody and accompaniment - whereby the differences between the Brazilian and non-Brazilian emic-etic interpretations of the fundamental surdo marcha beat \( \frac{2}{4} \) changed the usual alignment between the rhythms of the traditional surdo marcha beat and those of the other instruments and the melody.

Professional or skilled musicians within the Brazilian Sydney population during Period 1 were only few in number. Consequently, all live music performances in the baile re-enactments during Period 1 involved interethnic contact between Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians, all with varying musical backgrounds and carnival related folk models. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, there were contrasting and divergent folk models between those Brazilians with professional pre-migration emic knowledge of Carnaval and those Brazilians who had only acquired their first-hand knowledge of a Brazilian Carnaval baile after their arrival to Sydney.

Professional immigrant musicians such as Tristão de Aguiar and Carlos Lopez had years of professional pre-migration emic experience with traditional social and musical aspects of a Rio baile celebration. On the one hand, it was their reputation as reliable upholders of those very traditions that assured them of continued work as professional musicians in Rio de Janeiro. Nevertheless, free from the usual pre-migration performance constraints such as the traditional balance between marcha and samba during a Rio baile, both musicians freely admitted their willingness to change aspects of the Sydney re-enactments not only to achieve a continuity of their senses of Brazilian identity but also as a part of their general desire to contribute to the broader non-Brazilian Sydney population as Brazilian-Australians.

The significance of the changes that took place during the Sydney baile re-enactments thus varied according to the individual and commonly shared folk models in operation. Brazilian immigrants with professional pre-migration musical experience such as de Aguiar and Lourenço Forte were acutely aware of the numerous ways in which their Sydney baile interpretation had departed from the traditional Rio celebration from a musical viewpoint. While, at times, they all expressed certain frustration over the limitations that they encountered in their attempts to introduce a Brazilian baile into Australia, they nonetheless willingly
accepted the intentional modifications connected with what de Aguiar described as the "planting of the seeds of Brazilian Carnaval in Australia".27

By way of contrast, those Brazilian singers and musicians who totally lacked first-hand pre-migration musical baile experience did not express any noticeable degree of frustration over the shortage of musicians and traditional musical instruments in the Sydney baile ensembles, the substitution of recordings for live performance or the substitution of non-traditional baile musical styles such as bossa-nova and jazz for the traditional marcha and samba. To a further extent, the Australian-born musicians who lacked emic knowledge of the indigenous stylistic features of Brazilian marcha and samba and the baile celebrations, were unaware of the multitude of musical and non-musical ways in which the Sydney re-enactment departed from the Brazilian baile model which the immigrants attempted to imitate, the results of which were evident in Chris Kennedy's carnival "floorshow" - a focal part of the 1976 Sydney baile in which Kennedy sang American versions of popular Brazilians songs that were not connected in any way with a Brazilian Carnaval baile.

Linton defines a 'nativistic movement' as 'any organised attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture'. Linton adds that 'nativistic movements concern themselves with particular elements of culture, never cultures as a whole'.28 Likewise, Ruth Katz's equivalent expression 'revivalist movements' refers to any group that seeks 'to preserve certain aspects of its culture'.29 Due to the vital role of non-Brazilian musicians and participants in the Sydney bailes it would be inaccurate to describe the Sydney bailes as manifestations of a Brazilian revivalist movement. Such a notion assumes the primacy of an overriding consensus of folk model and cultural homogeneity. Immigrants are, however, a vital part of a dynamic network of social cross-cultural daily interaction as evidenced in the case of the Sydney Brazilians.

Bruno Nettl defines the term 'musical impoverishment' as a response of change whereby, 'if complete abandonment of traditional music has not taken place, there certainly has been the abandonment of components, or substantial impoverishment

27 The expression "planting the seeds of Brazilian Carnaval in Sydney" was used by Tristão de Aguiar on a cassette tape that he compiled to commemorate the "history of Brazilian Carnaval in Sydney".


resulting from shifts in musical energy. Difficulties arose through the shortage of Brazilian musicians and the shortage of Brazilian percussion instruments in Sydney. As a result, the Sydney Brazilian musicians were unable to recreate the instrumentation of a typical Rio baile music ensemble. This unavoidable factor resulted in the virtual abandonment of carnival samba music. Even if the samba percussion instruments had been available at that time, there were not enough musicians with the high degree of expertise necessary to produce the virtuosic rhythmic improvisations associated with a samba percussion ensemble.

Difficulties that arose through the shortage of Brazilian musicians, and the shortage of percussion instruments were resolved, however, through substitution or innovation. Non-traditional instruments such as the piano accordion and electric guitar were substituted for traditional instruments such as the cavaquinho (ukelele-like guitar); instruments such as the surdo were modified, the music was modified and non-Brazilian musicians were hired to play alongside the Brazilians. Consequently, the comparatively simpler carnival baile style - marcha - predominated in Sydney during Period 1. Nettl's term 'impoverishment' implies a loss and it would be inaccurate to use such a negative and blanket term to describe the changes which resulted from the interaction of members of a musical ensemble which comprised immigrant and non-immigrant musicians. As pointed out previously, the significance of the substitution of certain traditional musical elements in the Sydney re-enactments varied according to the ethnic and musical background of the musicians and participants and their relevant carnival folk models.

Finally, as stated at the outset (see p.57), prior to field work in Brazil in 1985, my initial research and analysis of the significance of the Sydney baile followed the more traditional lines. In an attempt to demonstrate that a single overriding emic baile folk model guided the Sydney Brazilian's involvement in the bailes, my explanations of change were based more on my own etic notions of continuity in music performed by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney and less on the participants' viewpoints concerning the

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31 During a Carnaval baile in Brazil, besides marcha, the music of carnival samba is also performed. Unlike the music of marcha which features brass instruments, a prominent feature of samba is the sounds of an assortment of percussion instruments. Namely, agogô (iron bells), tamborim (tambourine without jingles), repiniques (side drums), apito (metal whistle), and pandeiro (tambourine without jingles). While those instruments and their musical function in samba will be described in detail in Chapter III, it is suffice to say here that most require a high degree of expertise. Those Brazilian instruments were, in the main, not available for purchase in Sydney at the time of the first Sydney baile celebrations.
significances of those manifestations in Sydney. Consensus of pre-migration/post-migration baile related folk model was assumed to exist within the entire Sydney Brazilian immigrant population and idiosyncratic divergencies were conveniently overlooked or viewed only in light of the popular consensus model. An emic-etic approach to the structure of baile related folk models in Sydney, however, produced an entirely different perspective. Such an approach to change accomodated the presence of those non-Brazilians who were involved. In turn, the participants’ explanations, that is the cross-section of Brazilian and non-Brazilian folk models, became the basis for explanations of change. As demonstrated through the examination of Brazilians - Tristão de Aguiar, Edison Cardoso, Lourenço Forte, and non-Brazilians - Chris Kennedy and Peter Bates, idiosyncratic emic-etic divergence exists not only on the individual level, but it also provides more significant explanations of change.

The previous description of Brazilian musical activity in Sydney during Period 1 and analysis of As Pastorinhias and Marcha do Cangurús has only served to reinforce the argument stated in the conclusion of Chapter I. Namely, that participants may supply emic or etic information or both. In addition, in line with the proposition put forward by Holy and Stuchlik was demonstrated that ‘there is no single overriding model held by all members of a society; there may be a multiplicity of parallel and interrelated models and specific models are being generated through the processing of available information’.32

Such is the case of Brazilian musical activity during Period 1 which resulted from the shared musical interaction between Brazilian and non-Brazilian baile participants. Thus, a reliance exclusively on emic-etic information obtained through participation and observation with the immigrants only in the post-migration location is inadequate as a basis for explanations about changes to the traditional music of recently settled immigrant groups that takes place in the post-migration location.

CHAPTER III

BRAZILIAN MUSIC IN SYDNEY

PERIOD 2 1978 – 1982

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that during Period 1 Brazilian immigrant musical activity revolved primarily around their re-enactment of aspects of a Brazilian Carnaval baile. From the Brazilian’s perspective, those re-enactments, which underwent significant change, enabled the Sydney Brazilians to establish social contact with each other. From the cross-cultural viewpoint the significance of the events and corresponding degrees of musical change varied in accordance with the multiplicity of folk models and varying degrees of emic-etic baile knowledge that existed amongst the Brazilian and non-Brazilian baile musicians and other participants. Apart from those baile re-enactments, which occurred only once a year, little else was organised or available that united the Brazilians on a regular basis.

Between 1976 and 1978 the size of the Sydney Brazilian population increased from 500 to approximately 900. There was also a rapid increase in the other South-American immigrant groups after 1971. In 1976 Sydney’s first South American-born social worker, Samy Sabag was appointed to the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre. With Sabag’s help, Brazilians in Sydney formed a carnival organisation called Sambação. In turn, the re-enactments of Brazilian Carnaval in Sydney came to include re-enactments of elements of the Rio desfiles (carnival street parades which feature fancy dress costumes, floats, singing, dancing, percussive music). The formation of the first Samba School in Sydney, and the members’ subsequent attempts to include the desfile in their carnival adaptations marked a new development in the introduction of Brazilian carnival elements to Sydney.

Chapter III is concerned with the years 1978-1982 (Period 2) of Brazilian immigrant musical activity in Sydney during the years Sambação flourished. Between 1978 and 1982 the organisation went through three significant stages of transformation; the first stage was characterised by an initial predominance of Brazilian-born members, the second stage by interaction between those Brazilians and subsequently enrolled non-Brazilian members; the third stage by the influences of Australian-born members who, during the last stage of Sambação’s existence, outnumbered the Brazilians. In
each case, the varying degrees of Brazilian/non-Brazilian participation and the corresponding array of carnival and desfile folk models operating within the organisation affected the structure and function of Sambação's carnival music and carnival organisation.

Chapter III comprises four main sections. The first section commences with biographical details of certain Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of Sambação. While the changes in Sambação resulted from the interaction between all members, the application of the folk model theme is best demonstrated through a closer study of individual cases. Individual Sambação members Samy Sabag, Allan de Mello, Rinaldo Madeiros, Mauricio Sabbag, Walter da Fonseca, Jim Ross and Craig Leclos were selected on the basis of their contrasting backgrounds, folk models, degrees of carnival experience and the major roles that they played in effecting change in Sambação's desfile presentations and music.

Section two, which follows that biographical information, will commence with a brief summary of the formation of Sambação, its objectives and activities in Sydney between 1978 and 1982. The structural components of the Sambação (Stages 1-3) re-enactments of the Rio desfiles will then be compared with the same components of the actual Rio desfiles. This will provide the basis for the identification of specific, primarily non-musical changes.

The focus in the third main Section will be on musical analysis. Sambação's musical and social activities revolved mainly around samba-enredo - carnival desfile music. Explanations of changes to Sydney samba-enredo rest in part on an understanding of Brazilian samba-enredo and associated folk models. Information from experienced Brazilian musicians in Sydney and Brazil, field work recordings collected during a period of research in Brazil in 1985, and written source material will provide the basis for the identification of musical elements which are central to the samba-enredo musical tradition in Brazil. That information will then serve as a basis for the identification of changes that have occurred in the baterias and selected examples of samba-enredo and desfile music for each Stage of Sambação.

The fourth Section will comprise a summary of those changes, both non-musical and musical that were identified throughout the chapter. The significance of those changes will then be interpreted in terms of the folk models theme (see Chapter I, pp.56-65) for the general Sambação membership and for those specific individual Sambação members whose names appear above.
My involvement with Sambação commenced in 1978 at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre. My experiences as a trumpeter with South-American musicians around that time, and resultant interest in the music of Brazilian samba, led me to Samy Sabag in a quest for background information on samba and the Brazilian Escolas de Samba. He informed me of Sambação's formation and invited me to observe the group's activities. That initial contact with Sabag resulted in nine years of field work (1978-1986) into the musical activities of Sambação and subsequent musical organisations formed by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney.

The literature on samba and my own experiences in Brazil during a period of field work from January to May 1985, provide the basis for information about Carnaval in Brazil. When I first arrived in Brazil I was taken to the home of Sergio Teixeira in Cordovil, a poor suburb in the northern zone of Rio de Janeiro where I was to live for two months. On my first night in Rio de Janeiro I was taken to a rehearsal of an Escola de Samba - Unidos de Lucas (United of Lucas) - a carnival organisation based in Parada de Lucas, a slum district which adjoined Cordovil. Between February and May of 1985 I attended the School's rehearsals, collected interviews and field recordings and participated with the organisation in their 1985 Rio Carnaval desfile.

During my stay in Rio I was able to interview representatives from the Union of Samba Schools, as well as talk with individual members from some of Rio's leading carnival organisations. Later in February, when the carnival celebrations had subsided, I travelled to São Paulo, Recife, Salvador, and Belo Horizonte, Brazil's other main areas of urban carnival activity, where I recorded interviews with prominent carnival figures, collected written source material, and recorded live performances of music.

Sambação – Brazilian Members With First-Hand Pre-Migration Escola de Samba or Desfile Experience

Samy Sabag

Sabag was born in 1947 at Sucre, the Capital of Bolivia. His family owned a succession of small shops. Between 1947 and 1962 Sabag was, due to his father's occupation as self-employed truck driver, a resident of several contrasting urban and rural locations in Bolivia (for example La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz). His lifestyle in Bolivia was modest yet comfortable. From an early age in Bolivia, he played the
acoustic guitar, the *quena* (South American end-blown flute), and sang *huaynos* and *cuecas*, traditional musical styles of the Andean regions of South America.¹

Sabag emigrated to Brazil at 15 years of age where he resided until his move to Australia in 1973. Besides being fluent in Spanish and Portuguese, Sabag was, through musical performance and organisational experience, also familiar with various aspects of the Bolivian and Brazilian folk and urban popular music traditions, especially those traditions associated with Brazilian urban *Carnaval*. For six years Sabag had been an organiser and performing member (dancer) in *Bexiga* (the Bladder), one of the leading carnival organisations in São Paulo, Brazil. Thus, his knowledge of the *Escolas de Samba* and associated carnival traditions was primarily an emic one.

Sabag's history of settlement in Sydney within the time span of this study (1971-1984) is marked by occupational, artistic and personal achievement and mobility. In July, 1977, he was appointed as the first ethnic worker to represent the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking communities in Sydney. In the same year, he formed *Sambação*, Sydney's first Brazilian-influenced carnival organisation. In 1978 he founded the Sydney Festival del Sol, a festival of South-American music and dance that has become a permanent part of Sydney's festive calendar. Due to the diversity of his cultural and musical background and his pre-migration skills, and the flexibility of his attitudes and sense of personal identity as a Bolivian-Brazilian-Australian, as shown throughout this chapter, Samy Sabag has been a major catalyst of change in Brazilian music in Sydney.

**Walter da Fonseca**

Walter da Fonseca was born in São Cristovão, an inner-city suburb approximately six kilometers from Rio's business center. His lifestyle in Brazil was low-middle class and his need for income took priority over the completion of his school education. Walter da Fonseca developed entrepreneurial skills through part-time promotion of his brother's musical group in Rio. That experience helped him to gain employment in the area of advertising. His promotion of certain alcohol-related products involved duties such as design, painting, and drawing. Although he gained a high degree of expertise in that area he lacked formal qualifications, a factor which limited his choice of employment in Australia.

¹ The *huayno*, a national dance-music of Bolivia, is also performed in Peru, Ecuador and northern Argentina. The *cueca*, the national dance-music of Chile, is also found in Bolivia, Argentina and Peru under the same or a different name.
Wanderlei da Fonseca's, Walter's older brother, emigrated to Australia from Rio de Janeiro in 1971 and worked in Dampier, Western Australia. Walter da Fonseca followed in January 1972 and worked there in various low-skilled occupations (labourer, painter, roof repairer, pick and shovel work) from 1972 to 1976. In 1974 he returned to Brazil for a holiday. Despite his drop in occupational status in Australia, he was satisfied with the high pay (by Brazilian standards) that he received. He was not so fortunate in Sydney, however, after his move there in 1977. Indeed, he was unemployed at the time of his initial involvement with Sambação and for a majority of the time between 1977 and 1984.

Whilst living in Brazil, da Fonseca's first-hand involvement with the Rio Escolas de Samba was limited to occasional visits to the quadra (Samba School rehearsal area). His general lack of interest in the Escolas de Samba may have been influenced by his father's disinterest in those carnival organisations. As Walter remarked, his father had migrated to Rio from another state in Brazil primarily to find work and security for his family and he had little if any time for, or interest in, the Rio Escolas de Samba and their music. Regardless of his limited first-hand experience, Walter da Fonseca was familiar with certain elements of those organisations such as the hierarchical structure within a Escola de Samba and the names of the various musical instruments and their general functions in the bateria.

As demonstrated later in this chapter, the Escola de Samba and music of samba-enredo took on a new and different function for da Fonseca in Australia. His involvement in Sambação and the Brazilian Samba Social Centre also resulted in significant changes to the music performed by both Sydney Brazilian carnival groups, most noticeably through the incorporation of percussive improvisations into carnival performances which, in Brazil, usually featured vocal melody throughout.

Sambação – Brazilian Members Without First-Hand Pre-Migration Escola de Samba or Desfile Experience

Allan de Mello

Allan de Mello was born in Algoas in the north-east of Brazil. In 1935 he moved to Bonsucesso, a working-class outer suburb of Rio de Janeiro. Later, through good fortune rather than economic mobility, de Mello, his wife, and children moved to Santa Teressa, a middle-class suburb in Rio's more affluent southern zone. His lifestyle, occupational and economic status in Brazil was described by his daughter Marilane de
Mello as "middle-class". She added that her father was, for reasons of status and personal safety, not interested in the activities of Rio's Escolas de Samba. Like other middle-class white Brazilians, de Mello associated the Escolas de Samba with blacks and violence.

Marilane de Mello added that although her father loved dancing and singing, he "wasn't really into samba and that sort of thing". Alan de Mello's wife was born in Portugal and shared his musical preference for love songs (serenada) and popular European musics. In 1977, at 55 years of age, he travelled alone to Sydney from Rio de Janeiro to join his daughter and son-in-law who had arrived in Australia in 1971. After arrival in Sydney, difficulties with English and isolation from the dominant host society soon after resulted in his loss of occupation, loss of self-esteem and status. At 55 years of age and without English language skills, he was virtually unemployable. Like other Brazilians with negative experiences after emigration to Sydney, he worked out of necessity as a cleaner.

Contrary to the views that he held in Brazil whereby he afforded little if any status to the Rio Escolas de Samba, their members and activities, to overcome his isolation and depression in Sydney, de Mello became actively involved in Sambaçao shortly after its formation in June 1978 (see later pp.212-15). In 1979 he joined Sydney's second School of Samba (the Brazilian Samba Social Centre, see Chapter IV) and was an active member until his death in April 1986. Between 1978 and 1986, de Mello wrote numerous songs and poems about his musical and non-musical experiences as an immigrant and Samba School member in Sydney. As demonstrated later in this chapter, a comparison between his pre-migration and post-migration attitudes and first-hand experiences with the Rio Carnaval, carnival organisations and samba-enredo reveal a complete change of attitude after his emigration to Australia. Aspects of his former Brazilian identity which he openly rejected in Brazil, such as the music and activities of Rio's Escolas de Samba, were a prime aspect of his Brazilian-Australian identity, a fact which is illustrated later through an analysis of the texts of three of his original compositions.

Rinaldo Medeiros

Rinaldo Medeiros was born in Nova Friburgo, a city approximately 80 kilometres north of Rio de Janeiro, where he lived until his emigration to Sydney in 1974. Medeiros lived in a middle-class area in the city centre. Although he completed an apprenticeship as a mechanical engineer in Nova Friburgo, his main occupation in Brazil was that of manager/social director. For example, in one large factory in Nova
Friburgo, Medeiros was responsible for the provision and organisation of food, medical services, social activities, and counselling for the factory workers. In the six year period prior to his move to Australia, he was Managing Director of 'Caledonea' the city's largest country/social club. He was also the principal organiser for the city's annual beer festivals and his duties included the construction of decorative/stage equipment.

Medeiros qualified for immigration to Australia on the basis of his trade qualifications. His move to Australia in December 1974 was prompted by his wife's desire to join her sister who was already established in Sydney. Due to language difficulties, Medeiros suffered a long-term drop in socio-economic and occupational status. Rather than accept welfare, he worked initially as a gardener. A succession of factory jobs followed. His promotions to charge hand and foreman were, as Medeiros claimed, only in name and he was always paid below the union rate designated for those positions of leadership. An industrial accident in 1984 rendered him unemployable. Regardless of the setbacks that he suffered, Medeiros claims an unreserved loyalty to Australia and has made his permanent home here.

Like de Mello, Medeiros had a comfortable middle-class lifestyle in Brazil. Although he liked the music of the Brazilian Carnaval desfiles and Escolas de Sambas, for reasons of status and personal safety, he too refrained from participation in the Escolas de Samba in Nova Friburgo. His knowledge of the Escolas de Samba, desfile and desfile music was primarily an etic one gained through the diffusion of the popular consensus models of the Rio Carnaval promoted through the channels of mass communication in Brazil.

Medeiros became involved with Sambação through his wife Wilma Medeiros. As a Carioca (inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro), she had been an active participant in various blocos (small suburban Samba Schools) and social clubs in Rio de Janeiro. Sambação provided his wife with a vehicle for the maintenance of aspects of her sense of Brazilian identity. In contrast, Rinaldo Medeiros was concerned primarily with the dynamic function of the organisation in projecting aspects of his and his children's sense of Brazilian-Australian identity. As will be shown later in the analysis of Sambação, his flexible attitude towards Sambação caused changes to the Sambação desfiles through his introduction of innovative costume designs. Rinaldo Medeiros took an active role in the organisation of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre, a role which also resulted in changes to the Sydney desfiles, by Brazilian standards (see Chapter IV).
Mauricio Sabbag

An examination of Mauricio Sabbag’s background provides another example of a Sydney Brazilian who adopted significant new modes of behaviour through his involvement with Sambação. Mauricio Sabbag was born and raised in Mato Grosso. His family were cattle farmers and he lived a rural lifestyle with his parents and three brothers in a remote area in the north-east of the state.

Contrasting differences existed between the carnival manifestations in Rio de Janeiro and the northern region of Brazil where he lived (see later p.128). Indeed, there were no Escolas de Samba in Mato Grosso. Due to the nationwide media promotion of the Rio Carnaval and Escolas de Samba, Sabbag’s knowledge of the Rio Carnaval was limited to information gained through the Brazilian media.

Sabbag’s move to Australia in 1977 represented a significant change in his lifestyle (rural to urban) and occupation. The family combined their resources and energies and took over a modern lunch bar/restaurant in a prestigious inner-city Sydney location. Sabbag’s history of settlement in Sydney is one of comparative success. Unlike de Mello and Medeiros who both suffered a drop in status, in keeping with the family’s plan for short-term settlement and financial gain in Sydney, Sabbag achieved upwards mobility in a short period. He was a foundation member of Sambação and his initial position on the Sambação governing committee and subsequent role as director of the Stage 2 bateria afforded him an additional degree of status within the Sambação membership and broader Sydney Brazilian and non-Brazilian population. As demonstrated later in this chapter in the analysis section, his role as director of the Sambação bateria and the static attitudes that he held concerning the function of Sambação in Sydney caused significant organisational and musical changes to Sambação.

Sambação – Non-Brazilian Members
Without First-Hand Brazilian Escola de Samba or Desfile Experience

Jim Ross

Jim Ross was born in 1925 in Gilgandra, a country town in Western New South Wales. His father and other family members were semi-professional musicians. Ross moved to Sydney and worked as a professional saxophonist and flautist in a wedding reception house for 20 years with the same musicians. He had experienced the diffusion of Latin-American musical styles to Australia first through the Latin-
American tunes associated with the Sydney ballroom traditions and later through the *bossa-nova* trends of the 1960s and Latin Rock and jazz fusion albums by American artists such as Santana and Chick Corea. He was conversant with a wide array of popular Western musical styles. Such was the diversity of his musical background that, as Ross himself claimed, "I reckoned I knew every song" (Interview Dec. 1987). His first contact with Sambação was of significant importance in his musical life.

*It impressed me that I had been playing with trios, quartets, and even rock bands all my life. There were 204 carnival songs in the Sambação musical book and I knew 3 of them. I thought I was knowledgeable but I realised then that I only knew songs from the English-speaking World. I used to think that I new about samba until I got mixed up with Samy Sabag and that School of Samba. Then I found out what a good samba was* (ibid.).

**Craig Leclos**

Craig Leclos was born in Sydney, Australia and grew up in Ramsgate, a working-class area in the south of Sydney. As an only child and with both parents working, Leclos’s life was comfortable. He started playing the trumpet at 10 years of age and took trumpet lessons at the music school where Ross taught saxophone. Leclos was 15 when Ross introduced him into *Sambação* in 1981. At that point, Leclos was familiar primarily with pop and rock music.

Such was the impact that Sambação had on him that, after his departure from Sambação in 1983, he became a professional musician and continued to perform with Latin-American musicians in Sydney. In a recent interview, Leclos summarised the effects that Sambação has on his identity, attitudes and awareness of multiculturalism as follows.

*My experiences with Sambação changed the way that I looked at music. In our learning we are not encouraged to be different but there in Sambação, Samy Sabag and the Brazilians always encouraged us to do something new. You could do anything you liked over what the Brazilians were playing and they loved it. It is the only type of music that I ever played that signifies yourself. There was no other cat in the world doing exactly what you were doing* (Dec. 20:1987).

As shown in the above discussion of Ross and Leclos, both musicians were unaware of the traditional Brazilian constraints and practices that regulated the *desfile* and *samba-enredo* traditions in Brazil. Their awareness of the function of Sambação and changes to the Sambação’s music by Brazilian standards, was very different from Brazilian members of Sambação such as Samy Sabag, Walter da Fonseca and the other individuals whose background details were provided above. Indeed, their presence in
Sambaço resulted in significant changes such as the standardisation of repertoire and the inclusion into the Sambaço Stage 3 repertoire of non-Brazilian tunes which, as shown later through musical analysis (see p.231), were 'Brazilianised' through their inclusion of what they regarded as Brazilian-styled percussive sounds and rhythms.

Sambaço - Formation

As stated earlier, in July 1977, Samy Sabag was appointed as the first ethnic worker to represent the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking communities in Sydney. During an interview in June 1983, Sabag described the lack of unity amongst the Sydney Brazilians in the late 1970s: "Unlike most of the South-American ethnic groups, the Brazilians here were not united in any way...they didn't have a club or regular meeting place". In the months that followed Samy Sabag's appointment as community worker at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre, he established contact with various members of the Latin-American Sydney population.

Figure 8. A Rio Carnaval Desfile and the Escolas de Samba
(see Vol.II, p.38).

Figure 8 shows the Rio Escola de Samba - Mangueira - as its members perform in a Rio Carnaval desfile. Mangueira has around three thousand members. In Brazil, there are no prerequisites needed to join an Escola de Samba other than the desire to become involved in the group's social or musical activities. Consequently, Escolas de Samba such as Mangueira, one of Rio's leading groups, may attract thousands of members. While the main focus of each organisation is its participation in Carnaval, other social activities are offered to the members. In turn, these carnival organisations, which are usually community-based, act as networks for social contact and provide the regular members with vital community support systems. During my period of field work in Rio de Janeiro, Luis da Lima remarked that his Samba School Unidos de Lucas "was like a big family where all the people know each other" (da Lima: interview Feb.1985). Djair Martin, President of the Association of Samba Schools in São Paulo, compared the internal structure of his Samba School with the structure of his urban surroundings:

The Samba School is like a process of socialisation. In an Escola de Samba you can find all the different levels just like in a society, from the administrative staff and board of governors to the poorest people in the slums, but the difference with the Samba School is that it allows people to get

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together without having to pay money. In most cases they don't have the money and would not be able to take part in other social activities (Martin: interview March 1985).

Martin's viewpoint, which was shared by all Brazilian Samba School members interviewed in Brazil, emphasised a vital function of the Escola de Samba as a vehicle for social contact and mobility for Brazil's lower income groups. Sabag's duties as a social worker in Sydney involved contact mainly with South-American immigrants who were in need of community support and assistance; more often than not, unskilled immigrants with language difficulties and limited finances.

At the same time, due to his dual sense of ethnicity (Bolivian/Brazilian) and knowledge of South-American customs and traditions, Sabag was aware of certain traditional ethnic and nationalistic differences that inhibited cross-cultural interaction between various South-American cultural groups, particularly in the case of Brazilian immigrants who, being the only non-Spanish speaking group were isolated on a fundamental level of language.

Sabag's commitment to the aims and objectives underlying the community-based Brazilian carnival organisations led him to believe that a carry-over of the Samba School tradition would be beneficial in establishing unity not only among Brazilian immigrants in Sydney, but also between those Brazilians and other non-Brazilian Sydney residents. Sabag, because of his emic perspective, drew on the primary and actual social functions of the Escolas de Samba rather than on a tourist based consensus model.

In a sense, Sabag's concepts regarding the uses and functions of the Samba School were often in direct conflict with certain Brazilian members of Sambação who, through lack of first-hand experience in Brazil, possessed a knowledge of the Escolas de Samba and desfile that was derived primarily from the consensus model of Carnaval. In other words, they didn't know what the Escolas de Samba were about but rather what they were said to be about. The contrasting carnival folk models held by Sabag and certain Brazilian members of Sambação were significant determinants of change in Sambação as will be demonstrated in more detail later in this chapter.

Institutional support facilitated the establishment of Sambação in Sydney. Moreover, Sabag's proposal to establish a Brazilian-styled carnival organisation as a 'development project' gained support from the Board of Governors at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre; the Centre was made available and a succession of gatherings
took place between Brazilian immigrants and other interested persons. Thus, the formation of the first Sydney Samba School – Sambação resulted from an individual rather than a communal initiative.

In 1971, when the first signs of Brazilian musical activity appeared in Sydney, there were only 380 Brazilian immigrants living there (1971 Aust. Census Stats.). In 1978 when Sambação was formed, the Sydney-Brazilian population had increased by around 500 persons. Of the total number of Brazilians in Sydney at that time (an estimated 900 persons - Census Stats.), around 80 of those Brazilians (13%) were actively involved in the subsequent formation and activities of Sambação on a regular basis. As will be demonstrated, the degree of Brazilian involvement in Sambação, while governed by factors such as the priority of work over leisure time, was also reflective of the contrasting and divergent experiences of Carnaval within the Sydney Brazilian population.

Like the permanent members of the Brazilian Escolas de Samba the Brazilian-born members of Sambação were concerned mainly with the promotion of Brazilian Carnaval, particularly with elements of the desfile. The formation of the new association gained momentum when the members responded to an invitation received from the Organising Committee of the Festival of Sydney seeking the group’s participation in the annual week of summer holiday festivities, pageantry and music. The event opened the way for the first re-enactment of a Brazilian Carnaval desfile in Sydney.

As stated at the commencement of this chapter, the first manifestations of Brazilian Carnaval in Sydney (Period 1 1971-1976) were limited to indoor baile re-enactments. The introduction of the first Samba School in Sydney - Sambação - and the members subsequent attempts to include the desfile in their carnival re-enactments marked a new development in the introduction of traditional Brazilian carnival elements to Sydney and the resultant types of socio-musical change. The Escolas de Samba are only one type of Brazilian carnival organisation. Before a discussion of those changes in Sambação (Stage 1) can proceed it is necessary to examine in more detail, the role of the Carnaval and carnival organisations in Brazil.

Figure 9. Brazilian Urban Carnaval – Locations and Organisations
(see Vol.II, p.39).
The Carnaval of Brazil is celebrated annually in various forms throughout Brazil. Carnaval Sunday falls on the seventh Sunday before Easter, thus, Carnaval can be in February or March. The five main urban locations of carnival activity in Brazil are listed in Figure 9. These are: 1) Rio de Janeiro; 2) São Paulo; 3) Belo Horizonte, in the south-east; 4) Recife 5) Salvador, in the north-east. The types of carnival organisations listed under each location in Figure 9 are ranked according to their importance and numbers in the carnival celebrations of their particular areas.

As shown in Figure 9, the carnival organisations in locations 4 and 5 in Brazil's north-east differ noticeably from each other, and from the organisations in locations 1, 2, and 3 in the south-east. In location 4 (Recife) for example, the Clubes de Frevo, described by Kate Real as 'the most famous and traditional carnaval organisations of Recife . . .', and their music the frevo, played by an ensemble of brass and percussion instruments, dominate the Carnaval in that area. By way of contrast, in Salvador (Figure 9, location 5), the Trios Electricos (electrified popular musical ensembles which include synthesisers and electric guitars), have taken first place over the Escolas de Samba and other carnival organisations. Locations 4 and 5 (Recife and Salvador) differ from each other not only in their types of carnival organisations but also in their styles of carnival music. Locations 1, 2, and 3 on the other hand, are more homogeneous in their types of carnival organisations and carnival music.

The principal carnival organisations of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte are the Escolas de Samba (see Figure 9 locations 1, 2, 3). Their carnival theme songs - sambas-enredo - are accompanied by musical groups made up almost exclusively of percussion instruments. Although in Belo Horizonte the Escolas de Samba are featured prominently in the Carnaval, people and the media in that location argue that the Carnaval of Belo Horizonte is unique due to the activities of their organisations called Blocos Caricotas. This argument usually emerges as a reaction to the claims that the Carnaval of Belo Horizonte is an imitation of the Rio de Janeiro Carnaval. Regardless of those claims, there are a sufficient number of common factors

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3 The hierarchical arrangement shown in Figure 9 was compiled from information contained in the book O Folclore do Carnaval do Recife by Katrina Real (1967) in which she ranks the importance of various carnival groups in the north-east of Brazil on the basis of their popularity and role in the carnival manifestations in that area. Additional official documents published by the Brazilian Department of Tourism were used to rank the various carnival groups in the south-east (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte) on the basis of historical factors associated with the development of Carnaval and the Carnaval desfile in those urban areas.

4 Ibid., p. 22.
between the manifestations of *Carnaval* in locations 1, 2, and 3, to distinguish between *Carnaval* in the north-east and south-east of Brazil.

Locations 4 and 5, Recife and Salvador, have the two largest black populations in Brazil. Black Brazilians there have maintained a link with Africa through their Afro-Brazilian religious practices - *Candomblé*, also *Xangô*, known as politically oriented movements such as the *Movimento Negro Unificado* and, more importantly, through their carnival organisations. Writers on Afro-Brazilian culture (Brandão (1976) and Vianna (1981)) agree that members of groups such as the *Maracatu-Nação* in Recife, and *Afoxé* in Salvador, are dedicated to the retention and preservation of certain African social and musical practices that were transported there in the 16th Century. While the African contribution to *Carnaval* in Brazil’s southern region is also well documented, specific African influences are not as clearly visible there as in the north-east, where black carnival participants have, for example, adopted clothing styles and dance steps from Angola and Nigeria.

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5 De Castro, in his discussion of the four principal African ethnolinguistic groups in Brazil (ie. *banto, jeje-mina, ngó-iorubá, haugá*), identified Salvador and Recife as the two most important points of radiation of African Negro cultural manifestations in Brazil (1984:9-11).

6 *Candomblé* is the most popular Afro-Brazilian religious cult manifestation in Salvador, Bahia. During a *Candomblé* ceremony, ritual dancing and drumming are used to bring about spirit possession, whereby the major West African Yoruba Gods are said to enter the bodies of the *Candomblé* initiates. Béhague (1979) noted that the *Candomblé* songs ‘have Yoruba texts, with occasional Portuguese words as exclamations’.

7 *Xangô* (also spelt *Shangô*) is a regional name for the practice of *Candomblé* in Recife, Pernambuco in the north-east of Brazil.

8 The *Movimento Negro Unificado*, also known in Brazil as *Quilombismo* or *Quilombo*, is a political movement founded and run by black Brazilians. While *Quilombo’s* main role is to fight against racism and racial discrimination, it also encompasses a wide variety of Afro-Brazilian social and cultural manifestations which enable black Brazilians to maintain a link with aspects of their African ancestry (see Brandão, 1978).

9 According to Real, the *Maracatu-Nações* (Recife’s oldest carnival organisations) are linked closely with the *Xangô* cults of Pernambuco (1967:75-80).

10 Writers on Brazilian folkloric traditions (Carneiro:1982, Lody:1976) emphasise the connection between *Afoxé* and *Candomblé*. Like the *Maracatu* groups in Recife, the *Afoxé* groups of Salvador incorporate into their carnival performances, ‘hymns in African dialects, the use of percussion instruments, including *atabaques, agogós* and *cabacas* (instruments of African origin), and other ‘symbols’ connected with the African identity of black Brazilians (ibid. p.3).

11 Ample documentation is available which explains the presence of African elements in Brazilian *Carnaval; see for example Baptista Siqueira (1977), and Muniz Jr. (1976). Antonio Riserio (1981) also provides and excellent source of documentation concerning the ‘re-Africanization’ of ‘the new Afro-Brazilian *Carnaval*’. 
In other words, people in Brazil's north-east may hold carnival folk models which contrast and differ from people in Brazil's southern locations. Furthermore, divergent carnival folk models may even exist between two individuals from the same suburb or family whereby for example, one Rio family member may associate more with the symbols and activities of Rio's *Clubes de Frevos* while the other member participates in and consequently shows more support for his local *Escola de Samba*. Once again, a multiplicity of carnival folk models may exist on the individual level, a fact which negates suggestions of a single overriding consentient carnival folk model.

Regardless of the variety of carnival manifestations and folk models in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo are regarded as the two main centres of urban *Carnaval* and *Escola de Samba* activity in Brazil. Also, due largely to the promotion and sponsorship of the Rio *Carnaval* by government agencies and private enterprise who promote the popular consensus model in order to help maintain the level of tourist activity, Rio de Janeiro is regarded as the more important of those two locations and continues to be the model used by the principal carnival organisations, that is the *Escolas de Samba*, of São Paulo and Belo Horizonte.\(^\text{12}\)

**Figure 10. Samboacao – Pre-Migration Locations of Brazilian Members**
(see Vol.II, p.40).

Figure 10, compiled from information obtained from Brazilian members whose names appear on official Samboacao membership lists (1979),\(^\text{13}\) demonstrates the range of Brazilian locations where Samboacao's Brazilian members had resided before their arrival in Australia. Most of Samboacao's 57 Brazilian adult members (children's names not included on membership lists) were from four main Brazilian urban locations: 1) São Paulo (38%) 2) Rio de Janeiro (22%) 3) Nova Friburgo (22%) 4) Belo Horizonte (13%). The remainder (5%) were from the Brazilian states Bahia and Mato Grosso.

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\(^\text{12}\) The claim made by Brazilian *Carnaval* devotees that the Rio *Carnaval* serves as a model for the carnival manifestations in São Paulo and Minas Gerais is supported in the literature. Sergio Cabral for example, wrote that the *Escolas de Samba* of Rio de Janeiro have had significant influence on the *paulistas* (locals of São Paulo) through the importation of the 'carioca know-how' (1974:47-48 my translation). Likewise, Ramos Hissa (President, Union of Samba Schools, Belo Horizonte) noted that the *Escolas de Samba* of Belo Horizonte in the 1960s emerged as a direct result of the influences of the *Escolas de Samba* of Rio de Janeiro (interview 1985).

\(^\text{13}\) During his leadership of Samboacao, Sam Sabag kept official documents relating to Samboacao as a part of his duties at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre. Copies of those documents were obtained during field work in Sydney in 1980.

\(^\text{14}\) Nova Friburgo is a large city located approximately 80 kilometres north of Rio de Janeiro.
Regardless of the variety of pre-migration locations of Sambação's Brazilian members, the *Carnaval* of Rio de Janeiro was chosen as the carnival model used by those Brazilian immigrants in Sydney who supported the Sydney carnival re-enactments. Written guidelines for the formation of the first Sydney School of Samba – Sambação – were based on a Brazilian document that was formulated by the Department of Education of the State of São Paulo, Brazil in 1974 and used in the schools as a model for the assembly of Rio-style 'mini-escolas de samba'.

Cultural differences that may have stemmed from the contrast in pre-migration locations and contrasting carnival folk models between certain locations such as Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, seemed to diminish in the light of an apparent consensus as to the importance of the Rio *Carnaval* amongst Brazilian members of Sambação. The reason for this consensus may have been that a majority of those involved came from urban locations in Brazil's south-east where the *Escolas de Samba* are officially rated as the most important carnival organisations. Also, as one Brazilian member of Sambação, Ceasar Perazzo stated, "the Rio *Carnaval* was the most known internationally" (Perazzo: personal communication 1988).

When questioned over their choice of the Rio *Carnaval* as a model for the formation of Sambação, Brazilian members of Sambação, with the exception of a few individuals, agreed that, as the Rio *Carnaval* was the most famous inside and outside of Brazil, it set the standard for their carnival re-enactments in Sydney. Most were aware of certain popular notions associated with Brazilian *Carnaval* and their choice of the Rio model may, as was suggested by Perazzo, also have been influenced by their desire to elect a model that already had a high status and reputation on an international level. For example, a re-enactment of Afro-Bahian elements of Bahian *Carnaval* would not have conformed with what they perceived as the Australian perception of a 'Brazilian' *Carnaval*. Thus, in line with the carnival folk model elected by those Sydney Brazilians, the Rio *Carnaval* will remain the focus of attention in dealing with the aspects of Brazilian *Carnaval* that follow.

**Rio Carnaval - Status of Festivity**

As mentioned briefly in Chapter II (see p.68), due to the popularity and commercialisation of the Rio *Carnaval*, it is, in theory, rated high in status by Brazilians and tourists alike. Information contained in Riotur, a booklet published

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by the Brazilian Tourist Authority, promotes *Carnaval* in Rio as ‘a time when one can see members of all social classes in a collective fraternisation . . . there is a kind of rare integration during the carnival festivities - the integration of people with different social and economic backgrounds’.

In accordance, *Carnaval* is described in the National Encyclopedia of Brazil as a celebration ‘sem distinções de raça, de classes sociais, de crenças ou de opiniões políticas’; that is ‘free of racial discrimination, distinction of social class and political opinion’.

This superficial, yet popular image of *Carnaval*, is upheld through the channels of mass communication (tourist organisations, radio, television, newspapers) that work jointly to promote the Rio *Carnaval* to tourists from all parts of the world. There are, however, many basic contradictions to that popular consensus model.

My own observations of, and participation in the 1985 Rio carnival *desfile* have led me to support Goldwasser’s notion of the *desfile* in Rio as the ‘crystalization of anti-structure’.

During the Rio *desfile*, class barriers are broken down not merely through the mixing together of people of different social classes, but rather through a process of ‘inverted status’ described by Goldwasser as follows:

*In Carnaval, men can change clothes and dress as women, adults as babies, the poor as princes . . . which means that carnaval opens possibilities for a magical inversion of status and a negation of the barriers that exist between the classes and social categories.*

To the dismay of many Brazilians, particularly those who seek upwards social mobility, this process of inverted status lasts only during the four days of *Carnaval*. Although, as stated by Goldwasser, the Rio *Carnaval* and *Escolas de Samba* have felt the effects from ‘the invasion of the middle class’ (Government agencies, private enterprise, individual entrepreneurs), the *Escolas de Samba* continue as symbols of identification primarily for Brazil’s poorer masses.

Brazil is a country with a high rate of illiteracy. Consequently, for the ‘illiterate, inexperienced, and technically untrained (mainly black Brazilians) jobs are hard to


17 *National Encyclopedia of Brazil*, s.v. ‘Carnaval.’


19 Ibid (my translation).
Upward social mobility, while possible, is hard to attain due to the rigid structure of Brazilian society. Poppino identified some of the requirements and constraints placed on the individual moving upward in Brazilian society when he wrote that:

\[\ldots \text{all avenues of social mobility -- except for certain areas of sports and entertainment} \text{demand at least some formal education. Members of the illiterate mass of the population -- sometimes described as the infra-lower class-have no real chance to change their social conditions.}\]

In Brazil, the media reports of Carnaval, while containing a certain amount of accuracy, tend to emphasize the commercial aspects of the desfile such as the brief bikinis, and disregard the significance of Carnaval for the thousands of poor Brazilians; particularly those poor black Brazilians - the dedicated sambistas and pastôras (Samba School devotees) from the slums in Rio's northern zones who continue their commitment and dedication to their samba organisations long after the streets have emptied of carnival revellers and the richer, transient members of the organisations have returned to the security of their homes, having discontinued their involvement with the Escola de Samba until the next Carnaval.

The Rio desfile is a product of the Escolas de Samba and, regardless of the degree of sponsorship involved, it may be argued that the true success of the event stems from the creativity and imagination of the sambistas - members of those carnival organisations. Tinhorão, in his examination of the origins of the Brazilian urban carnival wrote that the birth place of the Samba Schools was in the favelas; lower-class communities that contained a large number of the Negro population. Other writers on Brazilian culture (Béhague 1980, Burns 1971, Camacho 1954) confirm that the inhabitants of the favelas have made a significant contribution to the music of urban

\[\ldots\]

24 Burns, A History of Brazil.
Carnaval. Béhague, in his discussion of samba - the most popular form of contemporary urban carnival music in Brazil wrote that

_The urban [carnival] samba became standardized during the 1920s, particularly in Rio de Janeiro .... Several species of the form appeared from the late 1920s to the mid-1940s including the samba de morro, sometimes referred to as batucada, cultivated by the people of the favelas (hillside slums) of Rio de Janeiro._\(^{26}\)

Camacho also acknowledged this important aspect of the contribution of the Brazilian Negro to Carnaval when, in 1954, he wrote that:

_Even today, the majority of the popular and successful carnival songs originate in the favelas, or shanty districts, on the hills of Rio de Janeiro, in much the same way as the calypsos of Trinidad._\(^{27}\)

Now, thirty years after Camacho's observations, the favelas and favela dwellers are still recognised as the main sources of creativity and inspiration for the Carnaval of Rio de Janeiro as evident in the following statement by Sergio Cabral, Brazilian author and leading authority on Carnaval and the Escolas de Samba.

_The Schools of Samba first appeared in the suburbs populated by the lowest levels of Rio's population at that time ... the favelas [slums] in the suburbs. Although it changed a bit with the passing of years it's still this strange phenomenon. In the southern zones of Rio, the richest part of the city with its middle to high-class populations, there are very few Samba Schools. The Schools of Samba in the northern zone are creations of the regions where the populations are of much lower class ... Schools of Samba are a phenomenon of a particular social class and above all, a phenomenon of the negro culture (Cabral: interview, Rio de Janeiro April 1985 my translation)._
The people in the bateria [percussion section of a Samba School] are usually those in the lower margins of society; people of the favelas [slums]. Black people who have this rhythmical condition that is a way of letting out their feelings about their surroundings. Take the person who plays the surdo [large drum]. When that black man beats the surdo, he demonstrates what he wants to speak and the more this individual suffers, the better he becomes rhythmically. He sums up there, deep in his soul, all of his energy. It's an aglutination of the lack of respect he receives from society, his frustration, and he expresses these feelings through his Samba School because through the group he can express his individuality (my translation).

The previous discussion has identified some of the contrasting Brazilian and non-Brazilian concepts and notions regarding the uses and functions of Brazilian Carnaval and the Escolas de Samba. Indeed, a significant factor generally ignored on the broadest level is the vital function of the desfile and Escolas de Samba as vehicles and symbols of black Brazilian identification. Sambistas, whether black or white, can provide a level of emic carnival information that may be in direct contrast or disparity with an emic level of information provided by a Brazilian spectator of a desfile. Such a contrast in folk models is even evident on the level of language. Gardel identified such a contrast when he wrote that

The mode of expression of the sambista is also quite peculiar, very much his own, and includes a rich and imaginative choice of words and phrases. One of the most important verbs in his vocabulary is sair (to come out, or perhaps better: to sally forth). Sair, for the ordinary Carioca [resident of Rio de Janeiro], means to take part in the carnival festivities. For the sambista, sair is to take part in the parade with his escola. But it is much more than that: sair is to leave behind the monotony of daily life in the suburb, or the miserable shanty in the morro, and sally forth to conquer Avenida Vargas, Avenida Rio Branco or Praça Onze. Sair, therefore, is tantamount to entering into the world of unreality which is the very essence of carnival.28

Carnival Desfiles in Sydney

Sambação – Stage 1 1977-1979

As stated earlier, in the years 1968 to 1974 thousands of Chileans, Uruguayans and Argentinians fled to Australia ‘largely to escape from the political and economic changes in their countries which seriously threatened their way of life’.29 In most cases, political refugees and other immigrants from those countries came to Australia

28 Gardel, Escolas de Samba, 91-2.

as assisted settlers. The usual difficulties common to non-Anglophone immigrants notwithstanding, most settled into Australia with a long-term plan of residency. Australian government census statistics confirm that the bulk of those settlers remain in Australia and that the populations of those respective South-American ethnic communities continue to increase.30

By way of contrast, information obtained from interviews with Brazilians in Sydney over the past seven years has confirmed the opinion expressed by Bebir (Brazilian Consulate's Department, Sydney) that "for most Brazilians in Sydney, the trip to Australia was seen as a kind of working holiday" (Bebir: personal communication May 1983). Most Brazilians emigrated to Australia as unassisted settlers. Many of Sambaçaô's Brazilian members informed me that they had borrowed the air fare in Brazil and repayed the debt with their Australian earnings; a task accomplishable due to the favourable differences between the Australian and Brazilian economies. Government census statistics confirm that the bulk of Brazilian immigrants have been short-term settlers.31

Such was the case with many of Sambaçaô's original members. Several Brazilian families who were involved with Sambaçaô Stage 1 created 'trial and error' businesses such as milk bars or restaurants with the firm intention of accumulating sufficient funds to return to Brazil and re-establish themselves in a higher socio-economic bracket.32 Nevertheless, as is often the case with non-Anglophone immigrants, only a small percentage of Sambaçaô's members achieved occupational mobility. Field work in Sydney revealed that most of Sambaçaô's members were employed in the unskilled areas of the Australian labour force; many experienced language problems and a high percentage were unemployed. Regardless of their relative upward economic mobility by Brazilian standards, most members of Sambaçaô moved into the lower-stratum of Australian society. For some individuals, Sambaçaô provided a potential escape from the reality of negative aspects associated with their emigration to Australia. As Sabag remarked:


32 The expression 'trial and error' was used by Kitano (1975) in his demographic study of post-War Japanese immigrants in America to describe the types of businesses (mainly those which required little if any formal qualifications, such as food or cleaning businesses) which helped in the establishment of a Japanese lower-middle class in America by providing those immigrants with a means by which they could acquire social and economical mobility.
Besides expressing a desire to maintain ties with their homeland through the formation of a Samba School, the members also hoped that participation in Sambação would help to overcome the lack of public recognition that they received as individuals and as an ethnic group (Sabag: interview 1980).

A comparison of the pre-migration (Brazil) and post-migration (Sydney) status of the Brazilian Escolas de Samba may throw light on the function of Sambação as a vehicle not only for the maintenance of identity, but also for the achievement of improved status. In addition to those factors outlined earlier in this chapter (see pp.130-133), the status of the Brazilian Escolas de Samba and their members is connected with factors such as the size of the organisation; the Samba School's success in the Carnaval desfile; sponsorship through legal avenues such as Government Tourist agencies (Embratur, Riotur, Belotur), or Brazil's illegal gambling syndicates - the 'Jogo de Bicho', as well as sponsorship through private enterprises such as Coca-Cola.33

When elements of the Rio Carnaval were transplanted into Sydney through the Sydney carnival organisation Sambação, many of the conceptual, ritualistic and social factors were found not to be transportable. Nevertheless, it is possible to compare the pre-migration and post-migration situations using the following three determinants which are common to both Rio and Sydney, namely: (1) Location, (2) Competitive Success, and (3) Internal Organisation.

Location

A survey of statistics obtained in Rio de Janeiro, when combined with information from the Association of Samba Schools of Rio de Janeiro, confirmed Cabral's earlier report (see p.133) that a majority of the Escolas de Samba are located

33 Two schools of thought exist in Brazil regarding the effects on Carnaval that have resulted from the 'invasion of the middle-class' (ie. Government agencies, private enterprise, individual entrepreneurs etc.). Some argue that over-commercialisation of the Rio Carnaval marked a decrease in 'the people's participation in the creation of each Carnaval', resulting in a movement away from the 'humble origins' of the Samba Schools with their 'deep-rooted traditions of the Past' (Riotur, 1979:29). Others welcome 'middle-class involvement' in Carnaval, claiming that it not only enhanced the quality of the Samba School presentations but also enabled upward social mobility for less fortunate participants who made use of the 'middle and upper class resources' connected with the event (e.g. recording companies, publicity funds) (Hissa: interview Belo Horizonte 1985). Leaders of Brazil's illegal gambling syndicate – the Jogo do Bicho (game of animals) provide a significant source of funding for the Brazilian Escolas de Samba particularly in Rio de Janeiro.
in Rio’s poorer northern zones. For example, of the total number of organisations registered with Rio’s Association of Samba Schools in 1978 (44), 63% were located in areas classified officially as ‘favelas’. Because of their locations, which have remained unchanged since the 1930s, many of those Samba Schools are, often without cause, associated with violence. Goldwasser, in her detailed study of the Rio Escola de Samba - Mangueira (1978) for example, wrote of the warnings she received from friends concerning her safety whilst researching in the Mangueira area. Likewise, during my period of field work in Rio de Janeiro in 1985, I was constantly warned of the likelihood of being robbed or mugged when I told people that I was attending the rehearsals of Unidos de Lucas located in Parada de Lucas (one of Rio’s worst reputed favela areas).

As a rule, Escolas de Samba in areas such as Parada de Lucas have a low status among non-members who occupy Rio’s better class areas. In contrast, carnival organisations such as Beija-Flor and Unidos da Tijuca, in Rio’s more affluent southern zones, have a higher status due to the prestige of the areas where they are situated. While the Escolas de Samba in the poorer districts admit visitors, the bulk of their members are generally regular attenders and residents of the area where the organisation is located. By contrast, the richer organisations are promoted and recommended as "open" to tourists who wish to witness an Escola de Samba at rehearsal. In fact, tourist involvement with the "better located" organisations has not only enhanced the status of many of those organisations but has also provided those organisations with valuable means of funding as non-members - and tourists ("gringos"), are normally charged an entry fee for admission into the rehearsal area.

As is the case with the poorer Escolas de Samba of Rio de Janeiro, location affected the status of the Sydney Samba School Sambação. Sambação was initially linked with the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre where rehearsals took place, and with the Garibaldi Centre, another community centre situated in a "red light" area of Darlinghurst. The non-prestigious locations of both community centres, and the presence of a Sydney motor bike gang at the Garibaldi Centre not only caused some members to leave Sambação, but also dissuaded new Brazilian members from joining

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34 The Administrative Centre for the Region of Penha, Rio de Janeiro, holds copies of statistics compiled by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Institutions which identify the 'favelada' (slum) areas of Rio de Janeiro and their relative populations. The Association of Escolas de Samba of Rio de Janeiro (AESCRI) lists the names and locations of the Samba Schools that participate in the Rio Carnaval. Cross-referencing enabled identification of those Escolas de Samba that were located in 'favela' areas.

35 Goldwasser, O Palacio do Samba, 121.
the Samba School. In addition, when, as an alternative to the previously mentioned venues, Samy Sabag arranged that rehearsals and performances take place at the Australian Communist Party Centre in 4 Hay Street, Sydney, alarm grew among certain members who either withdrew from the organisation or openly questioned Samy Sabag’s suitability as leader of their association. Many were afraid of the possible repercussions that could arise through affiliation with a communist group in Sydney should they decide to return to Brazil.

At the time of Sambaçao’s first desfile re-enactment as part of the 1979 Festival of Sydney, Sambaçao functioned with approximately 60 regular members, which then represented only 10% of the total Sydney Brazilian population. Other Brazilians who were interviewed at that time told me that although they were interested in the philosophies, aims and objectives that underlined Sambaçao, the times allocated for meetings and rehearsals often clashed with their working hours. As most were short-term settlers, work and wages were often their highest priority. I was also informed that, due to the association in Brazil of the Escolas de Samba with the lower-class urban slum dwellers, some Brazilians did not wish to be associated with a community-based Sydney organisation that sought to preserve or project those aspects of their pre-migration culture. The following quotation illustrates in more detail the situation in Sambaçao at that time:

Sambaçao’s Brazilian members were mostly from Brazil’s low paid working-class populations. Before arriving in Australia many had worked as fisherman, factory hands, farmers, industrial workers. They were involved with Sambaçao on a regular basis. During the carnival re-enactments, however, you would see lots of faces that you wouldn’t see during the year . . . professional Brazilians who, as is the case in Brazil, were only involved with the Samba School during Carnaval (Lourenço Forte: interview December 1985).

Thus, while the introduction of a Samba School in Sydney provided a vehicle for social contact and symbol of identity for some Brazilians, at the same time, the emergence of Sambaçao divided the Sydney Brazilian population along the same lines of the class and social boundaries as occurred in the Brazilian Escolas de Samba, an example of the ways in which the diversity of carnival folk models in Brazil were extended to Sydney.

36 During some of Sambaçao’s rehearsals which I attended at the Garibaldi Centre, Darlinghurst, some members were intimidated by the unwanted presence of members of a Sydney motor bike gang, who were attracted by the loud music. As a result, Brazilian involvement in Sambaçao diminished noticeably around that time.
Competitive Success

For the dedicated sambistas (Escola de Samba members), the main attraction of Brazilian Carnaval is the desfile. The first parades took place in Rio de Janeiro in 1935. In the years that followed, members of the Escolas de Samba in São Paulo, Belo Horizonte and other urban centres introduced elements of the Rio desfile into their carnival celebrations. The desfile serves an important function in the Rio Carnaval: it provides the members of each organisation with a fixed goal - the opportunity to emerge as the winners of a particular category, or better still, to emerge as the number one organisation overall; the champions of the parade. Patronage and funding from richer, transient members of the 'better located' Escolas de Samba provide those wealthier organisations with a distinct advantage in the desfile. Nevertheless, individual members from both the rich and poor sectors have gained fame and fortune via their competitive achievements. In the case where a poorer Escola de Samba such as Unidos de Lucas wins the event, or a category within the main event (for example, best original theme song), the status of that organisation is enhanced greatly despite the probable low status of its location.

When Sambação was formed in Sydney in 1979 it was the only Brazilian-modelled carnival organisation in Australia. Status through competitive achievement was not only impossible in the new cultural location but also, as indicated by Sabag, not intended for Sambação. Due to the divergent carnival folk models that existed within the Sydney Brazilian population Sambação did not achieve a high status among Brazilians in Sydney. By way of contrast, the uniqueness of the group by Australian standards drew non-Brazilian attention to Sambação. Australian-born spectators were generally unaware of the greatly diminished size of the Sydney Samba School in comparison with the Rio Schools. Nor were they aware of the competitive elements which surround the Rio Schools and Carnaval desfiles but were missing in the Sydney desfiles. In turn, in keeping with the non-Brazilian Western carnival folk models, Australians may have automatically associated Sambação’s carnival activities with the popular consensus notions of Rio and Carnaval and afforded the group an unusually high status.

In turn, the uniqueness of Sambação in Sydney earned the organisation money in the form of government grants, substantial profits from their public performances, and the respect of non-Brazilians who joined the group. Accordingly, as is the case in Brazilian Samba Schools, some of the Brazilian members of Sambação were attracted more by the prospect of achieving elevated personal status or financial profit through the organisation than by the broader communal philosophies.
Internal Organisation

The internal organisation of a Brazilian Escola de Samba is a hierarchical one which has, according to Gardel, 'adopted the outward trappings of the democratic form of government'. There exists in an Escola de Samba a definite hierarchical order from the "Presidente" at the top through to the "componentes em geral" – "components in general" (Hissa: Interview Belo Horizonte 1985). The positions at the top of the hierarchy are positions of high status and the occupants make full use of the associated formalities. Gardel's description of the action of the members of the board during a Brazilian Samba School meeting could well describe the actions of Sambação's Board of Governors during the formation of Sambação Stage 1. The Sambação meetings were frequent, loaded with ceremony, and important issues which required immediate resolution were lost in the elaborate rhetoric of the those assembled.

The participants address one another in the politest terms, frequently using the traditional form of the Brazilian Parliament: "Your Excellency" and "My illustrious Friend". The speeches are long, sometimes too long. The orators evidently enjoy to the full the music of their own voices. There is much rhetorical emotion thrown about... Because of the late start the meetings go well into the night... all sorts of matters are discussed often vehemently and endlessly.

From August 1978 onwards, the membership of Sambação increased steadily. Only a few members had had experience as organisers or members of an Escola de Samba in Brazil. Nevertheless, in keeping with the Brazilian Samba School traditions, the usual tasks associated with the preparation for a Samba School desfile performance were distributed amongst the Sydney members. Duty officers were chosen to direct the various sections of Sambação in areas such as fund-raising, costume design, choreography, and public relations. While individuals were elected to the board of governors, Samy Sabag as initiator of the organisation, automatically assumed the role of President; an action which later caused dissension among members of Sambação. Naturally, a few of the more assertive members sought positions of high status much the same way as in the Brazilian organisations.

Although Sambação Stage 1 was established following patterns laid down by its Brazilian models, changes were made to the club's written aims and objectives to allow for the adaption of the Brazilian samba organisation to the Sydney environment. These aims were:

37 Gardel, Escolas de Samba, 63.
38 Ibid., p. 69.
To promote and preserve the language and dialects, culture, art, folk music, sport and welfare of the Brazilian community in New South Wales.

To participate in annual festivals and to promote the Carnival of Brazil - street carnival (desfile) and Salon carnival (baile).

To participate at National and other festivals in Australia.

To promote good will between those of Brazilian origin and others in Australia.  

Furthermore, as a majority of the Brazilians members lacked first-hand emic knowledge of the structure and functions of a Brazilian Escola de Samba they were, in many ways, more flexible with regards to change. The club's constitution clearly demonstrated the association's initial awareness and concern for the possible social and artistic benefits of contact between Brazilian-born and non-Brazilian Sydney residents. Accordingly, when Sambaçao participated in the 1979 Festival of Sydney, approximately 23% of the total adult membership comprised non-Brazilians, namely persons from Australia, Argentina, Chile, England, New Zealand, Peru and Portugal. Their presence in Sambaçao added to the already existing divergency of carnival folk models operating within Sambaçao and their inclusion in Sambaçao affected the social and musical organisation of Sambaçao in ways which will be demonstrated later in this chapter.

Changes to Organisational Structure – Sambaçao Stage 1 1978-1979

Brazilian members of Sambaçao Stage 1 were concerned primarily with the re-enactment and promotion of elements of the Rio desfile. To accommodate a desfile re-enactment in Sydney, Sambaçao members found it necessary to change their desfile not only because of the change in location, Brazil to Sydney, but more importantly, to compensate for their lack of first-hand desfile involvement and musical experience. Only 5 of Sambaçao's 100 members had been regular members of a Escola de Samba in Brazil. Namely, Samy Sabag (São Paulo), Lourenço Forte (Belo Horizonte), 'Soccer' (Rio de Janeiro), João da Silva (Rio de Janeiro), João Cardoso (Belem/Rio de Janeiro).

Figure 11. A Comparison of Samba School Components – Escolas de Samba (Rio) and Sambaçao (Sydney)  
(see Vol.II. p.40).

39 Sambaçao Document 1. Official documents associated with the formation of Sambaçao. The documents were collected and prepared by Samy Sabag as part of his duties as social worker at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre.
To evaluate specific changes in the Sydney desfiles, structural elements of the Brazilian and Sydney Samba Schools and desfiles were compared as shown in Figure 11. The above-listed musicians were familiar with the structural elements of the Brazilian Escolas de Samba through first-hand experience and were able to provide emic information when questioned on those aspects. Interviews with other members of Sambação revealed, however, that those Brazilians with less first-hand experience were still familiar with the major structural components\(^{40}\) of the desfile and Escola de Samba. This is perhaps due to the vital role that certain structural components play in the assessment of each Samba School’s desfile performance for the competitors, and their dissemination through Rio’s official promotional channels (newspapers, tourist magazines, desfile score cards).

Column A, Figure 11, lists the traditional components of a Rio Escola de Samba. That list was adapted from the list of ‘componentes’ proposed by Jório and Araújo and modified slightly (re-ordered and compartmentalised) for the purpose of this thesis.\(^{41}\) Columns B, C, and D in Figure 11 represent the three main stages of Sambação throughout its span of existence as the membership, which commenced with a majority of Brazilian-born members (Stage 1), gradually shifted to a majority of Australian-born members during the final stages of the organisation (Stage 3). Before continuing with a definition of each Brazilian ‘component’ and an evaluation of the changes to components in Sambação (Stages 1-3), it is first necessary to explain the function of the enredo; the principal factor which determines the structure and continuity of the ‘component’ aspect of a Brazilian Escola de Samba.

**Enredo**

The enredo, listed in Figure 11, Column A, is the principal organising element of a Brazilian Escola de Samba. As a traditional part of the Rio desfile, every Escola de Samba chooses its own theme or plot which normally depicts a social issue or historical plot that has taken place in Brazil. This plot, referred to as the enredo, determines not only the style of costumes to be worn during the desfile, the resulting choreography and decoration of the floats, but also the essential structure of the Escola

\(^{40}\) The use of the term ‘components’ (‘componentes’) as a principal category for the discussion of the structuring of a Brazilian Escola de Samba was influenced by the frequent use of the word by Brazilian carnival participants, and writers on the Brazilian Escolas de Samba (e.g., Goldwasser 1975, Muniz Jr. 1976, see bibliography). Goldwasser for example, noted that in Brazil, the term is used specifically for the Escolas de Samba in connection with their carnival dances and presentations (1975:66-7).

de Samba. Moreover, the structural elements (components) of each School must conform to a model to enable a School to present a performance suitable for evaluation in the desfile, which is a highly competitive event. For that reason, irrespective of urban location (Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, São Paulo), all competitive Brazilian Escolas de Samba have the same number and type of components as dictated by tradition.

Sambistas and Pastôras

The term 'sambista' (see Fig.11, Column A) in Brazil is a flexible one. In the broadest sense, a sambista is any Escola de Samba member who is adept at singing, playing or dancing the samba.42 Accordingly, Jório and Araújo described the sambista in the following manner:

*The sambista is a functional unit of the Escola de Samba. Orthodoxically defined, a sambista is anyone who can dance, sing or play a percussion instrument.*43

While the flexible term 'sambista' may be considered as a functional unit, a second term - 'pastôras' - is also used in specific reference to the female members of a Brazilian Escola de Samba.

Interviews with Brazilians in Brazil (Cabral, da Cuica, Martin) and written sources (Muniz Jr., Goldwasser) confirm that there are no prerequisites needed to join a Samba School other than the desire to become involved in the organisation's social or musical activities. For example, Jório and Araújo wrote:

*The main quality for a sambista is his love for his School. There he is integrated into it, either dancing, singing, playing, song writing or exercising functions in relation to organisation.*44

Investigation has shown, however, that when discussing their function, the sambistas and pastôras in a Escola de Samba are divided into the two separate categories listed in Figure 11 as Non-Specialists and Specialists. The terms

42 At the same time, the term 'sambista' is usually reserved for the dedicated carnival participant; 'the 'authentic' sambista - uninhibited, bohemian, fanciful, overgenerous, with his peculiar modes of expression' (Gardel, 1967:89-95).


44 Ibid.
'Non-Specialists' and 'Specialists' were adapted from the Portuguese terms 'nao especializados' and 'especializados' which appear in the book by Jório and Araújo.45

On the one hand, the non-specialists (see Fig.11, Column A) are those members who are not required to display or refine any individual specialist skills such as compositional or instrumental skill in order to participate in a Escola de Samba and its desfile presentation. In turn, the non-specialists dance and sing together in the various groups within a School called alas (wings), and their contribution to the overall effect stems from a collective rather than individualistic contribution. In contrast, the sambistas and pastôras who are 'specialists' make up the components listed in Figure 11, Column A under the same heading. Those members contribute to the School's desfile organisation and presentation in areas such as musical composition, creative singing, director of the percussion section (bateria), solo singer, areas where previous experience is a prerequisite to a quality performance.

In the initial stages of Sambação's formation, marked as Stage 1, Column B of Figure 11, a majority of the members fitted into the non-specialist category. As stated earlier, only a few members told me that they had had any first-hand experience with an Escola de Samba in Brazil. Nonetheless, all assured me that they had witnessed the event either live, or via television. One Brazilian immigrant Lourenço Forte, remarked that "it was impossible to ignore the Rio desfile as it was always televised live in its entirety to all of Brazil's major locations" (Forte: interview Sydney 1982).46

Specific changes to Sambação's first desfile performances will be identified in the following comparison between the individual components of Sambação Stage 1 and components of a typical Brazilian Escola de Samba as shown in Figure 11. The shaded squares in Figure 11 reflect the inclusion of certain Brazilian desfile components in each stage of Sambação.

Carnavalesques

The carnavalesques (see Fig.11, Column A) invent the School's enredo (narrative theme) and plan the styles of costumes, decorations and floats that will most effectively transmit their chosen theme to the parade spectators. Muniz Jr. described the carnavalesque and his/her responsibilities as follows:


46 My own observations in Brazil support Forte's comment regarding the impact of Carnaval via the Brazilian media. The 1985 Carnaval was televised in Rio in its entirety and was a constant subject of discussion wherever one went.
A camavalesque is a person who writes and develops the enredo (narrative theme); supervises the construction of the floats, decorations and fancy dresses; allocates people to the various sub-groups (‘alas’) within the organisation (e.g., passistas, destaque). He is also responsible for the presentation of the Samba School in the official carnaval parade [my translation].

Brazilian carnival enthusiasts in Brazil and Sydney agree that the camavalesques are indispensible to an Escola de Samba as all aspects of the School’s performance revolve around the enredo or plot. Sambação’s principal camavalesques were Samy Sabag (Bolivia/Brazil), Oscar Almeida (Rio), Guilherme Salgado de Almeida (Rio), Del Oliveira (Bahia), João da Silva (Rio), João Cardoso (Rio) and Evan Fernandes (Rio). Samy Sabag was the only Sambação member with previous experience as a camavalesque in Brazil. The other members listed above were chosen on the basis of their enthusiasm and availability. Together, under Sabag’s direction, they planned Sambação’s first defile presentation.

During an interview Oscar Almeida recalled that "although they lacked previous experience as camavalesques, the members of Sambação, mostly Brazilians at that time, were determined to make their first carnival desfile as traditional as possible" (interview: May 1985). In keeping with the Rio carnival traditions, during Stage 1, the members of Sambação elected to include an enredo as the main focus of their first desfile. Following a succession of meetings at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre, the theme chosen by Sambação members for their participation in the 1979 Festival of Sydney was formulated and outlined in a letter written by Samy Sabag to the Sydney Council Town Clerk which read:

Each School of Samba has its own theme which depicts a particular historical event. Our School of Samba (Sambação) has as its theme the 13th May 1888 - the date of the abolition of slavery in Brazil and depicts step by step the history of Brazil since 1500 when Alvares Cabral discovered Brazil.

Unlike the bulk of Brazilian members in Sambação Stage 1 who were mostly new settlers, Rinaldo Madeiros had been in Australia since 1974 (see p.120). While he agreed with the need for the retention of traditional aspects in Sambação’s first desfile performance, he was also interested in changing their re-enactment to suit the Sydney environment. His flexible attitude regarding the function of Sambação no doubt stemmed from his lack of first hand involvement with the Escolas de Samba.

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48 Sambação Document No.1. (Sydney: Newtown Neighbourhood Centre).
whilst in Brazil. As Madeiros remarked one year after Sambação's first Sydney desfile, "although we used the Carioca (Rio) Carnaval as the model, we should have put Australian things in it (the Sydney desfile) so that it could survive here" (interview: 1979).

Like Samy Sabag, Madieros viewed Sambação as a vehicle not only for the maintenance of Brazilian ethnic identity, but more importantly, for the promotion of cross-cultural interaction and exchange. In his own words, his attempts to persuade other Sambação Brazilian members to include in their enredo "visual symbols of Australian history and the Australian way of life" (Harbour Bridge floats, figures dressed as Aborigines, Kangaroos) were, however, rejected. Irrespective of their previous lack of Samba School experience, most Brazilian members in Sambação rejected those suggested changes as they were seen as a threat to the authenticity of their Brazilian-influenced enredo.

In the planning stages, the members of Sambação seemed torn between their need to preserve aspects of their ethnic identities in keeping with the carnival folk models that they formulated in Sydney and their desire to mix with and be accepted by non-Brazilians. The desfile re-enactments reflected both concerns by way of the intentional and unintentional changes that were noted. For example, as there were insufficient Brazilian members to portray the various aspects of their chosen enredo, Australian-born people and other non-Brazilians were openly invited to join Sambação and parade alongside the Brazilian members.

_Sambistas-Dirigentes_

While the carnavalesques generate the ideas for the enredo and costumes, the sambistas-dirigentes (see Fig.11, Column A) are responsible for the execution of those ideas. Although considered as specialists, the sambistas-dirigentes, like the carnavalesques, do not usually take part in the actual parade. The Brazilian members of Sambação Stage 1 (with the exception of Samy Sabag) were inexperienced in the planning of a Brazilian desfile. Those organisational aspects were handled mainly by Samy Sabag and facilitated by Sambação's affiliation with the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre. As the date for their first desfile drew nearer other members gradually became more assertive and involved in the organisation and running of Sambação as they assumed the various positions of responsibility and status introduced into Sambação in imitation of the Rio Escolas de Samba (see Fig.11). Meetings were held and individuals were nominated for organisational roles such as publicity officer. Unlike the dirigentes in Rio, who work behind the scenes, the organisers of Sambação
took part in the 1979 desfile re-enactment as they were needed to make up the numbers for a satisfactory parade.

**Destaques**

The destaques (see Fig.11, Column A) represent the most important characters in the development of the School's chosen theme. The costumes worn by the male and female destaques are often the most lavish and expensive in the Rio Escolas de Samba. Usually in the poorer Samba Schools the cost of the costumes is met by the organisation rather than the individual destaque.

**Figure 12. Sambação Destaques**

(see Vol.II, p.41).

Figure 12 shows three of Sambação's destaques shortly after the 1979 Sydney desfile. The members of Sambação Stage 1 were able to maintain a degree of continuity in their desfile performances through the inclusion of destaques (see Fig.11, Column B). One female member of Sambação was a dress maker/designer who, whilst living in Rio de Janeiro had often made carnival costumes for the various Escolas de Samba there. Sambação's destaques in the 1979 Festival of Sydney thus included a representation of the Brazilian indigenous Indians, royal figures of the Portuguese aristocracy (portrayed by Australian-born members), and other individuals dressed in styles typical of the Rio Carnaval. In addition, one Brazilian immigrant from Bahia, Del Oliveira, dressed in the traditional costume normally seen in the Rio carnival as a part of the 'alas de Baianas' (groups of women dressed in the traditional style of Bahia in Brazil's north-east).49

In the Rio desfile, each of the main sub-groups (alas) in an Escola de Samba has its own costume style which reflects a particular aspect of the School's original enredo. The costume styles are controlled by the School's directorate. Due to a lack of the same constraints within Sambação and the comparatively small size of Sambação, the costumes were more a reflection of individual choice rather than conformity to an overriding theme.

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49 As stated by Muniz Jr. (1976:178), the Ala de Baianas 'represent a traditional part of Brazilian Carnaval'. Gardel also emphasised the importance of the inclusion of the 'baianas' in the Rio Carnaval when he wrote that, 'regulations are very strict in that respect: at every parade of escolas de samba there must be at least one wing of baianas in each of the participating escolas'. (1967:54).
Porta-Bandeira and Mestre-Sala

The *porta-bandeira* and *mestre-sala* listed in Figure 11, Column A, were referred to by Gardel as 'two of the main figures in the pageant'. Both positions are regarded as an essential part of any Brazilian *Escola de Samba* and are rated high in status by the members.

Figure 13. Porta-Bandeira and Mestre-Sala (Rio de Janeiro)
(see Vol. II, p. 41).

Figure 13 shows a *porta-bandeira* and *mestre-sala* as seen in a *desfile* in Rio de Janeiro. The costumes worn by these figures represent the elegantly dressed ladies and gentlemen of the 17th century. The choreography of their dance is intricate, virtuosic and mainly improvised. Their dance steps simulate the courtly movements and gestures of the aristocratic figures that they imitate with a lot of 'kneeling and bowing'. Their main function is to present the School's flag and emblem to the carnival spectators.

Figure 14. Porta-Bandeira and Mestre-Sala (Sydney)
(see Vol. II, p. 42).

None of Sambação's members had had pre-migration experience as a *porta-bandeira* or *mestre-sala*. Nevertheless, in their desire for authenticity in their *desfile* re-enactment, as seen in Figure 14, two of Sambação's Brazilian members were elected to fill those specialist roles. As is usually the case in the Rio Samba Schools, their costumes were supplied from Sambação's funds. While not virtuosic, their dance steps and movements were imitative of those that they had witnessed live or through television in Brazil.

In a Brazilian *Escola de Samba* the flag carrying the School's colours and emblem plays an extremely important role. Gardel wrote that the Brazilian School members have been known for their extreme displays of loyalty in defence of their School's colours. He cited an incident whereby an attempted merger between two

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Escolas was thwarted as neither of the two organisations in question was willing to forsake or change their respective colours.\(^{52}\)

Like the Brazilian Schools, Sambação Stage 1 also chose a flag and emblem for their desfile re-enactment. Sambação's flag was a combination of three colours - blue and white with green (see Fig.14). Samy Sabag related that his choice of colours was influenced by Newtown's football colours - blue and white, with green,\(^ {53}\) which he said represented the green in Brazil's national flag of green and yellow. A majority of Sambação's Brazilian members had not been members of an Escola de Samba prior to arrival in Australia. They were willing to incorporate colours and other symbols from a new environment. At the same time, as Sambação helped them to maintain a link with Brazil, feelings of loyalty to Sambação made them resist too much change. Like the Brazilian incident over the choice of colours, loyalty to these colours was one of the main factors that later prevented a merger between Sambação and breakaway members who formed a second School of Samba following Sambação's participation in the 1979 Festival of Sydney. Thus, symbols of a lifestyle that most had, for reasons of status and class, rejected in Brazil, were adopted and afforded a new status in Sydney.

Passistas

The passistas listed in Figure 11, Column A are the principal female dancers of an Escola de Samba. They usually dance in front of the bateria (percussion section) during the desfile and are noted for their creative displays of virtuosic dancing; an ability which is a prerequisite to the role. So much is this the case that writers on Carnaval have expressed their concern over the negative effects of over-commercialisation on this important carnival component which they say is destroying the creative individuality that has earned the passistas their fame.\(^ {54}\) Those virtuosic dance steps that are a feature of the Rio desfiles were, due to the lack of experienced passistas in Sydney, missing in Sambação's desfiles. As will be shown in

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\(^{52}\) Ibid., p. 71.

\(^{53}\) Newtown is an inner-city working class suburb of Sydney with a mixed population of people of diverse ethnic background. Newtown also has a football club and team which participates in Sydney's major league tournaments each year.

\(^{54}\) Muniz Jr., for example, asks, 'where is the individual passista with all her improvisation?' According to Muniz Jr., the virtuosic art of the passistas, which he claims is linked with their African ancestry, is gradually being replaced by a stylised form of samba associated more with 'Brazilian television shows' or tourist shows (1976:150-151). Brazilians interviewed in Brazil (Cabral, Hissa, Martin) support that view and expressed a desire for a return to the "old passista traditions".
the examination of the Centre (Sydney's second Samba School) in Chapter IV, virtuosic dance steps were, however, a feature of the Centre's desfiles following the arrival of Sueli da Fonseca, a professional Brazilian passista who emigrated to Australia in 1979.

Instrumentista

In Brazil, the term 'instrumentista', listed in Figure 11, Column A, refers to those specialist members of an Escola de Samba who play the percussion instruments in the School's musical group (bateria). Prominent members of Escolas de Samba in Brazil who were interviewed during field work all agreed that candidates for the bateria may be of either sex and that sexual discrimination played no part in the selection of suitable instrumentistas. My own observations in Brazil, however, confirmed my original belief that the bateria was predominately a male domain. When I raised this point in Brazil, those interviewed often remarked that many of the instruments were either "too heavy or too difficult for women to carry or play". These Brazilian attitudes, which predetermine the sex of certain specialists in the Brazilian Escolas de Samba also influenced the formation of the original Sambaão bateria.

The excitement of the Brazilian desfile is partly due to the combination of large numbers of voices and instruments. In each Samba School around one thousand voices sing in response to, or in unison with the main singer, to the accompaniment of about three hundred instrumentalists of the bateria, playing powerful samba rhythms on percussion instruments. In contrast, Sambação's bateria consisted of thirty musicians, only one of whom had played a percussion instrument in an Escola de Samba bateria in Brazil. Much to the regret of Sambação members, the density of voices and percussion instruments were missing in their Australian performances. Due to the commercialisation of Carnaval samba-enredo the Brazilians in Sambação were familiar with the traditional combinations of voices and instruments that gave the music its distinguishing qualitites.

Regardless of the comparatively small size of Sambação's bateria with a Rio bateria, and the desire of Sambação members to imitate the Rio Escolas de Samba, women were not invited to play in the Sambação bateria. That situation changed following an argument among the members later in 1979. As there were insufficient male members to form even the most basic percussion section, women, both Brazilian and non-Brazilian, were invited to play and given the chocalhos (long tube rattles). When those women outplayed the men on those instruments, their contributions, while initially the subject of humorous exchange, soon led to confrontation, whereby they
were often reprimanded and unjustly accused of disturbing the flow of the samba rhythms that the men established. Their presence in what was virtually a male domain, was regarded as an intrusion.

Interviews and discussion with *sambistas* in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte revealed a significant common factor that exists between the *instrumentistas* in the various *Escolas de Samba* in those locations. Specifically, the *instrumentistas* in a *bateria*, to quote one informant, are "usually the poorest of the poor of Brazil’s urban slum dwellers". While membership in the *Escola de Samba* provides them with a much needed social support system, participation in the *bateria* allows for a more direct and individual outlet for their frustrations - "the beating of percussion instruments" (Martin: interview Belo Horizonte, March 1985).

In a Brazilian *Escola de Samba* the position of *instrumentista* is one of prestige and high status. For that reason the *bateria* attracts those desperately in need of a vehicle for raised self-esteem. The members of Sambação’s *bateria* (Stage 1) attracted those Brazilian members of Sambação who were either unemployed or who had suffered a dramatic drop in occupational status after their arrival in Australia. Wilson Palma, for example, was a medical representative in São Paulo, Brazil. His lifestyle in Brazil, he said, was "modest but comfortable". He admitted having had little contact with the *Escolas de Samba* in his city. When Wilson Palma joined Sambação as an *agogo* player in 1979, he was living alone in a small room in Redfern and working on the assembly line at Leyland Motors at Kensington. During an interview at his home in January 1985, Palma emphasised the importance of Sambação in helping him to "overcome the feelings of depression and loneliness that he felt at that time". Other members of the Sambação Stage 1 *bateria* were in situations similar to that of Palma as reflected in their occupations - taxidrivers, labourers, kitchen hands, mailsorters.

**Ritmista**

According to Jório and Araújo, the *ritmista* (see Figure 11, Column A), is a person who dances while playing his percussion instrument:

> *The Ritmista plays samba with skill. The more agile he is with his percussion instrument which he rolls from side to side, throws up and down, passes under his body, the better is his presentation. The Ritmistas normally appear in groups of 3 or 6 creating their own choreography which gives more value to their contribution. They are, without doubt, the greatest dancers and most inspired choreographers.*

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Figure 15. Four *Pandeiro* Players
(see Vol.II, p.42).

Figure 15 shows a small group of *ritmistas*. During a Rio *desfile*, a select group of a School's best *pandeiro* players are free to perform away from the main *bateria* and demonstrate their individual and combined skills to the *carnival* spectators. Virtuosic *samba* dance improvisations and instrumental rhythms are combined with juggling and balancing feats.

As mentioned previously, all except one of Sambação's members (Stage 1) were inexperienced as musicians. Nonetheless, while they were able to establish a percussion section in order to achieve their *desfile* re-enactment, only one of the new musicians was able play his instrument well enough to afford an approximate imitation of a Brazilian *ritmista*. That musician, Sam Sabbag (Mauricio Sabbag's brother) had lived and worked on a farm in Mato Grosso in Brazil and had only witnessed the Rio *Carnaval* on television. During a rehearsal in 1980, when questioned on the origins of the fancy *samba* steps that he was attempting, he explained the role of the *ritmista* to me in detail. Whilst in Brazil, he had often seen the *ritmista* on television at carnival time and admitted that he was trying to imitate some of those combined dance steps and instrumental techniques.

**Director de Bateria**

The rhythms produced by the *bateria* affect all aspects of an *Escola de Samba* performance. As stated in one written source, the sounds of the percussion instruments are 'capable of sustaining the music, the animation of the dancers and the harmony of the Parade'.

Due to the importance of the *bateria* in determining the success or failure of an *Escola de Samba* in a *Carnaval desfile*, the position of *director de bateria* (director of the *bateria* - Samba School percussion section), listed in Figure 11, Column A, is one of high status and serious responsibility.

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57 The behaviour of the director of the *Unidos de Lucas bateria* confirms that claim. During the School's rehearsals prior to their performance in the 1985 Rio *Carnaval* he commanded the utmost respect from the musicians and at one time physically punished one musician for not following his commands to his satisfaction. Regardless of his impoverished life style in the slums of Parada de Lucas his status in the *Lucas Escola de Samba* was akin to that afforded a member of royalty. Each Brazilian Samba School has a small group of "*directores de bateria*" each with a specific function within the *bateria*. One director is responsible for the maintenance and distribution of the instruments; another for the selection of instruments and their functions, and one who is responsible for the whole group. The directors and percussionists are not allowed to consume alcohol before or during a performance as the successful cohesion of all elements of the
To become a director of a *bateria* a person must have a working knowledge of all the percussion instruments and their basic rhythms in carnival *samba-enredo*, and be capable of accelerating or diminishing the rhythm with a simple movement of his arm.\(^\text{58}\) In turn, strict rules govern the behaviour of the musical director as, in most cases, he is responsible for the effective cohesion of as many as 300 musicians.

Although the majority of Brazilian members in Sambação Stage 1 were familiar with the traditional carnival songs, they were inexperienced as instrumentalists. As the date for their first *desfile* performance drew closer they searched outside their organisation for a person to organise the music. In due course they approached Walter da Fonseca, a local Brazilian who, according to rumour, had been an experienced *sambista* and *instrumentista* and an active participant in many *desfiles* in Rio de Janeiro. Contrary to the rumours that were circulating, like the majority of Sambação's members, da Fonseca's knowledge of the carnival rhythms was primarily etic in the pre-migration location as he had never been a member of an *Escola de Samba* or played an instrument whilst living there, although he had often witnessed the event in Rio de Janeiro (see background details earlier p.119).

Da Fonseca made contact with Sambação in October 1978 and quickly established himself in a position of leadership and authority as musical director of Sambação. During an interview in December, 1984, he admitted that he didn't tell the other members about his lack of musical experience. Furthermore, he added that, in order to maintain his guise, he selected commercial recordings of *desfile* music from his personal collection; imitated the rhythms on makeshift instruments at his home, and then transmitted those rhythms to members of Sambação during the rehearsals at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre and the Garibaldi Community Centre, Darlinghurst. The members appreciated his contribution and his efforts resulted in the formation of Sambação's first musical group (da Fonseca: interview: Dec. 1984).

*Compositores*

As shown in Figure 11, Column A, the composers form a part of the specialist group of Samba School components. The composer in a Brazilian *Escola de Samba* is not an isolated figure but rather part of a group of composers referred to as an *alas de compositores* whose principal function is to provide the School with original musical

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Samba School rests on the behavioural and musical stability of the *bateria* (Teixeira, Rio 1985). A *directora de bateria* is treated with the greatest respect within a Samba School and afforded a kind of 'star' status by the other School members.

58 Muniz Jr., *Do Batuque: A Escola de Samba*, 160.
compositions, particularly the *samba-enredos* - theme songs that accompany the School's visual theme or plot.\(^{59}\) Each year, the composer of the winning *samba-enredo* receives a prestigious award. Consequently, as there are often as many as forty composers in any one School, competition among a School's composers is very keen.

When Sambação was formed in 1978, one Brazilian member of Sambação, Allan de Mello, composed original *sambas-enredo* texts and melodies. De Mello had never served as a composer in a Brazilian *Escola de Samba*. Indeed, whilst living in Brazil, de Mello had, for reasons of class and status, openly rejected the music and activities of the Rio *Escolas* which he felt were mainly for black Brazilians (see earlier p.120). Although de Mello's compositions were performed within Sambação during informal gatherings, they were not incorporated in Sambação's official *desfile* performances.

The Sambação Stage 1 Sydney *desfiles* were marked by standardisation of repertoire in contrast to the annual change of theme song in Brazil. Sambação was the only carnival organisation in Australia at that time, the competitive elements of *Carnaval* were missing in Sydney, and almost all of the Brazilian members lacked first-hand experience with a Brazilian *Escola de Samba* apart from de Mello. So there was no motivation for the creation of an original carnival theme song. Besides, as Samy Sabag remarked, "the message of such an original composition in Sydney would be lost on English speaking audiences" (Sabag: interview 1980). Rather than make use of de Mello's newly-written pieces, the members of Sambação Stage 1 elected to perform *sambas-enredo* from past Rio *desfiles*. This led to standardisation of their repertoire in contrast to an annual change of theme song in Brazil as the same songs were repeated in Sambação's subsequent *desfile* re-enactments. A selection of de Mello's compositions will be examined in more detail later in this chapter in the section on musical analysis (see pp.212-14).

**Puxador de Samba**

The last specialist component listed in Figure 11, Column A, the *puxador de samba*, is the solo singer in a Samba School. This person, usually a male, leads the singing of the School's *enredo* during the rehearsals and at the *Carnaval desfile*. The composer responsible for the creation of the *enredo* often assumes the role of the *puxador de samba*. None of Sambação Stage 1 members had previous experience as a *puxador de samba*. In order to infuse yet another traditional aspect of the Rio *desfile* in their Sydney re-enactment, the members of Sambação selected João da Silva, the

\(^{59}\) Ibid., p.22.
only black Brazilian in Sydney for the role. Da Silva had been a member of the Rio *Escola de Samba - Portela*. Wilson Palma, one of Sambação's musicians at that time, recalled that "da Silva had that lazy singing style that was typical of a Brazilian *Puxador de Samba"*. Although he soon became notorious for his "ability to drop beats and sing out of tune", the members felt that his presence enhanced the image that they sought to project to Australian spectators. Besides, they relied on him for information regarding the customs and practices of the Brazilian organisations that they sought to imitate.

Despite their general lack of pre-migration *Escola de Samba* experience, members of Sambação Stage 1 elected to structure their Sydney Samba School along the lines of the Brazilian models that they chose to imitate. The success of Sambação's first *desfile* performance in Sydney as part of the 1979 Festival of Sydney was summarised in a report written by Samy Sabag:

*The Carnaval of Brazil was the first of its kind to be held in Sydney, Australia. It was organised by the first School of Samba in Australia. Schools of Samba are the main instrument of the traditional Brazilian Carnaval. The School of Samba "Sambação" was started on the 13th of August 1978 and has participated successfully in the Sydney Festival and the Mardi Gras afternoon on the 13th of January 1979. The Brazilian Carnaval is the main activity of our School of Samba. Its biggest goal would be to promote such activity each year. The Carnaval of Brazil would not have been possible without the assistance of the Australia Council. The Brazilian Carnaval in conjunction with the School of Samba brought together the Brazilian community. Of the 500 Brazilian residents in Sydney about 200 Brazilians participated directly or indirectly in the School of Samba.*

In April 1979, a dispute erupted between Samy Sabag and Sambação members Wilson Palma (assistant director of Sambação) and Walter da Fonseca (director of the *bateria*). As previously documented, Samy Sabag had instigated the organisation as a part of his duties as ethnic worker at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre. With his solid background in *Escola de Samba* organisation he automatically assumed the role of President and principal organiser of the School's performance commitments. Palma and da Fonseca argued that leadership of their Sydney Samba School should be determined by democratic election. Their demand resulted in a rift between Sabag and members of Sambação who supported Palma and da Fonseca.

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60 *Sambação Document No.1* (Sydney: Newtown Neighbourhood Centre).
As documented in official Sambação documents, on the 26th of April 1979, a meeting was held at the Ethnic Affairs Commission in an attempt to resolve the election issue. Wilson Palma, Walter da Fonseca and Edison Lopes presented Sabag with a petition with 104 signatures of members who supported the call for a democratic election to take place. The dispute went unresolved. The elections were not forthcoming and da Fonseca, Palma, and their supporters left Sambação and formed a second School of Samba – the Brazilian Samba Social Centre - and the remaining mixture of Brazilians and non-Brazilians continued with Sambação and its original founder Samy Sabag, thus marking the end of Sambação Stage 1. Musical observations on Stage 1 will be dealt with later in this chapter under the section on musical analysis. The focus will now turn to an examination of Sambação Stage 2; formation and organisational changes.

Changes to Organisational Structure – Sambação Stage 2 1979-1980

Sambação was originally made up of around 100 Brazilian immigrants. Changes to organisational, visual and musical elements to their Sydney carnival performances resulted in part from the much smaller size of the Sydney School in comparison with the Brazilian Escolas de Samba. More importantly, however, the contrasting degrees of carnival experience and resultant multiplicity of immigrant notions concerning the use and function of a Carnaval desfile in Brazil and Sydney were more significant determinants of change as will be demonstrated.

Non-Brazilian participation in Sambação was also a significant factor. Regardless of the predominance of Brazilians in Sambação Stage 1, around twenty new members from countries other than Brazil had joined by the time Sambação re-enacted its first desfile in January 1979. They formed a minority group within the overall structure of Sambação and, as a result, were initially absorbed into the group without conflict. As already discussed, the events in April 1979, however, revealed a conflict of ideals based on ethnicity and ethnic identity.

On one hand, while Samy Sabag recognised Sambação as a Brazilian-modelled organisation, in keeping with Sambação’s written aims, he regarded the function of Sambação more as a community-based organisation for the promotion of cross-cultural interaction between Brazilians and non-Brazilians in Sydney. Sabag’s ideals stemmed from his position as a community worker as well as from the flexibility of his ethnic

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61 Sambação Document No.2 (Sydney: Newtown Neighbourhood Centre).
identity (Bolivian, Brazilian, Australian). His views on the dual function of Sambaçao were clearly detailed in his official report to the Community Arts Board:

*The School of Samba and the Brazilian Carnaval is a mass activity in Brazil. Anyone who can walk disregarding age, sex and nationalities can participate. Such activity, as promoted by the School of Samba Sambaçao, help to assure the conservation of one of the main activities of the Brazilian people. This activity also enables the Brazilian community to mix with other communities.*

In opposition, certain Brazilian members of Sambaçao, as a result of their success in the Festival of Sydney, came to view Sambaçao as an ideal vehicle primarily for the projection of their identities as Brazilians. They were keen to continue with the same successful formulae – the re-enactment of elements of the Rio desfile and baile in Sydney, and the use of Sambaçao more as a Brazilian-based ethnic organisation rather than a multi-ethnic community organisation.

Consequently, when the Brazilians left Sambaçao in April 1979, almost all of the non-Brazilians members stayed with Samy Sabag. They told me that they favoured Sam's original "community-based intentions" for Sambaçao and that they no longer felt comfortable with the members of the breakaway group. A few Brazilians were caught in the middle. That is, while they supported Samy Sabag, their desire for regular contact with other Brazilians was too strong to ignore. To resolve this conflict of allegiance, they took part in the activities both of Sambaçao and the breakaway group, although problems of loyalty arose constantly. Thus, the emergence of Sambaçao and the uniqueness of such a carnival organisation in Sydney in a sense, inhibited rather than promoted interethnic contact and worked in the opposite way to that originally envisaged and implemented by Samy Sabag.

Immediately following the dissension in April 1979, Sambaçao's membership was reduced to around 20 persons of various ethnic backgrounds (Bolivians, Chileans, Portuguese, Spanish, Brazilians, Australians). Between May and September of 1979 they held regular meetings. Although the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre retained possession of Sambaçao's percussion instruments following the split, there were insufficient musicians in Sambaçao Stage 2 to form a musical group. The live music at Sambaçao's meetings (which were spadmodic) consisted of Bolivian folk tunes that Sabag played on his guitar, on the quena (traditional Bolivian bamboo flute), or which he sang to the accompaniment of a few light percussion instruments played by the

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other members. The atmosphere at those gatherings was relaxed, community-motivated and free from the types of musical constraints that occurred when the membership was predominantly Brazilian, and when Brazilian *samba*, an expression primarily of Brazilian identity, was the focus of musical attention.

Although Sambação Stage 2 comprised mostly non-Brazilians, under Samy Sabag’s guidance, they agreed to continue Sambação as a Brazilian-styled carnival organisation. Thus, when Sambação, via the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre, received an invitation from the Festival of Sydney Organising Committee inviting their ‘Brazilian’ group to participate in the 1980 Festival of Sydney, Sabag accepted the offer without hesitation.

From the point of view of musical stylistic change, the most significant event that influenced Sambação’s *desfile* presentation in the 1980 Festival was the entry of six Australian-born musicians. Four of those musicians were full time music students at the N.S.W Conservatorium of Music. Those members were Michael Barkl and Gerrard Brophy (composition majors), Bruce Leddon (music education), Manolet Mora (musicology major). Two other professional Sydney musicians, namely Blaire Greenburg (Latin percussion) and Peter Robertson (vocalist) completed the Australian portion of the Sambação Stage 2 *bateria*.

Although none of those Sydney musicians had emic knowledge of the Rio *Carnaval* or *Escolas de Samba*, four of the musicians were familiar with the sounds of Brazilian carnival music through commercial recordings. The bulk of their experience with Brazilian music stemmed, however, mainly from their professional involvement with Americanised versions of Brazilian *bossa-novas* and *sambas* that had gained popularity in Sydney since the mid 1960s. With my help, those musicians were enlisted by Samy Sabag to help form a group for Sambação’s performance in the 1980 Festival of Sydney. Rehearsals commenced in September 1979.

When Brazilian members of the breakaway group the Brazilian Samba Social Centre, led by Walter da Fonseca, heard of Sambação’s intentions to perform in the 1980 Sydney Festival, a deputation contacted the Festival Organising Committee and a protest was lodged. Members of the breakaway group felt that the depiction of a Rio *Carnaval desfile* by Sambação with its predominance of non-Brazilian members totally misrepresented the Rio *Carnaval* and in turn, denigrated the carnival re-enactments and insulted all Brazilians in Sydney. Once again, such conflicts reflect the vital function and new significance of the Samba School as a symbol of Brazilian
identity for those Brazilians participants in Sydney despite their virtual rejection of the same symbols when they were in Brazil.

The presence of Australian-born members in Sambação and their interpretations of carnival music drew severe criticism from Walter da Fonseca and members of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre. When the Organising Committee of the Sydney Festival invited both Sambação and the newly formed Brazilian Samba Social Centre to participate in the 1980 Festival, bitter arguments and violent clashes ensued between members of the rival organisations.

The leaders of both organisations held a succession of meetings. Unsuccessful attempts were made to merge the two groups into one for the sake of a successful Festival performance and to maintain the 'ethnic' image of the Brazilian population to non-Brazilian spectators at the Festival. Members of the respective Sydney Samba Schools, loyal to their flag's colours, emblem, philosophies, and other symbols that distinguished the two disparate organisations, were unable to compromise over those aspects. As a result, the two Schools performed separately in the 1980 Festival of Sydney. The Brazilian Samba Social Centre received more television coverage than Sambação, however, as it was larger in size, more spectacular in appearance and 'authentic' sounding by Brazilian standards, with its dense percussive rhythms and songs sung in Portuguese; two important factors which Sambação lacked.

Figure 16. The Members of Sambação Stage 2
(see Vol.II, p.43).

Figure 16 shows the membership of Sambação Stage 2 with its predominance of non-Brazilian members at their rehearsal place in Hay Street.

Figure 17. Sambação Stage 2 Passistas
(see Vol.II, p.43).

Figure 17 shows Sambação's mixture of Brazilian and non-Brazilian 'passistas' as they danced in front of the bateria during their desfile performance in the 1980 Festival of Sydney.

Figure 11. A Comparison of Samba School Components - Escolas de Samba (Rio) and Sambação (Sydney)
(see Vol.II, p.40).
In Figure 11, Column C, selected components of Sambação Stage 2 at the time of their performance in the 1980 Sydney Festival are compared with the components of a Brazilian Escola de Samba. Regardless of the significant lack of Brazilian members and contrasting carnival folk models amongst the Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of Sambação, under Sabag’s direction and influence, Sambação continued to base its organisational and musical activities on aspects of the Rio desfile and Escolas de Samba evident in the inclusion of certain Brazilian desfile components in Stage 2. Each of these components will now be discussed in their order of appearance in Figure 11. Descriptions of the various components contained in the previous examination of Stage 1 will provide a basis for the discussion which follows.

Sambistas and Pastôras

Brazilians in Sambação Stage 1, a majority within that group, were generally familiar with the role of the Brazilian sambistas and pastôras as projected through the popular image of the desfile in Brazil. Sambação Stage 2 had sambistas and pastôras according to the Brazilian Samba School structure and terminology. The shift in Sambação Stage 2 to a majority of non-Brazilians meant, however, that few of the Stage 2 members were familiar with the terms sambista or pastora or the specific roles of those individuals in Brazil. Four of the Brazilian members of Sambação Stage 2 were previously farmers from Mato Grosso. Regardless of their lack of Escola de Samba experience whilst in Brazil, some adopted the mannerisms of the "mulandro sambistas", street-wise sambistas of Rio de Janeiro; types of manneristic behaviour that they were familiar with through the diffusion of the Rio desfile model via television and the popular notions of sambista manneristic behaviour in São Paulo, Belo Horizonte and other main Brazilian urban centres.63

Carnavalesques and Sambistas-Dirigentes (Carnaval Organisers)

The carnavalesques were completely missing from Stage 2 (see Fig.11, Column C). Samy Sabag was the principal organiser and President of Sambação Stage 2 and he negotiated with Festival Committees and other community associations that were interested in using the group at community Fiestas and celebrations. The hierarchical structure associated with the organisation of the Brazilian Escolas de Samba, and imitated in Sambação Stage 1 with its elected Board of Governors, etc., was missing.

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63 In Brazil, the expression "mulandro" is used to describe the "street wise" person. Due to the low-class locations of most of Brazil’s Escolas de Samba the image of the mulandro and the male sambista combine to form part of the "mulandro-sambista" image; the folk hero of the favelas. During my participation in the 1985 Rio Carnaval with the Samba School Unidos de Lucas, I was assigned to the 'Alas de Mulandros'; a sub-group within the School that contained the School's "characters".
in Sambação Stage 2 due to the diminished size of the School and the members’ lack of desire for the types of status and power connected with the various positions of authority in such an organisational body.

**Enredo and Destaques**

The Brazilian members of Sambação Stage 2 were then a minority and all inexperienced with specific organisational aspects of a Brazilian desfile. Furthermore, there were not the same kinds of pressures within the group to re-create those traditional aspects of the Rio de Janeiro carnival model. Sabag’s plan for an original theme for Sambação’s 1980 Festival performance was abandoned. Consequently, as shown in Figure 11, Column C, the destaques (costumed figures that reflect the narrative theme) were not included in Sambação’s 1980 Festival performance, or performances thereafter. Although, as an alternative, money from the profits of the 1979 performances was used to create simple but colourful costumes which were supplied to the members free of charge for their 1980 parade and other performances.

**Porta-Bandeira and Mestre-Sala**

While Sambação Stage 2 abandoned the enredo, carnavalesques and destaques, the porta-bandeira (flag bearer) and mestre-sala (flag bearer’s dancing partner) - traditional specialist components mentioned during the discussion of Sambação Stage 1 (see p.141 fol.), were again included by Brazilian members of Sambação Stage 2 (see Fig.11, Column C). A husband and wife team originally from São Paulo filled those roles and presented Sambação’s flag and emblem to the observers of the 1980 Festival of Sydney, thus demonstrating a desire on the part of the Brazilian members to retain what they considered to be essential traditional elements of the Brazilian Carnaval. Figure 18 shows that couple as they appeared in the 1980 Festival of Sydney.

**Passistas**

As well as a porta-bandeira and mestre-sala, Sambação Stage 2 also had a group of passistas who, as is the case with the Brazilian Escolas de Samba, danced in a line in front of the bateria. Due to the diversity of their ethnic backgrounds (3 Chileans, 1 Ecuadorian, 2 Brazilians, 2 Australians) their dance steps were noticeably different from the samba dance seen in the Rio desfile, comprising instead an innovative mixture of folk and popular dance steps from the countries which they represented. Thus, despite their lack of Brazilian Samba School experience, under Sam Sabag’s guidance,
an imitation of that Brazilian desfile component was included in the Stage 2 desfiles (see Fig.11).

**Instrumentistas**

The Sambação Stage 2 desfiles featured a group of musicians who played some of the percussion instruments heard in the Rio desfiles. Although the six Australian-born musicians were experienced on an assortment of melodic and percussive instruments, none were experienced with those percussion instruments and rhythms usually associated with the Rio desfile. Similarly, although the Brazilian musicians in the group were familiar with the sounds of the traditional desfile rhythms, like their Australian-born counterparts, they too lacked practical experience. Thus, while Stage 2 functioned with a small group of Brazilian and non-Brazilian instrumentistas, their combined lack of experience with Brazilian desfile music caused significant changes to the Stage 2 interpretations of samba-enredo as illustrated later through musical analysis.

**Ritmista**

Sambação Stage 2 had one inexperienced ritmista who could play his chosen instrument reasonably well and dance virtuosic samba dance steps but, unlike the models that he imitated, he was unable to execute both the music and dance simultaneously. Nevertheless, he did perform separately from the bateria during their performance in the 1980 Festival of Sydney in a style similar to that of the ritmistas in the street parades of Rio de Janeiro. Thus, as shown in Figure 11, the ritmista was included in Sambação Stage 2.

**Director de Bateria**

In imitation of the Brazilian Escolas de Samba, the Stage 2 Sydney desfiles included a Director de Bateria (see Fig.11, Column C). When Walter da Fonseca left Sambação Stage 1 in April 1979, his position as director of the bateria was taken over by another Brazilian immigrant Mauricio Sabbag. Like Walter da Fonseca, Mauricio Sabbag had acquired a knowledge of samba-enredo from listening to rather than playing Carnaval desfile music. Nevertheless, during the rehearsals he often criticised the Australian musicians for their inability to reproduce the samba rhythmic patterns that he demonstrated, and accused the same musicians of adding unwanted "jazz" rhythms to the performance. He stated firmly that "Brazilians were the only musicians" capable of playing what he regarded as "authentic Brazilian carnival music" and used the term "jazz" to describe those "non-traditional rhythms" played by the
Australians. Conflict arose frequently over the issue and the Australians, with indignation, eventually withdrew their support from the group.

**Compositores/Puxador de Samba**

No original music was composed during Stage 2 of Sambação. As shown in Figure 11, Column C, Sambação's *desfile* imitations were conducted not only without *samba-enredo* but also without a solo singer. The previous comparison of Samba School components has revealed that, although there were a majority of non-Brazilians in the second Sambação organisation, they were able to recreate, without any first-hand experience with a Brazilian *Escola de Samba*, a sufficient number of traditional Brazilian carnival components to simulate a mini-*escola de samba*.

**Changes to Organisational Structure - Sambação Stage 3 1980-1982**

The contradiction between the name of the organisation Sambação (promoted by Samy Sabag as a School of Samba in keeping with his ideological folk model of a Brazilian Samba School) and its internal structure and carnival activities in Sydney led to the eventual disbanding of Sambação and growth of Sydney's Second School of Samba, the Brazilian Samba Social Centre. The organisation and musical activities of this second Brazilian carnival organisation will be the focus of examination in Chapter IV of this study.

Due to severe criticism aimed at Sambação by Brazilian members of the breakaway Samba School (The Sydney Samba Social Centre) and its alleged misrepresentation of traditional Brazilian *Carnaval* and carnival music, Sambação Stage 2 gained a reputation that did nothing to attract new members from the Brazilian population in Sydney. At the same time, Brazilian membership in the breakaway carnival organisation increased markedly, due to the exposure and success of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre in the 1980 Festival of Sydney.

Shortly after Sambação's January 1980 Festival performance, the remaining Brazilians in Sambação Stage 2, unable to maintain a sense of their identities as Brazilians in the midst of so many non-Brazilians and responding to pressure that they received from their Brazilian friends in the opposing group, left Sambação, leaving only the founder Samy Sabag and the few non-Brazilians.

By June 1980 Sambação's activities had almost ceased. In July 1980 four more Australian-born musicians joined the group replacing those original six Australian-born musicians who had left shortly after the 1980 Festival. As shown in Figure 11, Column
D, Sambaço Stage 3 lacked almost all of the components found in a Brazilian *Escola de Samba*. Nevertheless, hoping to rebuild Sambaço, Samy Sabag continued to promote Sambaço as a Samba School, a factor which enraged the Brazilian members of the breakaway carnival organisation, the Brazilian Samba Social Centre, which by the late 1980s was well established as a Brazilian-based community organisation. On several occasions I was phoned by Brazilians who asked me to persuade Samy Sabag "to stop presenting Sambaço as an *Escola de samba*" as they claimed that it was "ruining the ethnic image of Brazilians in Sydney". Much to Sabag's dismay Sambaço (Stage 3) did not increase in size and Sydney's first School of Samba was finally disbanded in December 1981.

**Musical Analysis**

It has been thus far demonstrated in this chapter that, between 1978 and 1982, Sambaço went through three significant stages of transformation; the first stage was characterised by an initial predominance of Brazilian-born members; the second stage by interaction between those Brazilians and subsequently enrolled non-Brazilian members; the third stage by the influence of Australian-born members who comprised a majority during the last stage of Sambaço's existence, and who outnumbered the Brazilians. The Rio *Escolas de Samba* and their *desfiles* provided the main organisational and festive models for Sambaço's formation and festive activities in Sydney. As shown in the discussion that follows, Brazilian *samba-enredo* provided the main musical model for Sambaço's Sydney *desfiles*.

*Samba-enredo* is the only type of music played by the Brazilian *Escolas de Samba* during their *desfile* presentations. *Samba-enredo* is the original theme song created by the composers of each *Escola de Samba* which projects, through song and musical accompaniment, the events being portrayed by a School's costumed figures (*destaques*), floats (*alegorias*) and decorations. It is perhaps best understood as *samba-narrative*. Brazilian author Luis Gardel wrote:

*samba-enredo* or *samba-narration* functions as the libretto of the pageant presented by the escola, the story being usually about a historical event or the eulogy of some personage of the past.

A majority of Sambaço's Brazilian members lacked pre-migration experience

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64 Gardel, *Escolas de Samba*, 130.
as musicians. Nevertheless, they often claimed that they were familiar with certain musical features of Brazilian *samba-enredo* such as the names and sounds of the percussion instruments. Most admitted that commercial Brazilian recordings of *sambas-enredo* from past Rio Carnaval desfiles were, apart from their own memories, the main source of inspiration and imitation behind their Sydney desfiles.

The Sambação membership was characterised by ethnic diversity and a corresponding array of folk models. Whether imitated directly from recording or diffused through oral transmission via the Brazilian musicians, the music of Brazilian *samba-enredo* was, nevertheless, a major influence on musical performances by Sambação members in Sydney. An understanding of Brazilian *samba-enredo* is a necessary part of the analysis of *samba-enredo* in Sydney.

This section on musical analysis comprises three parts. The first part is concerned with the identification of specific elements of Brazilian *samba-enredo* that are, according to experienced Brazilian musicians in Sydney and Brazil, central to that style. In the second part, the results of that analysis will serve as a basis for the identification of changes that have occurred in the baterias and selected examples of *samba-enredo* for each Stage of Sambação.

In the final part, the changes, non-musical and musical, to Sambação that have been identified throughout this chapter will be summarised. The emic-etic approach to the structure of folk models will be used to demonstrate the significances of those changes for A) Brazilians in Sambação with/without pre-migration carnival experience and, B) non-Brazilian musicians in Sambação.

**Centrality**

The concept of centrality, that is the identification and use of central social or musical elements for cross-cultural comparisons, has received varying degrees of criticism and support from ethnomusicologists. Nettl\(^{65}\) for example, advocated the suitability of a ‘concept of centrality’ to the study of ‘syncretic products’, that is, musical products that result from the ‘fusion of elements from diverse cultural sources’.\(^{66}\) While Kartomi agreed that ‘the theory of central traits has the quality of an insight based . . . on the credible hypothesis that in any one culture, some of the

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\(^{66}\) Ibid., p. 133.
parameters of its music are in general regarded by its members as more important than others', she nonetheless added that 'insurmountable difficulties' were added to that approach when applied to 'synthesis involving several interacting musics'. Moreover, as Kartomi added, 'it is not normally possible to state with any certainty which are the central traits in any given music'.

The application of a theory of centrality is certainly problematic. Writers on Afro-Brazilian samba Béhague (1980), Gardel (1967), Kubik (1979) and Vianna (1983) agree that samba results from the mixture of diverse cultural and musical elements. For example, Béhague defines samba as

... an Afro-Brazilian couple dance and popular musical form. Originally 'samba' was a generic term designating, along with the batuque, [an African precursor of samba] the choreography of certain circle-dances imported to America from Angola and the Congo.

As a syncretic musical style, Brazilian samba-enredo seems to result from the combination of stable or 'traditional' musical elements and improvised musical elements generated from those stable patterns. It may be argued, however, that if a tradition is receptive to innovation (as is the music of samba-enredo), is it not potentially misleading to base interpretations of change on static notions of an authentic pattern.

Regardless of the inherent problems in such an approach the concepts of 'compatibility' and 'centrality' form the basis of McLean's more recent (1986) 'Typology of Musical Change' in which he 'develops and systematises earlier published formulations' of musical change, particularly those of Nettl 1978 and Kartomi 1981. In doing so, McLean adopted Nettl's definition of centrality whereby centrality referred to those elements of a music system which are essential to it 'as indicated by their pervasiveness in a repertory, the degree to which members of a society accord them primacy (and) ... their tenacity in times of change'


70 Ibid., p. 37.
In accordance, those definitions of centrality by Nettl and McLean have been adopted for use in the following analysis.

The literature on Brazilian Carnaval and carnival music is in the main descriptive rather than analytic. A thorough musicological investigation of the structure of Brazilian urban carnival music in general, and samba-enredo in particular, has not as yet been published. Inexperienced (without pre-migration experience) Brazilian musicians in Sydney were unable to provide detailed descriptions of the structure of samba-enredo, organisation of the bateria, or specific functions of the samba-enredo accompaniment instruments.

Despite the flexibility of Brazilian samba as a musical genre, a definite consensus did exist, however, amongst those Sydney Brazilian musicians with pre-migration carnival experience. My own experiences with commercial Brazilian recordings of samba and performances with South American-born Sydney musicians prior to field work in Brazil led me to support their viewpoints on samba-enredo. Field work in Brazil with members of the Rio Escola de Samba and interviews with other Brazilian musicians and carnival authorities provided an opportunity to test that consensus.

Figure 19. Parada de Lucas Street Scene
(see Vol. II, p.44).

Unidos de Lucas (hereafter also referred to as Lucas), is, due to its size and carnival successes, typical of the Escolas de Samba located in Rio de Janeiro. Founded in April 1966, Lucas resulted from the merger of two of Rio's oldest Escolas de Samba - Aprendizes de Lucas (estab. 1932), and Unidos da Capela (estab. 1935). Lucas is based in Parada de Lucas, a slum district in Rio's northern zone (see Fig.19). The 3,000 or so members of Lucas are, in the main, poor black Brazilians from Parada de Lucas and the neighbouring suburbs.

71 Bruno Nettl, "History of World Music." 126.

76 Samba variants in Brazil are numerous, some of which are the samba-partido alto, sambacarioca, samba batucada (also referred to as samba de morro), samba-roda, samba-lença, samba canção, samba de mulata, samba de breque, samba de quadra, and samba-choro (Béhague 1980:447).

77 The merger was instigated in order that the newly formed Escola de Samba would have the numbers necessary to meet the official requirements for participation in the top competitive desfile category which requires a minimum of 3,000 members per School.
My private accommodation in Cordovil, Rio de Janerio was pre-arranged in Sydney by Brazilian immigrant musician Lourenço Forte. Consequently, my field work amongst the members of Lucas resulted primarily from coincidence as that Escola de Samba happened to be based in a neighbouring area. That random choice of Samba School and location provided an acceptable basis to test the claims of musical stability in samba-enredo made by Brazilian musicians in Sydney. If their claims were accurate, some or all of those 'stable' elements of samba-enredo should be evident in samba-enredo performances by the Lucas members.

Indeed, information on samba-enredo obtained in Brazil from members of the Lucas bateria and leading Brazilian Samba School musicians such as Nenê da Vila Matilda (veteran sambista and founder of São Paulo's oldest Escola de Samba (1949-) – "Nenê da Vila Matilda" – named after him), Osvaldinho da Cuica (veteran percussionist and composer for the São Paulo Escola de Samba – "Camisa Verde e Branco"), and Brazilian carnival authorities Djair Martin (President of the Association of Samba Schools, São Paulo), Ramos Hissa (President of the Association of Samba Schools, Belo Horizonte), and Sergio Cabral (author and official expert on the Rio Escolas de Samba, see bibliography), matched those earlier descriptions provided by the Brazilian musicians in Sydney and confirmed my own views concerning the stable elements of samba-enredo.

The analysis of samba-enredo that follows is based primarily on information from those Brazilian musicians in Sydney and Brazil. Additional field recordings of the Lucas bateria and their 1985 samba-enredo 'Essa Gente Brasileira' and information from written sources will also be used to support the argument that despite the flexibility of samba, certain elements of samba-enredo such as instrumental functions, and in some cases rhythmic patterns, remained relatively stable during the time span of this study (1971-1984). Aspects of samba-enredo examined in the analysis which follows are, in their order of discussion; samba-enredo song text, melody, song presentation, bateria – instrumentation and placement, standardisation of musical instruments, instrument classification methods, instrument construction, playing technique and musical function as part of the samba-enredo accompaniment.

Brazilian Samba-Enredo – Text

During an interview in February 1985, Artair Cardoso, the composer of Essa Gente Brasileira, remarked that
the words and melody of a samba-enredo should be constructed in a way that allows imitation by all members of a Samba School and other carnival enthusiasts.

Regardless of the various degrees of rhythmic complexity that may occur in a samba-enredo accompaniment, due to its vital function in connection with the carnival desfile the emphasis has long been on simplicity of text and melody. The National Congress of Samba, which took place in Rio de Janeiro in 1962, for example, resulted in the "Charter of Samba", a document drafted by the Brazilian musicologist Edison Carneiro, in which it was suggested that, for the sake of "authenticity", the lyrics of the sambas-enredo should be simple, direct, intelligible, avoiding grandiloquent and bombastic words and phrases.

Tati likewise advocated that the lyrics of the samba-enredo should be easy to imitate by carnival participants and spectators.

As we can't say everything in the lyrics of a samba it is preferred to say the minimum possible through short verses (estrofes) and marked choruses (estribilos) which jump into the ear of the audience and become a factor in the popularity of the melody.

The sambas-enredo of Rio de Janeiro cover a wide range of subjects from light-hearted themes such as 'Samba, Soure Cerveja' (Samba, Sweat and Beer), to themes which glorify the Black African contribution to Carnaval or, conversely, pay tribute to Brazil's aristocratic Portuguese heritage. Themes are also included which draw attention to current areas of social injustice or unrest in Brazil.

Figure 20. Essa Gente Brasileira – Song Text and Translation

(see Vol.II, p.45).

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78 Gardel, Escolas de Samba, 160.


80 "Samba, Sour e Cerveja" was the title of the samba-enredo presented by the Rio Escola de Samba Portela during their desfile performance in the 1985 Carnaval of Rio de Janeiro. The narrative and accompanying floats depicted the role of beer in connection with the various leisure activities of Brazil's Cariocas, inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro.
Essa Gente Brasileira, which means "The Brazilian People" shown in Figure 20, is an example of this latter style referred to by Gardel as 'samba-ideológico' with its references to Brazilian's concern for their individual and national identities, their right to self-determination; the ill-effects of Brazil's economic and unemployment crisis; the plight of Brazil's farmers and indigenous Indians, and the way in which "the American dollar is destroying the progress of their nation".

Gardel may be criticised for his comments regarding the emergence in the Rio desfiles of sambas-ideológico around 1967. He wrote that

*a new type of samba has appeared rather recently but its appeal has been restricted to certain groups. Known as samba-ideológico, the only novelty is that the lyrics are used as a means to divulge propaganda for social and political philosophies."

In his desire to emphasise the popular and recreational aspects of the Rio Carnaval, Gardel dismissed the social role and importance of samba-ideológico as a form of social protest when he wrote that 'samba and propaganda do not go together . . . Lyrics bearing messages of political persuasion . . . are comparable to jingles . . . nobody pays attention to them'.

My own view of the function of the desfile prior to field work in Brazil certainly conformed with the popular tourist notions of Carnaval as a non-political festive activity. Analysis of the Lucas enredo text, however, revealed some of the contradictions between those popular or commercial notions and the function of the samba-enredo as a vehicle through which the sambistas express the frustrations of their daily lives and their general dissatisfaction with social and economic inequalities in Brazil. While the lyrics of Essa Gente Brasileira, particularly the short and repetitive chorus "Quem sou eu?" (Who am I?), "Quem vem la?" (Who comes there?), "Brasileiros reclamando seu direito de votar" (Brazilians reclaiming their right to vote), make the song easy to imitate, simplicity of structure does not necessarily reflect simplicity of content.

Effective transmission of samba-enredo narrative, including protest messages, voiced through samba-enredo is language dependent. Language differences and

81 Gardel, Escolas de Samba, 149.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid., p.150.
problems encountered by Brazilians in Australia were one of several factors which, as shown in more detail later in this chapter, dissuaded Brazilian musicians in Sambaço from creating original sambas-enredo, particularly ones with English lyrics. Instead, they adopted sambas-enredo from past Rio Carnavals. Eventually, for reasons explained later (see p.218), instrumental improvisations based on the samba-enredo accompaniment rhythms were substituted for the usual samba-enredo songs.

Despite the location of Lucas and the low socio-economic status of its participants, Lucas has, due to its carnival victories and size, maintained a regular placing in the upper-two Samba School categories (groups 1A and 1B, see earlier p.139). Furthermore, their 1985 samba-enredo, Essa Gente Brasileira, was the winning samba-enredo of the 1B groups in the 1985 Rio Carnaval in all three musical categories of evaluation (Samba, Harmonia, and Bateria), and as such, may be regarded as a typical example of contemporary urban Brazilian samba-enredo from that period.

(see Vol.II, p.46).

The melody of Essa Gente Brasileira, as shown in Example 9, may be said to comprise three main sections which reflect the development and repetition within the text narrative: Section A (bar 1-41), an introductory section (bars 1-41) in which the main protest is stated (Brasileiros reclamando seu direito de votar – Brazilians reclaim their right to vote); Section B (bar 41-73), a verse which details specific conflicts that prompted their demand for a return to democracy and Section C (bar 73-121), a further development of the argument made up of a verse (bar 73-104), and refrain (104-120).

Slight variations of melodic rhythm which were noted during the Lucas rehearsals were consistent with the flexibility of samba-enredo performance. Those variations, typical of the types associated with a living orally-transmitted singing tradition, do not affect the basic melodic structure of a samba-enredo. The undulating and arched melodic phrases of four and eight-bar lengths which predominate throughout Essa Gente Brasileira are also typical of Brazilian samba-enredo.

Example 10. Notated Brazilian Samba-Enredo
(see Vol.II, p.47).
Syncopation of melodic rhythm is a feature of Brazilian samba-enredo. Notated sambas-enredo contained in commercially available compilations of popular carnival songs give testimony to that claim. Example 10, a notated Brazilian samba-enredo entitled ‘Lapa em Tres Tempos’, is one such example.84

A distinguishing rhythmic feature of Lapa em Tres Tempos (Example 10), is the use of the (\(\text{\textcircled{1}}\)) identified by Béhague as one of the ‘classic samba rhythms’.85 That figure (for example, see Song Introduction bars 1, 3, 9, 11, 15, and verse/refrain bars 10, 18, 20, 22,) is used throughout the song. Intense syncopations of melodic rhythm are created through the combination of two rhythmic figures within one bar to form the syncopated rhythmic pattern:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcircled{1}} \\
\text{\textcircled{1}} \\
\end{array}
\]

(see Example 10 bars 21, 25 27, 65, 77, 95, 105)

and in more extended form

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcircled{1}} \\
\text{\textcircled{1}} \\
\text{\textcircled{1}} \\
\text{\textcircled{1}} \\
\end{array}
\]


Samba-Enredo Song Presentation

During an interview with Samy Sabag in 1978, he described aspects of the samba-enredo song presentation such as the placement of the puxador de samba and instrumentalists. Corresponding descriptions were given by da Aguiar, Forte, da Fonseca, and Cardoso between 1980 and 1985. The same manner of song presentation, detailed in the description of Lucas that follows, was witnessed by me in Brazil.

During the 1985 Rio desfile, the lyrics of Essa Gente Brasileira were sung in unison by a solo voice and chorus made up of all the participants in the Lucas School.

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84 Lapa em Tres Tempos was reproduced from one of a collection of books on Brazilian carnival melodies owned by Luiz ‘Labi’ Alberto (for background details see Chapter IV, p.252).

The solo singer, positioned on a moving vehicle and with his voice amplified, initiated the singing in order to establish the melodic pitch and rhythm for the chorus and musicians, and to enable the various other Lucas components such as the dancers, *porta-bandeira* and *mestre-sala*, and *passistas* to co-ordinate their movements. The musical accompaniment provided by the *Lucas bateria* commenced on the second repeat of the song and, along with the melody, continued without interruption until the Lucas members had left the *Passarela* (Rio's official *desfile* competition area). The textual components of the song (verse/refrain) always followed the same order.

The same methods of *samba-enredo* presentation were also observed during the performances given by other *Escolas* throughout the four days of the 1985 carnival competition. That is, the textual components of the song and their ordering were fixed due to the constraints and regulations imposed by the carnival authorities and the organisational function of the music as an integral part of the *enredo* (plot) presentation. The lack of those same constraints on the Sydney *desfiles* was an important factor of change in the performances of Sambação (see p.235) and the Centre, Sydney's second School of Samba (see Chapter IV, p.304).

The analysis will now focus on an identification of the musical instruments used in a Rio Samba School *bateria* and their physical distribution during a Rio *Carnaval desfile*. Two Samba School *baterias* will be examined and compared. Namely, the *Lucas bateria* and that of a second Rio *Escola* called *Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel* (hereafter also referred to as *Mocidade*).

Figure 21. *Unidos de Lucas Bateria* - Instrumentation and Placement
(see Vol.II, p.49).

Figure 21 lists the musical instruments used by members of *Lucas* to accompany the soloist and chorus during their rehearsals and *desfile* presentation of *Essa Gente Brasileira*. The construction of those instruments and their functions in Brazilian *samba-enredo* will be discussed shortly.

Also shown in Figure 21 is the layout of the *Lucas bateria* at a rehearsal in January 1985 (field notes). During the February *Carnaval desfile*, while the *Lucas bateria* consisted of around 150 musicians, there were only 33 musicians present at the January rehearsal. The director of the *bateria* conducted the front group of instruments with hand signals and combinations of hand and whistle signals. The front group of instruments, comprised the small hand-held instruments such as the *agogós,*
chocalhos and cuicas. The caixas and repiniques followed in the middle of the bateria. A second musical director was responsible for the musical cohesion of those musicians and their collection of instruments. The back rows, controlled by a third musical director, comprised several more repiniques which were intermingled with three large types of bass drums, namely, the surdo de repicar, surdo de marcação, and surdo de marcação centralizador. The two largest bass drums (surdo de marcação and surdo de marcação centralizador) were placed at opposite ends of the last line so that their sounds could be heard clearly by the other musicians in the bateria.

Figure 22. Mocidade Bateria - Instrumentation and Placement
(see Vol.II, p.50).

Figure 22, formulated by Muniz Jr.86 shows the instrumentation and arrangement of the Mocidade bateria. As illustrated in Figure 22, the director of the bateria controlled the group from the front. Coded whistle signals, arm movements, or a baton were used to cue the entry of certain instruments, bring about changes in the density of the sound, and indicate major structural parts of the song such as the transition from a verse to a chorus.

The musicians were divided into two groups: the front group which comprised the small hand-held instruments, namely the cuicas, tamborims, chocalhos, pandeiros, reco-recos, agogôs, and the second group, which consisted of the heavier and lower-pitched instruments all of which are drums. As will be explained in more detail later in this chapter, the principal function of the lowest pitched drums (surdos) is to provide the traditional low samba beats that stabilise the overall rhythm and provide the foundation for the rhythmic patterns and improvisations played on the other instruments. In accordance, note that the three lowest pitched drums were placed in strategic positions, one in the middle and two at each extremity at the rear of the group where the sounds of those surdos could be heard by the other musicians in the bateria, an arrangement similar to that seen in the Lucas bateria.

There are obvious similarities between the instrument distribution in the Lucas and Mocidade baterias. Like the Lucas bateria, the front half of the Mocidade bateria (lines 1-3) consisted predominantly of the small hand-held instruments (agogôs, chocalhos, tamborims), whereas the middle to back lines were made up exclusively of drums. Furthermore, as was the case with the Lucas bateria, the lowest-pitched surdos

86 Muniz Jr., Do Batuque: A Escola de Samba, 51.
(surdo de marcação and surdo de marcação centralizador) were located at either end of the last line where they could be heard clearly by the other musicians.

**Bateria – Standardisation of Instruments**

Competition in the Rio desfile over fifty years has led to a standardisation of the bateria instrumentation. Accordingly, the combination of percussion instruments shown in Figures 21 and 22, used by members of Lucas and Mocidade baterias, corresponds with the combination of percussion instruments identified by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney, Sabag, Forte, Almeida, da Fonseca and da Aguiar (personal communication 1978-1982), Brazilian musicians da Villa Matilda, and da Cuica (Interviews Brazil 1985), and Brazilian writers Jório and Araújo\(^87\) and Gardel\(^88\) as the "basic" instruments of a Brazilian Samba School bateria.

In recent years, attempts by various Rio Escolas to alter the "basic" instrumentation through the introduction of "unusual" musical instruments such as timbales and electric guitars into the Rio Carnaval desfiles have proven unsuccessful.\(^89\)

At the same time, it is important to note that while variation occurs between the size of the various Escolas de Samba baterias, strict rules imposed by carnival authorities such as the Brazilian Government Department of Tourism (Riotur) and Association of Samba Schools ensures the inclusion of those instruments listed in a Rio bateria, and the exclusion of certain percussion instruments that are not considered to be a "traditional" or "authentic" part of the Rio desfile. For example, Tati writes that "the exclusion in the bateria of brass and stringed instruments is traditional and justified because those instruments interfere with the melody of the samba-enredo which is left entirely up to the singers".\(^90\) A similar situation exists in Belo Horizonte and São Paulo whereby the same regulations and constraints are imposed on Escola de Samba members in those urban areas.

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87 Jório and Araújo, *Escola de Samba em Desfile*, 49.


89 Official desfile regulations (for example see Belotour 'Regulamento dos Desfiles das Escolas de Samba 1985') which apply to Samba Schools in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte prohibit the use of wind instruments in a Samba School bateria. Gardel noted that the introduction of timbales into the Rio Carnaval desfiles by members of Imperio Serrano was met with little enthusiasm (1967:153). Interviews in Brazil with carnival authorities Sergio Cabral, Djair Martin and Ramos Hissa confirmed that the principal percussion instruments of a Brazilian Escola de Samba bateria match those that were identified in the section on musical analysis in this chapter as the essential instruments of the bateria and samba-enredo.

90 Tati, "Escolas de Samba," 87.
The numbers of instruments used and their physical arrangement during a Carnaval desfile rehearsal or performance are important factors in achieving the required volume, balance and combination of instrumental sounds. Naturally, variation in the placement and proportion of instruments varies somewhat with each Escola depending on personal preferences as well as the number and types of instruments and musicians available in a particular School. Tati describes the principal function of a bateria as follows:

The bateria of an Escola da Samba is group of percussionists who are responsible for maintaining the strong beats and flow of the rhythm that is indispensable to the development of the song and choreography of the Samba School . . . the main objective is to sustain the rhythm of the samba.\footnote{Tati, "Escolas de Samba." 87.}

While Rio Escolas such as Imperatriz Leopoldinense, Salgueiro, and Portela maintain between 200 and 300 musicians in their baterias the competitive success of a bateria is not dependent on its size alone. As Tati states, an abundance of percussionists increases the loudness of the bateria but not necessarily the quality of the rhythms.\footnote{Ibid., p. 88.} Brazilian musicians and carnival authorities in Rio (da Lima, Cabral, Viana) agree that the Mocidade percussion section, which usually consists only of around 100 musicians, is by far the best sounding bateria in Rio de Janeiro. Riotur states, ‘as always, Mocidade’s percussion section, led by Maestro André, stands out amongst all other schools’.\footnote{Drummond, Rio Samba e Carnaval. 61.} The status attributed to the Mocidade bateria is a vital factor which has influenced Samba School musicians in Brazil as well as Sydney and was a prime determinant of musical change in performances of samba-enredo by members of the Brazilian Social Centre, as will be demonstrated later in Chapter IV.

Figure 23. Samba-Enredo Instruments - Classification Method 1
(see Vol.II, p.51).

Two methods of classification are used by Brazilian writers and Brazilian musicians to group the instruments of a Brazilian bateria according to their size and function. As shown in Figure 23, Method 1, based on size, divides the instruments into two groups by drawing a distinction between the ‘muídezas’ - "light ones" - small hand-held instruments - (apito, tamborins, pandeiros, cuicas, agogôs, reco-reco, chocalhos) and the ‘couros pesados’ - "heavy skins" - which comprises the larger
instruments such as the *repinique*, *caixas de guerra*, and *surdos*, each of which is suspended at waist-height by a supporting strap.

**Figure 24. Samba-Enredo Instruments - Classification Method 2**

(see Vol.II, p.51).

Figure 24 shows the grouping of the percussion instruments of the *Lucas bateria* according to classification Method 2 which relates more to musical function than size. Following the methods of classification set out by Almeida, the percussion instruments listed in Figure 24 are divided into three main groups. These comprise the high-group (*Leves*) which consists of the smaller-sized instruments - *chocalhos*, *reco-reco*, *agogôs*, *cuicas*, *pandeiros*, *tamborims* and the *apito*; the middle-group (*Intermediarios*) which contains an assortment of snare drums (*tarois, caixas de guerra, repinique*), and low-group (*Base*), which consists of the three types of large drum (*surdo de marcação, surdo de marcação centralizador, surdo de repicar*).

While the aforementioned writers on Brazilian *Carnaval* were able to identify the percussion instruments that they considered as essential for a satisfactory performance of *samba-enredo*, and classify them according to groups, none examined or explained the specific musical functions of those percussion instruments in *samba-enredo*. In the description of the musical instruments and analysis of *Essa Gente Brasileira* which follows, I have adopted the three Brazilian terms - *Leve, Intermediario, Base* - to describe the corresponding sounds of each of those three groups. Moreover, during a *samba-enredo* performance, the percussion instruments provide three main musical layers of sound, namely: (1) the high-sound layer (*Leve*), (2) the middle-sound layer (*Intermediario*), and (3) the low-sound layer (*Base*).

The analysis will now focus in detail on the construction and playing technique of each instrument and their individual and combined functions as part of the *samba-enredo* accompaniment. The instrumental playing techniques are, for the sake of clarity, described from the right-handed perspective. The analysis is based on information from Brazilian musicians in Sydney and Brazil and supported with the analysis of additional field recordings of the *Lucas bateria* as well as information obtained from written sources.

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An explanation of the rules used to generate variation during a performance of samba-enredo is beyond the scope of this present context. It will be shown that the musical instruments of the bateria alternate between two basic functions; establishing the pulse through the repetition of certain pre-rehearsed and spontaneous rhythmic ostinati patterns and regular subdivisions of the low samba beat, and performing in a less restricted manner improvising syncopated rhythmic patterns. The samba-enredo instruments will be discussed according to their respective classifications as part of the high, medium, and low-sound layers in that order.

**Samba-Enredo Instruments of the High-Sound Layer**

Figure 25. *Cavaquinho*  
(see Vol.II, p.52).

In their order of appearance, the *cavaquinho* is the only chordophone in the bateria. Classified as a necked box lute, the *cavaquinho* is similar in size and appearance to a small wooden ukelele and has four metallic strings tuned from top to bottom D - G - B - D. While the intervallic relationship between the four strings is generally constant, the overall tuning pitch is flexible. The sound of the *cavaquinho* is the result of a continuous downwards and upwards movement of the fingertips across the strings.

Prior to his arrival in Australia in 1971, Lourenço Forte had extensive involvement with the Brazilian Escolas de Samba and musical experience as a cavaquinho player. He was interested in keeping up to date with new and innovative carnival instrumental techniques. During his return visits to Brazil around carnival time in 1978 and 1981 he sought to expand his knowledge of the bateria and samba-enredo instruments. His description of the function of the cavaquinho in carnival samba-enredo matched those descriptions given by other Sydney Brazilian musicians Samy Sabag, João Carlos and Tristão da Aguiar. Collectively, their accounts span around 20 years of Carnaval (1971-1981).

The use of the cavaquinho in the Unidos de Lucas bateria in the 1985 Rio Carnaval conformed to the descriptions by those musicians. The cavaquinho player formed part of a small musical ensemble (cavaquinho, surdo and pandeiro) which was positioned next to the School's solo singer on a moving truck. This vehicle kept pace
with the bulk of the School members who paraded on foot. Audio amplification mounted on that truck amplified the sounds of this small musical group as they led the chorus and *bateria*. This smaller ensemble ensured the musical cohesion of the School. As Carlos noted, "even if the *bateria* became insecure, everybody in the School could follow the singer and musicians on the truck" (interview: 1986).

**Example 11. Cavaquinho Accompaniment Rhythms**

(see Vol.II, p.53).

The *cavaquinho* accompaniment rhythms are shown in Example 11 in relation to *Lucas samba-enredo* melody sung once only. Two versions of the *cavaquinho* accompaniment rhythms are shown in the transcription. Version 1 (recorded 19 January) and Version 2 (2 February) illustrate some of the stable and flexible functions of the *cavaquinho*. In both versions, the *cavaquinho* accompaniment rhythmic patterns result from a subdivision of each duple-metre crotchet pulse into rhythmic configurations such as those seen in Example B below.

**Example B. Cavaquinho – Rhythmic Configurations**

\[
\begin{align*}
(a) & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\end{array} & (b) & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\end{array} & (c) & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\end{array} & (d) & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\end{array} & (e) & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

which are used to construct rhythmic patterns that are usually two bars in length. One such example, played in both versions of the *cavaquinho* accompaniment to the *Lucas enredo* (Example 11) is the rhythmic pattern

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
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\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\overbrace{\text{\textbullet}} \\
\end{array}
\]

(See Example 11, Version 1, bars 9-11, 11-13, 19-21, 27-29, 29-31, 47-51, 55-57, 79-121 and Version 2, bars 1-3, 7-9).

Patterns such as that shown above, which are sequenced together with repetition (for example see Version 1, bars 9-11, repeated in 11-13 and 79-119), or variation, serve a dual musical function either stabilising the accompaniment rhythms through continuous rhythmic subdivisions of each crotchet pulse, or highlighting the melody through the occasional use of syncopation (for examples, see Example 11, Version 1, syncopation into bars 3, 5, 7, 15, 19, or Version 2, bars 5-7, 12-20, 37-41).
The cavaquinho player sometimes combines rhythmic and harmonic syncopation to add momentum and tension to the melody as seen in Version 2, bars 11-29 in which chords are played shortly before or after a melody note which forms part of the chord (see Ab6 in bars 13 and 21). Irrespective of function, the cavaquinho accompaniment rhythms are, according to Forte, usually played in an uninterrupted manner as shown in Example 11. That style of playing, particularly for long uninterrupted rehearsals and performances, demands a high degree of precision and dexterity on the part of the player, particularly as the cavaquinho (sometimes used in conjunction with an acoustic guitar) is the only harmonic instrument in a bateria which may have as many as four hundred percussion instruments. As will be shown later in this chapter during the analysis of Sambação's bateria and samba-enredo interpretations (see p.210), the cavaquinho, a standard part of the samba-enredo accompaniment in Rio de Janeiro, was missing in the carnival re-enactments by members of Sambação in Sydney and by members of the second Sydney Samba School, the Centre (see Chapter IV).

Figure 26. Apito
(see Vol.II, p.58).

The apito is a small metal whistle similar in size and appearance to a referee's whistle. A second variation of the apito is shown in Figure 26. Namely, a small metallic whistle with two sound outlets. Despite variations in shape, one basic instrumental technique is used to produce the typical apito sounds. More specifically, the musician, usually the director of the bateria, combines various intensities of his air stream with corresponding movements of the hand with which he holds the whistle. That hand is opened and closed over the whistle outlet/s. Corresponding variations of fixed and sliding pitch and volume result.

Although the apito is classified along with other instruments that produce the high-sound layer, its function is quite different from the other instruments in that group. The apito was used as a signalling device by the director of the Lucas bateria singularly and in conjunction with baton movements to bring about changes in the volume and/or tempo of the samba-enredo accompaniment. The apito is also used to cue the entry of various individual instrumentalists such as the principal repinique player, and/or sub-groups within the bateria, such as the tamborims. According to da Silva, each School develops their own whistle variations and cues.

Figure 27. Tamborim
(see Vol.II, p.58).
The *tamborim* is a struck membranophone which has the appearance of a small round drum approximately 15 cm in diameter by 4 cm in depth, covered on one side only with a plastic head which is fitted to the drum by means of a metal hoop with regulating screws. The *tamborim* is held in the left hand while the right hand is used to beat the skin and the circular rim of the drum with a thin wooden stick or two or three thin lengths of bamboo or plastic rod. In addition, finger pressure may be exerted on the underside of the head to correspond or alternate with each stroke of the beater/s. This combination produces an open resonant sound and a dampened yet penetrating effect and varying degrees of both. Additional rhythms and sounds result from side to side movements of the hand holding the instrument to create more intense accents on certain beats of the stick/s.

**Example C. Three Tamborim Stabllising Patterns**

*Tamborim ostinato*

Pattern A

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Pattern A} \\
\frac{2}{4}
\end{array}
\]

Pattern B

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Pattern B} \\
\frac{2}{4}
\end{array}
\]

Pattern C

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Pattern C} \\
\frac{2}{4}
\end{array}
\]

**Low samba surdo beat**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Low samba surdo beat} \\
\frac{2}{4}
\end{array}
\]

Key to notational symbols is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textup{\textbullet}} &= \text{tamborim resonant stick beat} \\
\text{\textup{\textbullet\textbullet}} &= \text{tamborim dampened stick beat} \\
\text{\textup{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}} &= \text{tamborim finger attack} \\
\text{\textup{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}} &= \text{surdo weak beat} \\
\text{\textup{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}} &= \text{surdo resonant beat}
\end{align*}
\]
Tamborim rhythmic patterns A, B and C, shown in Example C above, were transcribed from a percussion demonstration given by professional Sydney Brazilian musician Jeronimo Santos da Silva at his home in November 1988. On that occasion, da Silva also provided detailed descriptions of the specific techniques used to produce those particular tamborim patterns, which he said were commonly used in the Rio Samba Schools to "secure" (stabilise) the samba-enredo accompaniment rhythms.

All stabilising patterns are shown in relation to the placement of the alternating weak and resonant samba surdo beat. The additional notational symbols below each pattern show the specific sequence or combination of stick/finger beats for a particular pattern.

For example, tamborim pattern A, which sounds a subdivision of each low samba crotchet beat into four semiquavers, results from a right-hand resonant stick beat, a left-hand finger attack on underside of head, a dampened stick beat, followed by another resonant stick beat.

Tamborim pattern B, referred to in 1985 by da Vila Matilda as "the Carioca (Rio) style", emphasises the first and fourth semiquaver subdivision of each crotchet beat. Pattern C, corresponds with the figure identified by Béhague as a classic samba rhythm (see p.172).

Brazilian musicians in Sydney (da Aguiar, Sabag, Carlos, Forte, da Oliveira) and in Brazil (da Cuica, da Villa Matilda) agree on the function of the tamborim as a part of the samba-enredo accompaniment. Their descriptions suggest at least three basic tamborim functions:

1) to stabilise the rhythms of the musical accompaniment.

2) to create 'trademark' rhythmic patterns that are a distinguishing feature of a Samba School's original samba-enredo.

3) to emphasise important parts of a song text such as the transition from song verse to song refrain. These sections in samba-enredo, referred to as 'breaks', will be discussed in more detail later.

The analysis will now focus on the use of the tamborims in Essa Gente Brasileira in light of the three tamborim functions identified above.
Example 12. *Lucas Samba-Enredo* – Function of Tamborims
(see Vol. II, p. 59).

The *tamborims* were the largest group of instruments in the *Lucas bateria*. During the 1985 Rio *desfile*, the tamborimists marched in two rows at the front of the *bateria*. Example 12 shows three versions of the *tamborim* accompaniment rhythms in relation to the structure of the *Lucas* theme song. Versions 1 and 2 were transcribed from a recording of the *Lucas bateria* made on 26 January 1985. Version 3 was performed and recorded several days later (7 February).

In spite of the time lapse involved in the collection of those field recordings, certain features of the *tamborim* accompaniment appear to be stable. Namely, the use of quaver triplets to coincide with the commencement of the melody (see Versions 2 and 3, also in Version 1 but starts at a later point as it was preceded by an unaccompanied melodic introduction), and the use in all three versions of the earlier identified 'Carioca' repetitive rhythmic pattern 'tamborim pattern B' (~~) to stabilise the overall accompaniment (see Versions 1-3, bars 5-15).

*Tamborim* 'Trademark' Patterns

João Carlos, one of Sydney’s most experienced Brazilian immigrant musicians (see Chapter IV, p. 249 for background details), noted with regard to that specific *tamborim* function:

*the tamborims create rhythmic patterns to complement parts of the song and give life to the words. Each School has its own tamborim patterns. It’s the same in São Paulo as in Rio. Out of six Schools of Samba in São Paulo each tries not to imitate the next. I can tell one School from the next by the beating of the tamborims* (interview: Sydney 1985).

In Section C of *Essa Gente Brasileira* (see bars 73-119), the *tamborim* players introduce pre-rehearsed trademark rhythmic patterns to emphasise the song melody and final development of the narrative text. The *tamborim* ostinato marked ‘tamborim trademark ostinato A’ (see bars 73-77), which lasts for four bars in duple-metre, was played in Versions 1 and 2, which were recorded a week apart.
Example D. *Tamborim* - "Trademark" Patterns

*Tamborim* trademark ostinato A

Versions 1 and 2
January 1985

*Tamborim* trademark ostinato B

Version 3
February 1985

*Tamborim* trademark ostinato A, which is repeated until the recommencement of Verse 1 (section A), comprises the rhythmic elements shown in Example D above. A second *tamborim* ostinato which lasts for eight bars in duple-metre (see bars 73-81), labelled *tamborim* trademark ostinato B in the transcription and also shown in Example D above, was transcribed from a field recording made on the night of the final rehearsal before Lucas’s 1985 Carnival desfile. Ostinato pattern A was the most frequently played of the two patterns during the Lucas rehearsals that I witnessed.

In accordance with Carlos’s earlier comments on the use of trademark *tamborim* patterns in his Brazilian *Escola de Samba* (*Vai-Vai*, São Paulo), members of the Lucas *bateria* remarked that those *tamborim* patterns (ostinato patterns A and B above) helped to individualise their samba-*enredo* and *bateria*. Furthermore, outside their rehearsals, members of Lucas would usually accompany their informal renditions of *Essa Gente Brasileira* with hand-clapped imitations of *tamborim* trademark pattern A. Similarly, that *tamborim* technique, whereby large numbers of *tamborims* play ‘trademark’ patterns in rhythmic unison, was observed in the desfile performance played by the Lucas group in the 1985 Rio Carnival.

*Tamborim* Break Patterns

The analysis of *As Pastoquinhas* in Chapter II revealed the important function of the rhythmic break patterns as musical devices designed to highlight and define important parts of the marcha melody and text (see Chapter II p.88). During each rhythmic ‘break’ the repetitious low *surdo* beat ($\overset{\frown}{\frown}$) and overall flow of the accompaniment is interrupted momentarily while the *surdo* and other instruments
sound a combination of pre-rehearsed rhythmic patterns which usually last for two bars in duple metre. These break patterns ensure a cohesion between the soloist, chorus, and accompaniment as the patterns highlight important sections of the song such the entry of a main verse or the repeat of the melody.

Two 'breaks' occur in *Essa Gente Brasileira*. The first break pattern, labelled 'break 1' in the transcription of Example 12 (see bars 71-73), marks the conclusion of a bridge passage (Section B, bars 40-73) and transition into Section C (bars 73-121). The *tamborim* rhythmic patterns played at the break point are identical in all three song versions. That break pattern comprises an accented down beat on the first crotchet in a bar of duple-metre, a quaver rest on the second down beat, followed by a quaver on the upbeat of the second crotchet beat in the bar. That rhythmic pattern is repeated in the second bar of the two-bar pattern.

The second break pattern, marked 'break 2' (see bars 119-121) also two-bars in duration, comprises a triplet subdivision of the first down beat and quaver subdivision of the second down beat in the first bar of the break, followed by a crotchet down beat and crotchet rest in the second bar. Break pattern 2 is identical in song Version 1 and 2. In Version 3, the *tamborim* players play a variation of break pattern 1 in which the last quaver upbeat of the second bar of the pattern is omitted.

Besides the stabilising, trademark and break functions of the *tamborim* in *samba-enredo*, field work in Brazil also revealed a fourth *tamborim* function whereby a specialist musician (*ritmista*) performs virtuosic *tamborim* improvisations away from the *bateria* with or without *passistas* (virtuosic female dancers). This last function relates more to visual aspects of the School's *desfile* than to the *samba-enredo* musical accompaniment and will not be illustrated with analysis.

Soloistic *tamborim* variations typical of the *ritmista*’s performance result from complex finger/stick combinations. As will be demonstrated later in this chapter (see pp.220-21), members in Sambaço, predominantly inexperienced Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians, lacked the skills necessary for the *samba-enredo* *tamborim* stabilising and soloistic rhythms. Their omission of the *tamborim* resulted in changes to their *samba-enredo* interpretations by Brazilian standards. The function of the *pandeiros* in the Lucas *bateria* will now be examined.

**Figure 28. Pandeiro**

(see Vol.II, p.64).
The construction of the *pandeiro* was detailed in Chapter II (see p.87). It was also noted that the rhythms result from a basic hand movement which involves the thumb, fingers and heel of one hand, combined with pressure exerted on the underside of the skin by the fingers of the hand holding the instrument (*ibid.*).

During a *Carnaval desfile*, *pandeiro* players form a sub-group within the bateria. Their principal function is to stabilise the overall rhythms of the musical accompaniment. Example E below, transcribed from a demonstration given by renowned Brazilian percussionist, *samba-enredo* composer, and *sambista*, Osvaldinho da Cuica at his home in São Paulo in March 1985, shows what he described as a "basic *pandeiro* rhythmic pattern" of carnival *samba-enredo*. That continuous semiquaver rhythmic pattern, identical to that given by Forte and da Silva (Sydney), and Guerrero,\(^9\) results from a basic hand movement that involves the thumb, fingers, and heel of one hand. Those hand movements are sequential and require a high degree of expertise (code to abbreviations: T = thumb, F = fingers, H = heel of hand).

Example E. *Pandeiro* — Basic Rhythm

Rhythmic variations of that fundamental semiquaver rhythmic ostinato shown in Example E result from various combinations of hand and finger movements, whereby, the middle finger of the hand holding the instrument is used to control the sound. When held against the underside of the skin the sound is deadened. When away from the skin the sound is open.

Example F. *Pandeiro* — "Surdo Imitation".

Key to notational symbols

\[+ = \text{dampened thumb attack}\]
\[o = \text{resonant thumb attack}\]

Example F, a soloistic **pandeiro** variation demonstrated by da Cuica (Brazil 1985), was said by da Cuica to combine the basic sounds of the **pandeiro** (semiquaver subdivisions), with an imitation of the typical **surdo** pattern described in the previous chapter (see p.89). Namely, a weak first beat followed by a resonant second beat in a bar of duple-metre. In da Cuica's **pandeiro/surdo** imitation, the **pandeiro** membrane is left to resonate at a point which corresponds with the second crotchet down beat in each duple-metre bar.

The resonant beat variation in the second bar of Example F is an imitation of a typical **surdo de repicar** embellishment of the second resonant beat (see later p.203). As Forte remarked, "the **pandeiro** can replace lots of instruments . . . the **surdo** and the shakers (chocalhos), and even the **tamborim** . . . it can combine about three instruments into one" (Interview 1981). As was the case with the **tamborim**, intricate hand movement combinations result in complex **pandeiro** rhythms and sounds that are a speciality of the **ritmista**.

Figure 29. *Pandeiro Player with Passista*  
(see Vol.II, p.64.).

Carlos's identification of the functions of the **pandeiro** during a Brazilian Samba School's performance of **samba-enredo** includes additional information concerning the physical demands of the instrument.

*The **pandeiro** is an instrument that really makes you tired. Some guys in Brazil play with both hands to overcome this problem. In the bateria, some of the **pandeiros** are for show and they work away from the bateria with the **passistas**. The other **pandeiro** players who stay with the bateria have the same rhythm as the chocalhos [Carlos demonstrates semiquaver pattern] and secure the rhythm and they don't change this rhythm unless they are tired. But when they are tired they have got communication between them. Let's say there's a team of fifty of them. They take turns. The guy who stays on the line sometimes wants to go and play with the girls and look around and show himself off, so he goes off and another returns to the bateria* (interview 1986).

As will be shown later during the analysis of **samba-enredo** performances by Sambação members, due to the shortage of experienced Brazilian musicians in Sydney and physical demands of the **pandeiro**, that soloistic instrument was, along with the **tamborim**, also missing from Sambação's carnival re-enactments in Sydney.

Figure 30. *Cuica Internal View*  
(see Vol.II, p.65.).
The *cuica* is a friction drum made from wood or metal; the most common nowadays being metal. As shown in Figure 30, a membrane is attached to one end of the drum by means of a metal hoop which has regulating screws. These regulating screws allow the performer to alter the *cuica*’s fundamental pitch. Inside the drum, attached to the centre of the membrane, is a thin wooden stick.

Figure 31. Musician Plays Cuica
(see Vol.II, p.65).

A piece of damp cloth is rubbed along this internal stick causing friction and producing the sounds of the *cuica*. When this action is combined with a fluctuating pressure on the exterior of the membrane, by the fingers of the hand holding the drum (see Fig. 31), the resultant sound had two distinct possibilities. The sound may either correspond to recognisable pitches, or it may move microtonally within the compass of the range used.

In connection with the origins of the *cuica*, Schechter speculated, while ‘it was introduced into Brazil probably by Bantu slaves . . . it has also been known in Spain for centuries and is believed to have been brought to black Africa by Muslims’.96 Kubik claims, however, that ‘The Angola/Congo origin of the Brazilian friction drums known as the *puita* in the State of São Paulo and *cuica* (Brazilian spellings) . . . is certain’. Like the *pandeiro*, apart from its important musical function in carnival *samba-enredo*, the *cuica* is also used throughout Brazil to accompany numerous dances and festivities such as the *congada*, *cururu* and *jongo* (São Paulo) and the *carimbo*, a dance from the area of Belem-Para in the north of Brazil.97

Aliege Forte commented that the *cuica* is like the singer in an *Escola de Samba*. Carlos recalled that his friend in Brazil could play the complete melody of ‘The Look of Love’ (Burt Bacharach) on the *cuica*. Likewise, Lourenço Forte added that there are *cuica* players in Brazil that can make the *cuica* sing. The following musical excerpt substantiates and illustrates those claims.

Example 13. *Cuica* Melody – ‘One Note Samba’
(see Vol.II, p.66).

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96 Ibid., p. 527.

Example 13 is an excerpt in which a *cuica* player plays the verse of a famous Brazilian-composed melody entitled *Samba de Uma Nota so* (One Note Samba). The excerpt was transcribed from a commercial Brazilian recording which features the musical instruments of the Rio *Escola de Samba Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel*. That particular recording was one of a series of *Mocidade* recordings that will later be shown to have had a major influence on the interpretations of *samba-enredo* made by members of the Centre (see Chapter IV, p.296). In the transcription, the *Mocidade* excerpt is shown below an excerpt from the original version by Antonio Carlos Jobim.

In connection with its specific functions in a Brazilian *Escola de Samba* Carlos noted that "normally they use about twenty *cuicas* in an *Escola de Samba* . . . let's say ten doing the high pitch and ten doing the low pitch . . . it's ultra important in *samba-enredo* and difficult to play" (interview 1981). Carlos was more specific in his identification of what he regarded as the dual functions of the *cuicas* as stabilising and soloistic instruments in the *bateria* when he suggested that "the *cuica* is a very very important instrument . . . one *cuica* holds the rhythm while another improvises . . . when the *bateria* volume drops down the *cuica* plays louder (interview 1986).

The *Lucas bateria* had around 12 *cuica* players. Those musicians formed a line behind the *tamborims* at the front of the *bateria*. An examination of the function of the *cuica* in the *Lucas samba-enredo* supports information from field work and written sources concerning the dual function of the instrument. As will be demonstrated in the analysis that follows, a majority of the *Lucas cuica* players stabilised the rhythms of the overall accompaniment while two players created soloistic improvisations.

**Example 14. Lucas Cuica Rhythms**

(see Vol.II, p.67).

Example 14 shows an excerpt of the *Lucas cuicas* in relation to the *samba-enredo* melody and accompanying low *samba surdo* beat. The *cuica* players stabilise the rhythms of the accompaniment through the use of the two-bar rhythmic ostinato pattern labelled ‘*cuica* ostinato pattern A’ in bars 1-3 of Example 14, which is repeated, with slight variation at times, throughout a verse and refrain (see *Cuica* A bars 1-39) in a more soloistic manner. While the *cuica* players maintain the two-bar rhythmic ostinato, or a closely related variation (see *Cuica* B bars

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one player improvises rhythmic variations that are intended to complement the song melody and text as well as add rhythmic interest to the overall sounds of the accompaniment (see solo cuica, bars 24-58).

Example 15. Cuica – Soloistic Sounds and Rhythms
(see Vol.II, p.69).

When played in a soloistic manner, the cuica is used to produce a wide variety of sound effects and microtonal rhythmic variations. A brief excerpt of the soloistic cuica style is shown in Example 15, a samba improvisation transcribed from a field recording of Brazilian percussionist Carlinhos Concalves shortly after his arrival in Australia in 1981 (a code to the notational symbols see Vol.II). The excerpt comprises a brief improvised percussive section in a regular tempo (= 120 m.m.) followed by a contrasting improvisation in free rhythm. Carlinhos Concalves plays the cuica, apito, and drum kit in both sections. He is accompanied by Nestor Sousa, a Uruguayan-born Sydney musician, who plays the tamborim in the first section only.

The first section (see bars 141-161), comprises sparse cuica, apito and drum sounds accompanied by repetitions of the two-bar samba rhythmic labelled ‘tamborim ostinato pattern’ (a pattern identified by Guerrero as typical of Brazilian Carnaval samba). Soloistic microtonal cuica sounds and virtuosic rhythmic variations occur in the second section. The associated techniques require a high degree of expertise. As shown in detail later in this section on musical analysis (see p.219 fol.), the lack of experienced samba-enredo musicians in Sydney, particularly those who could perform in the soloistic instruments such as the tamborim, pandeiro, and cuica, caused changes to Sambação’s interpretations of Brazilian samba-enredo.

Figure 32. Agogô
(see Vol.II, p.75).

The agogô, classified as struck clapperless bells, consists of a short iron bar terminated at one end by one or two conical or wedge-shaped prongs resembling bells. These bells are graded in size, and the single pitch of each bell varies according to its individual dimensions. The sound of the agogô is produced by the striking action of a thin metal rod on the side of a bell, which may be left to ring openly or dampened by the hand which holds the instrument.
Like the *cuica*, the *agogô* is undoubtedly of African origin. The term ‘*agogô*’ is a Yoruba word, the English translation being ‘bells’.\(^\text{99}\) The same term is used by the Igala- and Edo-speaking peoples of Nigeria.\(^\text{100}\) Besides its use in carnival *samba-enredo*, the *agogô* is used in other forms of popular music throughout Brazil such as *samba batucada*, as well as in the rites of the Afro-Brazilian religious cults *Candomblé* and *Umbanda*.

The musical effect created by the *agogô* is influenced by the melodic quality of the instrument with its two distinct pitches. When used as a stabilising instrument, the *agogô* player subdivides each crotchet beat into various rhythmic configurations. Typical rhythmic subdivisions are listed in Example G below.

**Example G. Agogô – Rhythmic Configurations**

\[
\text{(a)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\vdots \\
\end{array}
\text{(b)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\vdots \\
\end{array}
\text{(c)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\vdots \\
\end{array}
\text{(d)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\vdots \\
\end{array}
\text{(e)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\vdots \\
\end{array}
\]

**Example H. Agogô – "Typical" Rhythmic Patterns**

- **Forte (Sydney 1981)**
- **da Aguiar (Sydney 1984)**
- **Lucas ‘Pattern A’**
- **da Vila Matilda (Brazil 1985)**
- **Guerrero 1979**


The rhythmic subdivisions shown in Example G are combined to form two-bar rhythmic patterns such as those identified in Example H above by Brazilian musicians and a writer on samba. Variations of those two-bar patterns seem to revolve around a continuously alternating high and low bell pitch.

Example 16. *Lucas Samba-Enredo – Agogô Rhythms*  
(see Vol.II, p.76).

The two successive repeats of the Lucas agogô accompaniment rhythms, labelled Versions 1 and 2 in Example 16, were recorded at a Lucas rehearsal one week prior to the members' official Carnaval desfile (7 February 1985). Due to poor field recording quality the agogô rhythms of version 2 was not transcribeable from bar 73 to the end of Section C. Nevertheless, as shown clearly in the Lucas example, subdivisions of each crotchet pulse such as those shown in Example 16 are used to stabilise the accompaniment rhythms. The rhythms reflect stability as well spontaneity. For example, the first two bars of each song beginning is accompanied by a succession of agogô triplet subdivisions of each crotchet pulse (see both Versions, bars 1-3). In addition, the continuous agogô rhythms are interrupted momentarily in each repeat at those two break points identified earlier (see p.185). Agogô break pattern 1 (see both versions bars 71-73) are identical to those played by the tamborim player (see earlier p.185) and are prerehearsed rather than spontaneous.

The alternating agogô pitches which were identified as significant in Example H "typical" agogô rhythmic configurations also appear to be a significant organising device in the Lucas samba-enredo whereby the agogô song accompaniment patterns are often elaborations of an essential alternating low/high pitch bell in a bar of duple-metre (for example, see Versions 1 and 2 bars 3-21). Accordingly, Nenê da Vila Matilda commented that "the agogô not only accompanies [stabilises the rhythm] during samba-enredo, but it also makes a song out of the rhythm . . . it has an ornamental function" (Interview: São Paulo March 1985). Members of Sambaçao, primarily inexperienced musicians, had difficulties with the agogô which resulted in changes to their interpretations of samba-enredo as shown later (see p.220).

Figure 33. Musician Plays Reco-Reco  
(see Vol.II, p.81).
The reco-reco is an unpitched scraped idiophone. As seen in Figure 33, the reco-reco is manufactured from metal whereby two metal springs are fitted along the flat surface of a semi-circular, 30 cm long metal tube. To produce the sound of the reco-reco, a thin metal rod is dragged backwards and forwards along those springs to produce the characteristic semiquaver subdivisions of each crotchet pulse.

The reco-reco players parade together in the bateria. Their principal function is to stabilise the accompaniment rhythms of samba-enredo. One typical reco-reco rhythmic ostinato is that shown below and identified by Forte, Sabag, and da Vila Matilda. Namely, the subdivision of each crotchet pulse into four semiquavers with a medium accent on the first semiquaver and strong fourth semiquaver accent in each group (\[ \frac{1}{4} \begin{array}{ll} \underline{\text{I}} & \underline{\text{J}} \\ \underline{\text{I}} & \underline{\text{J}} \end{array} \] )

Chocalho

Chocalho is a generic term for Brazilian shaken and struck rattles often known by their onomatopoeic names, such as xaque-xaque, xeque-xeque, xequerê and xexerê. Due to its widespread use in Indian music, traditional music and urban popular styles the construction of the chocalho is also varied, ranging from the gourd type instruments such as those played by the Kayapo Indians to the manufactured tubular type chocalhos also called ganzas.

Figure 34. Chocalho - Six Chocalho Sizes (see Vol.II, p.81).

Figure 34, photographed at an instrument manufacturers in Cordovil (Rio suburb which adjoins Parada de Lucas), shows six different-sized chocalhos of the type used by members of Lucas and other Rio Escolas de Samba. A single tube, and double and triple tube combinations form the basic range. Choice is governed by the volume preferred by a musician or, in some cases, by the musician’s ability/ inability to carry and play the larger versions such as the triple-tubed chocalho for long uninterrupted periods. The Lucas bateria included approximately twelve chocalho players who usually paraded towards the front of the bateria with the other high-sound layer instruments. As shown later in this chapter (see p.209), to overcome the lack of Brazilian made samba percussion instruments in Sydney during Period 1, certain Brazilian individuals in Sambação and the Centre constructed chocalhos by hand and substituted them for the manufactured ones.

To produce the sound of the *chocalho*, the instrument is gripped in the middle (as seen in Fig.35), or at either end with both hands and moved in a continuous backwards and forwards motion in front of the body at shoulder height. The *chocalho* works in conjunction with the *reco-reco* to stabilise the overall *samba-enredo* accompaniment rhythms also with semiquaver subdivisions. Inflections of the hands holding the instrument produce accented semiquaver groups such as $\text{\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{4}}$, a variation identical to that associated with the *chocalho*. The functions of the various instruments in the high-sound layer are summarised later (see p.205). The analysis will now focus on the instruments in the middle-sound layer of the *samba-enredo* accompaniment.

*Samba-Enredo Instruments of the Middle-Sound Layer*

The middle-sound layer of the *samba-enredo* accompaniment is produced by two main types of snare drums, the *repiniques* and the *caixas de guerra*. As in the previous descriptions, these two drums will be discussed in connection with the *samba-enredo* style in general and in specific relation to the *Lucas samba-enredo Essa Gente Brasileira*.

The *repinique* is a circular drum with membrane. The body of the drum, made from metal, is approximately 30 cm in length by 25 cm in diameter. A membrane is attached to the top and bottom of the drum. These hoops are held in position by metal regulating screws which run the length of the body. The drum is suspended at waist height by means of a shoulder strap. The sound of the *repinique* is produced by pre-rehearsed and spontaneous stick strokes, or stick and hand strokes combinations. With the latter technique, a wooden drum stick is used to beat the outer circumference of the membrane near the hoop to produce a sharp penetrating staccato sound. The fingers of the other hand strike the opposite side or centre of the membrane in various alternating sequences with the stick strokes to produce accented sounds.
During the 1985 *Camaval desfile*, the *Lucas repinique* players were positioned in various strategic points within the *bateria* (see Vol.II, Figure 21, p.49). The main *repinique* player was in the centre of the group and others were distributed towards the back of the *bateria* amidst the other middle and low-sound layer instruments. Brazilian musicians interviewed in Sydney and Brazil were in total agreement with regard to the importance of the *repinique* in the *bateria* and its role in *samba-enredo*.

Accordingly, three principal functions of the *repinique* were identified by those musicians, namely, 1) to stabilise the overall sounds of the *bateria*, 2) to create spontaneous and syncopated rhythmic improvisations, and 3) to direct the *bateria* through the use of pre-rehearsed and spontaneous rhythmic cues and signals (*chammars*). The following analysis will address each of those functions in that order.

**Repinique Stabilising Function**

During an interview in São Paulo in 1985, Nenê da Vila Matilda demonstrated what he referred to as the "classical beat" of the *repinique* which was used to "secure" the rhythm. This rhythmic pattern comprised a subdivision of each crotchet beat in duple-metre into four semiquavers (\(\text{\textbf{\textsuperscript{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}}\))\). The first three resulted from stick strokes and the fourth, a noticeably accented semiquaver, from a finger slap on the outer edge of the membrane. At the same time, as da Vila Matilda stressed, the *repinique* "has many diverse beats".

**Repinique Soloistic Function**

In the previous discussion on the function of the high-sound layer instruments, it was shown that certain instruments have more freedom for improvisation than others. For example, the principal function of the *chocalhos* and *reco-recos* is to stabilise the *samba-enredo* accompaniment rhythms through the continuous repetition of the accented semiquaver rhythmic pattern (\(\text{\textbf{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}}\)). Instruments such as the *cuica* are free to create spontaneous and soloistic improvisations in response, for example, to the excitement of a performance or to embellish the *samba* melody. Those varying degrees of freedom to improvise ensure a musical cohesion of the *bateria* and an avoidance of the chaos that would no doubt result from a lack of such constraints.

The *repinique* player is the principal soloist in the middle-sound group of *samba-enredo* instruments. Like the *cuica* player, the *repinique* player is free to create soloistic improvisations that give rhythmic momentum to the song melody and overall accompaniment.
Example 17. *La Vem Portela* Excerpt (bars 17-65)
(see Vol.II, p.83).

Example 17 is an excerpt (bars 17-65) transcribed from a field recording of a Brazilian *samba-enredo* performed by João Carlos and a group of other Sydney Brazilians in 1984. The *repinique* alternates between two basic functions either stabilising the accompaniment rhythms by playing in rhythmic unison with the *caixa* players (see bars 17-22, 25-26, 33-45, 47-52), or playing in a more soloistic manner (see bars 22-32, 52-54). Those soloistic improvisations add rhythmic interest to the percussive accompaniment and highlight the sung melody through the use of the syncopated (\(\frac{2}{4}\)) *samba* rhythmic figure.

Example 18. *Repinique* in Lucas *Samba-Enredo*
(see Vol.II, p.87).

Example 18 shows the function of the *repinique* in relation to one repeat of the Lucas 1985 *samba-enredo* *Essa Gente Brasileira* with *surdo* accompaniment. As seen in the transcription (bars 1-24), during the song verse, the *repinique* player stabilises the rhythm through a subdivision of the low *samba* alternating weak and resonant beat into the 'classical' *repinique* stabilising pattern (\(\frac{2}{4}\)) (da Vila Matilda, Brazil 1985, see bars 1-24). A change in rhythmic accompaniment corresponds with the start of the vocal refrain. At that point, the basic *repinique* rhythmic semiquaver subdivisions are combined with other rhythmic variants such as the "classical" *samba* pattern (\(\frac{2}{4}\), see bar 24) to create two-bar rhythmic stabilising phrases (see bars 24-41).

Brief soloistic passages of syncopation are also played to add rhythmic interest to the accompaniment, to link melodic phrases (see Example 18, bars 44-46), and to highlight repetition of melodic and textual rhythm (see bars 53-59).

**Repinique Cuing Function**

The leader of the *Lucas bateria* identified a possible third function of the *repinique* when he remarked that, through the use of pre-rehearsed rhythmic "cue" patterns, the *repinique* may be used to direct the *bateria*. In support of that claim, well-known São Paulo musician Nenê da Vila Matilda remarked that the *repinique* not only stabilises the rhythm of the *bateria*, but it can also be used to "give orders to the other musicians" (Interview: São Paulo 1985).
Carlos identified two specific points where these *repinique* cues occur in *samba-enredo*: first to cue the entry of the *bateria* after the *samba-enredo* is sung unaccompanied by the *puxador de samba* (lead vocalist), and second, to cue the breaks, momentary interruptions to the continuous flow of the musical accompaniment. An example of this *repinique* function may be seen in Example 18 (see bars 111-121) in which the lead *repinique* player signals an oncoming rhythmic break (see ‘break 2’, bars 119-121) through the repetition of the one-bar rhythmic pattern marked ‘*repinique* cue pattern’ (see bars 111-119).

Example 19. *Repinique Cues Bateria*  
(see Vol.II, p.92).

Example 19, was transcribed from a field recording of a *Lucas* rehearsal shortly in January 1985. The item is an original *samba-enredo* composed by George Chopp, one of the *Lucas* composers. As shown in the transcription, Chopp sings the song once through without accompaniment. As he nears the commencement of the first repeat of the melody, the main *repinique* player plays lightly to indicate the approaching tempo for the other musicians (see drum beats . On the second last bar of the melody the *repinique* player suddenly plays the loud cue pattern labelled ‘*repinique* cue pattern’. That cue pattern, which occupies four duple-metre bars, overlaps the end of the melody and commencement of the first song repeat. The other instruments in the *bateria* play a unison rhythmic pattern which corresponds with the last three crotchet beat subdivisions of the *repinique* then continue with their stabilising subdivisions of the alternating weak and resonant low *samba surdo* beat. This *surdo* beat, which is the same as that *surdo* beat identified in Chapter II (see p.85) as essential to the music of Brazilian *marcha*. The function of the *surdo* beat and variations of that beat in the *Escolas de Samba* and music of carnival *samba-enredo* will be examined in detail in the discussion of the low-sound layer instruments to follow shortly.

Example 20. *Repinique Cues Bateria for Essa Gente Brasileira*  
(see Vol.II, p.93).

Example 20 was transcribed from a field recording of the *Lucas Escola* collected approximately 20 minutes after the previous musical example. The *bateria* and *repinique* player are the same as in Example 19. *Essa Gente* (Example 20) features a different singer from the one heard in the previous example. He sings the song twice through solo. The *repinique* player plays a cue which corresponds with the last
two bars of the first song repeat. The full *bateria* play a unison rhythmic pattern to coincide with the commencement of the second song repeat and then continue with their stabilising subdivisions of the alternating weak and resonant low *samba surdo* beat.

A comparison of the cue pattern and ensemble response in Example 20 with those of the previous Example (Example 19) shows that definite similarities exist between the both examples. In each case, the low *samba surdo* beat and subdivisions commence on the third bar of the accompanied song version. Also, the unison rhythm pattern in the bar prior to those stabilising rhythms is the same both times which suggests that it is a pre-rehearsed unison pattern. As Carlos noted, "when the guy on the *repinique* makes a *chammar* (cue), all the other instruments first stop and then respond to his signal" (interview 1986). According to Carlos, the *samba-enredo* *repinique* cues are pre-rehearsed.

*In Vai-Vai* [the Brazilian Samba School in which he was the lead *repinique* player], *if we could perfect a new *chammar* or rhythm throughout the year and have it ready to take to the parade we would do it. If not, instead of doing the same one as last year, we take the same pattern and do it in a different way* (interview 1986).

**Example 21. Repinique Cue – *Essa Gente Brasileira***

(see Vol.II, p.94).

The version of *Essa Gente Brasileira* seen in Example 21 was transcribed from a *Lucas* field recording made one week prior to the previous *Lucas* *samba-enredo* example. The *repinique* cue patterns and ensemble unison responses are identical in both examples, which supports Carlos’s claim that the patterns are pre-rehearsed and the role of the lead *repinique* player as initiatory of such cues is established.

**Figure 37. Caixa de Guerra**

(see Vol.II, p.95).

The *caixa de guerra* (also referred to as *caixa*, see p.87), is a snare drum similar in size and appearance to the snare drum used in military bands. Its function in the *bateria* is to stabilise the *samba* accompaniment rhythms through the continuous repetition of semiquaver subdivisions of the low *samba surdo* beat. The basic *caixa* rhythmic pattern (\(\frac{3}{2} \text{ quarter notes} \)) as identified Jeronimo Santos da Silva, da vila Matilda and Lourenço Forte, is an accented first and fourth semiquaver in each group
of semiquavers. According to those Brazilian musicians, that basic pattern forms the basis from which other *caixa* rhythmic ostinatos are created.

**Example I. Lucas – Caixa Rhythmic Ostinato**

\[
\text{Caixa} \quad \frac{2}{4} || \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Crotchet} & \text{Crotchet} & \text{Crotchets} & \text{Crotchet} \\
\text{Crotchet} & \text{Crotchet} & \text{Crotchets} & \text{Crotchet}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{Surdo} \quad \frac{2}{4} || \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Quarter} & \text{Quarter} & \text{Quarter} & \text{Quarter}
\end{array}
\]

Members of the *Lucas bateria* accompanied their original 1985 *samba-enredo* with the two-bar rhythmic ostinato labelled ‘*caixa* rhythmic ostinato’ in Example I above. That pattern, which is repeated continuously throughout the example, was heard at every *Lucas* rehearsal that I attended. The syncopated (\(\frac{1}{4}\)) subdivision of the first crotchet beat in each two bars creates an immediate rhythmic tension which is resolved as the ostinato unfolds into stabilising semiquaver subdivisions of the last resonant *surdo* beat in each ostinato pattern. Non-Brazilian musicians in *Sambação* were unfamiliar with the use of the *caixa* in Brazilian *samba-enredo*. The *caixa* patterns that they introduced into *Sambação* caused changes to the structure of the music and its function as an expression of Brazilian identity for the Brazilian members of the organisation (see later p.222).

**Samba-Enredo Instruments of the Low-Sound Layer**

**Figure 38. Surdo de Repicar**

(see Vol.II, p.95).

**Figure 39. Surdo de Marcação**

(see Vol.II, p.96).

**Figure 40. Surdo de Marcação Centralizador**

(see Vol.II, p.96).

The *surdo* is a large cylindrical bass drum covered on both ends by a skin, which is attached by a metal hoop with regulating rods. During a performance the drum is
suspended at waist height by a shoulder strap. Three different sized surdos are used in combination to produce the low-sound layer accompaniment to samba-enredo. In their order of size from the smallest to the largest, these are the surdo de repicar, which measures around .6 of a metre in length by .4 of a metre in width (see Fig. 38), the surdo de marcação, approximately .55 of a metre in width by 1 metre in length (see Fig. 39), and the surdo de marcação centralizador which is 1 metre in length by .75 of a metre in width (see Fig. 40).

The surdo is played on the upper drum skin with a stick beater covered on the end with cloth or piece of leather to form a ball, or with the hand not holding the stick. Two basic surdo sounds are played. Namely, a closed or dampened sound (hereafter referred to as a weak beat), which results from a stick stroke near the circumference of the drum with the right hand while the left hand is placed against the skin to act as a mute, an open sound (hereafter referred to as a resonant beat) which results from a non-muted stick beat on the center of the drum skin. Four notational symbols will used in the musical analysis of the surdo to demonstrate the precise surdo techniques used. Namely:

+ = surdo dampened stick beat (surdo weak beat)
0 = surdo resonant stick beat
R = right hand
L = left hand

The surdo weak beat will always be shown in transcription above the line (\(\frac{1}{4}\)). A surdo resonant stick beat will always appear below the transcription line (\(\frac{1}{8}\)). The function of each drum will now be described. Due to its soloistic role in the bateria, the surdo de repicar will be discussed last.

Musical Function of Surdo de Marcação and Marcação Centralizador

The specific function of the various surdos as detailed in the discussion that follows, was first described to me in detail by Samy Sabag in 1978. His initial description of the combined surdo sounds was substantiated through subsequent interviews with Brazilian musicians in Sydney and Brazil over a ten year time span (1978-1988) and witnessed by me during field work in Rio de Janeiro in 1985. As it will be shown later during the discussion of Sambação, while the Sydney Brazilians were familiar with the sounds of the low samba surdo beat (\(\frac{2}{8}\)), only those with pre-migration musical experience claimed an understanding of the specific techniques and combinations used to produce that basic samba beat.
Example J. *Surdo de Marcação* – Weak Beat

More specifically, the *surdo de marcação* player (medium-sized *surdo*) sounds a weak beat on the first crotchet pulse in each duple-metre bar as shown in Example J above. The left hand strikes the skin (near the centre) on the semiquaver which precedes the first down beat crotchet. The left hand remains on the skin as the right hand strikes the skin with the beater. The beater is held against the skin until it is replaced by the left hand stroke on the last semiquaver in the bar which marks a repeat of the sequence.

Example K. *Surdo de Marcação Centralizador* – Resonant Beat

In opposition, the *surdo de marcação centralizador* (largest *surdo*) sounds a resonant stick beat on the second crotchet pulse in each bar (see Example K above). The left hand is used to dampen the first crotchet in every bar. The physical swing like motions which results from that alternating left hand/right hand technique helps the player of that instrument to maintain a regular rhythm. The combined sounds of the *surdo de marcação* and *surdo de marcação centralizador* produce the alternating weak and resonant beat ostinato pattern marked ‘low samba beat’ shown in Example L below.

Example L. *Surdo* – Low Samba Beat

\[ \text{Surdo de Marcação} + \text{Surdo de Marcação Centralizador} = \]
That ostinato pattern, a weak first crotchet beat followed by a resonant second crotchet beat, hereafter shown in transcription in the simplified manner shown in Example L above was identified by writers on *samba*, Gardel (1967), Béhague (1973), Guerrero (1979), and Glahder and Ramboll (1986), and by Brazilian musicians (Sabag, Carlos, Teixera, da Aguiar, Forte, Nenê da Vila Matilda, Osvaldinho da Cuica) as the traditional *surdo* beat of *samba*.

Brazilians use the expression *marcação dupla* - ‘double mark’ to refer not only to the low *samba* beat but also to the *surdo* technique by which it is produced; a popular technique first introduced into the Rio Carnaval in 1967 by the Rio *Escola de Samba Mangueira* (*Samba Document 2*). That double marking technique described above, which was known by experienced Brazilian musicians in Sydney such as Tristão da Aguiar, João Cardoso, João Carlos and Lourenço Forte, was first explained to me in detail by the founder of Sambação, Samy Sabag during an interview at his home in 1978.

During an interview in Rio de Janeiro in 1985, Brazilian carnival authority Sergio Cabral provided valuable insights into the important role of the *surdo de marcação* in maintaining the musical cohesion of the *bateria* and Samba School in general.

*The most important instrument in the *bateria* is the *surdo de marcação* because it marks the beat. It gives the compass to the other instruments. The *bateria* is tuned to the sound of the *surdo*. I think it is the basic instrument because without it there is nothing. It is so very important that in the 1972 Carnaval of Rio the *surdo de marcação* made a mistake. He had drunk one too many. At the point where the *bateria* was to commence he made a mistake. The whole *bateria* went into chaos. I remember I was watching the parade beside Paulinho de Viola and Paulinho was in despair. He ran to the *bateria* to try and make things go right but it was useless. Only one surdo, and imagine, there were three hundred people in the *bateria*. Only one surdo made a mistake and the *bateria* was ruined. The *surdo* is the real basic instrument of the *bateria*.*

**Musical Function of Surdo de Repicar**

The low-sound layer is completed with the sounds of the *surdo de repicar*. In the previous discussion of the high and low sound layers, the *cuica* and *repinique* were shown to have far more freedom for improvisation than the other percussive instruments in each division. Similarly, the principal function of the *surdo de repicar* is to create soloistic variations of the low *samba* beat to increase the rhythmic momentum of the low-sound layer, to coincide with important sections of the *samba-enredo* melody or simply in spontaneous reaction to the excitement of a *samba-enredo* performance.
Interviews with Brazilian musicians in Sydney over the past ten years and in Brazil in 1985 resulted in the isolation of certain *surdo de repicar* variations of the low *samba* beat that are considered by those musicians and the present writer to be typical of the types produced. Examples of those variations in relation to the low *samba surdo* beat, and a description of the associated playing techniques are shown in the Example that follows.

Example M. Two *Surdo de Repicar* Variations

**Variation 1**

```
    +        +        +        +
   L L L L
    +        +        +        +
   R R R R
```

**Variation 2**

```
    +        +        +        +
   L L L L
    +        +        +        +
   R R R R
```

Two *surdo de repicar* variations are shown in Example M above. Each variation is notated in two ways, first in relation to playing technique and second, in a simplified form as it is heard as part of the *bateria*. Embellishments of the low *samba* beat coincide with the second resonant beat in each variation whereby that beat is subdivided into a) \( \left( \frac{2}{1} \right) \), and b) \( \left( \frac{2}{1} \right) \). As shown in Example 22 to follow, the function of the *surdo de repicar* in the Lucas *samba-engredo* *Essa Gente Brasileira* conformed to the previous description and revealed additional uses of the instrument.

Example 22. Lucas *Samba-Enredo* – Function of *Surdo de Repicar*.

(see Vol.II, p.97).

Example 22 shows the musical function of the Lucas *surdo de repicar* in relation to the School's original *samba-engredo*. The *surdo* Versions 1,2 and 3 were transcribed from field recordings collected on three separate occasions (Line 1 – ). Elaborations of the low *samba* second resonant beat, into \( \left( \frac{2}{1} \right) \), \( \left( \frac{2}{1} \right) \), \( \left( \frac{2}{1} \right) \), predominate in all three versions. Subdivisions of the low *samba* weak *surdo* beat also occur (for example, see Version 1 – bars 2, 8-11, 24-27, Version 2 – bars 8, 14, 16, 22, 26, 28, and Version 3 – bars 15-27, 40-43, 46-59).
Those rhythmic subdivisions of the low samba beat increase the rhythmic momentum of the low-sound layer and emphasise sections of the melody such as the start of a verse (see Version 3, bars 1-3), start of a chorus (see Versions 1 and 3, bars 24-27), or at odd times between melodic phrases (see Line 3 bars 15-17, 40-41, 67-69). The rhythmic figure \( \text{\textbf{\( \frac{1}{3} \)}} \) occurs in all three versions at the point in the song structure referred to earlier as 'break 2' (see bars 119-121). Unlike the weak and resonant variations, the break contents appear to be pre-rehearsed as the same rhythmic figure was played in break 2 by the agogo players.

**Samba-Enredo in Brazil — Summary of Main Musical Features**

The previous examination of Brazilian samba-enredo and its connection with the Rio Carnaval desfiles has shown that it can be discussed in terms of central musical and organisational features. Since the emergence in Rio de Janeiro of the first Escolas de Samba in the 1930s, samba-enredo (samba-narrative) has continued as the main focus of a Samba School's presentation in the Rio Carnaval desfile. It is an exposition of the visual presentation, an integral part of the desfile competition, and central to that festive event. Each samba-enredo presentation features a solo singer (puxador de samba) and small ensemble who perform the song from a moving vehicle.

The instrumentation of the bateria was shown to have remained relatively stable due to official constraints linked with the competitive function of the annual Rio desfiles. An analysis of central musical features of the samba-enredo accompaniment has shown that the instruments alternate between two basic functions; establishing the pulse through the continuous repetition of certain pre-rehearsed and spontaneous break patterns, rhythmic ostinati patterns and regular subdivisions of the low samba beat, and performing in a less restricted manner improvising syncopated rhythmic patterns.

Another consistent feature of the samba-enredo accompaniment is the way in which the amount of soloistic freedom and degree of rhythmic complexity varies between each of the three sound layers. In the low-layer for example, the surdo de repicar player is the only musician who performs in a soloistic manner by creating simple rhythmic variations of the 'low samba beat'. Likewise, in the middle-sound layer, the repinique player is the only musician in that section to depart from his usual stabilising rhythmic patterns to create spontaneous improvisations or introduce 'cue' patterns. In addition, the improvisations of the repinique are usually more intricate than those of the surdo de repicar.
With the exception of the *chocalhos* and *reco-recos*, the greatest degree of soloistic flexibility occurs with the instruments that produce the high layer of sound. The *chocalhos* and *reco-recos* add to the repetitive stabilising rhythms that dominate the middle-sound layer by mainly adhering to semiquaver subdivisions of the 'low samba beat'. The *agogôs* (iron bells) and *cuicas* (friction drums), on the other hand, frequently depart from their basic stabilising rhythms to play intricate improvised rhythmic passages. Besides the solo *cuica* players, the *pandeiro* players have the most freedom in the *bateria* for spontaneous musical expression. As mentioned during the discussion of the role of the *ritmistas* in the *bateria* (see pp.151-152), the *pandeiros* are used by the *ritmistas* during their virtuosic and individualistic displays which combine music and dance simultaneously.

While the *tamborims* and *apito* form part of the high sounding groups of instruments, their function is quite different from that of the other instruments in the *bateria*. During certain parts of the *samba-enredo*, the *tamborim* players play pre-rehearsed unison rhythmic phrases. As Teixeiro pointed out, those *tamborim* patterns - "trade marks" - vary in each Samba School *bateria* and, apart from the melody and text, are a main musical feature of the *samba-enredo* that distinguishes one Samba School from the next (interview: Feb.1985).

102 The *apito* (whistle) is used by a *director de bateria* to affect changes of dynamics and cue the entry of certain instruments according to the various patterns that he blows. In addition, he may play improvised rhythmic patterns on the *apito* that become a part of the overall *bateria* sound.

As there are usually between 200 and 300 musicians in a *bateria*, improvisational freedom is governed by the size of the group. Individual and collective instrumental techniques therefore develop naturally as a resistance to musical chaos. The need for organisation during a *desfile samba-enredo* performance may explain the idiomatic manner of performance peculiar to individual instruments and groups of instruments in the *bateria* and the emergence of what Brazilians in Brazil and Sydney referred to as 'standard', 'basic', 'normal' or 'traditional' rhythmic functions of the various instruments as well as rhythmic patterns such as those identified in the previous musical analysis.

102 During field work in Rio de Janeiro around the time of the 1985 *Carnaval*, it was common to hear people in public places, on buses etc., sing the various *sambas-enredo* of that year's *desfile*. Commercial recordings of the Rio Samba Schools and their respective *sambas-enredo* are released before the *desfile* takes place. Such spontaneous performances in those public places were usually accompanied by the 'trademark' rhythmic patterns of a particular *samba-enredo* which would be claped or beaten on the nearest available surface (sides of chairs, on the bus roof etc.).
Bateria/Samba-Enredo – Sambação (Sydney)

As demonstrated thus far, the Rio Escolas de Samba, desfile and samba-enredo were undoubtedly the main model and source of inspiration for the re-enactments of Brazilian Carnaval in Sydney. Specific changes were identified in Section Two of this chapter when essential organisational elements of Sambação were compared with the same elements in Brazil.

When Sambação was first formed in 1978 the membership comprised Brazilian immigrants, most of whom lacked previous first-hand experience with an Escola de Samba and the music/musical instruments of samba-enredo. Their knowledge of the organisation of the bateria, the samba-enredo instruments, and the specific function of those instruments in the bateria varied in accordance with each individual's degree of pre-migration carnival experience. As shown in the analysis that follows, those varying levels of desfile experience and folk model divergence between the individual members in Sambação and between the three different Sambação stages was reflected in the various types of musical changes made to Sydney samba-enredo.

Regardless of the contrasting levels of musical experience within the different Sambação groups, due to the standardisation of the Rio bateria and samba-enredo instruments that was demonstrated in the previous section on analysis, a certain degree of consensus existed amongst the Brazilians in Sambação with regard to the percussion instruments that they felt were essential to Sambação's bateria and Sydney desfiles. Their formation of the initial Sambação bateria was facilitated by information in a Brazilian document supplied by Samy Sabag. That Brazilian document contained a suggested model for the formation of a Rio-styled "Mini-Escola de Samba".103

Figure 41. A Comparison of Three Baterias
(see Vol.II, p.102).

In Figure 41, the instruments contained in this Sambação document were compared with those of the Lucas and Mocidade bateria identified earlier in this chapter. With the exception of the frigideira (small household frying pan, see glossary Vol.II), the percussion instruments suggested in the Sydney document correspond exactly with those of the Rio bateria. That combination of instruments was the model used by Brazilians in Sambação for the formation of the Sambação bateria.

103 Almeida, A Escola de Samba Como Meio de Ensino, 4.
In the following discussion the *bateria* and *samba-enredo* for each Stage of Sambação will be compared with those central features of the Rio *baterias* and music of *samba-enredo* that were identified in the previous section on musical analysis. Observation of the Sambação *bateria* and information from Brazilian participants led to the selection of a number of main change categories that were considered as typical of the types found in Sambação’s *desfile* music.

**Bateria/Samba-Enredo – Sambação Stage 1**

The analysis of the Sambação Stage 1 *bateria* and *samba-enredo* performance will focus on the following types of change. Namely:

- Substitution of musical instruments.
- Simplification of rhythms.
- Simplification of song presentation.
- Standardisation of musical repertory.

**Figure 42. Sambação Stage 1 and Rio Bateria – A Comparison**

(see Vol.II, p.102).

**Substitution of Musical Instruments**

In Figure 42 the instrumentation of the Sambação Stage 1 *bateria* was compared with the instrumentation of the Rio model *bateria*. A shaded square indicates the inclusion of a particular *samba* instrument in the Stage 1 *bateria*. Due to regulations imposed by Brazilian government and non-government organisations and the concerns of the Samba School performers, the instrumentation of the Brazilian *baterias* has become standardised. While a Rio *bateria* has as many as 400 musicians, the Sambação Stage 1 *bateria* originally consisted only of approximately 13 regular percussionists. While they were unable to re-produce the density of sound associated with the *samba-enredo* accompaniment in Brazil, as shown in Figure 42, the members of this group and the organisers nevertheless sought initially to include all the types of instruments used in a Rio *desfile*.

To achieve that aim, two Brazilian members of Sambação contributed a total of $500 towards the purchase of instruments. They had the opportunity to purchase the instruments through family contacts in Brazil. Despite the availability of authentic instruments, in an effort to economise, the Sydney members also either adapted and modified locally available instruments or, as was the custom with the poorer Brazilian
Samba Schools, elected to make their own instruments by hand. The leader of Sambaçao Stage 1, Samy Sabag described the steps taken by Sambaçao's members to provide instruments for their percussion section:

A standard set of kit drums was purchased and used as four separate instruments by the players. More specifically, the bass drum was substituted for the traditional surdo de marcação centralizador; the floor tom-tom for the Brazilian surdo de repicar; the small tom-tom fitted with a snare and converted to a type of repinique. The snare and an additional snare drum which was purchased, were substituted for the caixas de guerra (interview:1980).

Sabag recalled that attempts to substitute the kit bass drum as a surdo de marcação centralizador (largest drum in the bateria) proved unsuccessful due to its inadequate sound and incorrect dimensions and was soon after replaced by a hand-made copy of a Brazilian surdo. That surdo and a second surdo also made in Sydney was "constructed from sheet aluminium and to correct the sound, goat skins purchased in Botany, Sydney, were fitted to the top and bottom of the drum" (personal communication 1983).

Figure 43. Sambaçao Hand-Made Surdo
(see Vol.II, p.103).

Figure 44. Sambaçao Hand-Made Chocalhos
(see Vol.II, p.103).

Figure 45. Sambaçao Hand-Made Agogôs
(see Vol.II, p.104).

Figure 46. Sambaçao Hand-Made Tamborim
(see Vol.II, p.104).

The hand-made Sydney surdo, constructed by Sambaçao members Rinaldo Medeiros and Walter da Fonseca, is shown in Figure 43. The plastic drum head shown (see Fig.43) was replaced with the goat skin mentioned above. Large cylindrical

104 During an interview in São Paulo in 1985, renowned Brazilian sambista Nenê da Vila Matilda remarked that before the introduction of certain commercially available instruments, many people used to make their own percussion instruments by hand. One particular example he cited was the hand made chocalho (tube rattle) which was often made from empty beer cans. Whilst in Sydney, Brazilian percussionist Carlinhos Concalves also showed me a hand-made cuica (friction drum).
shakers (copies of Brazilian chocalhos) were made by hand using empty tin cans filled with pellets and welded end to end (see Fig.44); the agogôs (see the double and triple version in Fig.45), a tamborim (see Fig.46) and a reco-reco were also hand-made by Madeiros. The cuica, being too difficult to copy, was brought from Brazil. The apito (same as referee’s whistle) and pandeiro (commercial tamborine with skin) were purchased locally.

Simplification of Rhythms

The substitution of musical instruments enabled members of Sambação Stage 1 to copy the types of traditional instruments that usually provide the three layers of sound needed for a samba-enredo accompaniment. Nevertheless, the soloistic improvisations of the instruments in the high group, that are a central feature of samba-enredo accompaniment in Brazil, were missing in Sambação’s (Stage 1) performances of samba-enredo. The Sydney Brazilians were inexperienced with the more soloistic instruments such as the pandeiro and cuica, and the intricate techniques needed to produce their characteristic soloistic variations, as demonstrated in the previous section on musical analysis (see pp.186-91).

For example, the cuica was shown to have two distinct possibilities. The sound may either correspond to recognisable pitches, or it may move microtonally within the compass of the range used. Besides rhythmic creativity, physical stamina is a pre-requisite for players of that instrument as they are normally required to maintain the semiquaver subdivisions of the low samba beat and variants of those basic subdivisions for a performance which can last two hours or more. One Brazilian member of the Sambação bateria, Walter da Fonseca, suggested that the presence of the cuica in the Sambação Stage 1 bateria was more for visual effect than musical function as there were no members with the technique required to produce the typical samba-enredo cuica sounds (see Example 15, Vol.II, p.69). Da Fonseca recalled that during the Sambação desfiles, a musician carried the instrument but didn’t play it (personal communication).

Rhythmic simplification also occurred with the pandeiro. A Uruguayan musician played the pandeiro in Sambação Stage 1. At best, he was able to maintain the semiquaver subdivisions of the low samba beat, but was unable to create the usual soloistic rhythmic variations such as the da Cuica pandeiro pattern discussed in the previous section (see p.187), or execute the virtuosoic dance/performance combinations which are a specialty of the ritmistas (see analysis of Example F, p.187).
Guillierme Almeida, former member of Sambaço Stage 1 bateria, mentioned that "although they had difficulty with the rhythms and sounds of the soloistic instruments, the surdo (low drum) rhythms were the same as in Brazil . . . João Cardoso played surdo in Rio de Janeiro with the leading Samba School Mangueira . . . he taught Sambaço's drummers how to play the Rio beats" (Interview: January 1986).

**Simplification of Song Presentation**

During Sambaço's first public desfile performance as part of the 1979 Festival of Sydney and in subsequent desfiles, besides the omission of the soloistic rhythms and resultant simplification of their samba-enredo accompaniment rhythms, other musical aspects of their Rio desfile re-enactment underwent change. The first of these were the manner of singing the sambas-enredo. The samba-enredo of Rio de Janeiro is sung in a responsorial manner by a solo voice and chorus. The solo singer is usually positioned on a moving vehicle and his voice is amplified. The cavaquinho player is positioned next to the main singer on the vehicle to provide an harmonic accompaniment to the song (see p.178 fol.). A surdo player is nearby to synchronise and align the low samba beat \( \frac{4}{4} \) with the solo singer and to set the tempo for the bateria musicians who march in the Passarela (official desfile competition area) close to the moving vehicle.

In Sydney, the members of Sambaço Stage 1 sang their sambas-enredo in unison. In imitation of the Rio Escolas de Samba, a car (a truck was not available) was fitted with a sound system and mounted speakers. Instead of riding on the car, Sambaço's two lead singers walked behind the car and each sang into a microphone on a trailing lead. As Oscar Almeida recalled, "there were frequent interruptions to the singing. The sound system was weak and easily overpowered by the drum sounds, and the lead singer would change from one samba-enredo to another without warning, or stop altogether" (interview. Sydney 1983). Furthermore, the accompanying cavaquinho was missing from their first and subsequent desfile performances as there were no members who could play that instrument.

Secondly, the voices and instrumental accompaniment were less dense than in Brazil. The excitement of a Brazilian desfile is partly due to the combination of large numbers of voices and instruments. Around three thousand voices in each Escola de Samba sing in response to, or in unison with the main singer, to the accompaniment of about three to four hundred instrumentalists of the bateria playing powerful samba-enredo rhythms on percussion instruments. The successful interaction of the voices and instruments is a vital element in the quality of the samba-enredo.
presentation by Brazilian standards. As Tati noted in his identification of certain essential elements of the Rio Escolas, ‘all members of a Samba School must sing in the desfile . . . . We only have ‘harmonia’ [a term used in connection with the Samba Schools for the perfect meshing of the samba-enredo melody and bateria accompaniment] when the complete Schools sings well and in a communicative manner.'\(^{105}\)

Much to the regret of Sambação members, the density of voices and percussion instruments were missing from their carnival re-enactment, which made use of only around ten singers and twenty instrumentalists. By Brazilian standards, the Sydney performance was incorrect as the members of the Sambação bateria were unable to achieve what Samy Sabag referred to as a "balança", that is successful balance of high, medium, and low layers of sound that are characteristic of samba-enredo in Brazil. Nevertheless, when viewed in the context of its changed function in Sydney, the rhythms of the bateria were sufficiently exciting for those Brazilians and non-Brazilians who were involved. Problems such as the shortage of musicians and other limited resources did not improve much during Stage 1 of Sambação and deteriorated more noticeably during Stages 2 and 3.

Standardisation of Musical Repertory

It is customary for the Rio Escolas de Samba to create a new theme song for each Carnaval desfile (see earlier, p.153). In contrast, Sambação Stage 1 desfile performances in Sydney were marked by standardisation of repertory in contrast to an annual change of theme song in Brazil.

One Brazilian member of Sambação, Allan de Mello, composed original samba-enredo texts and melodies. Thus, the opportunity existed for Brazilian members of Sambação to include original theme songs in their Sydney desfile performances. Sambação members were willing to invent original themes for their visual aspects of their Sydney desfiles. For example, ‘The Discovery of Brazil was chosen as the plot for their first desfile in 1979. Rather than introduce written pieces, however, a majority of those Brazilians rejected de Mello’s original samba-enredo compositions and chose instead to express their Brazilian-Australian identities through the reproduction of sambas-enredo from commercial recordings of past Rio desfiles. Standardisation of the repertoire by Brazilian standards, resulted as the same songs were repeated in Sambação’s subsequent desfile performances.

\(^{105}\) Tati, “Escola de Samba,” 87.
Although de Mello's original *samba-enredo* compositions were not incorporated into Sambaçao's official *desfile* performances, they were performed within Sambaçao during informal gatherings and as such, are essential to an interpretation of the significance of changes in Sambaçao Stage 1 and their performances of *samba-enredo*. A summary of de Mello's Brazilian background was provided in the first part of this chapter. The following analysis will focus on the texts of three original *samba-enredo* compositions by de Mello, namely, *Vagabundo* (Vagabond), *Ritmo e Marcaçao no Sambatao* (The Rhythm and Beat of Sambaçao) and *A Mocada Brasileira* (The Brazilian Gang) (composed between 1978 and 1979 and collected in 1987, one year after the composer's death).

**Figure E**

Allan de Mello – Original Composition (Text and Translation)

*Vagabundo*

composed 1. 11. 78

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eu fui vagabundo de morro</td>
<td>I was a tramp from the hills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passava as noites no samba</td>
<td>I passed the nights with samba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancava até o palhaco</td>
<td>Even the fool danced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagabundo de morro</td>
<td>The tramp from the hills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambem tem suas verdades</td>
<td>Also has integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagabundo de morro</td>
<td>The tramp from the hills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nao vem mais pra cidade</td>
<td>He stays in the hills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambem quer felicidade</td>
<td>He also wants happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agora vou embora</td>
<td>Now I leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porque encontrei meu bem querer</td>
<td>Because I found my sweetheart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eu vou eu vou</td>
<td>I go I go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eu vou e com meu amor</td>
<td>I go with my sweetheart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assim não sentirei mais dor</td>
<td>I won't have any pain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vagabundo de morro</td>
<td>The tramp from the hills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambem tem dignidade</td>
<td>Also has dignity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vagabundo de morro</td>
<td>The tramp from the hills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganhou porque encontrou felicidade</td>
<td>He won because he found happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eu vou</td>
<td>I go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eou vou e com meu amor</td>
<td>I go with my love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hora salve o nosso amor</td>
<td>Hora salve o nosso amor ho..ho..ho..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison between his pre-migration and post-migration attitudes and first-hand experiences with the Rio *Carnaval*, *Escolas de Samba* and *samba-enredo* revealed a complete change of attitude after his emigration to Australia in 1977. Aspects of his former Brazilian identity which he openly rejected in Brazil, such as the music and activities of Rio's *Escolas de Samba*, were a prime aspect of his Brazilian-Australian
identity, a fact which is confirmed in the lyrics of his samba-enredo compositions (Figures E (above), F and G (below)).

The first song, Vagabundo, was composed in November 1978, not long after the formation of Sambaçao and shortly before their first official Sydney desfile in Festival of Sydney (January 1979). Through the text, de Mello identifies himself as a tramp from the hills who spends his time dancing samba. The words praise the integrity of the sambista figure who carries his imaginary identity. Despite his low social status, the tramp becomes a winner through the discovery of samba, happiness and love. De Mello's identification with a figure whose actions he rejected whilst in Brazil reflects a dramatic change in his post-migration opinion of that style of character, perhaps a sambista from an Escola de Samba, and his views regarding the role of samba as a part of the processes of Brazilian cultural identity.

Figure F
Allan de Mello - Original Composition (Text and Translation)

Ritmo e Marcação no Sambaçao
The Rhythm and Beat of Sambaçao

composed 17. 2. 79

Cardosinha tu es Cardoso, you are
O Rei da marcação The King of the beat
Quando comences a tocar When you start to play
Tens ritmo no coração You have rhythm in your heart

Todo mundo vibro Everybody vibrates
Com o som do seu bumbao With the sound of your bombo

A mocada canta e samba [large surdo]
The people sing and dance
Junto com o Sambaçao All together in Sambaçao
O samba criou a escola The samba created Sambaçao
Com amor no coração With love in its heart
E voce e o ritmo Cardoso And you are the rhythm, Cardoso

Dentro do Sambaçao Within Sambaçao
O teu amigo Walter And your friend Walter (Fonseca)
Director da bateria Director of the bateria
Fica entusiasmado Becomes enthusiastic
E apita com alegria And blows his whistle with happiness
Eu agora me despeco Now I say goodbye
De voces tirei saudades I will miss you
Desenjando para todos Wishing everybody
Muitas felicidades Every happiness
The text of Mello's original *samba-enredo* shown in Figure F above is a direct reflection of the importance that he placed on Sambação as a part of his new-found identity in Australia, his friendship with, and respect for João Cardoso (brother of Edison Cardoso see Chapter II p.76) and Walter da Fonseca, and the significant role of *samba* as an important cultural expression for Brazilian members of Sambação.

The third composition, *A Mocada Brasileira* (The Brazilian Immigrants) (see Fig.G below) was composed shortly after Sambação's first Sydney desfile. The text relates directly to the introduction of the Brazilian *samba* and *Carnaval desfile* into Sydney and what de Mello interprets as the positive and dynamic effects of that Brazilian-styled music and celebration on non-Brazilian spectators in Martin Place, Sydney ("the whole of Australia danced *samba*"), and the function of those manifestations in counteracting the negative factors connected with their movement into a new and different cultural environment ("and we forget the nostalgia of our past").

**Figure G**

Allan de Mello - Original Composition (Text and Translation)

*Figure G*

Allan de Mello - Original Composition (Text and Translation)

*A Mocada Brasileira*

The Brazilian group (in Sydney)

composed 5. 4. 79.

*A mocada Brasileira*
Na Austrália chegou
Mostru a seu samba
E a Australia sambou
Na Martin Place
Brazilian Samba desfilou
O povo aplaudiu
Continei, não parei
de tocar
Pois o samba e bom
E queriamos samba

*Os Brasileiros estão*
Que tem ritmo e alegria
O samba aqui chegou
E a nostalgia acabou

The Brazilian group [Sambação members]
Arrived in Australia
We showed our samba
And Australia danced samba
In Martin Place
Sambação desfiled
The Australians applauded
I kept going, I didn't stop
playing
because the samba was good
And we wanted to play more

The Brazilians in Sambação are showing
That they have rhythm and happiness
The samba has arrived here in Australia
And our nostalgia is forgotten

De Mello's original compositions seemed suited for adoption by members of Sambação. The lyrics were designed for easy imitation and the theme was based on the social and musical experiences of Brazilian immigrants in Sydney. Brazilian
members of Sambaço who were interviewed shortly after the 1979 Festival of Sydney (Palma, Oliveira, Silva) agreed, however, that 'Bahia de Todos os Deuses' was their favorite samba-enredo at that time, and the main samba-enredo used during their first desfile re-enactment (George Sabag, Almeida, personal communication 1979). The song was also included in the Brazilian Document used in the formation of Sambaço where it was upheld as a model of Brazilian carnival samba-enredo.

Example 23 – Bahia de Todos os Deuses - Sambaço Stage 1
(see Vol.II, p.105).

'Bahia de Todos os Deuses', which means "Bahia of all the Saints", was the original samba-enredo presented by the Rio Escola de Samba, Unidos do Salgueiro, in the 1969 Carnaval desfile of Rio de Janeiro. The originality of Bahia de Todos os Deuses, along with the dramatic impact of their visual presentation earned victory for Salgueiro members, and they became the champions of the 1969 Rio Carnaval.¹⁰⁶ One Brazilian immigrant in Sydney, recalling the popularity of the song throughout Brazil in 1969, remarked that "the song was also popularised by the Brazilian singer Jair Rodrigues, who had a smash hit with his version of that particular Salgueiro samba-enredo" (Forte, interview 1985). Brazilian musicians in Sydney and Brazil emphasised the popularity of the song, particularly the refrain which, as Costa noted, "sent the public delirious".¹⁰⁷ In addition, "Bahia" was upheld as a model samba-enredo in the 1979 São Paulo document used by Samy Sabag for the formation of Sambaço.

Sambaço's first public performance of the song during their desfile re-enactment as part of the 1979 Festival of Sydney was not recorded. As an alternative, Example 23 was transcribed from a recording of the same song performed by George Sabag at his home in Bondi shortly after the 1979 Festival of Sydney. George Sabag claimed that he used to sing and play the song when he lived in Brazil. George Sabag was a member of Sambaço Stage 1 in Sydney and had shared the role of puxador de samba (solo singer) with Sambaço's black Brazilian singer João Silva. During the Sydney festival they took turns singing the song. The guitar accompaniment seen in the transcription is used to play the rhythmic/harmonic accompaniment normally played on the cavaquinho (Example 23 line 1). As stated earlier, the cavaquinho was absent in Sambaço's first desfile in 1979 and subsequent desfiles.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 180.
In Example 23 the melody and text of Sabag's version of Bahia de Todos os Deuses (line 2), was compared with the melody and text transcribed from the original recorded version of the same song made in Brazil by Unidos do Salgueiro in 1969; the version which served as the model for the Sydney interpretations of the samba-enredo. With slight exception, the melodic rhythms, melodic phrase lengths, and texts are identical.

The differences that occur in the melodic rhythms, such as those seen in bars 3, 5, 7, 10, 15, 16, reflect the usual flexibility of Brazilian popular song interpretation. If anything, Sabag's version is less syncopated than the Salgueiro version, particularly at the beginning of a melodic phrase (see bars 3, 6, 8, 25, 33, 39, 41). When questioned on this point, Sabag admitted that, "before coming to Australia, he used to play and sing Andean as well as Brazilian music". George Sabag was born in Bolivia but lived in Brazil from the age of 14 to 23 years. The Andean styles that he had learnt in Bolivia, he suggested, were noticeably less syncopated than Brazilian sambas-enredo and may have influenced his version of "Bahia" (interview, Sydney 1980).

Figure H
Bahia de Todos os Deuses – Song Text and Translation

Bahia
os meus olhas estãoo brilhando
meu coração palpitando
da tanta felicidade
Es a rainha de beleza universal
minha querida Bahia,
muito antes do Império
fôste a primeira capital.
Preto Velho Benidito já dizia
felicidade também mora na Bahia,
tua historia, tua glória
O teu nome é tradição,
Bahia do velho mercado
subida Conceição.
Es tão rica em minerais,
tem cacau, tens carnaúba,
famoso jacarandá,
terra abençoada pelos deuses.
e o petróleo a jorrar,
nega baiana,
tabuleiro de quindim,
todo dia ela está,
a igreja do Bonfim, oi
na ladiera tem,
tem capoeira,
zoom, zoom, zoom,
zoom, zoom, zoom,
capoeira mata um

Bahia
my eyes are shining
my heart is beating fast
with so much joy
The queen of universal beauty
my darling Bahia,
long before the Empire
you were the first capital.
As the old Benidito used to say
happiness also lives in Bahia,
your history, your glory
your name is tradition,
Bahia of the old market place
which leads to the Conception church.
You are rich in minerals,
you have cocoa, and wax,
famous jacaranda,
you are blessed by the Gods.
and crude oil in abundance,
black Bahian woman
with her tray of sweets,
every day she is
at the Bonfim church,
on the slope at the church,
they have capoeira
zoom, zoom, zoom,
zoom, zoom, zoom,
capoeira can kill one
Figure H above shows a reproduction of the song text as it appears in Portuguese in the Samba Document used by Sambação Stage 1 members. The English translation is by Samy Sabag. Brazilian members of Sambação Stage 1 remarked that, the words of the song, apart from being familiar to all Brazilians involved in the re-enactment, were particularly suited to their chosen enredo; in both cases the discovery of Brazil. Besides, as shown in the above translation of the song text, the text narrative reinforced aspects of their former Brazilian identities as it made reference to important symbols of Brazilian culture such as Portuguese and Afro-Brazilian religious aspects (black benidito, see Glossary), Capoeira (dance music genre introduced into Brazil by slaves from Angola, and the historical significance of Bahia as Brazil's first capital. The analysis will now focus on an examination of the Sambação Stage 2 bateria and samba-enredo interpretations.

The previous analysis of Sambação Stage 1 focused on three main categories of change. Namely 1) Substitution, 2) Simplification, and 3) Standardisation. The analysis of the bateria and performances of samba-enredo by members of Sambação Stage 2 will include an additional category – 4) Re-alignment of surdo samba rhythms. The analysis of Stage 2 will thus focus on:

Substitution of musical style.
Substitution of thematic material.
Simplification of rhythms.
Re-alignment of low samba beat.

Figure 47. Sambação Stage 2 and Rio Bateria – A Comparison
(see Vol.II, p.111).

In Figure 47 the instrumentation of the Sambação Stage 2 bateria was compared with the instrumentation of a Rio bateria. Shaded squares are used to show the use of certain Brazilian samba instruments in the Sydney bateria. The membership of the Sambação Stage 1 bateria comprised a majority of Brazilians (11 Brazilians, one Uruguayan, Argentinian and Peruvian). Dissention among Sambação members in 1979 caused changes to the structure of the Stage 2 bateria. Brazilian musicians who departed from Sambação Stage 1 were replaced by Australian-born musicians who lacked experience with Brazilian desfile music and instrumental techniques.

Gerhard Kubik describes Capoeira as a stylized dance/fight game that ‘was developed by Angolans in Brazil on the plantations of Bahia during the 18th and 19th centuries as a training for possible guerilla warfare’ (1979:27).
Consequently, as shown in Figure 47, the instrumentation of the Sambação Stage 2 bateria departed more noticeably from the traditional Rio desfile instrumentation due to the omission of the traditional pandeiro, cuica, reco-reo and repinique.

In turn, by Brazilian standards, the shift in Sambação Stage 2 from a majority of Brazilian-born members to a majority of non-Brazilians resulted in a further departure from the musical traditions normally associated with the Rio desfile and samba-enredo, a consequence of little concern to the non-Brazilian Sambação members but of vital importance for certain Brazilian members. It resulted in what they eventually felt were unacceptable degrees of change to those carnival aspects that they associated with their identities as Brazilians.

Substitution of Musical Style

Although there were a few Brazilians in the second Sambação musical group, according to Samy Sabag, "there were none confident enough to sing samba-enredo in public" (personal communication 1984). Instead, a vocal style was replaced by an instrumental style. As a substitution for the traditional samba-enredo the bateria played a continuous rhythm that was, according to the director of the bateria, Mauricio Sabbag, "an imitation of the traditional rhythmic accompaniment to Brazilian samba-enredo" (interview Dec. 1980). As demonstrated in the analysis to follow, the Sambação Stage 2 interpretation of the samba-enredo accompaniment rhythms, when compared with the Brazilian rhythms, was mostly affected by rhythmic simplification and re-alignment of the surdo low samba beats.

Example 24 – Sambação Stage 2 – Samba-Enredo Variations

(see Vol.II, p.112).

Example 24, transcribed from a recording of a Sambação rehearsal two weeks before their performance in the 1980 Festival of Sydney, is typical of the instrumental improvisations that Sambação Stage 2 members substituted for the usual sambas-enredo compositions. In turn, Example 24 will be used to illustrate the effects of substitution and re-alignment on the Stage 2 samba-enredo interpretations. The Example comprises four excerpts (excerpts a, b, c, and d), which were recorded sequentially at ten minute intervals.

Prior to that rehearsal, arguments had broken out between Mauricio Sabbag, the Brazilian leader of the bateria and the non-Brazilian musicians. The few Brazilian musicians condemned the Australians’ interpretation of their "carnival samba rhythms"
and had threatened to withdraw from the group. Samy Sabag was nevertheless determined that the group would perform in the 1980 Festival of Sydney.

In an attempt to restore peace to the group and improve the quality of the music, Samy Sabag invited Tristão da Aguiar to attend a rehearsal and demonstrate the "correct desfile rhythms" to the musicians in the group. Tristão da Aguiar, referred to by Brazilians in Sydney as "Maestro", was a professional musician in Brazil and, as documented in Chapter II, was the musical director of the 1975 Sydney carnival baile (see p.104). Although Tristão da Aguiar declined Samy Sabag's invitation to play with Sambaço in the Sydney Festival, he agreed to attend a rehearsal and help the musicians. During that rehearsal, which took place at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre, a series of recordings were made in order to document the groups various attempts at reproducing those "authentic" sounding desfile samba rhythms that were suggested by Tristão da Aguiar.

Figure 48. Sambaço Stage 2 Bateria – Instrumentation for Example 14 (a, b, c, d) (see Vol.II, p.119).

Simplification of Rhythms

Figure 48 shows the instrumentation of the Sambaço Stage 2 bateria for Example 24, excerpts a through d. Missing from all excerpts were the surdo de marcação and repinique from the low and middle groups. The shortage of musicians in the bateria by Brazilian standards, also resulted in the complete absence of high-group instruments such as the tamborim, pandeiro, cuica, and reco-reco. The only high-group instruments included in the rehearsal (Example 24, b,c,d) were the agogô, played by Tristão da Aguiar, and the chocalho played by an Australian musician.

As will be demonstrated in the analysis that follows, due to the shortage of musicians and instruments, and the contrasting musical folk models within the group, Sambaço's (Stage 2) interpretation of the accompaniment to Brazilian samba-enredo affected essential musical elements of the traditional samba-enredo accompaniment. These included changes to the 'low samba beat' by the frequent misplacement of the second more resonant basic samba beat; changes to the usual two-bar caixa ostinato patterns as a result of the substitution of an assortment of one-bar rhythmic ostinati patterns that predominated in each excerpt, and the all important 'balança' between the various sound layers, via the virtual exclusion of high-pitched instruments such as the cuica, pandeiro, and tamborim and the syncopated improvised rhythms that are
associated with them. To illustrate those changes, the analysis will proceed with an examination of the high, middle, and low sound layers for each Example.

Example 24. Changes to High-Sound Layer

The high-sound layer (instr.) was missing completely in Example 24a. (see Vol.II, p.112). By Brazilian standards, the Sambação Stage 2 interpretation of the samba-enredo accompaniment not only lacked the usual 'balance' of sound that results from the traditional combination of high, medium and low sounding instruments, but also the spontaneous and syncopated rhythmic variations associated with the more soloistic instruments such as the cuica, agogô, pandeiro, and repinique.

Two additional high-group instruments were added to the group shortly before Example 24b was recorded. As stated earlier, Tristão da Aguiar played the agogô (iron bell) and an Australian musician played the chocalho (long tube rattle). Using the agogô, Tristão directed the group, and at the same time, to correct the balance of sounds, he demonstrated some of the "typical Brazilian rhythms of the agogô" to one of the Australian musicians who had elected to play that instrument.

As shown in the transcription of Example 24b (see Vol.II, p.113), Tristão da Aguiar commences the performance by establishing the agogô two-bar rhythmic pattern marked 'ostinato pattern A' in bars 1-4 of the transcription. A comparison of 'ostinato pattern A' (Example 24b) and a basic two-bar agogô rhythmic pattern (agogô rhythmic pattern A) identified in an analysis of Essa Gente Brasileira (see p.192), as shown in Example N below, reveals basic similarities between those two patterns, particularly the presence of the (\( \frac{3}{4} \)) subdivision of a crotchet pulse said by Brazilian samba school musicians (da Cuica, Matilda) to be typical of the agogô rhythms of the samba-enredo accompaniment.

Example N. A Comparison of Two Agogô Rhythmic Patterns

\[
\text{Agogô Ostinato Pattern A} \quad \text{Sambação Stage 2 - Sydney} \\
\text{Agogô Rhythmic Pattern A} \quad \text{Unidos de Lucas - Brazil}
\]
In the high-sound layer of Musical Example 24b, the *chocalho* player stabilises the rhythm through the repetition of the basic accented semiquaver subdivision of each *surdo* low *samba* beat. In excerpts c and d that followed (Example 24c and 24d), Tristão da Aguiar continued to play two bar *agogô* ostinato patterns that were typical of the types heard in Brazil. In Musical Example 24c, however, rather than maintain that basic *chocalho* pattern, the *chocalho* player changes to the rhythmic pattern labelled 'chocalho ostinato' (see Example 24c, bars 1-33), whereby he emphasises a quaver subdivision of each basic crotchet. Unknown to the non-Brazilian musician yet obvious to the Brazilian-born musicians, that modified pattern marked a noticeable departure from the usual semiquaver *chocalho* pattern (~ J J J) of Brazilian *samba-enredo*. Regardless of the inclusion of the *agogô* and *chocalho* and their 'traditional' *samba-enredo* rhythms, the high-sound layer is still incomplete because of the exclusion of the *cuicas, pandeiros, tamborims* and *reco-reco*s and their soloistic and stabilising rhythms.

Example 24. Changes to the Middle-Sound Layer

Changes also occurred in the middle-sound layer of Example 24. The most obvious change in all excerpts resulted from the complete absence of *repiniques* and the soloistic improvised *repinique* rhythms and signal patterns that are normally associated with *samba-enredo* in Rio de Janeiro (see p.195). Although *caixas* were included in the Stage 2 *bateria*, the *caixa* players were unable to imitate the Brazilian *samba-enredo* *caixa* patterns and changes were also noted in all excerpts. For example, due to their inexperience with the rhythms of Brazilian *samba-enredo*, in Musical Example 24a (see Vol.II, p.112), the *caixa* players maintain equal divisions of each crotchet pulse (bars 6-24) rather than play the more common two-bar snare patterns such as (~ J J J) identified in the analysis of Brazilian *samba-enredo* (see p.199). In Example 24b, the *caixa* players commence with the one-bar rhythmic pattern marked 'ostinato pattern B' (see Vol.II, p.113, bars 9-36); a marked contrast to the traditional two-bar *caixa* rhythmic phrases typical of the rhythmic accompaniment to *samba-enredo* in Brazil as shown below in Example O that follows.
Example O. A Comparison of Two Caixa Rhythmic Patterns

Unidos de Lucas - Brazil

\[ \text{Caixa Rhythmic Ostinato} \]

Sambação Stage 2 - Sydney

\[ \text{Caixa Ostinato Pattern C} \]

As shown in the above comparison, 'caixa ostinato pattern C' played by the Australian musicians adheres to continuous semiquaver repetitions of each crotchet pulse with slight, yet regular accentuation of the first and last semiquaver of each four subdivisions of the pulse. By comparison, the Lucas caixa ostinato – 'caixa rhythmic ostinato' – a common Rio desfile pattern, creates a greater degree of rhythmic intensity and interest as a result of the syncopation which results from the use of the classical samba rhythm.

One of the Australian caixa players departs from those unison caixa semiquaver subdivisions and makes a brief and unsuccessful attempt to introduce a rhythmic variation (see Example 24b, 'caixa ostinato pattern C', bars 27-31). Surdo 2 stops playing shortly after (see bar 34) leaving only the resonant surdo sound on the first pulse of the bar (played on Surdo 1)

In the middle-sound layer of Example 24c (see Vol.II, p.115), the Australian caixa players play a mixture of one and two bar rhythmic ostinato patterns. Their two-bar rhythmic ostinato pattern, marked 'ostinato pattern AB' (see bars 1-3) is a combination of 'rhythmic pattern A' (r.p.A., bar 1) and 'rhythmic pattern B' (r.p.B., bar 2). Ostinato pattern AB (bars 1-3) is repeated in bars 5-9,11-16; rhythmic pattern B appears only in bars 3-4, 15-19, rhythmic pattern A being the most frequently played caixa rhythmic pattern (see bars 20-35). Those Sambação caixa rhythms are not typical of the types used in Brazil. During other rehearsals of the Sambação Stage 2 bateria when Mauricio Sabbag, the Brazilian-born leader of the bateria was present, he often described those Australianised caixa rhythms as "jazz rhythms" and reprimanded the Australian snare drummers for their inability to imitate the "traditional samba caixa rhythms" that he demonstrated to them.
In Example 24d (see Vol. II, p. 117), the Australian *caixa* players make a brief attempt to establish the two-bar rhythmic ostinato pattern labelled ‘ostinato pattern A’ (see bars 1-9). As was the case in the previous three segments (24a,b,c), the *caixa* players abandon their attempts and eventually settle for the repetition of the simplified one-bar rhythmic pattern marked ‘rhythmic pattern B’ (\( \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot 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Latin-American style with which the Australians were familiar through performance prior to their participation in Sambaço. Indeed, Americanised versions of Brazilian *bossa-nova* have been a vital part of the Australian dinner music repertoire since the late 1960s. That rhythmic figure is shown below in three *bossa-nova* snare drum variations identified by Gerard Béhague in his detailed article on *bossa-nova* in Brazil.111

Example Q. Three *Bossa-Nova* Snare Variations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variation 1</th>
<th>Variation 2</th>
<th>Variation 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Variation 1" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Variation 2" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Variation 3" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 24. Changes to the Low-Sound Layer

Re-alignment of the *surdo* rhythms in the low-sound layer was a major aspect of musical change in the Sambaçao Stage 2 interpretations of the *samba-enredo* accompaniment rhythms. As shown in the analysis of Example 24 that follows, re-alignment of the 'low samba beat' resulted from changes such as the total omission of the weak first *surdo* beat normally played on the *surdo de marcação* (see p.201), the continuous placement of 2 resonant *surdo* beats in each bar, the frequent substitution of a continuous resonant beat for the traditional low *samba* weak first beat, and the introduction of innovative *surdo* two-bar ostinato patterns.

Changes in the low-sound layer of Example 24a (see Vol.II, p.112) are caused by the Australian-born musician who plays the *surdo de marcação centralizador* (shown in the transcription and hereafter referred to as *Surdo 1*) and the Brazilian musician who plays the *surdo de repicar* (*Surdo 2*). *Surdo 1* correctly establishes a resonant beat on the second pulse of each bar (see bars 1-24). A weak beat on the first pulse of each bar is needed to establish the traditional 'low samba beat' (alternating weak and resonant beat). In Brazil, that weak first beat is usually supplied by the musician who plays the *surdo de marcação* (missing in the Sydney group) and is duplicated with variations on the *surdo de repicar* (see earlier, p.202).

Instead of completing the 'low samba beat', however, *Surdo* 2 plays an elaboration of the 'low samba beat' (labelled 'repicar ostinato pattern' in the transcription) in which he subdivides both the weak and more resonant beats within the limits of one bar. That modified pattern thus disturbs the traditional Brazilian effect which results from the "double mark" technique described earlier in this chapter (see p.202).

Before the second excerpt (Example 24b) was recorded, in an effort to correct the misinterpretation of the 'low samba beat' that was identified in the previous example (Example 24a), Tristão da Aguiar demonstrated the 'double mark' *surdo* technique needed to produce the traditional low *samba* beat. *Surdo* 1, however, departs from that traditional 'low samba beat' by commencing with a resonant beat on the first pulse of the bar as shown in bars 1-4 of the transcription (see Vol.II, p.113). To correct the 'low samba beat' *Surdo* 2 switches from his usual weak beat (see bars 1-4) and plays a resonant beat on the second pulse of the bar (see bar 5) which, when combined with the *Surdo* 1 beat, results in the repetition of two resonant beats in each bar instead of the usual alternating weak and resonant low *samba* beat (thus, once again disturbing the traditional sound and resultant rhythmic flow normally associated with the Brazilian *samba-enredo* low-sound layer.

Problems with the low-sound layer continue in the third excerpt (Example 24c, see Vol.II, p.115). Instead of establishing the alternating weak and resonant second beat of traditional *samba-enredo*, *Surdos* 1 and 2 both sound a resonant beat on the first pulse of each bar (see bars 1-33), which again disturbs the rhythmic flow usually produced by traditional low *samba* beat of *samba-enredo*.

In the last excerpt (Example 24d, see Vol.II, p.117), the musicians continue their attempts to imitate the traditional rhythms of Brazilian *samba-enredo* as suggested at the rehearsal by Tristão da Aguiar. Changes to the low-sound layer continue as the *surdo* players experiment with yet another interpretation of the traditional Brazilian 'low samba beat'. Instead of the usual alternating weak and resonant *surdo* beat of Brazilian *samba-enredo*, the *surdo* players create the two-bar rhythmic ostinato pattern marked 'ostinato pattern x' in bars 1-3 of the transcription. That two-bar ostinato pattern (\( \frac{3}{4} \) \( \frac{3}{4} \) \( \frac{3}{4} \)), which is repeated throughout Example 24d, comprises a resonant beat on the first pulse in each bar (*Surdos* 1 and 2), and a subdivision of the second pulse in the first bar only of each two-bar sequence (*Surdo* 1). After repeated attempts to improve the group, Tristão de Aguiar told Samy Sabag
that there was nothing more that he could do to help those inexperienced Australian and Brazilian musicians and he left the rehearsal.

Changes to the low-sound layer identified above reflect problems encountered by the musicians as they tried to produce the lower-sound layer which is normally provided by three different drums (surdo de repicar, surdo de marcação, and surdo de marcação centralizador) with only two. Thus, the changes to the low-sound layer resulted from the inexperience of the musicians and their endeavours to compensate for the missing drums. The Australian-born members of Sambação Stage 2 were unable to play the more virtuosic instruments. While they were willing to imitate the "traditional" Brazilian samba-enredo rhythms suggested by Tristão da Aguiar and Maurício Sabbag, they were less concerned than the few remaining Brazilians about the adherence to the traditional Brazilian interpretation of the samba-enredo rhythms.

Example 24, typical of the samba improvisations performed by members of Sambação Stage 2, represents a significant departure from the samba-enredo songs which are a traditional part of the Rio desfiles. This departure from the Brazilian model suggested by da Aguiar and those other Brazilian musicians in turn affected the few remaining Brazilian musicians despite their never having received musical training in Brazil and first-hand carnival experience. Once Sambação was no longer regarded as an appropriate symbol of Brazilian culture, that is to say once the music and desfile presentations failed to complement their post-migration carnival folk models, those few Brazilians left Sambação and joined the newly-formed breakaway carnival organisation – the Brazilian Samba Social Centre (a detailed examination of the Centre follows in Chapter IV). The analysis will now focus on an examination of the Sambação Stage 3 bateria and samba-enredo.

Bateria/Samba-Enredo – Sambação Stage 3

Stage 2, with its majority of non-Brazilian musicians, disbanded shortly after their 1980 Festival of Sydney performance (January). In June 1980, Samy Sabag, in a last effort to rebuild the organisation, formed a third bateria which consisted of a small group of Australian-born musicians of contrasting ages and musical backgrounds. As documented earlier in this chapter (see p.159), disputes took place between Brazilian members of the second School of Samba – the Brazilian Samba Social Centre and members of the previous Sambação group (Stage 2) over Sabag’s promotion of Stage 2 as an Escola de Samba. Sabag nevertheless continued with his promotion of Sambação Stage 3 as a School of Samba (see p.164).
As will be demonstrated in the discussion and analysis to follow, despite Samy Sabag’s initial efforts to imitate the music of the Brazilian Samba Schools, from the Brazilian perspective, the presence of those Australians in the bateria resulted in a more noticeable departure from the structure and function of the typical Brazilian bateria and their carnival music samba-enredo. From the non-Brazilian perspective, performances by Australian members Sambação Stage 3 marked the beginnings of a new musical synthesis, acceptable to non-Brazilian Sydney audiences yet offensive to certain Brazilian immigrants in the Brazilian Samba Social Centre who evaluated those renditions in light of Sabag’s promotion of Sambação Stage 3 as a School of Samba.

Figure 49. Sambação Stage 3 and Rio Bateria – A Comparison
(see Vol.II, p.119).

In Figure 49 the instrumentation of the Sambação Stage 3 was compared with the instrumentation of a Rio bateria. Sambação Stage 3, suffered from a severe shortage of musicians. Those Australian-born members were inexperienced with the melodies, instruments and percussive rhythms of samba-enredo. Due to Sabag’s influence and the musician’s attempts to imitate the sound on the recordings provided by Sabag, a number of traditional samba-enredo percussion instruments were, however, included in the Sambação Stage 3 bateria. As shown in Figure 49, present were the apito, the agogo, the chocalho, the caixa and the surdo de marcação centralizador.

The following analysis of the Sambação Stage 3 bateria and samba-enredo interpretations will focus on the following types of change. Namely:

- Simplification of rhythms.
- Substitution of music style.
- Substitution of musical instruments.

Simplification of rhythms

Missing from the bateria were the reco-reco, cuica, pandeiro, and tamborim from the high-sound layer, the repinique from the middle-sound layer, and the surdo de repicar and surdo de marcação from the low-sound layer. The omission of the stabilising and soloistic sounds associated with those instruments resulted in the lack of sound density and balance between the high, middle, and low-sound layers. The Sambação Stage 3 bateria interpretation of Brazilian samba-enredo was, by Brazilian standards, thus further removed from the traditional sounds of samba-enredo than those of Sambação Stages 1 and 2. That fact was of little concern to the
Australian-born musicians who participated in the group for social and recreational reasons rather than for the maintenance of ethnic identity through music.

Substitution of Musical Style

The shift in Sambação Stage 3 to a predominance of non-Brazilians was reflected in changes to the *bateria* and music. The emphasis on instrumentation in the Stage 3 *bateria* shifted from percussion instruments and their sounds to a predominance of melodic instruments, through the inclusion of the trumpeter, saxophonist and the later addition of a tuba player. As a result, the percussive accompaniment rhythms and songs of *samba-enredo* - manifestations of the outdoor *desfile* - were gradually blended with, or replaced by *baile* (indoor) styles of Brazilian *Carnaval* music such as *marcha* and *marcha-rancho* as well as non-Brazilian styles - tango, cha-cha, bolero, jazz and pop.

During an outdoor performance for example, the group would commence with two or three *sambas-enredo* which the musicians would read from printed scores which were purchased in Brazil. The *sambas-enredo* were never sung, but instead played by the brass players. After two or three repeats of the entire melody each brass player would stop playing, pick up a percussion instrument, play along with the other percussionists for five or ten minutes, then resume playing the melody. The renditions of other Brazilian and non-Brazilian musical styles that followed would undergo the same treatment in order to project what the Australian musicians regarded as a 'Brazilian' image to the performance onlookers.

Substitution of Musical Instruments

Besides, those traditional percussion instruments included in Sambação Stage 3, in keeping with their flexible notions of Brazilian music, the Australian musicians also introduced a range of instruments into the Sydney *bateria* that are not normally associated with a Brazilian *bateria* or the sounds of *samba-enredo*. These were a modern drum kit, a number of Indonesian drums, a triangle, a collection of Indian bells, as well as a *cabaca* (modern version of the Brazilian *afôxe*), Mexican maracas, a vibraslap (modern rattle), and three cowbells of the type found in Americanised Latin-American forms such as *salsa*, rhumba and Latin-rock.

Example 25. 'Brazil' - Sambação Stage 3
(see Vol.II, p.120).
Example 25, entitled ‘Brazil’, was transcribed from a recording made of the Sambação Stage 3 bateria during a rehearsal in October 1982 at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre, Sydney. The chosen item and its manner of performance was typical of the way in which those Australian musicians in Sambação ‘Brazilianised’ the tunes that they had associated with Brazil and Carnaval. The original version of ‘Brazil’ was written in 1931 by the Brazilian composer Ari Barroso. It was the Hollywood movie version of the 1940s, however, that popularised the song on an international level.

Like the famous ‘Samba de Orfeo’ and ‘Garota de Ipanema’ (‘Girl from Ipanema’) themes, the melody of ‘Brazil’ developed into a highly commercialised symbol of Brazilian culture for non-Brazilians throughout the Western World. In Australia, it seems that Brazilian ethnic identity is epitomised on a musical level by Americanised versions of bossa-nova and samba such as those mentioned, evidenced by the inclusion of ‘Brazil’ in Sambação’s repertoire. In Brazil, however, it is the music of samba and not those popular tunes that is said by Brazilians in Sydney and Brazil to be more reflective of Brazilian musical identity on a national level.

Unlike the Brazilian interpretations of bossa-nova and samba, in which improvisation, rhythmic complexity, and spontaneity are a common feature, the Americanised interpretations are highly stylised with the emphasis more on melody or text rather than percussion. Sambação’s interpretation of ‘Brazil’, as shown in Example 45, reflects the attempts by Sambação’s Australian musicians to infuse what they regarded as musical elements of Brazilian carnival music into their otherwise standard Americanised version of the tune. The group heard on the recording comprised the following instruments and musicians listed in Figure I below. The abbreviations M1 through M5 (Musicians 1 through 5) are used to clarify the various levels of musical interaction and activity.

**Figure I**

Sambação Stage 3 – Instrumentation for Example 25

- Musician 1 (M1) - trumpet, agogo
- Musician 2 (M2) - tenor saxophone, cowbells
- Musician 3 (M3) - assorted cowbells, maraca, cabaca
- Musician 4 (M4) - triangle, cabasa, whistle, snare drum
- Musician 5 (M5) - surdo de marcação centralizador
As shown in Example 25 (see Vol.II, p.120), the melody of the item, which commences on p.125 of the transcription, is preceded by two separate improvised percussive introductions marked ‘Introduction 1’ and ‘Introduction 2’. Introduction 1 commences with the two-bar rhythmic ostinato pattern marked ‘cowbell ostinato pattern A’ (c.o.p.A) which is played on a large- and medium-sized cowbell and used to establish the tempo (see M3 bars 1-3). That pattern (c.o.p.A) is repeated in various forms throughout the first introduction (see c.o.p.A/v bars 3-5, 13-17). A second cowbell (see M2 bar 7) is used to reinforce the pulse. The surdo player commences playing the two-bar lower drum ostinato pattern marked ‘surdo ostinato pattern A’ to coincide with the start of the cowbell ostinato pattern ‘c.o.p.A/v’ (see bars 11). For reasons which will be explained later, the surdo pattern played by Samy Sabag is a reversal of the traditional low samba carnival beat, that is the alternating weak first beat and resonant second beat in duple metre (\(\frac{\underline{1}}{\underline{2}}\)). Instead, Sabag commences with a resonant beat which he aligns with the first rather than the second crotchet subdivision of each bar.

Two bars after the entry of the surdo (bar 13), the agogo player introduces the two-bar rhythmic phrase marked ‘agogó rhythmic phrase 1’ (a.r.p.1) which is then repeated in various forms (see bars 15-24). The agogó rhythmic phrases are similar to the two-bar phrases that were identified in the analysis of Essa Gente Brasileira and those played by Tristão da Aguiar during the Sambação Stage 2 rehearsal in 1980. The similarities may be attributed to Sabag’s influence on the Australian musicians through demonstration and through the Brazilian carnival recordings that he played at times before the commencement of a rehearsal. The triangle is used to stabilise the tempo by sounding semiquaver subdivisions of the pulse (see M4T bars 19-23) in much the same way as the chocalho is used in Brazilian carnival samba-enredo. After a brief period the improvisation accelerates and then fades to a stop. The musicians were not satisfied with the tempo and stopped the improvisation for a brief period before commencing with a newly improvised percussive introduction.

After a brief discussion between the musicians, a second, faster tempo is introduced by musician 2 (M2) who plays a single bell (see p.122). The initial two-bar bell rhythmic pattern is repeated with slight variation by the agogó player (see M1, Introduction 2, bars 1-5). Both musicians immediately give way to the self-elected leader of the group who plays a two-bar rhythmic pattern which is similar to that with which he commenced Introduction 1.
Introduction 2 features two-bar rhythmic phrases and ostinato patterns similar to those heard in Introduction 1. Additional percussive sounds and rhythms that are heard during Introduction 2 result from the inclusion of the cabaca (modern shaker), which is used to subdivide the pulse into semiquavers in much the same way as the chocalho in Brazilian samba-enredo (see Introduction 2 bars 18-33), and the snare drum which is used to stabilise the tempo through the subdivision of the pulse to form two-bar ostinato rhythmic patterns such as those marked 'snare ostinato pattern A, B, and C' (see Introduction 2 bars 37-51). In the second Introduction, Sabag once again reverses the traditional carnival low samba surdo beat and aligns his resonant beat with the first rather than the second crotchet beat in each bar of duple-metre.

The melody of the item, which commences on bar 53 of the second percussive improvisation is played by the trumpeter and saxophonist with some harmonisation in sixths and thirds. The number of percussive instruments used in the percussive accompaniment is less than that used in the Introduction which included the trumpeter and saxophonist who doubles on percussion. Percussive accompaniment to the song is provided by the surdo, the snare drum; a third musician plays either a single bell, wooden maracas, or wooden maraca and cabaca simultaneously. Like the triangle, the bell, maracas and cabaca are not used in Brazilian Carnaval and represent the efforts of those Australian-born musicians to add what they considered as Brazilian-styled rhythms and sounds to the performance.

The rhythms played on those instruments during the accompaniment to the melody are similar to those identified in the two introductory percussive improvisations. Moreover, the snare drummer continues with a variety of closely related two-bar rhythmic phrases (see bars 53-170). The bell player works with the snare drummer and plays two-bar rhythmic phrases that are at times either identical, or only slightly different from those played on the snare drum (see bars 59-61, 69-71). The surdo player, Samy Sabag, continues with a repetition of the two-bar surdo rhythm that was identified in Introduction 1 and 2 as 'surdo ostinato pattern A', or introduces slight variations of the pattern (for example, see accompaniment section bars 49-65, 83-87, 99-101). His basic surdo pattern remains a reversal of the traditional low samba surdo pattern.

In summary, Sambação's third and last musical group consisted of only five musicians; the four Australian-born musicians and Samy Sabag. On one hand, as a result of the prevailing influence of those Australians and their etic notions of Brazilian Carnaval and Brazilian music in general, the groups repertoire which consisted
originally of *sambas-enredo* and *marchas* introduced by Samy Sabag, expanded to include commercialised non-Brazilian musical symbols of Brazilian culture. On the other hand, as the group was hired on the basis of its reputation as a Brazilian-styled carnival organisation it was necessary for the group to maintain some semblance of being a Brazilian musical group.

Besides the Australian musicians' lack of emic knowledge of the Brazilian carnival music traditions, the shortage of musicians in Sambação Stage 3 prevented the musicians from imitating the various sound layers that are typical of Brazilian *samba-enredo*. To overcome that problem, the musicians would include a percussion introduction to each melody, as demonstrated in the transcription and analysis of 'Brazil', or include a similar type of percussion interlude in the middle of a tune. Although the Australians introduced percussion instruments that were not typical of Brazilian carnival music (triangle, Indonesian drums, Indian bells, cabaca, cowbells, maraca) their performances did include typical Brazilian carnival instruments such as the *agogê*, *caixa* and *surdo* which were, however, used in ways markedly different from those of Brazilian carnival music.

The rhythms of the *agogê* in some ways resembled those found in Brazilian *samba-enredo*. Moreover, like the *agogê* rhythms in the accompaniment to Brazilian *samba-enredo*, the Sydney *agogê* patterns comprised a predominance of two-bar rhythmic ostinatos and phrases. By way of contrast, although the Stage 3 snare drum patterns were predominantly two-bar rhythmic ostinatos and stabilising semiquaver subdivisions of the pulse, as is the case in Brazil, the Sydney patterns lacked the rhythmic pattern (\[\text{\texttt{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}}\]) described by Béhague as the 'classic *samba* formula'. As a result, the Stage 3 snare drum patterns, such as those seen in the transcription of 'Brazil' were closer to the types heard in European marching bands and lacked the 'swing' feel of the Brazilian snare patterns that result from the inclusion of the 'classic' *samba* pattern.

Furthermore, as was the case with the Sambação Stage 2 *bateria*, changes occurred in the low-sound layer evident in the frequent misplacement of the traditional second resonant low *samba* beat. Although Samy Sabag has lived in Brazil and been involved with *Escolas de Samba* there, his role was mainly that of organiser. Like most of the other Brazilians in Sambação Stages 1 and 2, he was inexperienced with the carnival percussion instruments and readily admitted that he had difficulty in imitating the typical low *samba* beat.
The rhythms of the *bombo* (Bolivian equivalent to Brazilian *surdo* in size and sound) that he grew up with and performed in Bolivia were in direct conflict with the structure of the low *samba* beat. The resonant beat of the Bolivian *huayno*, for example, occurs on the first crotchet beat of a bar of duple metre (\(\frac{4}{4}\)), a factor which, according to Sabag, interfered with his *surdo* interpretations of the *samba surdo* beat. Furthermore, as Sabag was often the only *surdo* player in Sambação Stage 3, his conscious attempts to compensate for the lack of *surdo de marcação* and soloistic *surdo de repicar* caused greater confusion as he tried to combine the function of those drums into his low *samba* beat interpretations.

**Sambação – Change Summary**

It has been demonstrated throughout this chapter that between 1978 and 1982 Sambação went through three significant stages of transformation; the first stage was characterised by an initial predominance of Brazilian-born members, the second stage by interaction between those Brazilians and subsequently enrolled non-Brazilian members; the third stage by the influences of Australian-born members who, during the last stage of Sambação’s existence, outnumbered the Brazilians.

In each case, the varying degrees of Brazilian/non-Brazilian participation and the corresponding array of folk models that operated within each stage of Sambação affected the structure and function of the organisation and the *bateria* and *samba-enredo* interpretations in each of the three Sambação groups.

Irrespective of those period shifts in Sambação’s membership and the final predominance of Australian-born members, the musical and social activities of each of the three Sambação groups revolved around aspects of the Rio *desfile* and music of *samba-enredo*. Thus, organisational and musical analysis were identified on the basis of the existence of central organisational and musical features of the Rio *Carnaval, Escolas de Samba* and music of *samba-enredo*.

**Figure 50. Sambação (Stages 1-3) – Summary of Change**
(see Vol.II, p.136).

Figure 50 contains a comparative summary of the organisational structure of Sambação Stages 1-3 components and *bateria* with that of a typical Rio *Escola de Samba*. Column A lists the structural components of a Rio *Escola de Samba* and the essential structural elements of a Rio *bateria*. Columns B through D represent the
presence or absence of the same structural components or elements in Sambação Stages 1-3.

Sambação was originally structured along the lines of a Rio *Escola de Samba*. Brazilian members of Sambação Stage 1 formed a majority within the group. Only a few had pre-migration emic experience with a Brazilian/Rio *Escola de Samba*. Nonetheless, (as shown in Fig. 50, Column B) they were able to include a sufficient number of Rio components in their Sydney Samba School to make it suited for the projection of aspects of the Brazilian sense of identity.

Due to the decrease in Brazilian-born members in Stage 2, their *desfile* performances departed more noticeably from the traditions usually associated with a Rio *desfile*. The influx of non-Brazilians resulted in a significant decrease in the number of traditional ‘components’ in the organisational structure of this Stage (see Fig. 50, Column C). While those non-Brazilians were willing to continue with the *desfile* and music of *samba* as the focus of their activities, they were, due to their non-Brazilian carnival experience, less concerned than their Brazilian counterparts over the adherence to the Rio *desfile* model. Consequently, they regarded Sambação as a multi-ethnic organisation rather than a Brazilian one, in line with Sabag’s original plan for the function of the group.

Stage 3 members were predominantly Australian-born and totally lacking in first-hand Brazilian carnival experience. As shown clearly in Figure 50, Column D, the shift from a predominance of Brazilian members (Stage 1) to a majority of non-Brazilian members (Stage 3) was mirrored in a comparative reduction in the numbers of traditional Brazilian carnival elements in each group.

Organisational-Visual Change

The *enredo* determines the visual and musical aspects of a Brazilian Samba School's competitive participation in *Carnaval* and was shown to be the principal organisational element of a Rio *Carnival* and *desfile*. The absence of that vital Brazilian carnival component in Sydney was, by Brazilian standards, one of the most important determinants of change in Sambação.

With the exception of the first Sambação *desfile* in 1979, the *enredo* was ommitted from all Sambação *desfiles*. That omission resulted from factors such as the change in location (Brazil to Sydney) and the resultant absence in Sydney of traditional *desfile* constraints such as the official rules and regulations which govern the
desfile competition, the shortage of Brazilian musicians and musical instruments, the members' lack of previous Samba School experience, and the lack of finances to hire or purchase trucks, carnival costumes, amplification and other necessary items of desfile equipment.

Without an original enredo and accompanying samba-enredo a Brazilian Escola de Samba is denied entry into the Rio Carnaval desfiles. This was not the case in Sydney. Indeed, the change in location (Brazil to Sydney) afforded the Brazilian Sambação members a degree of flexibility that they would not have had as members of a Escola de Samba in Brazil. A greater degree of flexibility was afforded those non-Brazilian members who, in the main, lacked first-hand experience with a Rio Carnaval.

Changes to Sambação desfiles were noted for example in the area of visual presentation. Uniformity of costume styles within the various sub-groups of the Rio Escolas de Samba is a central feature of the Rio Carnaval. Due to the comparatively small membership of Stages 1-3 their lack of enredos (visual themes), the Sambação desfiles reflected a degree of visual flexibility and freedom of costume choice not found in Brazil.

For certain Brazilian members, the change in location provided them with an opportunity for innovation. Rinaldo Medeiros constructed innovative costumes for his family and other members of Stage 1. Regardless of their general lack of previous Samba School involvement, there was a limit to the degree of change that the Brazilian members were willing to accept as was evident in their rejection of Medeiros' suggestions for their adoption of desfile costumes based on Australian themes (Stage 1, see p.146).

The Australian-born members of Stage 3 structured their organisation according to their understanding of the emic function of Sambação in Sydney. They were content to include the minimum number and type of visual and musical elements that would, as indicated by Samy Sabag, enable them to present the group as a 'Brazilian' carnival organisation to non-Brazilian Sydney audiences.

Other changes, primarily non-musical, included changes to Sambação's written constitution which was intentionally designed to promote cross-cultural interaction and facilitate the inclusion of the group into the longer-established Sydney festive traditions. Stylisation of samba dance was also noted whereby, the virtuosic and improvised samba dance steps normally associated with the Brazilian passistas during
a Rio *desfile* were replaced by stylised steps associated more with non-Brazilian dances such as disco.

Musical Change

**Figure J. Sambação – Summary of Musical Change**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change Category</th>
<th>Stage 1</th>
<th>Stage 2</th>
<th>Stage 3</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Substitution</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Musical Instruments</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musical Style</td>
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<tr>
<td>Playing Technique</td>
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<td><strong>2. Simplification</strong></td>
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<td>Rhythms</td>
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<td>Song Presentation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3. Standardisation</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Musical Repertory</td>
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<td><strong>4. Realignment</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Surdo Samba</em> Beats</td>
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<td><strong>5. Incorporation</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Percussive Interludes</td>
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Figure J above lists the types of musical change that were considered as typical for the various stages of Sambação. The discussion will proceed with a general summary of those changes and their significance. That general summary will be followed by an evaluation of change for specific individuals connected with Sambação.

**Substitution of Musical Instruments**

By Brazilian standards, the most noticeable changes occurred in the carnival music performed by the Sambação Stage 3 *bateria* with its predominance of Australian-born musicians. As was demonstrated earlier (see p.228) the instrumentation in the Stage 3 *bateria* shifted from percussion instruments and their sounds to a predominance of melody instruments. As a result, during their mock *desfiles*, which caused outrage to most Brazilian ex-Sambação members, the percussive
accompaniment rhythms and songs of *samba-enredo* - manifestations of the outdoor *desfile* - were gradually blended with, or replaced by non-Brazilian musical styles such as tango, bolero, jazz, cha-cha and pop. The virtual rejection of Stage 3 leads to its eventual dissolution.

**Substitution of musical style**

*Samba-enredo*, the traditional narrative song style connected with the Rio *Escolas de Samba* and carnival *desfile*, was replaced in Sydney by percussive improvisations based on the accompaniment rhythms of Brazilian *samba-enredo*. Thus, a vocal style was replaced by an instrumental style.

Another common change to *samba-enredo* in Sydney was the inclusion in the performance of a long period of percussive improvisation following the sung text or instrumental tune in order to allow for more individual freedom of musical expression. These presentations, albeit modified in the ways mentioned, had a dramatic impact on non-Brazilian audiences, most of whom are more interested in the unusual combinations of percussion instruments, by Australian standards, than by the words of the songs and their significance or the 'authenticity' of the performance. Performance success was guaranteed though it lacked the quality usually associated with that tradition. At the same time, for the Brazilian immigrants, because their ethnic identity was linked with a symbol rather than a living tradition, those modifications to the re-enactment of the Rio *Carnaval* and *samba-enredo* did not detract from the Brazilian quality of the new, modified musical symbol of Brazilian-Australian identity.

**Substitution of playing technique**

Due either to a lack of emic knowledge of the traditional playing techniques and rhythms associated with a particular musical instrument, or to compensate for the shortage of musicians and traditional instruments in Sambação, the musicians wittingly or unwittingly played the *samba* rhythms in a manner not normally associated with a particular musical instrument in Brazil.

**Simplification of Rhythms**

Due either to the omission of certain traditional percussion instruments in the high, middle, and low-sound layers produced by the various Sambação *bateria*, and/or as a result of the inexperience of the musicians, the soloistic sounds and improvisations normally associated with those instruments in Brazilian *samba-enredo* were missing altogether in *desfile* and *samba-enredo* performances by Sambação in Sydney.
As shown through the analysis of selected examples of *samba-enredo* performed by the Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians in Sambação Stage 2, their interpretation of the accompaniment to Brazilian *samba-enredo* affected essential musical elements of that musical style. For example, simplification of the *samba* rhythms resulted from the virtual exclusion of the high-pitched instruments such as the *cuica*, *pandeiro* and *tamborim* and the syncopated improvised rhythms that are normally associated with them. More significantly, there were fundamental changes to the *samba* through the frequent misplacement of the traditional second resonant *surdo* beat. The significance of those organisational and musical changes were of less concern to the non-Brazilian participants who were satisfied with their performances. Divergence of folk models between the Brazilians and non-Brazilians regarding the quality of their combined performance, however, eventually caused a rift between those musicians and the non-Brazilians left the group.

**Standardisation of Musical Repertory**

Due to factors such as the lack of Brazilian carnival constraints that ensure the emergence of newly-composed *sambas-enredo* for each *Carnaval*, the lack of composers in the Centre, or the rejection of original songs, Sambação’s repertory became standardised.

The Brazilian Sambação member’s choice of a pre-composed Brazilian *Carnaval enredo* facilitated their presentation of aspects of Rio *Carnaval desfile* in Sydney, and, at the same time, helped them to maintain aspects of Brazilian identity. Their rejection of original compositions, a normal part of the *samba-enredo* tradition in Brazil, led to a standardisation of their repertory in contrast to the practice in Brazil where the composers of each *Escola de Samba* create newly-composed *sambas-enredo* for each successive carnival performance. The folk models surrounding that important aspect of the organisational and functional structure of a Brazilian *Escola de Samba* stem from a consensus of attitudes not only from Samba School members, but also from Government officials who, often for quite different reasons, work jointly to preserve those traditional *desfile* elements.

In Sydney, however, due to the contrasting pre-migration musical backgrounds and convergent and divergent carnival-related folk models held by Brazilian members of Sambação, their attempts to preserve what they regarded as a necessary degree of authenticity in their Sydney *desfile* caused unintentional changes to the event through standardisation and a departure, by Brazilian standards, from those *desfile* traditions that they sought to imitate. At the same time, they were willing to accept changes to
the density of *samba-enredo* accompaniment rhythms, density of voices and simplification that resulted from the omission of traditional percussive instruments such as the *cuica* in light of the new function of the Sydney *desfile* as a part of their Brazilian-Australian identities. That is to say that they generally regarded the new function of the *desfile* as emically correct as it related directly to and reflected aspects of their new life in Australia.

**Re-alignment**

Re-alignment of the *surdo samba* beats was most prominent during Sambação Stage 3 with its predominance of Australian-born musicians. That type of musical change, which affected the traditional low *samba surdo* beats and marked a dramatic departure from the sounds of Brazilian *samba-enredo*, was of little concern to the Australian-born members of Stage 3 who were satisfied with their modified *samba-enredo*.

**Incorporation of Percussive Interludes**

As a result of the prevailing influence of those Australians and their understanding of the Rio *Carnaval*, which was primarily an etic one, their musical repertoire, which consisted originally of traditional carnival *sambas-enredo*, expanded to include commercialised non-Brazilian musical symbols of Brazilian culture. In an attempt to Brazilianise their modified interpretations of Brazilian carnival music, they inserted into their tunes percussive improvisations that were based on elements of the accompaniment to Brazilian *samba-enredo* as taught to them by Samy Sabag and through commercial Brazilian recordings of *Carnaval* in Rio de Janeiro.

**Significance of Change for Individual Sambação Members**

It was shown in Chapter I that participants may supply emic or etic information or both. Brazilian musical activity during Period 2, the time span of Sambação's existence, resulted from shared musical interaction between Brazilian and non-Brazilian participants. Regardless of any commonalities in their carnival backgrounds each individual member of Sambação interpreted organisational and musical changes in the Sydney *desfiles* in a personal and different way. To illustrate this point in detail, the summary will now focus on an evaluation of the significance of change for selected individual Sambação participants.
The seven individual Sambação members listed in Figure K above were chosen on the basis of their contrasting cultural and musical backgrounds, folk models, degrees of emic experience with Brazilian Carnaval and the Escolas de Samba and the important contribution that each made to Sambação and the Sydney desfiles. Essential details of their individual backgrounds were provided at the start of this chapter (see pp.117-24). The comparative approach in the application of the folk models analysis that follows necessitated the repetition of certain of those background details and the slight addition of new details.

Samy Sabag

Samy Sabag was, by far, the Sambação member with the most experience with Carnaval in Brazil. His life style in Bolivia and Brazil was modest but comfortable (see pp.117-118). His migration from Bolivia to Brazil resulted in subsequent adoption of contrastingly new Brazilian folk models that eventually became a part of his sense of Bolivian-Brazilian identity. His involvement with the Escolas de Samba in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, where he lived, helped him to adjust to the demands of a different culture, language, and lifestyle. His organisational experience with certain Bolivian
carnival groups (see p.118) made him suited to similar leadership roles which he adopted in Brazil and later on in Australia. In that sense, his involvement with Sambação represented a continuity of aspects of his life in Bolivia and Brazil.

Social and economic mobility and adventure were the prime motivations behind Sabag's emigration to Australia. Sabag's long term plan for settlement in Australia and his occupation in Sydney as social worker (see p.124) influenced his approach to Sambação and his intentions for the organisation. He had a solid emic understanding of the Brazilian *Escolas de Samba* and he structured Sambação along the lines of those Brazilian organisations. Regardless of his concern for the successful transplantation of elements of the indigenous models into Sydney, he was a prime agent of change and welcomed any modifications that would facilitate the establishment of Sambação. His formulation of Sambação's written constitution reflected his strong desire for change through intercultural contact (see p.141).

Indeed, Sabag's pre-migration background is one of constant change, his Sydney occupation a reflection of his desire for social change. Numerous interviews and conversations with him between 1978 and 1984 confirmed that viewpoint. Sabag, the most experienced member of Sambação, was the least concerned over changes to Sambação and more concerned with the vital cross-cultural function of such an organisation in Sydney. His personalised interpretation of change was clearly a reflection of his individual folk models which were uniquely different from those of other Sambação members. His emic understanding of Sambação was a continuity of his emic understanding of the Brazilian Samba Schools and the role that it played in his life as a Bolivian immigrant in Brazil.

Walter da Fonseca

Walter da Fonseca's pre-migration experience with the Rio Carnaval comprised occasional visits to the *quadras* (club headquarters) of the *Escolas de Samba* in São Cristavão, Rio de Janeiro where he lived. His first-hand knowledge of those organisations, although limited, comprised an general understanding of internal workings of the *Escolas* and the *samba-enredo* percussion instruments.

Da Fonseca moved to Australia primarily for adventure and financial gain. He suffered a long-term drop in occupational status. His involvement with Sambação resulted from the offer of a prestigious position (director of the *bateria*) in Sambação. Otherwise, as he remarked, he probably would not have participated in the group on a regular basis.
Da Fonseca was a prime catalyst of change in Sambação. Due to long-term periods of unemployment he became disillusioned with life in Australia, but was unwilling to return to Brazil on a permanent basis. Regardless of his mild interest in the Escolas de Samba whilst living in Brazil, in Australia, he chose active participation in Sambação as a way of maintaining his link with Rio de Janeiro.

As noted in the section on musical analysis, his use of Brazilian carnival recordings for his acquisition of instrumental technique and instruction of the Sambação bateria led to standardisation and simplification of the Sambação Stage 1 samba-enredo rhythms. The resultant changes to Sambação, by Brazilian standards, represented a form of continuity for da Fonseca who was more concerned with ‘authenticity’ in Sambação than with the dynamic function of the organisation and music in Sydney.

**Allan de Mello**

In contrast to Sabag, as detailed earlier (see pp.119-20), Allan de Mello had no first-hand experience or involvement with an Escola de Samba in Brazil. More significantly, whilst in Brazil, for reasons of class and status, he afforded little if any status to those organisations and their activities, a view which he imposed on and shared with other members of his family. His understanding of Brazilian Carnaval was, therefore, primarily an etic one.

Family reunion was the main reason for de Mello’s eventual settlement in Australia. He was also dissatisfied with social and political aspects of life in Rio de Janeiro. De Mello’s settlement in Sydney, unlike that of Sabag, was marked by a host of unfortunate circumstances, particularly a drop in the level of social, economic and occupational status that he had achieved in Brazil. His alienation from mainstream Australian society and his desire for social contact with other Brazilians and an outlet for the projection of his sense of Brazilian-Australian identity resulted in his involvement with Sambação. Thus, de Mello’s participation in Sambação resulted from his adoption of new folk models in Sydney in contrast to Sabag, whose involvement stemmed primarily from the expansion of his previously existing ones.

Regardless of the different levels of emic and etic carnival experiences of Sabag and de Mello, both immigrants shared an emic understanding of the function of Sambação in Sydney. Furthermore, despite the apparent dissimilarities in their personal backgrounds, for reasons quite different, both individuals welcomed changes to Sambação. While Sabag continued with his role as a Samba School organiser, de
Mello's adoption of the composers role in Sambaçao marked a significant change in the value that he had placed on the Escolas de Samba and on his life style in Brazil. De Mello's dramatic change of attitude in Sydney was reflected in his original samba-enredo compositions *Vagabundo, Ritmo e Marcação no Sambaçao* and *A Mocada Brasileira* which he composed specifically for Sambaçao. For de Mello, change in Sambaçao was manifested in the form of innovation.

Innovation, according to Barnett, is 'any thought, behavior, or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms'. As demonstrated in the section on musical analysis, de Mello's compositions were innovative in that, regardless of their links with Brazilian samba-enredo, they took on a new and different function in the new location. For the traditional Brazilian themes were substituted references to Sydney locations and what de Mello perceived to be the significance of samba and the desfile for Brazilian participants and non-Brazilian spectators in Sydney.

**Rinaldo Medeiros**

Like Sabag and de Mello, Rinaldo Medeiros, was willing to adopt new folk models or expand previously existing ones. Medeiros was one of a majority of Sambaçao's Brazilian members such as de Mello, who lacked previous involvement with an Escola de Samba. His background details (see earlier pp.120-22) were very different to those of Sabag and de Mello. He was a certified tradesman (machinist) in Nova Friburgo, Brazil. In Brazil, his work took priority over leisure activities. He didn't participate in the Brazilian Escolas de Samba, although he was an avid supporter of the Rio Carnaval and music of samba-enredo. While his knowledge of Carnaval was primarily etic compared with that of Sabag, it was more than that of de Mello.

Medeiros' emigration to Australia was motivated by his desire for financial security for his wife and young children. His involvement in Sambaçao stemmed initially from his need for social contact with other Brazilians in Sydney. His long-term plan of residency and hopes for a new life in Australia were major influences on his actions in Sambaçao. Madeiro's organisational role in Sambaçao was an extension of his organisational and leadership activities in Brazil (see p.121).

Like Sabag, Medeiros was concerned primarily with the new function of Sambaçao as a multicultural organisation. His actions in Sambaçao, particularly in the

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area of creative costume design, reflected his emic view of Sambação as a vital part of his and his family's shared sense of Brazilian-Australian identity. For Medeiros, involvement in Sambação represented the expansion of previously existing folk models with an emphasis on the adoption of new ones. Accordingly, changes to Sambação by Brazilian standards represented varying degrees of innovation for Medeiros.

Mauricio Sabbag

Of those Brazilian individuals listed in Figure K, Mauricio Sabbag has the least amount of pre-migration carnival experience. As detailed earlier (see p.122), prior to arrival in Australia, Mauricio Sabbag and his family lived in Mato Grosso in the northeastern Amazon region where they were farmers. His only exposure to Escolas de Samba in general and the Rio Carnaval and Carnaval desfiles in particular came through the media reports. His knowledge of Brazilian Carnaval was thus primarily an etic one although he was an avid fan of carnival samba-enredo and marcha and had a considerable private collection of carnival tapes and recordings.

He moved to Australia with a short-term plan for financial gain. This was achieved through the family's establishment of a successful Sydney restaurant. As was the case with Sabag, da Fonseca and Medeiros, his background and carnival related folk models influenced his actions in Sambação and his interpretation of change. His business success provided him with status and mobility within the Sydney Brazilian population and broader mainstream society, a status that carried over into Sambação. Despite his mild initial interest in Sambação he was quick to assume the position of director of the Sambação Stage 2 bateria. Although he lacked previous musical and carnival experience he claimed an emic understanding of samba-enredo based on notions of ethnicity. According to Sabbag, "Brazilians were the only ones who could play samba... it was in the Brazilian blood". Consequently, non-Brazilians in the Stage 2 were generally regarded by him as outsiders and agents of musical dilution.

As shown in the musical analysis section, from Sabbag's viewpoint, the desfiles and samba-enredo rhythms played by those Australian marked a threat to the authenticity of a musical style which he claimed was a vital part of his previous identity in Brazil. Thus, while he adopted new carnival folk models in Sydney through his involvement in a Samba School, his interpretation of change in Sambação was based on his notions of loss of musical tradition and a lack of continuity. He regarded Sambação primarily as a symbol of his former Brazilian identity. In keeping with his original plan, Mauricio Sabbag capitalised on his business ventures in Sydney and soon after returned to Mato Grosso where he opened a supermarket.
Jim Ross

Jim Ross, an Australian-born member of Sambação, was the only professional musician in the history of that Sydney Samba School. Although Ross relied exclusively on music for his livelihood he participated in Sambação for social and musical reasons rather than for financial gain. His musical background in Australia was long and varied (see pp.122-24). He had no experience, however, with a Samba School or music of samba-enredo prior to his involvement with Sambação. Thus his knowledge of Brazilian Carnaval was primarily an etic one.

By Brazilian standards, Sambação's desfile re-enactments and samba-enredo interpretations marked a noticeable departure from the Brazilian models in areas of visual presentation, dance and music. As demonstrated in the previous discussion, Brazilians in Sydney responded to those changes in Sambação according to their various backgrounds in Brazil and Australia. Through Sambag's promotion of Stage 3 as an Escola de Samba, Ross adopted elements of Sabag's carnival folk models which resulted in the expansion of his own previously existing folk models.

Because he gained an knowledge of the Rio Carnaval through carnival descriptions and recordings provided by Sabag, his knowledge of the Brazilian event and music remained primarily an etic one. Despite his emic understanding of Sambação's function in Sydney, he was unaware of the significance of changes in Sambação by Brazilian standards. Aspects of change in Stage 3 that were offensive for certain Brazilian immigrants in Sydney (for example, the use of non-traditional percussion instruments and inclusion into the Stage 3 desfiles of non-Brazilian tunes arranged by Ross), were totally acceptable to Ross in the light of his emic view of Sambação as a Brazilian influenced multi-ethnic organisation.

Sambação provided Ross with an opportunity for cross-cultural social and musical contact and for the expansion of his previously existing folk models through the incorporation of new ones. During the two years that Ross was active in Sambação, Sambação became a vital expression of his sense of Australian cultural and musical identity.

Craig Leclos

Craig Leclos, the young Australian-born trumpeter, was introduced into Sambação by Jim Ross. Leclos studied trumpet at a music school where Ross taught. Leclos had no prior knowledge of Brazilian Carnaval before he joined Sambação, and far less musical experience than Ross, who was Sambação's most senior member.
Regardless of their differences in age and musical backgrounds, Leclos shared Ross's emic view of the dynamic function of Sambação in Sydney. Changes to Sambação by Brazilian standards were interpreted by Leclos as innovative expressions of multicultural Australia. As suggested in the following statement by Leclos:

_The music was funny. You had two factors; the Western cultivated horn section and the Brazilian culture. Jim and I didn't copy the recording exactly but we just got the feel, It was going to be a new thing - a moulding of the two cultures. My experience with Sambação and that music affected the way that I looked at other cultures. People are scared of what they don't understand, including so-called 'ethnics' (interview Dec.20:1987)._

The previous application of the folk models approach demonstrated some of the contrasting interpretations of change within Sambação. What represented change for some members of Sambação represented continuity, non-change, or innovation for others. If viewed exclusively from the perspective of continuity of Brazilian Carnaval traditions in a non-Brazilian location, Samacão's _desfile_ and _samba-enredo_ interpretations mark a departure from the Brazilian carnival models, a substantial loss of tradition. When viewed as musical expressions produced from and reflective of the cross-cultural musical interaction between Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of Sambação and the obvious success of those rhythms when performed before non-Brazilian audiences, those Sydney versions of the Brazilian _desfile_ and _samba-enredo_ could be interpreted as the beginnings of a new musical synthesis. Such multi-ethnic musical manifestations, while emically incorrect according to Brazilian standards, may be interpreted as emically correct in Australia.
Chapter IV focuses on the years 1979-1984 (Period 3) of Brazilian musical activity in Sydney marked by the formation of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre, the second Rio-styled Samba School formed by Brazilian immigrants in Sydney (hereafter referred to as the Centre).

As pointed out in the introduction, the period of investigation chosen for this thesis, that is the time span 1971 to 1984, is significant for a number of reasons. As stated in Chapter II (p.78), 1971 was the year in which Brazilian immigrants in Sydney held their first jointly celebrated festival and musical activities, which, in 1973, centred around their first re-enactment of a Rio Carnaval baile. The cut-off point (1984) coincides with events in the beginning of 1984 which led to the collapse of the Centre. Between January and March of 1984, members of the Centre performed desfile re-enactments at the Festival of Sydney, the South American Festival at Bondi, and staged their largest carnival baile re-enactment at the Sydney Hilton. Financial misdealings by Brazilian members of the Centre’s organising committee shortly after those events, resulted in the alleged misappropriation of the club’s profits and subsequent collapse of the Centre as the new organisers were left with insufficient funds to cover the cost incurred by the organisation in relation to the hiring of the Hilton Hotel and rents of the club’s Norton St. premises.¹

The theoretical position adopted in this thesis holds that the significance of change in the music and musical organisations of immigrant groups is best understood in terms of the individual member’s folk models and degree of musical experience. As argued in Chapter I and demonstrated through analysis in Chapters II and III, participants may supply emic or etic information or both. It has been shown that the changes that occurred in Periods 1 and 2 of Brazilian musical activity in Sydney resulted from the multiplicity of individual owned and collectively shared folk models that

¹ In September 1983, members of the Centre officially opened their first clubhouse at Leichhardt, a working-class inner-city suburb of Sydney. Funds from the Centre’s desfile performances were used to finance the club as well as regular social and musical evenings that were held there.
operated amongst the Brazilian and non-Brazilians who were examined. Furthermore, by comparing the contrasts and divergencies between the participant's pre-migration and post-migration folk models it was possible to provide an additional and important level of interpretation not normally included in studies of the music of immigrant groups.

Chapter IV is similar in structure to Chapter III. Moreover, Chapter IV comprises four main Sections. The first Section commences with biographical details of certain Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of the Centre. Sueli da Fonseca, João Carlos, Louренço Forte, Marilane de Mello, Luiz Alberto and John MacDonald were selected on the basis of their contrasting backgrounds, folk models, degrees of carnival experience and the major roles that they played in affecting change in the Centre's *desfiles*.

That biographical information will be followed by Section Two which contains a brief summary of the formation of the Centre, its objectives and activities in Sydney between 1980 and 1984. As was the case with *Sambaçãao*, the structural components of the Centre's Sydney *desfiles* will be compared with the same components of the Rio *desfiles*. This will provide the basis for the identification of specific, primarily non-musical, changes.

In the third main Section the focus will be on musical analysis. This Section commences with a summarised examination of the Centre's *bateria* and repertoire. Selected examples of Brazilian *samba-enredo* performed by members of the Centre are then analysed. In the fourth Section, the organisational and musical changes identified in the previous two sections will be evaluated in terms of the folk-models theme. The significance of those changes will be discussed in general terms, and in specific relation to those individual Centre participants selected for examination in Section One of this chapter. The results of this folk models analysis will further support the argument of this thesis, namely, that in studies of urban ethnic music in which the focus is on change, due consideration must be given to the role of the individuals' backgrounds as determinants of change.

**The Centre - Brazilian Members With**

**First-Hand Pre-Migration *Escola de Samba* or *Desfile* Experience**

Sueli da Fonseca

Figure 51. Sueli da Fonseca Sings with Group
(see Vol.II, p.137).
Sueli da Fonseca and her younger brother João Carlos were the Centre's Brazilian members with the most pre-migration Escola de Samba and desfile experience. Born and raised in São Paulo, Brazil they were, along with other members of their family, both active members of São Paulo's leading Escola de Samba - Vai-Vai. Commenting on her family's involvement with the Brazilian Escolas de Samba and Carnaval, Sueli da Fonseca remarked that, "when I started to dance samba in Vai-Vai I was very young. My young brother João was also involved in Vai-Vai. He played repinique. My father and mother liked the Samba School. My father played chocalho (shaker) in Vai-Vai" (Sueli da Fonseca: interview September 1983). Her connection with the Escola de Samba Vai-Vai continued throughout her life in Brazil.

In 1972 Sueli da Fonseca, then aged around 16 years, became a full-time member (dancer) of a professional Brazilian folklorical company called Baticages. The group was chosen by the Brazilian government to represent their country in three international expo fairs. Fernandes Noves, a Brazilian-born businessman who lived in Sydney, brought the group to Australia in 1979. Their nationwide tour included concert hall and television performances. Walter da Fonseca (Musical director of Sambação and the Centre) met Sueli Carlos during her Sydney tour and she returned to marry him and live in Australia in 1980. She joined the Centre in the same year. Besides being the principal dancer in the group, she has also acted as the group's porta­bandeira (flag-carrier), and puxador de samba (lead vocalist), a role which, due to the shortage of Brazilian singers in the Centre, she accepted with reluctance. Due to the extent of her pre-migration carnival experience, she made a significant contribution to the group and their desfiles and, as will be demonstrated throughout this chapter, was a catalyst for change in the Centre.

João Carlos

Figure 52. João Carlos Plays the Repinique
(see Vol.II, p.137).

Prior to his arrival in Australia in 1981 João Carlos had been a professional sambista and instrumentalist in the São Paulo Escola de Samba Vai-Vai. He joined Vai-Vai in 1966 at the age of 5 and paraded with the group from that year until 1981. He joined the bateria when he was 12, gained first-hand experience on all of the percussion instruments in the bateria and eventually became the group's leading repinique player. Consequently, he had a thorough emic knowledge of the musical instruments, playing techniques and rhythms of carnival samba-enredo and other samba variations that were a part of the Escola de Samba tradition.
Unlike the majority of black Brazilians in São Paulo who were, in the main, disadvantaged in terms of education and socio-economical mobility, João Carlos had an above average education (Certificado do Segundo Ciclo Escolar – Australian Higher School Certificate equivalent) and employment in non-musical occupations when he needed to work. Despite his education, his homelife and social activities in Brazil were typical of Brazil's underprivileged blacks (see Chapter III, p.132). João Carlos likewise emphasised the important role that the Escola de Samba played in his life in Brazil prior to his emigration to Australia.

*It was good to be a sambista. The majority of people in the Escolas de Samba are black Brazilians. Children of a well-off family have games and possessions. Most Brazilians, particularly black Brazilians, don't have those things so the games for them would be soccer on the streets and samba. That's all we did. Go to school, come back, meet our friends and play soccer and go to the Escola de Samba to see the girls, stay with the boys, drink cerveja [beer] and watch the musicians. When I went to the Escola de Samba I was surrounded by friends of my family and guys that we see all the time, boys from school* (Carlos: interview 1986)

Carlos's statement is typical of the views expressed by dedicated *sambistas* in Brazil for whom the *Escola de Samba* is a principal vehicle for social contact and cohesion of their community. Since his arrival in Australia in 1981, Carlos has been a major force in the development of Brazilian *desfile* music in Sydney. As will be demonstrated later in the section on musical analysis, his leadership of the Centre's *bateria* during Period 3 resulted in major changes to the structure of the Centre's interpretations of carnival *samba-enredo*, particularly in terms of rhythmical standardisation as a result of Carlos's introduction of rhythms that he had copied from the *bateria* of the famous Rio *Escola de Samba* – *Mocidade de Independente de Padre Miguel*.

Lourenço Forte

**Figure 53. Lourenço Forte Performs at La Vina**

(see Vol.II, p.138).

Like Carlos, Lourenço Forte has also been a major influence on the musical structure and presentation of Brazilian *samba-enredo* in Sydney. As detailed in Chapter II (p.80), Forte's involvement in Brazilian-influenced carnival manifestations in Sydney goes back to 1974 and the first Sydney *bailes*. Prior to his move to Australia, Lourenço Forte lived in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. His extensive first-hand
experience as a *Director da Harmonia* (Director of Harmony)\(^2\) and his knowledge of the music and musical instruments associated with the Brazilian *Escolas de Samba, Carnaval bailes and desfiles*, placed him in positions of musical leadership in the Sydney *bailes* and *desfiles*. His authoritative role as teacher and director of numerous Sydney *baterias* between 1974 and 1984 caused noticeable changes to the structure of Brazilian *samba-enredo* in Sydney as will be demonstrated in detail later in the section on musical analysis (see p.312).

**The Centre - Brazilian Members Without First-Hand Pre-Migration *Escola de Samba* or *Desfile* Experience**

**Marilane de Mello**

**Figure 54. Marilane de Mello Sings with Group**
(see Vol.II, p.138).

Marilane de Mello was the Centre's principal *puxador de samba* (solo singer) and longest-serving President during Period 3. Marilane de Mello (daughter of Allan de Mello, see Chapter III, p.119) was born in Bonsucesso, Rio de Janeiro in 1957, and grew up in Santa Teressa, a middle-upper class suburb in Rio's southern zone. She married in Brazil at 17 years of age and arrived in Sydney as an unassisted settler in 1971. Her self-confessed lack of interest in *Carnaval*, the *Escolas de Samba*, and the music of carnival *samba-enredo* was a reflection of her pre-migration socio-economic status. As de Mello admitted

*I love Carnaval but I never went to the quadra (Samba School rehearsal area) or participated with an *Escola de Samba*. Samba wasn't really a favorite of mine. I never brought samba records. I collected Beatles records. It would have been a problem for me to go to the quadra because my parents were very strict. In those days, samba was a synonym of a lower standard... a lower class of person. It wasn't prestigious to be a sambista. The people in the *Escolas de Samba* were predominantly blacks and mulattos. Samba is in their blood. They pick up samba so much faster than a white. It's talent and environment born into them like the blacks in Africa and America. My friends never went to the Samba School rehearsals* (interview: May 1986).

Unlike Sueli da Fonseca and João Carlos who had extensive pre-migration carnival experience, before her arrival in Australia, Marilane de Mello had, for reasons

\(^2\) In Brazil, the Directors of Harmony are responsible for the cohesion of all visual and musical elements of the School’s presentation in the *Carnaval desfile*. During a *desfile* they walk backwards and forwards along the sides of the parade and to ensure that their School completes the parade within the official time designated.
of class and status, refrained from involvement in the *Rio Carnaval* and *Escolas de Samba*. As for her father Allan de Mello, however, (see p.211), the Sydney Samba School eventually became an important vehicle through which she maintained a link with Brazil.

As was the case with Walter da Fonseca, commercial Brazilian recordings of Rio carnival songs have, along with carnival tunes that she remembers from Brazil, been her main source of inspiration and imitation in the Sydney desfiles. As will be demonstrated later (see p.271), her self-admitted lack of specific carnival knowledge resulted in changes such as standardisation of the Centre's repertory in contrast to the traditional creation and presentation of original carnival theme songs with each new Carnaval.

Luiz Alberto

Figure 55. Luiz Alberto Plays the *Surdo*  
(see Vol.II, p.139).

In Brazil, Luiz Alberto's lifestyle was also, by Brazilian standards, middle-upper class. His father was a General in the Brazilian army and the family enjoyed the comforts that resulted from such a position of status and authority. During an interview in December 1987, Alberto admitted that, in keeping with the popular middle-class views regarding the status of the sambistas and Escolas de Samba (see Chapter III, p.137), he refrained from direct involvement with the Rio Escolas de Samba and showed little interest in their music and activities. His total commitment to their activities and full time efforts to promote the Brazilian Carnaval and desfile in Sydney from 1984 to the present, only took root five years after his arrival in Sydney in 1979. As demonstrated in detail later in the section on musical analysis, his musical contribution to the Centre's *bateria* during Period 3, through his performances on the surdo (large drum), caused substantial changes to the structure of the Centre's interpretation of Brazilian *samba-enredo*.

The Centre – Non-Brazilian Members Without  
First-Hand *Escola de Samba* or *Desfile* Experience

John MacDonald

Figure 56. John MacDonald Parades with the Centre  
(see Vol.II, p.139).
John MacDonald is Sydney-born naturopath who, as a result of a three month holiday in Brazil in 1979, has since been a key figure in the promotion of Brazilian music and culture in Sydney. In 1980 he instigated the first Latin-American Festival of Music and Dance at Bondi, an annual event which, under the direction of the Waverly Council and funded by the Australia Music Council, has become a permanent inclusion in Sydney's festive calendar. From 1980 to 1996 he also presented a weekly radio programme (2SER-FM) dedicated exclusively to Brazilian urban popular music and carnival music. As will be demonstrated, his role as Public Relations Officer for the Centre and member of the Centre's Organizing Committee resulted in changes to the Centre's desfile presentations.

Unlike Rio where the roles of the desfile participants and desfile spectators are clearly defined, Carnaval in Bahia is a participatory event. Whilst in Bahia, MacDonald had joined in the carnival street celebrations there. He was also in Rio de Janeiro around carnival time and was exposed to the media promotion of the Escolas de Samba, desfile and music of the 1979 Carnaval. MacDonald's knowledge of Brazilian Carnaval was, however, primarily etic. His official role in the Centre as Public Relations Officer was augmented by his occasional performances as a percussionist in the Centre's bateria or dancing in the streets during the School's desfiles, performance skills that he learnt mostly from his experiences with Brazilians in Sydney and from commercial Brazilian recordings in his private collection.

His promotion of the Centre to non-Brazilian audiences resulted in various changes to the structure of the Centre's desfile presentation by Brazilian standards. While the Brazilian members valued his contribution it was differences in ethnic background, attitudes and carnival folk models between MacDonald and certain of the Centre's Brazilian members which led to his eventual departure from the group.

The Centre - Formation, Objectives, Activities.

The formation of the Centre resulted from the dissension amongst Sambação members in April 1979 (see Chapter III, pp.155-57 for details). The Centre, which lasted from May 1979 to March 1984 initially comprised the breakaway members of Sambação, led by Walter da Fonseca, Wilson Palma and Paulo de Carvalho. Wilson Palma, the Centre's first president, commented on the significance of the Rio carnival desfile for Brazilian members of the Centre:

*It was very important for the Brazilians to have carnival re-enactments in Sydney. Many of the Brazilians were "com saudade" (homesick). When they made a Rio desfile here in Sydney they could still feel that they were a part of Brazil. It helped them to overcome their saudade* (interview: January 1986).
Like the Brazilian members of Sambaço, Brazilians in the Centre were concerned primarily with the projection of aspects of the Rio desfile to members of the Brazilian and non-Brazilian Sydney population, an objective which formed the cornerstone of their written constitution.

_The aim of the Brazilian Samba Social Centre is to promote the famous Carnival of Brazil (Rio Carnaval) in Australia through desfiles (parades) in the streets and bailes carnaval escos (carnaval balls)... the organisation is officially registered as representing the Brazilian community in Sydney. Another objective of the organisation (the Centre) is to co-operate with other philanthropic groups in the promotion of recreational activities for its members_ (Sambaço Doc.3:1980).

**The Centre – Performances During Period 3**

Two types of performances may be described in connection with the Centre: 1) internal performances – informal performances of Brazilian music and dance which took place within the organisation where members and some Brazilian and non-Brazilian guests were the main participants, and 2) external performances – public performances, usually paid, in which non-Brazilians were the principal spectators. It was during the external performances that the Centre members, Brazilian and non-Brazilian, would dress in carnival costumes and perform their interpretations of a Rio carnival desfile and the songs and rhythms of Brazilian samba-enredo.

**Figure 57. The Centre - External Desfiles (1980-1984)**

(see Vol.II, p.140).

Figure 57, compiled from written records kept by the Centre, lists the Centre’s major external (desfile) performances for non-Brazilian audiences between 1980 and 1984 and serves as the basis for a summarised discussion of the group’s activities and the combined effects of Brazilian and non-Brazilian participation in the group. Unlike the Rio desfiles which are held outdoors, the Centre’s desfiles were presented both outdoors and indoors, the latter type distinguished in Figure 57 by an asterick.

As shown in Figure 57 only two desfiles took place in 1980. The principal activities during that year were mostly internal gatherings, that is social and musical meetings within the confines of the Centre attended primarily by Centre members. While the Brazilian organisers of the Centre found it easy to promote such internal activities they had more difficulty establishing themselves in the wider community. Their participation in the 1980 Festival of Sydney resulted more from Samy Sabag’s initial efforts in his capacity as South-American community worker at the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre in 1978 than from the efforts of the Centre’s organisers (see
The directors of the Centre, Wilson Palma and Paulo de Carvalho, admitted that they lacked the language and business skills necessary to promote the group to non-Brazilian audiences.

There was a comparative increase in the number of external performances during 1981; a significant increase which resulted from the recruitment of non-Brazilians into the organisation. To improve the status of the Centre within the broader non-Brazilian Sydney population, Brazilian representatives of the Centre sought out a number of influential Australian-born persons and elected them to key positions within Centre; positions that were formerly occupied by Brazilians.

Towards the end of 1980, the Centre’s executive committee appointed John MacDonald (founder of the Bondi South-American Festival) as their Public Relations Officer. Janette Walker, an Australian-born member of the Festival of Sydney Organising Committee who had joined the Centre before their 1980 desfile, assisted John Macdonald with the promotion of the Centre. The significance of their planned involvement was noted by Marilane de Mello:

> Before John MacDonald and the other Australians were involved, the group was really down. Nothing much was happening. John MacDonald was recruited as Public Relations Officer to project the group outside of the Brazilian community. The Brazilians felt that he had more contacts. He had the interest and was already established in the environment. We had our working lives and no contacts (Marilane de Mello: interview May 1986).

Due to the combined efforts of the Brazilian and non-Brazilian Centre members, the Centre’s membership had increased dramatically by the end of 1981. Brazilian membership of the Centre comprised the original 50 breakaway members from Sambacão, and an additional 150 Brazilians who used the Centre to maintain a link with Brazil and other Brazilians in Sydney and, in some cases, as a means to gain the types of self-esteem and status that they were unable to achieve in their everyday lives in Australia. During an interview at her home in Bondi, Marilane de Mello described the types of Brazilians that frequented the Centre and the ways in which they viewed the Centre as a vehicle for their achievement of upward social mobility:

> Most of the Brazilians in the Centre worked as cleaners, as waiters, or in kitchens. They were people who had never finished high school back home. They had more money here than they had in Brazil but they weren’t happy because as immigrants, they didn’t have status and the Brazilian Samba Centre was a way of getting status (interview May: 1986).
The Centre's continuing progress and exposure to non-Brazilian audiences also enticed other non-Brazilians to join the organisation. By June 1981 around 8 Australian-born persons had also joined as well as 2 Argentinians, 2 Uruguayans, and people from Tonga, Germany and Russia.

The period from 1982 to 1984 was marked by a gradual decline in the Centre's external performances which resulted in part from the departure of those Australian-born and non-Brazilian members who had assisted as organisers. On several occasions the Brazilian members arrived late for professional engagements that were negotiated on their behalf by the Australian organisers. Those actions were interpreted by the organisers as a lack of appreciation and respect and, out of frustration and disappointment, they eventually withdrew from the group.

Indeed, punctuality has been an ongoing problem for most non-Brazilians in the Centre. During my dealings with Brazilians in Sydney over the past ten years, the Brazilian's attitude towards punctuality was clearly different from the prevalent Australian attitude. Unlike most Australians who 'function by the clock', the Brazilians in Sambacão and the Centre seemed, as if by habit, more relaxed in their attitudes. The same attitude was evident in Brazil whereby, an additional hour was, with few exceptions, automatically added on to any pre-arranged meeting time that I had with Brazilian participants. Consequently, lack of punctuality, by Australian standards, was an overriding factor that limited not only any positive results that may have eventuated from prolonged contact between the Brazilians and non-Brazilian Centre members, but also the potential impact of the group on non-Brazilian audiences.

Other changes were noted in connection with the general running of the Centre at the administrative level. In July 1980 Wilson Palma resigned as President of the Centre. He was replaced by Paulho de Carvalho who also resigned shortly after in November 1980. Orcelo Felicio acted as the third President of the Centre up until July 1981 when he was replaced by Marilane de Mello; the Centre's first woman President. As de Mello admitted, her appointment to the role of President marked a sufficient break from the usual traditions associated with the Rio Escolas de Samba whereby, that position, and other positions within the organisation were traditionally male domains. In her own words, "In Brazil, you never find a woman President of an

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3 This situation applied to formal as well as informal meetings. The most significant aspect to that Brazilian approach to punctuality was the lack of remorse on the Brazilian's part. One *sambista* in Rio, after arriving 3 hours later than the prearranged time, made no reference to his lateness. Commenting on the Brazilian *sambista* attitude towards punctuality, Gardel wrote that 'the meetings never start on time. If there is anything that the sambista does not care a whit for, that is punctuality. For those who believe that... no man should be a slave to his own watch, the lateness of the sambista does not constitute a mortal sin' (1967:69).
Escola de Samba. Actually, it's very hard for a woman to be the head of anything in Brazil" (interview: May 1986).

Indeed, unlike the situation in Rio whereby men normally occupy the most prestigious administrative positions, Brazilian women played a major part in the running of the Centre and were responsible for much of the group's success. This dramatic departure from the Brazilian tradition was no doubt facilitated by the fact that a majority of the Centre's Brazilians were not Samba School members in Brazil and as such, were more willing to accept such radical changes. Of course, the non-Brazilians in the Centre were unaware of those traditions and unaware of the significance of that form of change for experienced sambistas such as Sueli da Fonseca and João Carlos.

Figure 58. A Comparison of Samba School Components - Escolas de Samba (Rio) and the Centre (Sydney) (see Vol.II, p.141).

In Chapter III, it was demonstrated that aspects of the Rio Escolas de Samba and Carnaval desfiles were chosen as the models for imitation by Brazilian members of Sambação. In turn, changes in the Sydney desfiles were identified when certain structural desfile components of Sambação were compared with the same carnival components in Rio de Janeiro. Brazilian members of the Centre likewise continued with their use of the Rio Carnaval and Escolas de Sambas as a guide for their Sydney desfile performances. As stated by Marilane de Mello, the Centre's longest ruling President:

The Rio desfile started out as the main symbol of our culture. We wanted to keep the structure of the (Sydney) desfile the same as they do it in Rio. When we had our desfiles in Sydney we had all the components of a Rio Samba School but only in a small way (interview: May 1986).

Enredo

As explained in Chapter III (see p.142), the enredo governs the overall presentation of a Rio Escola de Samba and determines the styles of desfile costumes to be worn, the floats, decorations and lyrics of the sambas-enredo (carnival theme songs). Sambação's Sydney desfiles lacked an enredo. Despite their desire to imitate that aspect of the Rio Carnaval, the Centre's Sydney desfiles also lacked an enredo or main theme. Wilson Palma recalled that "it was important to make a theme here in Sydney... in the beginning, we had many discussions about a theme, like slavery in Brazil, but we didn't have enough money for the alegorias (floats) and fantasias
(carnival costumes), so we had no enredo* (interview: Sydney Feb.1986). As will be discussed under the heading 'Destaques', that departure from the Rio carnival tradition, and the presence of non-Brazilians in the Centre gave rise to an interesting diversity of costume styles.

In Figure 58, the internal organisation of the Centre and essential elements of its desfile presentations are compared with the same aspects of the Rio Escola de Samba as the basis for a discussion of changes in the Sydney desfiles. Accordingly, the twelve traditional Brazilian components listed in Figure 58, Column A, were selected for comparison. There were, namely, 1) Sambistas and Pastoras (non-specialist components), 2) Carnavalseques 3) Sambistas-Dirigentes 4) Destaques 5) Porta-Bandeira 6) Mestre-Sala 7) Passistas 8) Instrumentistas 9) Ritmistas 10) Director de Bateria 11) Compositores 12) Puxador de Samba (specialist components). The shaded circles in Column B mark the inclusion in the Centre of the corresponding traditional Rio desfile components listed in Column A, varying degrees of change notwithstanding.

Sambistas and Pastoras

As explained in Chapter III, the membership of Sambação was reduced dramatically when the traditional desfile components in Sambação became so few that Sambação was not accepted by a majority of Brazilian members as an appropriate vehicle for the expression of their Brazilian-Australian identities.

The Centre initially comprised the breakaway Brazilian ex-members of Sambação, most of whom had had little if any first-hand experience with the Rio Carnaval or Escolas de Samba; a situation which did not alter significantly despite the marked increase in Centre membership after 1980. Nevertheless, as the membership expanded, the visual quality of the Centre's Sydney desfiles improved noticeably as additional destaque (costumed figures), instrumentistas (percussionists) and dancers paraded with the group. The most noticeable increase was in the non-specialist category where the number of sambistas and pastoras (male and female dancers) increased dramatically. To a lesser extent, the number of 'specialist components' also increased (see below). As was the case with Sambação Stage 1 with its predominance of Brazilians, the Brazilians in the Centre elected to include as many of the traditional Rio desfile components as possible.

Carnavalseques and Sambistas-Dirigentes

The omission of an enredo negated the need for members to assume the traditional roles of the Brazilian carnavalesques and sambistas-dirigentes, those responsible for planning and co-ordinating the realization of the chosen enredo (see
As Lourenço Forte commented, "even if the Brazilians had chosen to include an enredo, there was no one in the Centre who could plan and execute an enredo from start to finish" (interview: May 1986). As was the case with Sambação, the omission of an enredo did not prevent the Centre's Brazilian members from presenting a desfile in Sydney. Indeed, the change in location, Brazil to Sydney, and the Brazilian members adoption of new carnival folk models afforded them with a degree of flexibility not found in Brazil. As the official competitive aspects of the Rio desfile were missing in Sydney, the members were free to modify their Sydney interpretation of the Rio desfile at will.

**Destaqués**

During a Carnaval desfile in Rio de Janeiro, it is common to see large groups of people (alas) in each Samba School parading in the same costumes. The outfits in each group compliment and reinforce some aspect of the chosen enredo. Such conformity reflects a consensus within the organisation as the various sub-groups work collectively to achieve a unified desfile presentation before the carnival judges and spectators.

The lack of an enredo in the Centre's Sydney desfiles and involvement of non-Brazilians led to an increase in individual expression rather than conformity to a single overriding theme. Thus, instead of a single costume for an alas, there was a range and diversity of costume styles worn in Sydney. At one end of the spectrum were costumes that were copied from the types worn in past Rio desfiles. President of the Centre, Wilson Palma recalled in connection with the Centre's desfile performances throughout 1980:

*In the 1980 desfiles we had many destaques and passistas. We even had an alas-de-bahianas. One black Brazilian member of the Centre called 'Soccer' was a member of Portela, one of the biggest Escolas de Samba in Rio de Janeiro. He was full of experience and I asked him to help. He helped the Centre's destaques with the selection and construction of their costumes, as well as organize the general components of the Centre and their order in the Sydney desfile. The uniform for the bateria was copied from photos of*  

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4 In a Brazilian Escola de Samba the term 'alas' (wings) refers to various subgroups within the School as part of its desfile presentation. As Gardel noted, the members of every alas 'must adhere strictly to the plot of the pageant as approved by the directors of the escola. The masquerades of the members must conform to the models and patterns approved for the pageant' (Gardel 1967:68).

5 The Rio Escola de Samba Portela have had more championships than any other Rio Samba School (19 up to 1979). The School comprises around 3,000 members, 32 alas (subgroups) and around 250 musicians in the bateria (Riotur 1979:63).
another Rio Samba Escola called Beija Flor\(^6\) that appeared in a Rio carnival magazine called Manchete,\(^7\) but we put our colours - green, yellow and blue . . . the colours of the Brazilian flag (interview: March 1986)(see Fig.59 below).

Figure 59. The Centre - Carnival Costume Copies (1980)  
(see Vol.II, p.142).

Figure 60. Sueli da Fonseca - Desfile Fantasia (1983)  
(see Vol.II, p.142).

Figure 59 depicts the members of the Centre dressed in carnival costumes that were copies of those worn in Rio de Janeiro by members of the Rio *Escola de Samba Beija-Flor*. Figure 60 shows Sueli da Fonseca in the costume that she wore when she participated with the Centre during a *desfile* in March 1983.

Due to the degree of her pre-migration involvement with *Carnaval* and the *Escolas de Samba* in Brazil (see p.249 earlier), Sueli da Fonseca was more concerned than many of the Centre's less experienced Brazilian performers with the 'authenticity' of the visual elements that she chose. Despite their poor socio-economic situation in Sydney, Sueli da Fonseca and her husband Walter da Fonseca spent their entire savings on the materials and constructed an elaborate outfit by hand (see Fig.60). While the costume won first prize ($1,000) in the Pier One costume competition, the time spent making it cost Walter da Fonseca his job as he took excessive amounts of time off work to complete the outfit in time for the 1983 Pier One *desfile* performance and competition. While both worked for a common goal – to win the fancy dress competition – the significance of their actions varied according to their individual emic-etic carnival folk models. For Sueli da Fonseca, the costume represented a link with certain emic aspects of Brazilian *Carnaval* which formed a vital part of her pre-migration identity. For Walter da Fonseca, the success of the costume (a reflection of his Brazilian occupational skills in advertising,) provided him with personal recognition and enhanced status amongst Sydney's Brazilians.

\(^6\) Beija-Flor, also one of Rio's longer established groups, has around 3,000 members and has 6 carnival championships to its credit.

\(^7\) Manchete is an extension of the Rio television station of the same name. The magazine, which is distributed throughout Brazil as well as to Italy and France, upholds the popular consensus model of the Rio *Carnaval* as the epitomy of Brazil's national festive identity. The pictorial and descriptive presentation of the of the Rio *desfile* focuses on semi-clad female participants and the glitter of the event.
On one hand, loyalty to the Rio carnival traditions was evident in the Centre's inclusion of traditional carnival costumes such as that worn by Sueli da Fonseca (see Fig. 60 above). Thus, change occurred through the standardisation of the Centre's costumes for all performances in contrast to an annual change of costumes in Brazil. On the other hand, innovative costumes were also included in the Centre's desfiles which reflected the intentional efforts of some Brazilian members to incorporate into their desfiles, non-Brazilian influences from the Sydney environment.

Figure 61. Flintstone costumes  
(see Vol.II, p.143).

One instigator of such innovation was Rinaldo Medeiros, an ex-Sambacão member who, as recorded in Chapter III (see p.146), had suggested that Sambacão's 1979 desfile contain Australian animal fantasias and Brazilians dressed as Aborigines. Madeiro's pre-migration desfile background, which was primarily an etic one (see pp.120-22) made him more flexible than someone with an emic experience. The possibility for individual expression in the Centre enabled Medeiros to introduce innovative carnival costumes into the Centre's desfiles between 1980 and 1984. The significance of his actions and desire for change was identified during an interview with Medeiros in 1984. Rinaldo Medeiros expressed to me his concern for the welfare of his children in Sydney, and detailed the ways in which, via their participation in the Centre, he could help them "adapt to their new cultural environment" and, at the same time, "maintain a sense of their identities as Brazilians and pride for their country of origin".

Look . . . my children were born in Brazil but they are growing up here in Australia as Australians. At home I talk to them in Portuguese so that they can keep their birth language. At the same time, I love Australia and want them to be happy growing up here so I make changes in the Centre to let them have the best of both situations. So, instead of the usual Brazilian carnival fantasias, I make fantasias for them in the same styles as those worn by characters that they watch on the television. One year, for example, they were dressed in caveman outfits like those worn by the Flintstones (interview: 1984) (see Fig.61).

Figure 62. Paper Cup Costume  
(see Vol.II, p.143).

Figure 63. Drinking Straw Costume  
(see Vol.II, p.144).
In a Rio desfile, the costumes are designed intentionally to reflect some aspect of the enredo (desfile plot). The lack of an enredo in Sydney gave rise to innovation. Innovative costumes featured in the Centre's desfiles were also made by Rinaldo Medeiros and worn by his wife in the desfiles in Sydney and interstate. The outfits shown in Figures 62 and 63 above, worn in Sydney by Wilma Medeiros in 1981 and 1983, were made entirely from paper drinking cups, and drinking straws.

Other Brazilians and non-Brazilians hired costumes for the major parades and were seen dressed as Pharoahs, American Indians, Chinese Lantern carriers and various other innovative carnival destaque figures not traditionally found in a Rio Carnaval.

Porta-Bandeira and Mestre-Sala

In Rio de Janeiro, the Escola de Samba flag may, to middle-class Brazilians, be symbolic of a lower-class organisation, depending on the individual's folk models. For example, whilst in Brazil, Marilane de Mello and her father Allan de Mello afforded little status to the Escolas de Samba and their associated symbols. As was the case with Sambação, the inclusion of a flag, porta-bandeira and mestra-sala (flag-bearer and her companion) became, for members such as Marilane de Mello and her father, important symbols of their Brazilian-Australian senses of identity.

The Centre members adopted a Brazilian carnival ritual in their selection of the persons to act as porta-bandeira and mestre-sala. Prior to their 1980 Festival of Sydney desfile, in keeping with the Rio Escolas de Samba traditions, the members of the Centre held a contesta to select persons suitable for those two important components. As stated by Wilson Palma, the outcome of the contest was, however, a forgone conclusion: "We made a contesta like they do in Rio. We knew who'd win but we tried to be democratic. Very few people were experienced with those components. Sueli da Fonseca became the porta-bandeira and Roberto Zaceira the mestra-sala" (Interview: 1986 see Fig.64 below).

Figure 64. The Centre – Porta-Bandeira and Mestre Sala
(see Vol.II, p.144).

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8 During field work in Rio with members of the Escola de Samba Unidos de Lucas, I witnessed the attention paid to the Lucas porta-bandeira, a young girl who had earned the position through what the president of the School Domiscius described as a very long and tough competition between the School's best dancers. Shortly before their 1985 desfile, they held a ceremony where the previous year's porta-bandeira handed over the flag to the new porta-bandeira.
The infusion of that Brazilian Samba School ritual in the Sydney organisation is, in one sense, a manifestation of change rather than continuity. The transplanted ritual formed a part of the emic *desfile* experiences of the participants in Sydney and acted as a force of social unification for the Centre members that was evident in the community feeling that was generated on the night when the results of that "contesta" were announced to the Centre members. On that night, when Sueli da Fonseca and Roberto Zaceira were announced as the winners of the "contesta", the Brazilians and non-Brazilians in the hall formed a circle, and holding hands, danced around the chosen couple who demonstrated the dance techniques that had won them the positions as *porta-bandeira* and *mestre-sala*; an event similar to that which I had witnessed in Rio de Janeiro in 1985 during my involvement with the Rio *Escola de Samba Unidos de Lucas*.

**Passistas**

Sueli da Fonseca was one of the few Centre members with extensive emic knowledge of the Brazilian *Escolas de Samba* and *Carnaval* as well as the commercialised 'show' presentations of *Carnaval* intended mainly for tourist consumption. Consequently, she assumed numerous responsibilities in the Centre as performer and teacher. Besides acting as *porta-bandeira* in the Centre, Sueli da Fonseca helped the Centre's *passistas* (non-experienced Brazilian and non-Brazilian female members) with their dance steps.

In Brazil, Sueli da Fonseca was known for her ability to create the virtuosic *samba* dance improvisations associated with her role in the *Escola de Samba* as a *passista*. The *samba* dance steps that she taught the non-Brazilian *passistas* in the Centre were, however, purposely simplified in the process of instruction to accommodate the non-experienced *passistas*. Consequently, although the number of *passistas* in the Centre increased in comparison with the number in Sambação, their *samba* dance steps remained simplified versions of the type normally seen in a Rio *desfile*. This resulted in a standardisation of the Centre's dance steps in contrast to the highly individualised Rio *samba* dance steps.

The traditional association of the role of *passista* with black female Brazilians, and presence of a predominance of white Brazilian and non-Brazilian *passistas* in the Centre's *desfiles* was sufficient to draw severe criticism from Walter da Fonseca, who, according to Marilane de Mello, often criticised the Centre's dancers in the following manner: "He used to say to people who were dancing, 'You don't know how to do this [the *samba*] ... how can you put a white girl who doesn't even know how to do the *samba* on a stage. My wife [Sueli da Fonseca] has to be up there ... not her ... that
white... she's no good" (Marilane de Mello: interview May 1986). Da Fonseca's belief regarding the assumed superiority of a black Brazilian female in the role of passista conforms with the popular consensus model in Rio de Janeiro.

**Instrumentista**

As detailed in Chapter III (see p.150) the term instrumentista refers to those specialist members of an Escola de Samba who play the percussion instruments in the bateria and provide the percussive accompaniment to the samba-enredo melodies. Due to the enhanced status of an instrumentista in a Brazilian bateria, competition between those who seek entry into the bateria is very keen. The balança of a bateria, that is the "correct" balance of instruments in the low, medium and high groups also governs the size and instrumentation of the bateria. Only those with established musical expertise are admitted. As was the case with Sambação, with the exception of a few Brazilians, Brazilian members of the Centre's bateria had acquired their musical skills only after arrival in Australia. Due to the shortage of Brazilian musicians in Sydney, any Brazilian member of the Centre wishing to play in the bateria was admitted, irrespective of his musical ability.

There was a dramatic increase in the number of Brazilians involved in the Centre between 1980 and 1984. Nonetheless, there were never more than 30 musicians in the Centre’s bateria at any one time. In many cases, the time set aside for rehearsals and performances by the Centre’s bateria conflicted with the working hours of those who were interested but unable to participate, a factor which also limited Brazilian involvement in the Sambação bateria. As demonstrated in detail in the section on musical analysis, the shortage of musicians in the Centre’s bateria, by Brazilian standards, affected the usual density of the samba-enredo accompaniment and balance of soloistic and stabilising rhythms and sounds normally heard in Brazilian samba-enredo.

**Figure 65. Musicians in the Centre (1979-1984)**
(see Vol.II, p.145).

Figure 65, Column 1, contains the names of all Brazilian immigrants and non-Brazilians in Sydney (36 in total) who were regularly involved with the Centre as musicians in the bateria between August 1979 when the Centre was first formed, and March 1984, when the organisation was disbanded.

Column 2, Figure 65, reflects the diversity of locations from whence the Brazilian members of the Centre had emigrated. A majority of the musicians (58%) came from
Rio de Janeiro (RJ). An additional 14% came from Nova Friburgo (NF), a large city in the southern part of Rio de Janeiro state. The remainder of the Brazilian musicians (20%) were from Minas Gerais (MG)(2 musicians), São Paulo (SP)(2), Cabo Frio (CF)(1), and Bahia (B)(1). The non-Brazilians in the bateria (8 members representing 19% of the total) were from Uruguay (3 musicians), Australia (2), Argentina (1), America (1), and New Zealand (1).

Irrespective of their lack of first-hand experience with the Escolas de Samba of Rio de Janeiro and their contrasting backgrounds in Brazil, a majority of the Brazilian musicians admitted that they had been exposed to the sounds and instruments of samba-enredo during Carnaval via radio, television, commercial recordings, or through witnessing the event. Nevertheless, their knowledge of the Rio desfiles, structure of samba-enredo and function of the bateria was, in the main, primarily etic in comparison with the emic knowledge possessed by those few Brazilian musicians who had played percussion instruments in the Brazilian Escolas de Samba.

Column 3 shows, where applicable, the year of each musician's arrival in Australia. A survey of that information revealed that although a small percentage of the Brazilian musicians were already living in Australia before 1970, a significant proportion (20%) of the Brazilians in the Centre's bateria had arrived in 1971 along with the first wave of Brazilian immigrants that arrived in Sydney. Furthermore, 60% of the Brazilians in the bateria had arrived in Australia after 1975; a year which parallels the second wave of Brazilian immigrants to Australia.

Column 4, Figure 65 lists the Sydney occupation of each member in the bateria. Approximately 30% of the Brazilians in the Centre's bateria worked in semi-skilled professions such as panelbeating and painting. Only a small number had trade or technical qualifications. Those included an electrician, a computer operator, an electronics technician and a typewriter repairer. More significantly, 67% of the Brazilian musicians were employed in unskilled, low-status occupations such as labourer, cleaner, taxidriver, mailsorter, cook and kitchen hand. Five of those musicians were also regularly unemployed. Thus, as stated earlier (see Chapter III, p.133), as is the case in Brazil, whereby the bateria was said to attract the "poorest of the poor" (socially and economically), the Centre's bateria attracted those Brazilians in Sydney who were most in need of a vehicle by which they could raise their

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9 Australian census statistics show that there were two significant increases in the Sydney Brazilian population first in 1971 and second around 1975 as an initial result of the promotion of immigration by Australian immigration authorities in Brazil and subsequent changes to immigration constraints and regulations there were introduced by the Australian Labor Party around 1974/1975.
self-esteem and social status.

A majority of those Brazilians listed in Figure 65 who had arrived in Australia before 1975, were involved in the carnival performances staged in Sydney between 1971 and 1976, as detailed in Chapter II of this thesis. For certain of these Brazilians such as João Cardoso (see Chapter II p.76), their long-term affiliation with both Sambação and the Centre offset the difficulties that they encountered in establishing themselves socially and economically in the broader non-Brazilian Sydney population. During an interview with Lourenço Forte at his home in 1986, he described the types of occupations of most Brazilians who were attracted to the Centre's *bateria* as follows.

Most of the musicians in the Brazilian Samba [Centre] were labourers, taxi-drivers, kitchen hands. Many of the musicians had problems with the English language. Many had to change jobs after they arrived in Australia and work in factories (interview: May 1986).

As demonstrated in Chapters II and III, Brazilian reaction to non-Brazilian involvement in the Sydney *bailes* and *desfiles* has been mixed. Similar conflicts occurred within the Centre. During a second interview with John MacDonald in June 1984, he expressed the view that, during his involvement with the Centre, the Brazilian members had mixed feelings about the inclusion of Australians in their organisation regardless of the positive contributions of those non-Brazilians in their capacities as organisers and musicians for the Centre. Displays of ethnic chauvinism he said, were particularly evident within the percussion section. As was the case with da Aguiar's Sydney carnival band, and Sambação Stages 1 and 2, the Brazilian musicians in the Centre continued with their well-worn phrase; "only Brazilians can play Brazilian music . . . it's in our blood".

Accordingly, John MacDonald recalled that "his attempts to introduce a *cuica* (a traditional Brazilian friction drum that he had purchased in Brazil) into the percussion section were often met with resentment, as there were no Brazilians in the Centre at that time who could match his expertise on that instrument". Thus, ethnic chauvinism caused changes to the music whereby the *cuica*, a vital sound in the high-sound layer of traditional *samba-enredo* (see Chapter III, p.190) was omitted from the *bateria* which MacDonald claimed was a result of his non-Brazilian background.

**Ritmista**

In Brazil, the *ritmista* is the *instrumentista* who combines intricate samba dance steps with his virtuosic handling of a percussion instrument, normally the *pandeiro* (tambourine) (see p.152). For Sambação's Brazilian members, the importance of the
ritmistas as traditional visual elements of the Rio desfile was such that one inexperienced member would imitate, albeit lacking in virtuosic dance and instrumental technique, the actions of the ritmistas. Brazilians in the Centre held the same view.

In the early stages of the Centre (1980-1982), the Centre’s desfiles excluded the traditional ritmistas as there were no members with the skills required to fill that ‘specialist’ role. From 1982 onwards, that situation changed. One Brazilian immigrant Marco Aureliio purchased a pandeiro in Sydney and, after "months of practice in his bedroom," joined the Centre’s bateria and, using the pandeiro, imitated the dance/music combinations of the Brazilian ritmistas. He was at times joined by Walter da Fonseca who had also, through hours of practice and experimentation, eventually acquired a considerable degree of expertise not only with the pandeiro, but also with the equally difficult cuica (friction drum). Like da Fonseca, Aureliio’s pre-migration knowledge of the Escolas de Samba and desfile was primarily an etic one. Both musicians claimed that their acquisition of new musical skills in Australia and involvement with the Centre afforded them a degree of status that was not provided in their daily lives as immigrants. Thus, in their case, the acquisition of status rather than a desire for continuity was the motivating force behind their adoption in Sydney of their roles as ritmistas.

**Director de Bateria**

Walter da Fonseca was the principal director of the Sambaçao bateria during Stage 1 (see p.153). He also directed the Centre’s bateria from the time of the organisation’s formation in August 1979 until the time of his departure from the group in March 1981. At the request of the Centre’s members, Lourenço Forte replaced Walter da Fonseca as the second director of the bateria. Experienced Brazilian musician João Carlos (see p.249) also acted as director of the bateria during the final stages of the Centre. Forte and Carlos have been the main catalysts of musical change in the Centre. Forte and Carlos both had extensive first-hand experience with the Brazilian desfiles and samba-enredo. As shown later through analysis, however, the difference in their backgrounds and carnival-related folk models was manifested in the contrasting types of musical change that resulted from their presence in the Centre.

**Compositores**

As was the case with Sambaçao Stages 1-3, external desfiles by members of the Centre were based primarily on the performance of sambas-enredo and marchas copied mainly from Brazilian-made recordings. Thus, as shown in detail in the examination of the Centre’s music repertoire, the standardisation of repertory that occurred with
Sambação was also evident in the Centre's desfiles during Period 3. Efforts by one Brazilian ex-Sambação member Allan de Mello to introduce his original samba-enredo melodies (examples of which were provided in Chapter III, pp.212-15) were rejected and his original contributions were afforded less value than those sambas-enredo from previous Rio desfiles.

Puxador de Samba

The puxador de samba is the solo singer in a Brazilian Escola de Samba responsible for leading the singers in the desfile presentation of their original samba-enredo. The main prerequisite for a puxador de samba, apart from a good voice, is the ability to sing for hours without a break. The lack of an experienced puxador de samba in Sambação caused changes to their interpretations of samba-enredo such as the substitution of instrumental tunes for vocal melodies and the inclusion of improvised percussive sections in an otherwise normally sung melody.

Wilson Palma recalled that during the Centre's first desfile in the 1980 Festival of Sydney, the sambas-enredo were sung by Carlos 'Cobra', a Brazilian immigrant from Rio de Janeiro. Although 'Cobra' was a competent singer, as stated by Palma, "he was not a puxador de samba and during the desfile, he would stop singing every now and then as he got tired" (interview: February 1986). 'Soccer', a black Brazilian ex-member of Beija Flor (Rio Escola de Samba) also sang for the group until his return to Rio de Janeiro in 1980. Maria Forte, Lourenço Forte's sister took over as puxador de samba after Soccer's departure. She was soon after joined by Marilane de Mello. Apart from the singing experience that Maria Forte had had as part of the "onstage chorus" in Tristão da Aguiar's 1975 Carnival Show Band (see p.97), neither vocalist had first-hand experience with the role of puxador de samba whilst in Brazil. Marilane de Mello maintained her role as the Centre's principal vocalist from 1981 to 1984.

Musical Analysis

Thus far, this chapter has dealt with the formation of the Centre and the identification and analysis of primarily non-musical changes connected with their Sydney desfiles. The divergence of folk models within the Brazilian/non-Brazilian membership was shown to be reflected in the types of organisational change that were identified. The focus of analysis will now shift to an investigation of the Centre and musical change.

Figure 66. The Centre – Musical Change Categories (see Vol.II, p.146).
In the previous two chapters, five major categories of musical change were identified in connection with performances of Brazilian *marcha* and *samba* in Sydney. Namely Substitution, Simplification, Standardisation, Re-alignment, and Incorporation. Those same five change categories, plus the additional sub-category 3.2 Standardisation of Rhythms shown in Figure 66, are typical of the change types which affected the Centre's interpretations of *samba-enredo* during Period 3.

The analysis will commence with a general examination of the Centre's *bateria* and musical repertoire during Period 3 with a focus on change Categories 1.1 Substitution of Musical Instruments, and 3.1 Standardisation of Musical Repertory. Selected musical examples transcribed from field recordings of the Centre will then be analysed to demonstrate the ways in which folk model divergence is extended to and reflected in musical change. A brief description of the performance context will be followed by an outline of the musical structure of the example and an identification of changes exemplified in the performance under investigation. Next, the sociological material from the first part of this chapter will be combined with the musical material and the various categories of change related to the folk models theme.

**The Centre - *Bateria* and Musical Repertory**

In April 1979, when Walter da Fonseca, Wilson Palma, and the other Brazilians left Sambacao to form the Centre, Samy Sabag retained almost all of the percussion instruments as the property of the Newtown Neighbourhood Centre. Consequently, when the Centre was formed in August 1979, there were not enough carnival percussion instruments to form a *bateria*. To solve that problem, funds were raised through a series of *Hi-Fis* (dance nights) held at the Hefron Hall, Darlinghurst. In September 1979, the Vice-President of the Centre, Paulho de Cavalho went to Rio de Janeiro and, using those funds, purchased a *cuica*, two *tamborims*, an *agogô*, a *caixa de guerra*, two *repiniques*, and two *surdos* from an instrument shop in Rio. Those instruments arrived by airfreight in November 1979.

To supplement the percussion instruments that were missing in the Centre's *bateria* a number of percussion instruments were made by hand. In Chapter III it was demonstrated that when Sambacao members constructed their own hand-made copies of the Brazilian *surdo*, they were concerned with the need for 'authenticity' in the sound that the *surdo* produced. They were not satisfied until they overcame that concern (see p.208).

Likewise, when making percussion instruments by hand, certain members of the Centre went to painstaking lengths to achieve a similar degree of 'authenticity' in the
construction and sounds of their Sydney-made percussion instruments. For example, regardless of his total lack of first-hand experience with an *Escola de Samba* whilst he lived in Brazil, Wilson Palma made 12 *chocalhos* for the Centre in 1979. His desire to achieve what he regarded as the "Rio desfile sound" was expressed in the following statement recorded during an interview at his home in February 1986.

*A Brazilian brought two chocalhos to Sydney from Rio de Janeiro. They were the private property of this fellow. One day, I drilled a little hole in them, emptied all the lead balls, counted them, and wrote it down [Wilson Palma indicates the entry in a book that he produces]. See... chocalho pequeno [small, single shaker] – 218 balls, and the chocalho duplo [double-tubed shaker] – 184 balls in each. I put the same number of balls in the new ones to get exactly the same sound as the Rio ones.*

In addition to the previously described *chocalhos*, Wilson Palma also made an Australianised version of the traditional Brazilian *reco-reco*. The Brazilian instrument (see Fig.33, Vol.II, p.81), is made from metal. Palma fitted a metal spring to a length of 8 cm diameter plastic drain pipe directly above a narrow slit that ran the length of the plastic pipe. When the spring was scraped with a thin metal rod its sound was amplified by the hollow plastic tube. Palma commented that the sound of the Sydney *reco-reco* was not very loud and it was not used much in the *bateria* (interview Feb. 1986). Wilson Palma’s actions were in a sense contradictory. One one hand, he was fanatical in his efforts to construct a *chocalho* with the exact number of lead pellets that he believed would recreate "the Rio sound". At the same time, he willingly substituted for the Brazilian *reco-reco* a plastic *reco-reco*.

Another *surdo* (large drum) was also constructed by Walter da Fonseca from aluminium in much the same way as those *surdos* constructed for Sambação (see Chapter III, p.208). Two second-hand snare drums were also purchased and used in place of the traditional Brazilian *caixas de guerra*. Although Walter da Fonseca was equally concerned with the correctness of sound in the *surdo* that he constructed, he was nonetheless satisfied to use substitute snare drums to replace those *caixas de guerra* that were not available in Sydney at that time. Due to similarities in size and construction between the Brazilian drums and the Sydney substitutes, the sounds of the latter were acceptable to Fonseca and other musicians in the Centre’s *bateria*. The discussion will now focus on a brief examination of the Centre’s repertory for instances of change made in light of the Rio carnival models that they chose to imitate.

*Figure 67. The Centre - Musical Repertory (1980-1984).*

(see Vol.II, p.147).
Standardisation of Musical Repertory

As explained in Chapter III (see p.164), *samba-enredo* is the only type of music performed by the Rio *Escolas de Samba* for their carnival *desfiles*. An annual change of theme song is a traditional prerequisite for their participation in the *desfile*. Such *desfile* regulations were absent in Sydney. The Centre also lacked the traditional *compositores*, those *desfile* specialists responsible for the creation of original *desfile* theme songs.

Marilane de Mello, President of the Centre, was also the organisation's leading vocalist between 1980 and 1984; the span of the Centre's existence. As such, she was primarily responsible for the selection and presentation of the Brazilian carnival songs that the Centre's members used to accompany their Sydney *desfiles*. Figure 67 was compiled from a collection of song-sheets owned by Marilane de Mello. Those song-sheets, which were handwritten by Marilane de Mello, represented her complete repertory of carnival *sambas* for the above defined period (1980-1984).

Those *sambas* were allocated to one of two categories; first, *Sambas-Enredo*, which contains only those carnival *sambas-enredo* connected specifically with past Rio carnival *desfiles*, and second, *Sambas de Carnaval*, which comprises those *sambas* written for, or about the Rio *Carnaval*, but not connected directly with the Rio *Escolas de Samba* and their competitive *desfiles*. As shown in Figure 67, the Centre's musical repertory was the result of standardisation due to Marilane de Mello's adoption of old Rio *desfile* songs as well as her adoption of *sambas de carnaval*, songs which were not performed by the Rio *Escolas de Samba*.

Her experience of the Rio *Carnaval*, which was primarily etic, influenced her choice of *desfile* repertory in Sydney. Indeed, as Marilane de Mello admitted, she preferred the old carnival songs as they reminded her of her life in Brazil. Other Brazilians in the Centre with similar backgrounds and degrees of etic carnival knowledge such as Wilson Palma willingly accepted the songs that she chose. Standardisation of the Centre's repertory was also reinforced by recently arrived Brazilians who frequently requested that the Centre's musicians play *sambas-enredo* from *desfiles* that they had witnessed before leaving Brazil. In one sense, their memories of Brazilian *Carnaval* were no longer linked with a living tradition and it was thus acceptable to rely on pre-existing *desfile* songs. The analysis will now focus on four selected interpretations of *samba-enredo* performed by the members of the Centre during Period 3. The specific change types identified are, as stated earlier (see p.269), considered to be representative of musical changes in the Centre's *desfiles* during Period 3.
Performance 1


The first item chosen for analysis is an excerpt of a performance by the Centre's musicians in 1980 during their first desfile. In response to an invitation by John MacDonald, the members of the Centre staged a desfile along the main street of Bondi as a lead up to the first Latin American Festival at the Bondi Pavillion, an event introduced in Sydney by Australian-born John MacDonald shortly after his visit to Brazil in 1979.

Figure 68. The Centre - Bondi Desfile Components (1980)

Figure 68 shows the physical distribution of the Centre's various desfile components. Despite the small membership of the Centre by Brazilian standards, the Centre members included a significant number of Rio-styled desfile components in the Bondi desfile. For example, a small group of Brazilian children were dressed in stylised costumes of the traditional Rio Bahianas. Also included were the traditional porta-bandeira (flag bearer) and mestre-sala (master of ceremonies); destaques (persons in historical costumes), 2 male dancers dressed in the traditional costumes of Brazilian Capoeira, and a few Brazilian and non-Brazilian passistas (bikini-clad female dancers). Spectator response was positive and some marched alongside the Centre members as the group approached the Bondi Pavillion.

The bateria and personnel in the Bondi desfile, as shown in Figure L below comprised 9 Brazilian migrants, 1 Argentinian immigrant and 1 Australian-born musician all dressed in costumes that were copies of those worn by the Beija Flor (Rio Escola de Samba) musicians in a past Rio Carnaval. During the parade, the Centre's musicians arranged themselves into two lines with surdos at either end of the first line so that the surdo weak and resonant samba beat could be easily heard by the other percussionists. This particular arrangement of the Centre's surdos and bateria was, according to Walter da Fonseca, influenced by the Rio Escolas de Samba who, while

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10 Capoeira is an Afro-Brazilian dance-game that is associated with the north-east of Brazil, particularly Bahia. Kubik noted the African roots of Capoeira when he wrote that 'Capoeira was developed by Angolans in Brazil on the plantations of Bahia during the 18th and 19th centuries as a training for possible guerilla warfare' (1979:27).
using a far more elaborate arrangement of drums (see Chapter III, p.174) usually
distribute the drums in strategic positions in the centre and extremities of the _bateria_
in order to secure the overall rhythm (da Fonseca: personal communication).

Included in the high-group was the traditional _apito_ (whistle) which the leader
of the group Walter da Fonseca used in conjunction with arm movements to issue
commands to the other musicians as he marched in front of the _bateria_. Also included
were _tamborins_, the _agogô_, _reco-reco_ and _chocalho_.

**Figure L. The Centre _Bateria_ – Instrumentation for Example 26.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Group</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Apito</em></td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tamborim 2</em></td>
<td>(Brazilians)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pandeiro</em></td>
<td>(missing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cuica</em></td>
<td>(missing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Agogô</em></td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Reco-reco</em></td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chocalho</em></td>
<td>(Argentinian)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle Group</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Repinique</em></td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Caixas de Guerra</em></td>
<td>(1 Australian, 1 Brazilian)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Group</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Surdo de repicar</em></td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Surdo de marcação</em></td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Surdo de marcação centralizador</em></td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Performance 1 – Musical Change**

In the analysis to follow, it will be shown that three of the change categories
may be identified in the Centre's 1980 Sydney desfile. Namely;

- Substitution of musical style.
- Substitution of playing technique.
- Simplification of rhythms.
Substitution of Musical Style

As detailed in Chapter III (see p.176), during a Rio desfile, the principal function of the bateria is to provide the accompaniment to the samba-enredo (theme song). The shortage of Brazilian musicians in Sydney in general, and Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians with adequate first-hand emic knowledge of Brazilian samba-enredo, affected the density of percussive sounds typical of Brazilian samba-enredo, and the structure and function of the desfile music.

Moreover, during the Centre's first desfile re-enactment at Bondi the musicians in the Sydney bateria played the combination of rhythmic patterns shown in Example 26 (see Vol.II, p.148). Percussive improvisations based on those simplified rhythmic patterns, which were repeated continuously with little or no variation, were substituted for the usual samba-enredo songs. The result was a simplified interpretation of Brazilian samba-enredo based on the traditional accompaniment rhythms. Those rhythms became the musical focus of the Centre's Sydney desfile instead of the usual samba-enredo song. Thus, by Brazilian standards, an instrumental style was substituted for a traditional vocal style.

Substitution of Playing Technique

The low-group instruments in the Centre's bateria comprised one of each of the three main types of surdo found in the Rio desfiles. Namely, the surdo de marcação (medium-sized drum), the surdo de marcação centralizador (the largest drum), and the surdo de repicar (smaller of the three large drums). As described in Chapter III, during the Rio desfiles each surdo has a specific function. Moreover, the marcação (medium surdo) plays only the weak beat on the first crotchet beat of each duple-metre bar (\( \frac{1}{4} \)). The marcação centralizador (large surdo) answers with a resonant beat on the second crotchet pulse of each duple-metre bar (\( \frac{3}{4} \)). Their combined alternating weak and resonant beats produce the 'low samba beat' (\( \frac{1}{4} \) instead of an embellishment of that beat. The two larger surdos produce the rhythms normally associated with the repicar (small surdo) and play a unison embellishment of the resonant low samba beat to

By way of contrast, in the 1980 Centre performance (see Example 26) changes occur to the traditional functions of the surdos. The surdo de repicar (small surdo) produces the low samba beat (\( \frac{3}{8} \) instead of an embellishment of that beat. The two larger surdos produce the rhythms normally associated with the repicar (small surdo) and play a unison embellishment of the resonant low samba beat to
produce the two-bar rhythmic ostinato pattern labelled ‘ostinato pattern B’ in the transcription. Thus, the traditional function of the *surdos* heard in Brazilian *samba-enredo* was changed in Sydney.

The Brazilian musicians in the Centre were familiar with the *surdo* sounds of Brazilian *samba-enredo* but unfamiliar with the traditional playing techniques used to produce those rhythms. By Brazilian standards, the substitution of *surdo* playing techniques that occurred in the Centre’s interpretation of *samba-enredo* changed the balance of sound whereby the embellishments of the low *samba* beat were more intense than the low *samba* beat, a reversal of the usual *surdo* functions and sounds of Brazilian *samba-enredo*. Nevertheless, essential elements of Brazilian *samba-enredo* such as the alternating weak and resonant low *samba* beat, albeit played on the *repicar*, formed the basis of the Centre’s *desfile* rhythms and were accepted as satisfactory by members of the *bateria*.

**Simplification of Rhythms**

According to the Walter da Fonseca, the Centre’s musicians sought to include in their *bateria* at least one of each of the types of traditional *samba-enredo* percussion instruments. Missing completely from the high-group, however, was the *pandeiro* and the *cuica*. Although those instruments were available within the Centre there were no musicians in the organisation at that time with the musical skills required to produce the continuous and virtuosic rhythms and sounds associated with those particular instruments (see Chapter III, pp.186-91). Instead, the high-sound layer of the Centre’s Brazilian carnival *samba* interpretation consisted mainly of stabilising rhythms based on semiquaver subdivisions of the low *samba* beat such as those played on the *chocalho* (shaker), semiquaver subdivisions of each crotchet pulse with an accent (\(\text{\textcircled{1}}\)) on the first and last semiquaver in each group of four semiquavers.

Missing from the middle-group was the *tarol*; the smaller, high-pitched version of the *caixas de guerra* (snare drum). That instrument was not available in Sydney. The *tarol* and *caixas de guerra* serve the same function in the Brazilian *baterias* in that they stabilise the pulse through the repetition of rhythmic ostinati such as that marked ‘ostinato pattern A’ in Example 26 (see Vol.II, p.148). Thus, the omission of the *tarol* did not cause a significant degree of change in the middle-sound layer and was of little if any concern to the bulk of Brazilians and non-Brazilians who lacked previous musical experience with the Brazilian carnival rhythms.
While the *repinique* was included in the *bateria*, the *repinique* player Celso da Silva was, due to inexperience, unable to provide the variety of sounds normally associated with the same instrument in Brazil. Da Silva only played the *repinique* after his arrival in Australia (1979) and had not developed much expertise on that instrument. In the Sydney performance, instead of playing the traditional soloistic variations and cue patterns that are linked with the *samba-enredo* song structure, owing to the absence of a singer in the Sydney performance da Silva plays the *repinique* in unison with the *caixa* players and stabilises the rhythm through the repetition of the two-bar rhythmic ostinato pattern labelled 'ostinato pattern A' in Example 26. Like da Silva, the *agogo* and *tamborim* players also lacked pre-migration musical experience. Thus, by Brazilian standards, the percussive sounds of the high and middle-sound layers were simplified through the omission of the soloistic rhythms and *tamborim* 'trademark' rhythmic patterns normally associated with *samba-enredo* in Brazil (see Chapter III, p.183).

**Performance 2**

**Example 27. The Centre – *Samba-Enredo* Rehearsal (1981)**

(see Vol.II, p.149).

Example 27 was transcribed from a sound and video recording of the Centre’s *bateria* during a rehearsal which took place at the Fort Street High School, Sydney, on the June 13 1981. Three weeks prior to that date Walter da Fonseca and a number of the Brazilian musicians, having been denied payment for their musical services, had left the Centre to form a separate organisation which they called the Rio Samba Show.¹¹ Lourenço Forte had taken over as director of the *bateria*, recruited a small number of inexperienced musicians from within the Centre and re-established the Centre’s *bateria*. According to Forte, the object of that particular rehearsal was to establish a percussive sound layer that could function as an accompaniment to the *sambas-enredo* that were to be sung by Marilane de Mello and Maria Forte, the Centre’s two main solo singers at that time. The reformed *bateria* consisted of the musicians and instruments shown in Figure M below.

¹¹ As the name suggests, the Rio Samba Show was conceived along the lines of the highly-stylised Rio Carnival tourist shows which take place in large hotels and night clubs. Through their involvement with the Centre, Walter da Fonseca and the other musicians who formed the Rio Samba Show saw the profit potential in such an organisation and sought to exploit the potential of such a group unique to Sydney.
Figure M. The Centre Bateria – Instrumentation for Example 27

High Group

Apito (Brazilian)
Tamborim (Brazilian)
Pandeiro (missing)
Cuica (missing)
Agogô 2 (1 Brazilian and 1 New Zealander)
Reco-reco (missing)
Chocalho (Argentinian)

Middle Group

Repinique (1 Brazilian and 1 American)
Caixas de guerra (Brazilians)

Low Group

Surdo de repicar (missing)
Surdo de marcação (Brazilian)
Surdo de marcação centralizador (Brazilian)

Performance 2 – Musical Change
An analysis of the Centre’s 1981 rehearsal (Example 27) demonstrates the presence in the example of two of the five categories of musical change outlined earlier. Namely:

Simplification of rhythms.

Re-alignment of surdo samba beats.

Simplification of Rhythms
The instrumentation of the Centre’s bateria continued to be structured along the lines of the Rio baterias which the Sydney Brazilians sought to imitate. Prior to the commencement of Example 27 (Performance 2), Forte positioned the two Brazilian surdo players at the back so that their sounds would diffuse towards the front of the bateria. Musicians with like instruments performed together. Forte stood at the front of the bateria. In a manner typical of the director de bateria of a Rio Escola de Samba (see Chapter III, p.173), he used arm movements and apito sounds to cue the
commencement of the *bateria* and stops when necessary. (See Ex.27, *apito* cues 1 and 2 – Introductory section; cue 3 – bar 12; cue 4 – bar 46; cue 5 – bar 90).

The continuing shortage of Brazilian musicians in Sydney during Period 3, particularly those with pre-migration musical experience, caused changes to the instrumentation of the *bateria* and the Centre's version of the accompaniment rhythms of Brazilian *samba-enredo*. Missing from the *bateria* were the soloistic *pandeiro* and *cuica* and their usual virtuosic improvisations as well as the *reco-reco* and *surdo de repicar*. The musical significance of the changes that resulted from the omission of the soloistic instruments will be covered in more detail in the discussion that follows.

While the *agogôs* (bells) were included in the performance they were played by inexperienced musicians who were unable to play the soloistic syncopated rhythms that are a feature of those instruments in a Rio *desfile*. Instead, the rhythms settle into a continuous sound layer through their constant repetition of assorted rhythmic ostinati (see bars 102 fol.). For example, simplification occurs through the Brazilian *agogô* player (*agogô* 1) who repeats the two-bar rhythmic ostinato pattern marked ‘*agogô* 1 ostinato’ and the player of *agogô* 2 who repeats a rhythmic pattern labelled ‘*agogô* 2 ostinato’ which he plays on one bell only. The player of *agogô* 2, Murray Mandel (from New Zealand), was almost completely deaf. Rather than exclude him from the group, Lourenço Forte gave him a broken *agogô* which consisted of only one bell instead of the usual two. This was done to minimise the disturbance to the overall sound that could have arisen from his departure from the usual two-pitched *samba* ostinato patterns such as those played by the Brazilian on *agogô* 1.

Simplification is also evident in the repetitive *tamborim* rhythmic patterns. Owing to inexperience and the omission of song and song text from that rehearsal, the *tamborim* players continue with the repetition of the rhythmic ostinato pattern marked ‘*tamborim* ostinato’ (see Ex.27 bars 5-7), and omit the usual ‘trademark’ patterns of the *tamborim* (see pp.183-85).

Simplification also occurs in the middle- and low-sound layers. In the middle-sound layer, the *repinique* players maintain the repetition of the two-bar ostinato pattern labelled ‘*samba* ostinato pattern’ which is identical to that played by *agogô* 1, the *tamborim* players, and *caixa* players (see bars 102 fol.). That rhythmic pattern, which results from the accentuation of certain semiquaver subdivisions of the low *samba* beat, is the same as that identified by Guerrero as a classical *samba* rhythm as shown in Example R below.
Example R. A Comparison of Samba Rhythms

Classical Samba Rhythm (Guerrero 1979)

\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{2}{4} & \quad \begin{array}{cccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

Centre – Caixa Ostinato (1981)

\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{2}{4} & \quad \begin{array}{cccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

In the low-sound layer Surdos 1 and 2 continue with their unison repetition of the surdo low samba beat variation marked ‘surdo variation C’. Those rhythms continued for approximately 300 bars (5 minutes). Simplification occurs through the omission of the break patterns and surdo de repicar embellishments of the low samba beat that are functionally interrelated with the structure and presentation of the song text (see Chapter III, pp.203-4).

Re-alignment of Surdo Samba Beats

As explained in the previous two chapters the low samba beat, played on the surdos (large drums) is the principal structural-organisational element of the rhythms of the bateria and samba-enredo. Musicians align their rhythms according to the placement of the traditional alternating weak and resonant surdo sounds. As Sergio Cabral, Brazilian authority on the Rio Escolas de Samba remarked, "the surdos are the most important instruments in the bateria . . . if they lose the beat they can destroy every aspect of the School's desfile presentation" (interview: Rio 1985).

Re-alignment, that is unintentional changes to that traditional low surdo beat \((\frac{\underline{2}}{4} \quad \underline{\frac{1}{4}} \quad \frac{1}{8} \quad \frac{3}{8})\) through the misplacement of the second resonant beat, was shown to be a major factor of change in the Sydney versions of Brazilian samba-enredo during Periods 1 and 2 and one which continued, though to a significantly lesser degree, with the Centre throughout Period 3. As was the case in the previous Example (Example 27) the Centre’s surdo players were familiar with the sounds of the surdo but not the techniques used to produce those sounds. In addition, the Centre’s bateria under the direction of Lourenço Forte had only two instead of three surdos. As will be demonstrated in the analysis to follow, efforts to re-create the traditional samba-enredo low-sound layer with the missing surdo and the inexperience of the musicians resulted in the frequent misplacement of the resonant low samba beat which caused a re-
alignment of the traditional rhythms, and periodic, yet regular, interruptions to the flow and continuity of the performance.

As shown in Example 27 (see Vol.II, p.149), the performance begins with a single *apito* blast (see ‘*apito* cue 1’) which is used to attract the musician’s attention and signal for the performance to commence. In response, *Surdo* 1 plays an initial two resonant quaver beat pick up marked ‘*surdo* pick up’, plays the low *samba* beat briefly and then, due to inexperience and uncertainty, stops. There is a short delay of approximately five seconds while Lourenço Forte issues instructions to the player of *Surdo* 1 who then makes a second unsuccessful attempt to establish the tempo and low *samba* beat for the other instruments.

Instead of the usual alternating weak and resonant low *samba* beat, after two pick up quavers, *Surdo* 1 plays the variations of the low *samba* beat marked ‘*surdo* variation A’ (played twice), and ‘*surdo* variation B’. Moreover, rather than play the a basic crotchet for each low *samba* beat, he subdivides the resonant beat into either (\(\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\)) as shown in ‘*surdo* variation A’ or into the \(\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\) *samba* rhythmic figure (variation B). Both subdivisions are typical of the types played on the *surdo de repicar* during the accompaniment to Brazilian *samba-enredo* (see Chapter III, p.203). Interruptions to those *Surdo* 1 rhythms result from the musician’s confusion as he is caught between trying to provide the basic low *samba* beat \(\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\) and imitate the usual rhythmic embellishments of the beat that are absent due to the omission of the soloistic *surdo de repicar*.

After a second pause of around six seconds Lourenço Forte signals the players to re-commence by playing the *apito* cue labelled ‘*apito* cue 2’. In response, *Surdo* 1 re-introduces ‘*surdo* variation B’ followed by ‘*surdo* variation A’ (see Ex.27, bars 1-3). The second *surdo* player (*Surdo* 2) makes an unsuccessful entry shortly after the commencement of ‘*surdo* variation A’ (see bar 2 – ‘incorrect entry’).

After a hesitant entry at bar 6 *Surdo* 2 establishes a repetitive resonant beat pattern whereby, instead of aligning his resonant beat with that played by the first *surdo* player (*Surdo* 1), he incorrectly aligns it with the *Surdo* 1 weak beat. Dissatisfied with that alignment and sound, Lourenço Forte, using arm movements and an *apito* cue (see ‘*apito* cue 3’ bars 12-14), momentarily stops the performance (see bar 15), walks to the back of the group and takes the beater from the player of *Surdo* 2. *Surdo* 1 recommences his repetition of *surdo* variation B (see bar 17) and Forte demonstrates the correct alignment of the *Surdo* 2 resonant beat with that of the *Surdo*
1 resonant beat variation (see bars 18-26) which is soon after imitated by the original *Surdo* 2 musician (see bars 28-48).

During that time, however, the rhythms of the *agogô* and *tamborim* become insecure. Another *apito* signal (see *apito cue 4* bars 46-48) causes *Surdo* 2 and players of the other instruments to stop playing momentarily (see bars 48-51). Following the pick up quaver labelled 'pick up' on the resonant beat of bar 48 *Surdo* 1 once again stabilises the pulse and plays the low *samba* beat with variations on the second resonant beat. Once again, *Surdo* 2 incorrectly misaligns his resonant *samba* beats with those of *Surdo* 1 by aligning the resonant beat with the weak beat played on *Surdo* 1 (see bars 53-59). The other instruments stop. (bars 55-81). For a second time Forte takes over from the *Surdo* 2 player and demonstrates the correct placing of the low *samba* resonant beat (see bars 70-81) but the other players have become totally confused and after a brief period where the *agogô* player plays alone, the performance halts (see bar 90).

After a brief pause of around eight seconds, a fifth *apito* signal marked *apito cue 5* (see bars 90-92) cues a new start to the performance. As was the case following *apito* cues 1, 2 and 3, *Surdo* 1 plays a low *samba* beat which contains a subdivision of the low *samba* beat marked 'surdo variation C'. Rather than risk further failure with the alignment of his resonant *surdo* beat, *Surdo* 2 chooses either to imitate the *Surdo* 1 low *samba* beat variation (see bars 93 fol.), or play the traditional low *samba* beat, that is the alternating single weak crotchet beat followed by a single resonant crotchet beat (see bars 97 fol.). After a period of uncertainty and adjustment the other percussion instruments eventually commence and settle into the repetition of the rhythmic patterns shown in the transcription under the heading 'basic rhythmic patterns'.

Two categories of change were illustrated through the analysis of the Centre's 1981 *samba-enredo* rehearsal (Example 27). Namely, Simplification, which resulted from the omission of certain traditional percussion instruments and soloistic improvisations, and through the intentional and unintentional changes introduced by Lourenço Forte and the mixture of Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians in the Centre's *bateria*, and Re-alignment; the re-alignment of the low-sound layer through the misplacement of the low *samba* weak and resonant *surdo* beats.
Forte provided an emic viewpoint of the significance of those changes in the Centre's interpretation of the samba-enredo accompaniment rhythms when he remarked that

*The musicians in the group thought they were doing the right thing because they didn't know what was right or wrong. I simplified the rhythms and tried to centralise everything into one beat. I tried to get the snare drummers to play the one rhythm so that the repiniques could be free to do what they wanted although they couldn't do much anyway, and the tamborims could be more innovative either playing isolated or playing in unison [trademark patterns] (interview: May 1986).*

Regardless of those changes, the Brazilian musicians claimed to be satisfied with their samba-enredo interpretation and performed on their chosen instruments with obvious displays of pride and mock virtuosic behaviour imitative of the displays provided by the Escolas de Samba instrumentistas in Rio de Janeiro. For example, those Sydney Brazilians who played the tamborims would, at times, hold the instruments high in the air above their heads to draw attention to the rhythms, albeit simplified, that they performed. Accordingly, the status afforded those Brazilian musicians in the Centre by other Brazilian and non-Brazilian Centre members was unusually high by normal Brazilian standards.

**Performance 3**


The third item chosen for analysis is called *La Vem Portela* which means ‘Here comes Portela’. It is a Brazilian carnival samba-enredo first performed by the Rio Escola de Samba Portela in their 1967 Rio Carnaval desfile. The Sydney version was transcribed from a recording made at the Sydney Town Hall during the 1982 Sydney Festival del Sol. The musicians heard on the performance were members of the Centre who, for personal and financial reasons, chose to perform away from the Centre under a separate name - the Rio Samba Show (see p.276). Regardless of their name change (Rio Samba Show), they performed the same music in or out of the Centre and will accordingly be treated as an integral part of the Centre. Before

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12 The Festival del Sol was introduced into Sydney by Samy Sabag, the founder of Sambação as part of his duties as community welfare officer at the Newtown neighbourhood centre. Since its inception in 1978, that event has, like the South American Festival at Bondi, become a permanent part of Sydney's festive calendar.
proceeding with the analysis of *La Vem Portela*, background details of the group will first be provided as they are vital to an understanding of changes that are evident in their performances of *La Vem Portela* in particular, and their performances of Brazilian carnival music in Sydney in general.

The Rio Samba Show was formed by Walter da Fonseca. By the middle of 1981 the performances organised by the Centre, which were mostly unpaid to begin, had shifted to highly-paid professional engagements. Walter da Fonseca and a number of the Centre's musicians each believed that they should receive a performance fee. The Centre members would not agree to da Fonseca's demands which they believed were in conflict with the ideals upon which their community-based organisation was formed. Consequently, in June 1981, da Fonseca and nine other of the Centre's Brazilian percussionists, while maintaining regular contact with the Centre, commenced additional independent musical activities outside the Centre. The members of this new cabaret-styled group, impressed with the positive impact made by the Centre on Sydney audiences, sought to exploit the profit potential of the re-enactment of aspects of the Rio *Carnaval* before non-Brazilian spectators in Australia.

The percussion instruments that da Fonseca and his musicians had been using belonged to and remained with the Centre and were taken over by Lourenço Forte during his reformation of the Centre's *bateria* (see p.276). To overcome their lack of Brazilian percussion instruments and to improve the quality of the alternative group, da Fonseca persuaded his brother in law, João Carlos, a professional Brazilian *sambista*, to travel to Sydney. As detailed earlier in this chapter, João Carlos was an *instrumentista* (*repinique* player) in *Vai-Vai* — the oldest and largest *Escola de Samba* in São Paulo, Brazil (see p.249). Prior to his departure from Brazil, Carlos used funds supplied by members of the Rio Samba Show and purchased the percussion instruments necessary for the Rio Samba Show *bateria*.

*Figure 69. The Sydney Brazilians Perform La Vem Portela* (see Vol.II, p.179).

The musicians and instruments of the percussion ensemble that provided the accompaniment to the sung melody and text of *La Vem Portela* are shown in Figure 69 and listed in Figure N.
Overview of Performance 3

The Sydney version of *La Vem Portela* (see Ex.28, Vol.II, p.157) comprises a vocal introduction, the main body of song text, and an improvised percussive section in that order. As shown in the transcription, the vocal introduction is accompanied by a regular drum stick beat. João Carlos remarked that the stick beat was intended to help the singer Sueli da Fonseca with the tempo and, at the same time, to set the tempo for the other musicians who, in keeping with the *samba-enredo* traditions, commence at the end of the vocal introduction and transition into the first song Verse.

Musical-structural elements of the song accompaniment that conform with traditional elements of Brazilian *samba-enredo* are break patterns 1 through 11 (see end of vocal introduction, also bars 31-33, 45-47, 61-63, 75-77, 103-105, 109-111, 120-122, 135-137, 165-167). As explained in Chapter III during the analysis of Brazilian *samba-enredo* (see p.185), those break patterns are designed to highlight the song text and occur during strategic points in the song such as the middle of a song verse (bars 31-33) or during the transition of song verse to song chorus (61-63). On hearing a
replay of the performances, Walter da Fonseca remarked that "we know those breaks without rehearsing because samba go like that" (personal communication).

In keeping with the basic rhythmic patterns of Brazilian samba-enredo (see pp. 178-202), the caixas and repinique alternate between two basic functions: stabilising the pulse through regular subdivisions of the basic beat and performing in a less restricted manner improvising syncopated rhythmic patterns. In contrast, the surdo is used mainly to provide the regular alternating weak and resonant beats that are the foundation upon which the stabilising rhythms, cross-rhythms, and syncopated rhythmic phrases of the caixas and repinique are built.

The placement of the low samba beat played on the traditional surdo conforms with the Brazilian samba-enredo traditions as do the improvised and syncopated repinique rhythms provided by João Carlos (see repinique part bars 11-13, 26-33, 52-54, 96-103), an essential element of samba-enredo missing from the previous two Examples (Ex's. 26 and 27). In Example 28 these solo repinique variations commence shortly before a break pattern to intensify the rhythmic momentum of the accompaniment and highlight the rhythmic contents of the breaks and the repetition of a verse or chorus.

The improvised percussive section (see bars 167-321) which follows immediately after the last song verse, reflects changes that resulted directly from João Carlos's influence and extensive emic knowledge of the samba-enredo rhythms and instrumental techniques that he passed on to the other musicians.

Before Carlos joined the group, their interpretations of samba-enredo, like those of the Centre as shown in the analysis of Examples 26 and 27, were predominately simplified versions of the Brazilian samba-enredo rhythms and lacked the usual degrees of spontaneity and virtuosic improvisation.

When João Carlos joined the Rio Samba Show in September 1981 the direction of the group changed noticeably. Carlos transmitted certain samba-enredo rhythmic techniques to the less experienced musicians. Those improvements were carried forward to the Centre's bateria after the dissolution of the Rio Samba Show and the return of its musicians to the Centre in 1982. Walter da Fonseca acknowledged the positive contribution that Carlos made to the bateria when he remarked that

*after João arrived in Sydney, instead of playing our beats we followed him. He was a very good player. João taught the musicians some standard*
rhythmic patterns, signal patterns and break patterns. With João's help, our music got much better (interview: May 1986).

Performance 3 – Musical Change

In the analysis of *La Vem Portela* that follows it will be shown that four types of change affected the structure and presentation of the Rio Samba Show's performance of that Brazilian *samba-enredo*. These changes are:

- Substitution of musical instruments.
- Substitution of playing technique.
- Simplification of rhythms.
- Incorporation of percussive interludes.

**Substitution of Musical Instruments**

In Brazil, the low *samba* beats that are fundamental to the *samba-enredo* accompaniment are normally provided by the *surdo* players. In Sydney, due to the shortage of *surdos* in the Rio Samba Show, a pair of conga drums were used as a substitute for a *surdo*. As Walter da Fonseca remarked, "the conga is never used for *samba-enredo* during the *Carnaval desfile*. Its presence in the Sydney version of *La Vem Portela* must then be regarded as an innovation.

**Substitution of Playing Technique**

The conga player Nilson da Silva can be seen to play on the video but his rhythms are inaudible on the sound recording. Consequently, with the exception of a few brief sections, the conga rhythms do not appear on the transcription of Example 28. Although Nilson da Silva had emigrated to Sydney from a *favela* (slum area) of Rio de Janeiro, he readily admitted that he had limited practical experience with the music of carnival *samba* as with conga drums. As João Carlos commented, "Nilson da Silva was playing the congas and he doesn't play the congas, he's better on the *surdo* [no *surdo* was available]. That was one of the reasons why I was mad. They said it's all right like this and we have to do it like this" (interview: Feb.1987).

Da Silva's awareness of the substitution of the conga for the traditional *surdo* is reflected in changes to his conga playing technique. Instead of using his hands to play the congas he uses soft-ended drum kit mallets in a pseudo *surdo* technique to produce a quality of sound closer to that of the *surdo*. The substitution of musical instrument and playing technique results in innovative changes to the traditional
rhythms of the *samba-enredo* accompaniment. As shown below, da Silva introduces an innovative rhythmic ostinato which results from his subdivision of each *surdo* low *samba* alternating weak and resonant beat into a dotted quaver-semiquaver. That rhythmic ostinato was described as "non-traditional" by Walter da Fonseca and Sueli da Fonseca during a later interview.

**Example S. *La Vem Portela* – Conga Rhythmic Ostinato**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High-pitched conga</th>
<th>Low-pitched conga</th>
<th>Low <em>samba</em> beat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Left hand mallet</td>
<td>Right hand mallet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Substitution of playing technique also resulted from the lack of a *cavaquinho* in the group and the inexperience of the Brazilian *surdo* player, Kleverton da Silva. As explained in Chapter III, in Rio, a performance of a *samba-enredo* usually commences with the solo singer who outlines the melody to the accompaniment of a small group of *instrumentistas* (*cavaquinho* player, *surdo* player and *pandeiro* player) who are positioned next to the soloist and separate from the main *bateria* (see pp.178-79).

As shown in the transcription of *La Vem Portela* (see Ex.28), the performance begins with the song chorus which is sung by Sueli da Fonseca to the accompaniment of a regular beat provided by the snare drummer Wanderlei da Fonseca who beats his two drumsticks together. Commenting on changes in the Sydney version, João Carlos stated that those stick beats were played as a substitution for the traditional accompaniment sounds normally provided by the small group of musicians described above. Besides, as Carlos noted, the *surdo* player should have played at the start with the singing.

*At the start of the song she [Sueli da Fonseca] didn't have any help. The drums should be with her... she's got no support... if the big drum would have been with her. In Brazil, the *puxador de samba* has the experience but he still gets help from the instruments on the wagon* (interview: Feb. 1987).

**Figure 70. Sueli da Fonseca with Song Text in Hand**
(see Vol.II, p.179).
Those introductory stick beats were clearly intended to reinforce Sueli da Fonseca's vocal introduction. During an interview in 1984, Sueli da Fonseca commented that while she recalled hearing the song in Brazil in 1979 she had only memorised the song text on the day of the Sydney performance (Figure 70 shows Sueli da Fonseca with those transcribed lyrics in her hand during the performance). She also added that although she had been a professional dancer and passista in Brazil, she was inexperienced as a singer and had only sung with the group at her husband, Walter da Fonseca's request.

Her admitted difficulty in combining the song text and melody is evident in her interpretation of the opening chorus which includes "dropped beats", identified by João Carlos as unwanted interruptions to the normal flow of the melody (see Ex.28 - bracketed rests which were identified by Walter da Fonseca and Lourenço Forte as the possible durations of the missing beats. The non-bracketed ones are a normal part of the song).

As stated by Walter da Fonseca during an interview where he discussed the events that led to the performance of La Vem Portela:

*In the morning of the day we performed La Vem Portela I took a paper and pen and copied the words from a recording of the song for Sueli to sing. The group did not have time to rehearse the number and we did not copy the accompaniment that was on the record* (interview: March 1984).

**Simplification of Rhythms**

The predominant lack of pre-migration musical experience within the group combined with a specific lack of preparation and rehearsal of *La Vem Portela* resulted in the simplification of certain rhythmic aspects of the song accompaniment. For example, the tamborim player was an inexperienced musician. Although he had grown up with the sounds of *Carnaval samba-enredo* in Brazil, he confessed to a lack of the expertise and practical knowledge that were needed to produce the traditional high-pitched, syncopated rhythmic patterns and trademark patterns normally associated with the tamborim in the Rio Carnaval (see pp.183-85). Instead, during the performance of *La Vem Portela*, he gently tapped a regular, simple quaver subdivision of the basic surdo alternating weak and resonant crotchet beats.
At times, through what appears to be frustration, he switches from the tamborim to the chocalho and attempts the traditional chocalho rhythmic pattern - a simple subdivision of the low samba surdo beat into semiquavers with an accent on the first and last semiquavers (\[\frac{\text{\textcircled{1}}}{\text{\textcircled{1}}}\]) (visible on video but not audible on sound track).

Incorporation of Percussive Interludes

By far, the most significant change to the Sydney version of La Vem Portela was the incorporation of an improvised percussive section based on the samba-enredo accompaniment rhythms following the conclusion of the melody and text at bar 167. This additional section, unusual by Brazilian standards, was described by João Carlos as follows:

_The rhythm section following the sung melody of La Vem Portela is a 'new creation'. The idea is to keep going with the same rhythm until the singer starts another song but nobody came in so we made an improvisation_ (interview: Feb. 1987).

The analysis of this instrumental section which follows, reveals specific structural musical elements introduced primarily by João Carlos and Walter da Fonseca which mark the beginnings of an organised and standardised approach to the Sydney interpretations of Brazilian samba-enredo, an approach that became a 'trademark' of The Rio Samba Show and the Centre and continued up until the eventual dissolution of the Centre in 1984.

A break pattern (see 'break pattern 11' bars 165-167) marks the conclusion of the song and the transition to the instrumental section. This new section commences with the repetition of the two-bar rhythmic ostinatos marked R (repinique) and C (caixa) 'stabilising pattern' (see bars 167-177) which regulate the rhythmic flow of the bateria. Those patterns are played on the repinique and caixa and accompanied by the low samba beat played on the surdo. Additional notational symbols, namely the small stroke through certain of those repinique quaver subdivisions, indicates an accented rim shot at those points designated. That timbral device is used to highlight the momentum of the repinique cue pattern and for variation of timbre. Once the tempo
is firmly established, Walter da Fonseca uses his *apito* and eye contact to cue the *repinique* player (João Carlos) to commence his soloistic improvisation. In response to that cue, Carlos departs from his two-bar stabilising rhythmic pattern (see bars 167-169 with repeats) and introduces the two-bar syncopated rhythmic pattern marked ‘R. solo pattern’ (see bars 176-178) which he repeats with variations (see bars 178-188).

To accommodate and highlight Carlos’s *repinique* soloistic improvisations the *caixa* player changes from his stabilising pattern (see bars 166-177), to the most basic accompaniment rhythm marked ‘C. basic accompaniment pattern’ (bars 177-188), namely, semiquaver subdivisions of each low *samba surdo* beat. During the same section the *apito* serves two functions. On the one hand it is used as a cueing device whereby the initial *apito* cue pattern, marked ‘cue pattern A’ (see bars 176-178 bracketed), informs João Carlos that he is free to commence his soloistic *repinique* improvisations. On the other hand, the variation of *apito* ‘cue pattern A’, labelled ‘c.p.A/v’, which is repeated from bars 178 to 188, cues Carlos to continue and elaborate his soloistic *repinique* improvisations. At the same time, *apito* ‘c.p.A/v’ also blends with the *caixas* and *surdo* rhythms to strengthen the rhythmic accompaniment and highlight Carlos’s rhythmic *repinique* variations (see bars 181-187).

On the last repetition of *apito* ‘c.p.A/v’, (see bar 187), the *apito* player (Walter da Fonseca) turns to Carlos and, with facial gestures, encourages him to continue with his *repinique* improvisations. In response, Carlos increases the amount of syncopation in his improvisations (see bars 188-194). To heighten the effect created by the *repinique*, the *caixa* player maintains his basic accompaniment rhythms. The *surdo* player also strengthens the accompaniment by occasionally subdividing his basic crotchet beat into quavers (see bars 190-192, 194, 196-200), as is done in traditional *samba-enredo* accompaniment.

Six bars after João Carlos commences his *repinique* syncopations (bar 193), Fonseca plays the *apito* cue pattern ‘c.p.A/v’ which he repeats once (bars 194-195) to cue Carlos to continue his *repinique* improvisations. Shortly after, a third *apito* cue pattern, marked ‘c.p.C’ (bars 198-200) followed by c.p.A/v warns the other musicians of an oncoming break. In response to that *apito* cue, the *repinique* player ends his soloistic improvisations and, along with the other instruments, returns to a simple two-bar accompaniment pattern (see bars 200-210).
A fourth apito cue pattern, labelled ‘c.p.D’ (see bars 204-206 and repeat of same 207-209), that is a sustained blast rather than a rhythmic figure warns the musicians that the break is closer. The fifth apito cue pattern - the two-bar syncopated rhythmic patterns marked ‘cue pattern E’ (see bars 209-211), cues the exact spot where the soloistic ensemble break pattern begins.

Extended break pattern 1 (bars 211-219) is an eight-bar pattern which comprises a sequence of alternating apito cues marked ‘cues 1-7’(c/1, c/2, c/3, etc.), and ensemble responses marked ‘response 1-7’(r/1, r/2, r/3, etc.), which are played on the caixas, repinique and surdo. On ensemble response 3 (r3 see bar 213-214), Carlos commences a series of improvised repinique elaborations of the response patterns r1-r7. Those elaborations develop into the two-bar rhythmic pattern labelled ‘R. transition pattern’ (see bars 217-219) which cues the end of ‘soloistic break pattern 1’. The sustained apito sound (bar 218), combined with a hand signal also cues the end of the soloistic break pattern.

A sudden change of rhythmic density follows as Walter da Fonseca and the other musicians stop playing momentarily; Carlos reverts to the basic two-bar repinique accompaniment pattern labelled ‘R. accompaniment pattern’ (see bars 219-221), which he repeats with variations (see bars 221-237). The sudden drop in intensity of the ensemble reveals the congo player’s non-traditional modified rhythms which had been inaudible up to that point (see ‘conga drums’ bars 219-224 on surdo line).

After a brief period, the other instruments re-enter one by one. First, the surdo plays a cue pattern marked ‘pick up cue’ (see bars 223-225) and then continues with a traditional elaboration of his low samba beat (see bars 225-231). Next, the apito player sounds two apito blasts which coincide with the resonant surdo beats in bar 228 and 230. Then follows a four bar interlude where the surdo, apito, and repinique players play a variety of contrasting rhythms to increase the rhythmic intensity and variation (see bars 231-235). The rhythms resettle momentarily and then a sustained apito cue, which commences on bar 238 and ends abruptly on the first crotchet beat of bar 241, warns the other musicians of an oncoming soloistic ensemble break. At the same time, Carlos commences a syncopated soloistic rhythmic passage marked ‘R. soloistic improv.’ (see bars 238) which is intended to cue the break and highlight the contents of the break. Walter da Fonseca then sounds the apito cue pattern marked ‘cue pattern D’ (identified previously as ‘cue pattern D’ see bars 209-211), which again cues the exact point where the break pattern, marked ‘extended break pattern 2’ begins (see bars 245-251).
According to Walter da Fonseca (personal communication), the sustained *apito* cue at the end of 'extended break pattern 2' (see bar 250) was intended to cue the end of the performance. All of the musicians except one responds to that *apito* cue. Celso da Silva, the musician who ignored the cue, using a *repinique* that he carried but had not played until that moment, suddenly introduces a four-bar soloistic break (see (R2) bar 251) which ends with the *repinique* transition pattern marked ‘*repinique* transition pattern’ (see bar 253-255). That *repinique* pattern dominated over da Fonseca’s second attempt to terminate the item (bars 253-255). Carlos and the other musicians commence a new ensemble improvisation (see bar 255-321).

After 60 bars of the new ensemble improvisation (see bar 316), João Carlos, annoyed with the actions of the rebel *repinique* player, re-asserts his authority as leader of the ensemble and combines eye contact, verbal signal "whoa . . . whoa" and the *repinique* cue pattern marked ‘*repinique* cue pattern’ (bar 317) to bring the improvisation to an end. After listening to replay of the performance at his home in Bondi, João Carlos offered the following criticisms:

*The music was not very good because there was no communication between the musicians. In the performance of La Vem Portela I gave the signal to finish but Celso [da Silva] continued. Since I was the man who should have been doing it [directing the improvisation with signals etc.] he was not supposed to do anything until I say so. That's one of the things that I count as co-operation. We rehearsed the breaks in the improvisation but it didn't come out right. Celso's repinique wasn't tuned properly. The guys try to do it but these guys drink and then forget what we rehearsed. When they go up there [on stage] they do whatever and it goes wrong* (interview: 1986).

Regardless of the problems identified above by Carlos, the analysis revealed that, unlike Sambacão's percussive improvisations which characteristically lacked soloistic rhythms and intricate rhythmic interaction between the instruments, the Centre's percussive improvisations were marked by a significant increase in their comparative degree of rhythmic complexity. This was due mainly to João Carlos's influence in the group, the extensive degree of his pre-migration musical experience with the *Escolas de Samba* and music of *samba*, and the musical communication that he had developed through his collaboration with Walter da Fonseca.

At the same time, in their recreation of the Brazilian *samba-enredo* La Vem Portela, a reproduction of specific rhythms and structural elements associated with the original Brazilian rendition of the song as it functioned in the Rio *desfile* were not vital to an acceptable interpretation of the same song in Sydney. Due to the formulaic structure of *sambas-enredo* in general, that is the inclusion of basic instruments and
instrumental functions such as the traditional low \textit{samba surdo} beat \( \left( \begin{array}{c} f \\ 0 \end{array} \right) \) and break patterns, changes to the Sydney version of \textit{La Vem Portela} were generally considered not as departures from the original, but rather as acceptable variations in light of the more important emic function of the modified version in providing a musical vehicle for the performers' expression of their new found Brazilian-Australian ethnic identities.

\textbf{Performance 4}

\textbf{The Centre - Imitation of \textit{Mocidade Cue/Response Patterns} (Bondi 1984)}

The fourth item chosen for analysis, a percussive improvisation, was transcribed from a recording of a performance of the Centre at the 1984 Latin American Festival at Bondi, two months before the organisation disbanded. The Festival commenced at mid-day. The Centre was booked as the main attraction and hired to close the evening's events with a \textit{desfile} along the council road in front of the beach. Their \textit{desfile} concluded with a one hour performance on the stage inside the pavilion.

João Carlos, the leader of the Centre's \textit{bateria}, possessed the musical knowledge required to organise the Centre's \textit{bateria} and structure their music in such a way that it could eventually produce the types of improvisation typical of the Brazilian \textit{samba} traditions. By his pre-migration musical standards, his general dissatisfaction with the quality of the music and attitude of the musicians, however, dissuaded him from developing to any great extent, new and interesting rhythmic devices such as the cue/response patterns that are the essence of the Brazilian \textit{Escolas de Samba} \textit{baterias} and music of \textit{samba-enredo}. In recalling the function of those \textit{repinique} devices in his \textit{Escola de Samba} \textit{Vai-Vai} in Brazil, João Carlos stated that

\textit{Each Escola has its own patterns. It's the same in São Paulo as in Rio. Out of six Escolas de Samba in São Paulo each tries not to imitate the next ... even the chamadas are different. I can tell one Escola from the next by the beating of the drums ... by the beating of the tamborims. In Vai-Vai, if we could perfect a new chamada or rhythm throughout the year and have it ready to take to the parade we would do it. If not, instead of doing the same one as last year, we take the same pattern and do it in a different way (interview: Feb. 1987).}

As demonstrated clearly earlier in this study (see Chapter III, p.205), variation is a sought after quality in \textit{samba-enredo} in Brazil. The quest for originality and creative inventiveness within an \textit{Escola de Samba} \textit{bateria} is an ever present and traditional factor of musical change. In Sydney, however, as shown later through the
analysis of Performance 4, Carlos intentionally compromised the traditions with which he was familiar since childhood. Rather than strive for originality, João Carlos selected a number of well-known Brazilian rhythmic devices borrowed from the Rio Escola de Samba Mocidade de Independente de Padre Miguel (see earlier p.174) and taught them to the other musicians in Sydney. Those cue/response patterns have, since 1982, become musical ‘trademarks’ of the Centre.

Figure O. The Centre Bateria – Instrumentation for Performance 4
(Example 31)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Group</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apito, cuica</td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamborim</td>
<td>(missing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandeiro</td>
<td>(Uruguayan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agogô</td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reco-reco</td>
<td>(missing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chocalho</td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle Group</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Repiniques</td>
<td>(Brazilians)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caixas</td>
<td>(Brazilians)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Group</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surdo de replicar</td>
<td>(missing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surdo de marcação</td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surdo de marcação centralizador</td>
<td>(Brazilian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The musicians and instrumentation of the bateria used in that Bondi performance are listed in Figure O above. Included in the Centre’s bateria are the traditional apito, cuica, pandeiro, agogô, and chocalho in the high-sound group, the repiniques and caixas in the middle-sound group, and surdos in the low-sound group. Due to the shortage of Brazilian musicians in the Centre, the tamborim, reco-reco, and surdo de replicar are missing from the bateria in the low group. The omission of those instruments marked a significant loss by Brazilian standards.
Performance 4 – Musical Change

The analysis will now continue with a focus on the musical change category 3.2 – Standardisation of rhythms. The Centre's interpretations of Brazilian samba-enredo became standardised through the increased use of pre-rehearsed rhythmic devices. Rhythmic standardisation was an important type of change in the Centre's desfiles during Period 3. As will be demonstrated through analysis, percussive improvisation performances in Sydney by members of the Centre's bateria, under the direction of João Carlos and Walter da Fonseca, have been based primarily on two commercial Brazilian recordings of the bateria of the Rio Escola de Samba – Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel (1974 and 1977).

Furthermore, the short and frequently interrupted bateria improvisations heard on those Mocidade recordings have emerged as a style of improvisation in Sydney. Performances by the Centre bateria members, when led by Walter da Fonseca and João Carlos, are, in turn, characterised by short bursts of percussive improvisation based on the accompaniment rhythms of Brazilian samba-enredo. These improvisations are frequently interrupted by cue/response patterns that were copied directly from commercial Brazilian recordings of the Mocidade bateria.

The analysis will commence with a brief discussion of the status of the Mocidade bateria in Brazil and Sydney. This will be followed by an examination of two summarised excerpts from the 1974 and 1977 Mocidade recordings used by Brazilians in Sydney. The analysis will focus on the general structure of the Mocidade performances to illustrate the prime function of the recordings as demonstration vehicles for the rhythmic skills of the Mocidade instrumentalists. The musical function of four selected Mocidade patterns will be summarised. A comparative analysis will then be made between their original function in the Mocidade performances and the Centre's use of the same cue/response patterns in Sydney (Performance 4, Example 31).

Mocidade – Brazil

Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel was founded on the 2nd of March 1952. Since their move into the top category of Escolas de Samba in 1960, members of the Mocidade bateria remain the undisputed favourites of Rio desfile devotees in Brazil and Sydney. In 1969, Luis D. Gardel, Brazilian writer on the Rio Carnaval accordingly noted that 'at present, the best bateria in Rio belongs to Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel, a fact which is unanimously recognised by the sambistas from rival
He added that 'the spectacular bateria of Mocidade is several notches above any other'.  

On a humorous note, in 1970, Vasconcelas wrote that, 'nobody was sure if Mocidade was a Samba School with a bateria or a bateria with a Samba School' [my translation]. In 1979, an article in Rio, a Brazilian tourist carnival magazine, contained the usual message of praise for the Mocidade bateria:

Since 1974 when Mocidade Independente was recognised as one of the major Samba Schools in the city, it has put up a great fight for first place. It will be no surprise; therefore if the judges award it the championship. This year, as always, Mocidade's percussion, led by Maestro André, stands out amongst all the other schools.  

Sambista (da Lima) and Escolas de Samba authorities (Brita, Gardel) were in total agreement with regard to the high status afforded the Mocidade bateria as were experienced Sydney Brazilian musicians Tristão da Aguiar, Lourenço Forte and João Carlos. Forte remarked that "the bateria of Mocidade is the most respected bateria among all the Brazilian Escolas de Samba and amongst sambistas" (personal communication: Oct. 1987). Carlos likewise noted that "the Mocidade bateria was known throughout Brazil as the best and copied by musicians in the baterias in São Paulo" (personal communication).

Such is the reputation of the Mocidade bateria that they have released a number of commercial recordings in Brazil which feature the sounds of the various instruments as they demonstrate some of the assorted pre-rehearsed rhythmic devices that gained them that reputation. As mentioned earlier, two such recordings played a major role in determining changes to the Sydney versions of Brazilian samba-enredo, namely, the 1974 and 1977 cassette recordings entitled 'Cuica, Pandeiro e Tamborim... I' and 'Cuica, Pandeiro e Tamborim... III'.

On different occasions both João Carlos and Walter da Fonseca admitted owning and using a copy or copies of a Mocidade bateria recording in Sydney. Certainly, the bulk of the rhythmic patterns and signalling devices which Walter da Fonseca played were, as he himself admitted, learnt in Sydney from commercial recordings and

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13 Gardel, Escolas de Samba, 159.
14 Ibid., p. 185.
transmitted to the other Brazilians here. As João Carlos remarked in connection with Walter da Fonseca's acquisition of the samba-enredo rhythms in Sydney; "Walter plays the tape over and over at his place and just goes on top of it" (personal communication).

I will now proceed with an examination of a summarised excerpt from each of the recordings mentioned.

**Figure 71. Mocidade Rhythms – 1974 and 1977 Recordings: Summary of Structural Elements**

Figure 71 contains a summarised version of the musical events contained on the 1974 and 1977 Brazilian recordings (Sides 1, tracks 1 and 2). The rhythmic improvisations comprise five basic types of material; the cue and response rhythmic patterns marked ‘C/R’ throughout the schematic; the large ensemble and small ensemble improvisations labelled ‘LE’ and ‘SE’ respectively, the brief repinique solo fills marked ‘RF’ that precede each large ensemble improvisation and, lastly, the solo instrumental passages marked ‘SI’.

While short in duration, in line with the demonstration function of the recording, both tracks on the 1974 recording feature constant shifts in rhythmic density and instrumental functions. For example, in track 1 (1974) a cue/response introduction is followed by a large ensemble improvisation during which all the instruments play, a small ensemble improvisation which features the cuica, repinique and tamborim, a repinique soloistic fill, another large ensemble improvisation and finally a cue/response ending, all within a brief time span of only 1 minute and 29 seconds.

An examination of the condensed schematic of the 1977 Mocidade recording tracks 1 and 2 as shown in Figure 71, reveals similarities in the function of the 1974 and later 1977 recording. Tracks 1 and 2 (1977) are also short in duration and contain sudden shifts in density of sound and timbre. For example, track 2, which lasts for around 3 minutes, demonstrates the sounds of the Mocidade's repinique players (RF), a large ensemble improvisation (LE), small combinations of percussive instruments (SE) and soloistic sounds of a solo cuica (SI).

The omission of a vocal melody and text on both the 1974 and 1977 Mocidade recordings is designed to draw the listener's attention to the bateria rhythms which are
the main feature of the presentation. The end result is a series of unusually short and fragmented improvisations. While this style of playing serves a specific purpose for the recording, as João Carlos pointed out, "it is not typical of a live bateria desfile performance in Brazil" (personal communication). Indeed, due to their integral link with all of the desfile components, the desfile rhythms are, apart from the small break patterns that highlight parts of the song (see p.185), usually continuous. While the Centre's use of short percussive improvisations in Sydney marked a noticeable departure from the Rio desfile by Brazilian standards, the adoption of those rhythmic devices introduced by Carlos gave the Centre's bateria a sense of structure and cohesion that was missing prior to his involvement with the Centre. Following a brief examination of the terms 'cue' and 'response' the analysis will focus on the identification of four specific Mocidade cue/response patterns contained on those Brazilian recordings that were imitated by musicians in the Centre's bateria in Sydney.

Example 29. Mocidade – Four Cue/Response Rhythmic Patterns

The terms 'cue' and 'response' used in this analysis were adopted from the Portuguese equivalents used by Brazilian Samba School musicians in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Belo Horizonte (Brazil's urban desfile centres) as well as in Sydney. When the repinique player plays a signal to the other musicians, that cue is referred to as a 'chamada' (call); 'resposta' (answer, reply, response) refers to the appropriate (that is, pre-rehearsed) response which is usually played by the full ensemble. For the sake of analysis and in keeping with the emic terminology and descriptions, one cue and response constitute a unit. Thus, cue pattern A + response pattern A = cue/response pattern A.

Brazilian Escola de Samba devotees claim that they are able to distinguish each Rio bateria by the stylised rhythmic devices that each Escola develops (see p.183). While the Escolas de Samba musicians strive for innovation and the creation of new rhythmic patterns for each newly-composed samba-enredo, as demonstrated in the analysis to follow, cue/response patterns do become standardised. Such is the case with four Mocidade cue/response (patterns A-D) shown in Example 29 and identified in the discussion that follows.

Mocidade Cue/Response Pattern A (Brazil)

Cue/response pattern A comprises the pre-arranged two-bar solo repinique cue pattern marked 'repinique cue pattern A' and the two-bar response pattern labelled
'ensemble response pattern A'. More specifically, cue pattern A consists of quaver subdivisions of the first three crotchet pulses with an accented crotchet on the last beat of the two-bar pattern.

The pre-arranged ensemble response, marked 'response pattern A', which is played by all of the other musicians, consists of a (\(\begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\
\text{ } \\
\text{ } \\
\end{array}\)) rhythmic combination in the first bar of the response, followed by a quaver subdivision of the third beat and a crotchet downbeat on the final beat of the two-bar response pattern.

**Mocidade** Cue/Response Pattern B (Brazil)

*Mocidade* cue/response Pattern B, which occupies two bars of duple-metre, consists of a *repinique* cue; (\(\begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\
\text{ } \\
\end{array}\)) subdivision of two crotchet beats in duple-metre, and full ensemble response; an upbeat quaver on the first beat of the next bar, followed by a short accented crotchet on the second downbeat.

**Mocidade** Cue/Response Pattern C (Brazil)

The ensemble response pattern C above is similar to ensemble response B in Example 29. *Repinique* cue pattern C is, however, different from *repinique* pattern B and comprises three successive and accented downbeat crotchets.

**Mocidade** Cue/Response Pattern D (Brazil)

The fourth and final pattern, cue/response pattern D, is the most syncopated. The *repinique* player plays two quavers then a crotchet in the first duple-metre bar. The ensemble anticipates the first downbeat of the duple-metre response bar by a semiquaver which then forms part of the traditional and syncopated (\(\begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\
\text{ } \\
\text{ } \\
\end{array}\)) *samba* rhythmic figure (see p.172) and resolves in a crotchet downbeat on the next crotchet response beat.

**Musical Example 30. Musical Function of Mocidade Patterns A – D**

(see Vol.II, p.181).

Example 30 shows Patterns A – D in more detail and musical context as they function in the various percussive improvisations contained on the *Mocidade* 1974 and 1977 commercial recordings. While it is impossible to ascertain with certainty, the exact numbers of musicians and instruments heard on the recordings, those instruments named in the transcription are clearly audible. Namely, a *cuica*, *agogo*, *reco-reco*, and *pandeiro* in the high-sound group, *caixas* in the middle-sound layer, and
in the low-sound layer. The function of those patterns is further summarised in Figure 72 that follows.

Figure 72. Function of Mocidade Patterns A-D Summary
(see Vol.II, p.186).

Figure 72 contains summarised information on each cue/response Pattern; the exact location on either or both Mocidade recordings and its specific musical function as either an ending (E) of, or introduction (I) to a percussive improvisation. The Column headed ‘Single/Combined’ indicates whether a particular pattern is played alone or combined with other patterns to form what I refer to as a ‘prolonged’ introduction or ending. For example, :B2:A: shown in line 2, signifies that cue/response pattern A was played directly after 2 repeats of cue/response pattern B as the ending of the percussive improvisation on the 1974 Mocidade recording, Side 1, Track 2.

As shown in Figure 72, patterns A, B and D are played either as single units (for example see Pattern A, 1974 S1.T1. E), or combined with each other as in the case of :B3:C3:D3: whereby cue/response patterns B, C, and D are played twice each in succession as a prolonged introduction to the percussive improvisation heard on the 1974 Mocidade recording, Side 2, Track 2; or in the case of the 1977 recording whereby a set of three repeats of cue/response pattern C is followed by 2 repeats of cue/response pattern D as an introduction to Side 1, Track 1 of the recording.

Patterns A and C each have one specific musical function. Pattern A is used to end an improvisation; Pattern C to introduce an improvisation. Patterns B and D, however, each serve a dual function as either an introduction, or to mark the conclusion to an improvisation. Having identified the structure and function of commercially recorded Mocidade cue/response Patterns A – D the analysis will now focus on the use of the same patterns by Brazilian musicians in the Centre's bateria.

Performance 4. The Centre – Use of Mocidade Patterns A-D (Sydney)

As stated earlier, the fourth item selected for analysis (Example 31), a percussive improvisation, was transcribed from a recording of a performance of the Centre at the 1984 Latin American Festival at Bondi, two months before the organisation disbanded (see p.248). A comparison will now be made between the original function of
Mocidade Patterns A-D and the Centre's use of the same cue/response patterns in Sydney.

Figure 73. A Schematic Overview of Example 31
(see Vol.II, p.187)

The 1974 and 1977 Mocidade recordings were earlier shown through analysis to comprise unusually short durations of percussive improvisation based on the accompaniment rhythms of samba-enredo. Figure 73 provides an overview of the structure of Example 31 (Performance 4). As shown in Figure 73, the Centre's Sydney improvisation similarly comprises short and fragmented bursts of percussive improvisation.

With the Mocidade recordings the musicians purposely shorten their improvisations to demonstrate the maximum number of rhythmic devices possible within the track duration allocated. In contrast, João Carlos noted that percussive improvisations by members of the Centre were often shortened in duration mainly for the sake of non-Brazilian spectators. Shorter improvisations, they felt, were more appealing to a non-Brazilian audience. Both musicians believed that non-Brazilian audiences who were "not accustomed to the sounds of Brazilian samba" improvisations, which usually tend to be long, 16 "would quickly become bored with the Centre's rhythms going on and on" particularly in light of the missing soloistic instruments. (Carlos and da Fonseca: personal communication 1986).

Example 31 may therefore be described as comprising 5 Sections, namely Sections A through E inclusive as shown in the summarised version (Figure 73). The analysis will now proceed with an identification of the uses and functions of Mocidade cue/response patterns A – D in the Centre's 1984 Bondi performance.

Example 31. The Centre – Imitation of Mocidade Cue/Response Patterns
(Bondi 1984)
(see Vol.II, p.188).

16 During field work in Brazil I witnessed lengthy 'batucadas', percussive improvisations played on samba instruments and performed over the fundamental low samba surdo weak and resonant beat. More often than not, those improvisations, which took place in Samba School rehearsal areas, in bars, at beaches, usually lasted for hours with little if any interruption.
Sections A through E (Example 31) all commence with a *repinique* introduction, a direct reflection of João Carlo's leadership and influence over the *bateria*. *Mocidade* cue/response patterns A – D are evident in the Centre's improvisations in the specific locations and combinations that follow.

*Mocidade* cue/response pattern A is used by the Centre's musicians to introduce Section E of their percussive improvisation. As shown in Example 31 (See Vol.II, p.200), the *repinique* cue/ensemble response occurs three times.

Although a slight departure from the *Mocidade repinique* pattern A occurs when João Carlos subdivides the first cue crotchet beat into a quaver triplet (see Section E Introduction), the *Mocidade* pattern is nonetheless, the model for imitation. On hearing a recording of the 1984 performance and the cue/response pattern identified and discussed in Example 31 as *Mocidade* cue/response pattern A, Carlos stated with certainty that

*That call [cue/response pattern A] was a Rio call but we do it in São Paulo as well. That call is from Padre Miguel. I got that call from a repinique player in Vai-Vai in São Paulo who was copying those beats from a 1977 recording of the Padre Miguel *bateria* Volume III. He put the record to play and he was getting the beat in São Paulo... a friend of mine called Pinero. He was really good on the repinique. In my eyes he was on top the whole time. We used the Padre Miguel calls a lot in São Paulo* (interview: Feb. 1987).

As demonstrated earlier (see Fig.72, Vol.II, p.186), *Mocidade* patterns A – D are present on both the 1974 and 1977 recordings. In addition to being played separately, certain of those patterns are combined and played successively to form prolonged cue/response introductions or endings. An analysis of the Centre's performance in Sydney further substantiates the claims of members of the Centre regarding the use of the *Mocidade* patterns in Sydney. Indeed, *Mocidade* performed a prolonged introduction :B3:C3:D3: (1974 S2.T2. Introduction) which was used by the Centre's musicians as a prolonged introduction to Example 31, Section D (see Vol.II, p.200, bars 1-19).

Luiz Alberto, one of the Brazilian *surdo* players in the Centre noted the use of the *Mocidade* recordings by the Centre's musicians during Period 2. During an interview in 1987 he recalled that not long after João Carlos arrived in Sydney "several copies of a *Mocidade bateria* recording were made from a master copy and distributed amongst the Centre's musicians". Indeed, field work and field recordings confirm the
Centre's use of *Mocidade* Cue/Response pattern A in 1982 shortly after Carlos joined the Centre and, in collaboration with Walter da Fonseca, took control of the *bateria*.


(see Vol. II, p.201).

Example 32, transcribed from the same field recording as that of Example 28 – *La Vem Porte/a* (1982 Sydney Festival del Sol see p.283), shows two earlier instances of the use of *Mocidade* cue/response pattern A; first played three times as an introduction to a percussive improvisation immediately after the conclusion of *La Vem Porte/a* (see Ex.32), and later that evening also played three times as an introduction to another percussive improvisation.

In the earlier analysis of the *Mocidade* 1974 and 1977 recordings it was shown that the *Mocidade* musicians use cue/response pattern A only as an ending to a percussive improvisation. By way of contrast, Carlos's admitted borrowing of that pattern from his fellow musicians in the São Paulo *bateria* as well as from *Mocidade* recordings in Sydney, may account for his use of the pattern in Sydney as an introduction rather than an ending. In fact, field work, field recordings, and my own observations of the Centre's *bateria* on frequent occasions between 1982 and 1984 indicate that, irrespective of their musical functions on the *Mocidade* recordings, João Carlos had, for the sake of convenience, used those borrowed *Mocidade* patterns (such as patterns A to D demonstrated earlier) only as introductions to percussive improvisations.

The previous analysis and emic information from Brazilian members of the Centre confirms the researcher's observations regarding claims that *Mocidade* cue/response patterns imitated in Sydney by members of the Centre, resulted in changes to the traditional Brazilian *samba-enredo* whereby percussive improvisations were substituted for the usual sung melody and *enredo* (narrative theme).

Regardless of those changes the Centre's *desfiles* were always well received by the audience. While the performances were based on a significant degree of rhythmic standardisation through musical borrowing and imitation, non-Brazilian Sydney audiences, whose Rio carnival knowledge was primarily etic, were generally unaware of those aspects of change. By Australian standards, the excitement of the Centre's *desfiles* and percussive improvisations were mirrored in the enthusiastic response and obvious delight of the spectators. Thus, in light of its new function in Sydney and views
put forward by Wilson Palma, Walter da Fonseca, and João Carlos, the resultant improvisation may be interpreted as an expression of Brazilian-Australian musical identity and as such, may be regarded as correct according to its function in Sydney and information from Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of the Centre.

As Carlos stated during an interview in 1987 after listening to a recording of that 1984 performance:

*The rhythms (of the Centre) are like the rhythms of samba-enredo without the singing and breaks. These rhythms are a new creation* [underline mine].

**The Centre – Change Summary**

In the final part of the previous chapter the emic-etic approach to the structure of folk models was used to demonstrate the significance of organisational and musical changes in Sambação Stages 1-3 for; A) Brazilians in Sambação with/without pre-migration carnival experience and B) non-Brazilian musicians in Sambação. The same approach will now be used to evaluate the significance of musical changes in the Centre during Period 3. As demonstrated through the analysis of Sambação, it will be shown that change in the music and musical organisations of immigrant groups is best understood in terms of the folk models and degrees of musical experience of the individual members.

**Figure 74. The Centre – Summary of Change**


Figure 74 contains a comparative summary of the organisational structure of the Centre components and *bateria* with that of the typical Rio *Escola de Samba*. The Centre, formed by Walter da Fonseca, Wilson Palma and other breakaway members from Sambação Stage 1, was, in a sense, an extension of Sambação Stage 1. Brazilian-born participants were once again a majority in the group and aspects of the Rio *Carnaval* and *samba-enredo* remained the prime focus of the Centre's activities. With the exception of the *compositores* (*samba-enredo* composers) each type of Rio component was included in the Centre.

**Organisational-Visual Change**

As was the case with Sambação (Stages 1-3), the lack of an *enredo* in the Centre's *desfiles* resulted in major organisational and visual changes. By Brazilian standards, the Centres *desfiles* lacked the visual impact normally created by around three thousand *sambistas* in their various costume co-ordinated groups and the
associated elements of the *enredo* (floats, banners) that unite the School visually. Instead, the Centre's *desfiles* usually comprised around fifty participants dressed in a contrasting range of costumes.

Freedom of individual dress and the presence of some non-Brazilian participants gave rise to innovative *fantasias*. Each costume style was, in a sense, a reflection of the individual's carnival folk models in Sydney. For example, Medeiros's wife and children usually wore innovative costumes (paper cup costume, drinking straw costume, see Figures 62 and 63, Vol.II, pp.143-44) made by Rinaldo Medeiros. Those costumes were an expression of his belief in the multicultural function of the Centre as a vehicle for the projection of his and his family's sense of Brazilian-Australian identities. By way of contrast, other Brazilian members who were more concerned with 'authenticity' wore hand-made costumes that they had copied directly from Brazilian carnival magazines. Indeed, the Sydney *desfiles* were governed by diversity rather than consensus. While that degree of individual freedom is not permitted in the Brazilian *Escolas de Samba*, the change in location from Brazil to Sydney enabled each participant to express his/her expanded folk models in an individual and personal way.

Musical Change

**Figure P. The Centre – Summary of Musical Change**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change Category</th>
<th>The Centre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Substitution</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical Instruments</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical Style</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing Technique</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Simplification</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythms</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Standardisation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical Repertory</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythms</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Realignment</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surdo Samba Beats</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Incorporation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussive Interludes</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure P above lists the most common types of musical change which affected the Centre's re-enactment of elements of the Rio desfiles during Period 3. A general summary of those musical changes in terms of the folk models theme will be followed by an evaluation of the significance of organisational and musical change for those individual Centre members whose background details were provided at the start of this chapter.

Substitution of Musical Instruments

In the case of Sambaçã£o, the decrease in non-Brazilian membership (Stages 2-3) was paralleled by a corresponding decrease in the use of traditional samba-enredo instruments (see Fig. 50, Vol.II, p.136). The non-Brazilians in Sambaçã£o Stage 3 were far less concerned with 'authenticity' than their Brazilian-born counterparts. Accordingly, as shown in Figure 74 (see Vol.II, p.202), the return to a predominance of Brazilians in the Centre and Centre's bateria was marked by a comparative increase in the number of traditional samba-enredo instruments used in the Centre. With the exception of the plastic reco-reco (see p.270), the use of the hand-made substitute surdos, agogôs and chocalhos in the Centre was a minor factor of change as those instruments conformed in appearance and sound with the Brazilian-made originals.

Substitution of Musical Style

The substitution of musical style, a major type of musical change in Sambaçã£o's Sydney desfiles, also affected the Centre's desfiles. The significance of that change by Brazilian standards varied in accordance with the individual's cultural and musical background. The Australian-born members of Sambaçã£o Stage 3 shared an etic understanding of the Rio Carnaval. They were a majority in the group and freely substituted non-Brazilian musical styles for the usual sambas-enredo. By way of contrast, Brazilian-born members of Sambaçã£o and the Centre substituted musical styles out of necessity to overcome their predominant lack of previous musical experience. While they accepted the substitution of percussive improvisations based on the samba-enredo accompaniment rhythms, they never resorted to the inclusion of non-Brazilian musical styles in their desfiles. Thus, there were limits to the degree of musical change that they were willing to accept in Sydney.

Substitution of Playing Technique

As was the case with Sambaçã£o, due primarily to a lack of emic knowledge of the central features of the samba-enredo accompaniment instruments and rhythms, some Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of the Centre without first-hand desfile experience played the samba instruments and rhythms in a manner not normally
associated with *samba-enredo* in Brazil. The most obvious result of that change by Brazilian standards was rhythmic simplification, most evident in the high-sound layer of the Centre's *samba-enredo* interpretations which usually lacked the soloistic sounds of the *cuica* and *pandeiro*.

**Standardisation of Musical Repertory**

The lack of composers in the Centre and omission of the usual original *enredo* and *samba-enredo* were important factors in the standardisation of the Centre's repertory. Carnival songs for the Centre's repertory were chosen primarily by the School's main *puxador de samba* and President, Marilane de Mello, from commercial Brazilian recordings of past Rio *Carnavals* (pre 1981). A majority of the Centre's members supported her choice of songs. Non-Brazilians enjoyed the unfamiliar melodies. Brazilian members were reminded of *Carnavals* from their pre-migration years. The only objections came from Brazilian immigrants who arrived in Australia and joined Sambação from around 1982 onwards. Those new members, keen to preserve their the last memories of Brazil, requested *sambas-enredo* from *Carnavals* just prior to their emigration to Australia. They provided Marilane de Mello with commercial recordings and requests that she update her repertory. Static elements of the Centres *desfiles* such as the standardisation of repertory were, however, outweighed by changes to the *desfiles*.

**Standardisation of Rhythms**

Standardisation of rhythms, a major type of musical which affected the Centre's *desfiles* and *samba-enredo* interpretations, resulted in part from the lack of consensus and diversity of individual folk models within the Centre. For Carlos, as a *sambista* in Brazil and unemployed immigrant in Sydney, his musical involvement with the Rio Samba Show and their resultant musical product was of vital importance. In contrast, for Celso da Silva, the rebel *repinique* player, by his own admission, participation in such groups provided him with a periodic diversion from the routine of his employment as an electrician. As Celso da Silva admitted during an interview in 1984, "it was just good fun, to have a play of the different instruments and some beers with my Brazilian friends". While da Silva's attitude was shared by most other Sydney Brazilian musicians who similarly lacked pre-migration emic knowledge of their *samba* traditions, such an attitude was a constant source of frustration for João Carlos. As Carlos stated, "Celso shows some interest in playing the *repinique* but they (Celso and the other musicians in the group with the exception of Walter da Fonseca) don't dedicate themselves 100% ... not even 75%" (personal communication 1987).
The disparity of views regarding the function of the group as, in effect, a vehicle for the maintenance of Brazilian identity for Brazilian immigrant participants, accounts for the ways in which the music changed after João Carlos joined the group. Moreover, as rehearsal time was scarce and experience and dedication to the group varied, standardisation of their *samba* interpretations emerged as the most convenient and musically acceptable solution.

**Re-alignment of Surdo Beats**

Problems with the traditional low *surdo samba* beat (\(\begin{array}{c}
\text{1}\text{2}\text{3}
\end{array}\)) have caused changes to the Sydney carnival re-enactments since 1975. Indeed, non-Brazilians were not the only ones to experience difficulties with that central musical element of *samba-enredo* and *samba* in general. Although he grew up in Rio de Janeiro, Luiz Alberto's knowledge of the Rio Carnaval, and Escolas de Samba was primarily an etic one (see p.252). His *surdo* performances in the Centre’s *bateria* were a constant source of change through his frequent misplacement of the second resonant low *surdo samba* beat. He was aware of his shortcomings on the *surdo* but was more concerned with the function of the Centre as a vital extension of his sense of Brazilian-Australian identity. While experienced musicians such as João Carlos were critical of Alberto’s *surdo* technique and its affect on the Centre’s music, the bulk of the other musicians, also inexperienced like Alberto, ignored the changes to the rhythm that resulted from Alberto’s difficulties with the *surdo*.

By Brazilian standards, changes to Sydney *samba-enredo* such as those listed in Figure P and summarised above, represented a marked departure from the elements of the Brazilian *desfile* that were identified in Chapter III as central to that musical tradition. Brazilian members of the Centre, in the main, had a pre-migration knowledge of the Rio *desfile* and *Escolas de Samba* gained through observation rather than participation. As such, their collective understanding of the Brazilian manifestations was more etic than emic. Their participation in the Centre, however, meant that they shared a common emic understanding of the function of the Centre’s *desfiles* and *desfile* music in the new location, Sydney. They were therefore able to provide an emic level of interpretation regarding the function of their Sydney *desfile* and *desfile* music and the significance of those changes that were noted in their performances.

Informal discussions with those Brazilians revealed that, regardless of those apparent changes in the Centre’s 1980 *desfile*, the Brazilian musicians and dancers were, to all reports, satisfied with their efforts. They willingly accepted those changes
in their desfiles in light of the new function of the desfile as a Sydney festive celebration. As Marilane de Mello stated, "we just wanted to show the Australians a little slice of the Rio Carnaval". Clearly, the intention was not to attempt to reproduce the Brazilian desfile but rather a condensed version, a "little slice". Thus, changes in the Centre did not result from the Brazilian's self-admitted failure to imitate the Brazilian carnival models. Indeed, as demonstrated throughout the previous sections on analysis, certain changes were intentionally incorporated into the structure of the Centre at the time of its emergence in Sydney. For the non-Brazilian participants, the experience was equally successful due to their lack of emic knowledge of the indigenous celebration and the novelty of their involvement in such an unusual group by Australian standards. Whatever the case in Brazil, in the Sydney context the changed version was, for the bulk of participants, emically correct.

Significance of Change for Individual Sambação Members

Sueli da Fonseca

The Escolas de Samba and Carnaval were an integral part of Sueli da Fonseca's life in Brazil. Through her involvement as a passista, and travel experiences as a professional samba dancer, she had acquired an insider's understanding of the structure and function of the Brazilian Escolas de Samba. Sueli da Fonseca was acutely aware of the changes to the Sydney desfiles by Brazilian standards.

In Australia, she became involved in the Centre through her husband Walter da Fonseca who had played a leading role in the Sydney desfiles since the formation of Sambação in 1978. Sueli da Fonseca assumed various specialist roles in the Centre, for example passista (virtuosic dancer), porta-bandeira (flag-bearer), destaque (elaborately costumed desfile participant), puxador de samba (solo singer), and dance tutor. Her choice of those roles was influenced by numerous contrasting factors which are related to her carnival folk models in Brazil and Sydney. For example, the elaborate destaque outfit that she and her husband made for a Sydney fancy dress competition (see Figure 60, Vol.II, p.142) reflected her conscious desire to maintain a symbolic link with those aspects of her Brazil and Carnaval that she valued.

In contrast, she reluctantly adopted the role as solo singer (see Ex.28, p.157) for the Centre to help the organisation overcome the lack of samba singers in Sydney and as a result of persuasion from her husband Walter da Fonseca. As Sueli da Fonseca admitted, she was not an experienced singer and would not have held that specialist role in a Brazilian Escola de Samba. Indeed, she preferred to dance and her adoption
of that specialist role in Sydney caused changes to the Centre’s interpretations of Brazilian *samba-enredo*.

For Sueli da Fonseca, her involvement in the Centre was clearly motivated by a diverse range of folk models that she had developed and expanded through her life experiences in Brazil and Australia. Without due consideration of those changes in her individual circumstances and attitudes, her actions in the Centre could be simply explained in terms of continuity and preservation of her Brazilian folk models in Sydney. An analysis of her individual folk models provided an insight into the vital role of the Centre as a dynamic part of her sense of Brazilian-Australian identity.

**João Carlos**

João Carlos was the most experienced Brazilian member of the Centre during Period 3. He had extensive first-hand experience with the structure and music of the Brazilian *Escolas de Samba* (see p.249). A detailed examination of aspects of Carlos's background in Brazil and Sydney provided the additional layers of analysis and explanations of the significance of changes in the *samba-enredo* performances as a result of his involvement with the Centre.

In Brazil, Carlos's involvement with *samba-enredo* was epitomised by flexibility. Although Carlos admitted that the musicians with whom he played in *Vai-Vai* (Brazil) adopted musical elements of the Rio *desfile* such as the *Mocidade* cue/response patterns, improvisation was a prime facet of their *samba-enredo* performances. Indeed, the ability to improvise in a virtuosic manner within the confines of the traditions associated with Brazilian *samba-enredo* was a highly-respected quality in a Brazilian Samba School *instrumentista*. As Carlos himself stated, the musicians in the São Paulo *bateria* sought variation from one *Carnaval* to the next (personal communication). Musical flexibility was therefore a major facet of his musical life in Brazil.

By way of contrast, his musical involvement with the Centre in Sydney was marked by standardisation and simplification. At first, with the sounds of the *samba-enredo* still in his head, he approached the Centre with the same desire for spontaneity and creativity as he did with *Vai-Vai* in Brazil. The frustrations that he encountered as leader of the Centre’s *bateria*, however, led him to introduce and accept musical changes in the Centre that, in his own words, he would have rejected in Brazil.

The most evident form of change came via the rhythmic standardisation of Brazilian *samba-enredo* in Sydney, a direct result of João Carlos’s introduction of a
limited number of cue/response patterns that he borrowed from the Rio Mocidade bateria and used with frequent repetition over a period of three years. Carlos was aware of the significance of those intentional changes. As Carlos stated, "after I started playing in the Centre, I had to forget everything that I did in Brazil. The musicians here learnt everything about samba in Australia and the music was not very good because there was no communication between the musicians" (interview: Jan. 1986).

Regardless of his general dissatisfaction with the level of musicianship in the Centre by Brazilian standards and the resultant changes to samba-enredo in Sydney, his need to maintain a link with Brazil through music outweighed his periodic withdrawal from the group. In the final analysis, due perhaps to his plan for long-term settlement in Australia, Carlos accepted those musical changes as a "new creation" in Sydney rather than a poor substitute for, or simplification of the traditional Brazilian rhythms with which he was accustomed. As demonstrated, although Carlos was largely responsible for the standardisation of samba-enredo in Sydney during Period 3 through the substitution of instrumental improvisations for the usual vocal presentation of samba-enredo, he intentionally accepted changes to the music in light of its function as a dynamic musical expression in the new location. In terms of musical change then, a loss of tradition by Brazilian standards was interpreted by Carlos as innovation in the Sydney context. Faced with new circumstances in Sydney, Carlos chose to expand his carnival folk models rather than cling unrealistically to folk models that were no longer part of a living tradition in Australia.

Lourenço Forte

Like João Carlos, Lourenço Forte, also a director of the Centre's bateria, had extensive pre-migration experience with the instruments and rhythms of Brazilian samba-enredo (see pp.250-51). He too was aware of the changes that he purposefully introduced into Sydney performances of Brazilian carnival music. Indeed, his regular involvement with the Sydney carnival re-enactments since 1974 has been marked by innovations for which he was responsible, for example, his substitution of the non-traditional 'surdo maravilha' for the usual Brazilian surdo in the 1974 Sydney Carnival Show Band (see Chapter II, p.100). His flexible attitude towards change remained unaltered throughout the duration of his involvement in the Sydney bailes and desfiles (1974-1984).

His role as leader of the Centre's bateria resulted mainly in rhythmic simplification. For example, he simplified the rhythms and encouraged non-Brazilian
involvement in the *bateria* regardless of the musical changes that were necessary to accommodate those musicians. Forte's attitude reflects his stated desire for interethnic contact and his willingness to compromise the Centre's *samba-enredo* interpretations rather than see the Centre miss out on opportunities to perform.

Generally speaking, the other less experienced musicians were not as aware of those changes and their significance by Brazilian standards. An evaluation of those changes without consideration of the Centre members' divergence of folk models and levels of musical experience emphasises the ways in which the Centre's *samba-enredo* accompaniment rhythms had departed from the Brazilian traditions. An evaluation of the significance of those changes in light of emic information such as that provided by Forte, suggests that the Centre's interpretation of the *samba-enredo* accompaniment rhythms was, during the time of his leadership, emically correct according to the Centre's function in the Sydney context.

Thus far, it has been demonstrated that, regardless of their contrasting backgrounds in Brazil and Sydney, experienced *sambistas* Sueli da Fonseca, João Carlos and Lourenço Forte, intentionally sought to introduce changes into the Centre as part of its adaptation to Sydney. Each individual approached change in a personal way. For example, Forte was prepared to accept the use of non-traditional *samba* instruments and the sounds of those instruments (cymbals, one bell *agogo*) in Sydney. While Carlos was responsible for the standardisation of the Centre's *samba-enredo* rhythms and the replacement of a vocal style with an instrumental style, he would have been reluctant to accept the use of non-traditional *samba-enredo* instruments in the Centre's *bateria*.

**Marilane de Mello**

Da Fonseca, Carlos, and Forte, had extensive pre-migration emic experience with the Brazilian *Escola de Samba, Carnaval desfiles* and music of *samba-enredo*. By way of contrast, for reasons of class, status and parental pressure, Marilane de Mello refrained from involvement in those organisations in Rio de Janeiro (see pp.251-52). Her pre-migration knowledge of *Carnaval* and the *Escolas de Samba* was, on her own admission, based primarily on the popular consensus models of *Carnaval* outlined in Chapter III. As was the case with most Brazilian members of Sambação and the Centre with similar pre-migration backgrounds and levels of etic carnival knowledge, after her arrival in Australia, the *desfiles* and music of Brazilian *Carnaval* took on a special significance in the new location.
Later on Carnaval became the most important symbol of Brazil for me. It was the feeling that Carnaval brings with it. Forget all your problems for two or three days and get into the mood of happiness (de Mello: interview 1985).

Her husband Miguel Silva, a professional draughtsman in Rio de Janeiro, suffered a long-term drop in occupational status after arrival in Sydney and worked as a kitchen hand. Their drop in status and relative isolation led them to attend the meetings of Sambação to make social contact with other Brazilians. Her involvement with Sambação and the Centre between 1978 and 1984 resulted in a dramatic change of attitude regarding the value that she had previously placed on the Brazilian Escola de Samba and Carnaval. As she stated during an interview in 1986, "I think the Brazilian Escola de Samba are the real roots of the Brazilian people".

Regardless of her emic understanding of the function of the Centre in Sydney, Marilane de Mello's etic knowledge of the Brazilian carnival traditions were paralleled in the degrees of musical change that resulted directly from her presence in the Centre, such changes as the standardisation of the Centre's musical repertory (see p.271). Due to the widely contrasting pre-migration carnival experiences and folk models between Marilane de Mello and João Carlos for example, each viewed the significance of changes in the Centre from a different perspective.

In terms of the Brazilian models, Carlos was acutely aware of the organisational and musical changes to the Sydney Samba School and their interpretations of Brazilian samba-enredo. Marilane de Mello on the other hand based her participation in the Sydney desfiles more on her etic notions of Carnaval and a desire to conform to popular consensus models of the Rio Carnaval as evidenced in the highly stylised Carmen Miranda performance outfit she often wore (see Fig.54, Vol.II, p.138), a style of dress associated more with the Hollywood portrayal of Carnaval than the indigenous costume styles. Despite their contrasting degrees of pre-migration emic/etic experience, both nevertheless shared a common emic folk model in relation to the function of the Centre as a dynamic and integral socio-musical element of Sydney's multi-ethnic cultural and musical identity.

Luiz Alberto

As detailed earlier in this chapter, in Brazil, Luiz Alberto's lifestyle was, by Brazilian standards, middle-upper class (see p.252). During an interview in December 1987, Alberto admitted that, in keeping with the popular middle-class views regarding the status of the sambistas and Escolas de Samba, he refrained from direct involvement with the Rio Escolas de Samba and showed little interest in their music and activities.
His total commitment to their activities and full-time efforts to promote the Brazilian *Carnaval* and *desfile* in Sydney from 1984 to the present, had only taken root five years after his arrival in Sydney in 1979. He readily admits that his performances on the *surdo* are fraught with problems and, when possible, that he prefers to employ his organisational skills in attaining work for 'Cultural Brazil,' – a Brazilian-based cultural organisation that he formed with Lourenço Forte in 1986.

Luiz Alberto's and João Carlos's involvement in the Centre have led to unexpected circumstances in their histories of settlement in Sydney. João Carlos, a professional *sambista* in Brazil eventually withdrew from involvement with canival organisations in Sydney. By way of contrast, through his involvement with the Centre in Sydney, Luiz Alberto, an office worker, computer operator and non-musician in Brazil became a full-time promoter of *Carnaval* and *samba* in Australia. Similarly, Marilane de Mello, student and non-musician in Brazil, became President and lead vocalist in the Centre and now works as a professional vocalist in Sydney where she holds the reputation of being one of Sydney's leading exponents of Brazilian carnival music. Her vocal repertoire consists mainly of those Brazilian carnival songs that resulted in the standardisation of the Centre's repertory. Thus, musical changes that would have been rejected in a Brazilian Samba School, served as a basis for the achievement of economical and occupational mobility in Sydney.

**John MacDonald**

The analysis of organisational components of the Centre revealed that non-Brazilians were involved in the Centre and its decision-making policies through the span of its existence. Indeed, non-Brazilian involvement in the Centre was a major factor of change. The organisational abilities and professional status of non-Brazilians such as John MacDonald assisted in the promotion of the Centre to non-Brazilian audiences and the inclusion of the Centre's activities as a traditional part of Sydney's major festive celebrations. The positive results of that cross-cultural contact are evident in the introduction of new additions to the Australian festive calendar. For example, the South American Festival of Bondi was introduced into Sydney by John MacDonald as a direct result of his involvement with Brazilians in Brazil and Sydney. The festival, now in its 10th year, had been taken over by the Bondi Community Centre and has become a traditional Sydney festivity.

Thus, as was the case with Periods 1 and 2 of Brazilian musical activity in Sydney, explanations of change in the Centre in terms of 'loss of tradition', or a dilution of traditional Brazilian musical practices in Sydney are unsuited to the
situation of Brazilian immigrants who participated in the Brazilian Samba Social Centre. Certainly, due to the fact that the majority of the Centre's Brazilian and non-Brazilian members lacked first-hand pre-migration experience with the *Escolas de Samba* and *samba-enredo* such notions of change in a 'transplanted' music are inappropriate and inaccurate. Indeed, the Centre's *desfiles* in Sydney were based on the expansion of previously existing Brazilian and non-Brazilian folk models rather than a continuity of Brazilian *Carnaval* traditions in Sydney.
CHAPrERV

CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, this study is one of the first detailed studies of the music of a recently settled immigrant group. Consequently, there were few if any existing models on which to base this investigation. In order to establish a model appropriate to the material discussed in this thesis, it was first necessary to examine the ethnomusicological literature both on the broader issue of change and the more specific issue of change in the music of immigrant groups.

The examination suggested that none of those anthropological, sociological or ethnomusicological models provided an appropriate theoretical or philosophical framework for the study of a recently settled immigrant group such as the Brazilian immigrants in Sydney, or for the examination of changes to their music and music organisations as a result of inter-ethnic contact, or for an exploration of those changes in the light of the dynamic function of the immigrant or multi-ethnic organisation as part of the broader society or the significance of change for individual participants. It was often implied or assumed in studies of immigrant music that all members of a particular ethnic group share a common knowledge about the traditional pre-migration structure, uses and functions of the music that they choose as reflective of their ethnic identities. Such assumptions are based primarily on the observance of non-verbal actions which are, as Milton points out, generally 'ambiguous indications of what they (the actors) know'. Post-migration determinants of change, if discussed at all, were generally based mainly on etic (the researcher's) rather than emic (the actor's) descriptions and often expressed in terms of trait lists. More importantly, those approaches failed to accommodate idiosyncratic divergency of attitudes, beliefs and interpretations on the individual level.

As an alternative, it was proposed that an emic-etic approach to the structure of folk models would supply additional zones of explanation that were missing from the aforementioned approaches (see p.55-66). In her treatise on the application of folk models, Milton wrote that; "The object of folk models analysis is other people's

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knowledge and not our own.\textsuperscript{2} The traditional emic-etic approach to knowledge holds that so-called 'informants' provide emic information only (see p.60). It was shown throughout this study, however, that participants may supply emic or etic information or both. Likewise, the analyst proceeds from a basis of knowledge which is both etic and emic. There is no single overriding folk model held by all members of a society. Indeed, as was noted by Holy and Stuchlik, there may be a multiplicity of parallel and interrelated models.\textsuperscript{3} In this thesis, the term 'folk models' was taken to comprise both emic (insider's) and etic (outsider's) notions and viewpoints of all the participants, not just those Brazilian immigrants who were involved in the Sydney \textit{bailes} and \textit{desfiles}.

Brazilian musical activity in Sydney during Periods 1-3 and changes to that music resulted from shared musical interaction between Brazilian and non-Brazilian participants. Furthermore, those Brazilian and non-Brazilian participants were characterised by a diversity of individual socio-cultural and economic backgrounds and degrees of musical experience. Lack of consensus within the various Sydney carnival groups between 1973 and 1984 was an overriding factor of change. For example, it was shown that the Brazilian participants were from contrasting urban and rural locations in Brazil. Most were inexperienced with the Brazilian \textit{Escolas de Samba} and \textit{Carnaval desfile} prior to their arrival in Australia. Accordingly, their knowledge of the Brazilian organisations and their competitive \textit{Carnaval desfiles} was primarily an etic one linked more with the popular consensus \textit{Carnaval} models than the actual ones. A significant number of those Sydney Brazilians adopted new attitudes about \textit{Carnaval} after arrival in Australia, attitudes that they had, for reasons of class and status, rejected whilst in Brazil. Through involvement with the various Sydney Carnival organisations and through changes in their lives following emigration to Australia, their emic-etic degree of pre-migration knowledge changed in Sydney. While they maintained their etic knowledge of the function of the Rio \textit{Escolas}, their knowledge of the function of \textit{Sambaçao} or the Centre was primarily an emic one.

Similarly, while non-Brazilians totally lacked first-hand experience with Brazilian \textit{Carnaval}, their folk models and knowledge of Brazilian music and \textit{Carnaval} changed significantly through cross-cultural interaction and interchange. Accordingly, their etic knowledge of \textit{Carnaval} in Brazil was overshadowed by their emic understanding of \textit{Carnaval} in Sydney. Non-Brazilian involvement was indeed as vital a factor of change

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p.140.

as was Brazilian participation. Thus, a reliance exclusively on emic-etic information obtained only from Brazilian immigrants and through participation and observation only in the post-migration location was shown to be inadequate as the basis for explanations about changes to the music of recently settled immigrants that takes place in the post-migration location.

Due to the importance of pre-migration socio-musical determinants in the study of change in Brazilian music in Sydney, it was necessary to expand the traditional emic-etic approach to provide the necessary additional layers of analysis that were required in comparing the contrast and divergencies between the participant's pre-migration and post-migration folk models and resultant actions. The aim of the modified emic-etic approach to the structure of folk models is not only to identify folk models that exist within the so-called 'ethnic' musical organisation with its mixture of immigrants and non-immigrants, but also to understand the pre-migration and post-migration criteria that influence such models and then link those folk models and criteria with socio-musical change in order to assess the significance of those changes. Such an approach is designed specifically to accommodate idiosyncratic divergence typical not only of urban 'ethnic' music but also of most music performance contexts.

As shown throughout this thesis and demonstrated once again in the summary that follows, the modified emic-etic approach to change provides a level of analysis and explanation this is missing from approaches to changes which stem from assumptions of continuity and consensus. For example, the adoption and application of an enclave approach to Brazilian immigrant music and music organisations in Sydney such as that used by Erdely, Carlisle, Olsen and Bang-Song (see Chapter 1) would, in all likelihood, result in an interpretation of the Sydney Carnaval bailes and desfiles and activities of Sambaço and the Centre as socio-musical manifestations of a Brazilian 'community', a cohesive homogeneous subgroup or minority group within the broader Australian population.

By extension, due to assumed commonalities within the ethnic group such as common ethnic ancestry or socio-economic background, evaluations of change would probably be based on the premise that all members of a particular ethnic group, such as the Sydney Brazilians, shared similar, if not the same, music-related folk models, that is notions and beliefs regarding the uses and functions of their music in the pre-migration and post-migration locations. In turn, as was the case with Olsen's Japanese immigrants in Peru and Brazil (see p.48), their actions might well be interpreted primarily as expressions of their concern with the continuity and preservation of
common pre-migration folk models that they assumedly shared in the post-migration location. As in Erdely's examination of 'traditional traits' in the songs of three Hungarian-Americans (see p.44), such explantions of change would similarly overlook or ignore factors such as the types of cross cultural interaction which, as Schramm (1980) and Slobin (1984) argue, are an inevitable consequence of multicultural urban social and musical life.

The application of the modified emic-etic approach to change, however, produces noticeably contrasting results. Rather than view the so-called 'ethnic' musical manifestation or group as an expression of culturally homogeneous isolated systems - simple carry-overs or extensions of pre-migration practices - prime consideration is given to idiosyncratic divergency of folk models connected with the organisation or event and the effects of the demonstrated lack of consensus concerning the associated musical manifestations and interpretation. Indeed, as was shown in this study, the emic-etic approach is best demonstrated at the level of the individual participant.

Contrary to that static, consensus approach, immigrants do not live in enclaves. Nor do they necessarily constitute homogeneous groups. In the case of the Brazilians for example, Brazilians in Sydney remain a heterogeneous group despite the significant increase in the Sydney Brazilian population since the early 1970s (see p.72). At the time of this writing (1989) Brazilians in Sydney still lacked a registered club or permanent/official meeting place.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that when apparently culturally homogeneous organisations such as Sambaçao and the Centre were formed, ethnic diversity within those groups was a vital factor which shaped the various expressions of Brazilian Carnaval in Sydney. For example, the emic-etic approach to the individual's folk models revealed that the membership of Sambaçao and the Centre comprised individuals not only from contrasting rural and urban areas of Brazil but also from a wide range of non-Brazilian locations such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Spain, America, and New Zealand.

The emic-etic analysis of the Sambaçao and Centre membership and activities (see Chapters III and IV) demonstrated the suitability of this approach in accommodating such divergency on the individual level. For example, organisers from the Festival of Sydney Committee contracted Sambaçao Stage 2 as a Brazilian ethnic group and they appeared that way in the 1980 Festival of Sydney. To Festival spectators without first-hand knowledge of a Brazilian Carnaval desfile, the Sambaçao
Stage 2 1980 desfile would, as promoted by the organisers, appear to be Brazilian in content, the performers assumedly of Brazilian or at least non-Australian-born backgrounds.

In fact, my analysis shows that the Sambação Stage 2 membership comprised a majority of non-Brazilians (Australian-born and recently settled immigrants) who were, apart from one member (Samy Sabag), totally inexperienced with Brazilian Carnaval desfiles and carnival music prior to their involvement with Sambação and participation in the Sydney Festivals. A distinct contradiction thus existed between the projected image of the group and the reality of folk models diversity upon which the group actually functioned. Such diversity was, for example, clearly reflected in the structuring of Sambação and the Centre and changes to the music performed by members of both organisations.

In terms of specific musical changes, while the Sydney bailes and desfiles were indeed based on Rio de Janeiro Carnaval models, it was shown that the Sambação and Centre interpretations of Brazilian Carnaval samba-enredo were also a reflection of the contrast in folk models that existed within those groups rather than any consensus of the same amongst Brazilian members, let alone between Brazilian and non-Brazilian members. With the exception of a few individuals, the bulk of the Brazilian participants in both organisations not only lacked previous organisational and musical experience with the Rio Carnaval and music of samba-enredo but also held contrasting opinions about the status and function of the Rio Carnaval, Escolas de Samba and music of samba-enredo.

From 1971 to 1978 Brazilian musical activity in Sydney revolved primarily around re-enactments of elements of a Brazilian Carnaval baile. While the Sydney Brazilians continued with the bailes from 1978 to 1984, the focus of their activities shifted to their re-enactments of elements of the Brazilian Carnaval desfiles. The change in geographical location, Brazil to Sydney, was a vital factor which, from a Brazilian point of view, resulted in unavoidable changes to those Sydney bailes and desfiles.

The most significant form of organisational change, which had a major affect on the Sydney desfiles and desfile music was the lack of an enredo. Missing from the Sydney desfiles were the traditional enredos and sambas-enredo (original themes and song narratives) which are the focal points of the Rio desfiles, the alas (the various co-ordinated sub-groups within a Samba School), the virtuosic female dancers (passistas),
the virtuosoic percussionists (*instrumentistas*) who provide the usual soloistic rhythms and instrumental/samba dance combinations that distinguish one *Escola de Samba* from another, and, at times, the lead vocalist (*puxador de samba*).

More specifically, the sound density and rhythmic complexity of Brazilian *samba-enredo* and balance of the sound were affected through the general omission of instruments in the high, middle and low sound layers. Instead of the usual three to four hundred percussionists typical of the Brazilian *baterias* (percussion ensembles) and sounds of *samba-enredo*, the Sydney *baterias* and *desfiles* never featured more than forty percussionists at any one time. The shortage of experienced Brazilian musicians and traditional Brazilian carnival percussion instruments in Sydney also affected the specific instrumentation of the *baile* and *desfile* groups whereby non-traditional *baile* instruments or hand-made instruments were substituted for the usual Brazilian ones.

Substitution of musical style was another major type of change in Sydney. Commercial Brazilian recordings and popular non-*baile* Latin-American musical styles such as *bossa-novas*, tangos, cha-chas, and rhumbas were played during the Sydney *bailes* to compensate for the lack of a live music group or lack of traditional *baile* items in a group’s repertory. Substitution of musical style was, from the Brazilian viewpoint, more noticeable in the Sydney *desfiles* during which the traditional *sambas-enredo* (original theme *sambas* normally created by the composers in a Brazilian *Escola de Samba*) were replaced by percussive improvisations based on the accompaniment rhythms of Brazilian *samba-enredo*, or by original *samba-enredo* compositions, the text of which focused on the *desfile* activities of Sambação and certain members within the group (see p.213).

Changes to the Sydney *bailes* and *desfiles* through substitution of musical instruments and musical style, if viewed from outdated notions of musical ‘purity’ or ‘continuity’ of transplanted musics, or enclave notions of ethnic group homogeneity, would most likely be interpreted in terms of ‘loss of tradition’ or ‘musical impoverishment’. In line with Nettl’s definition of musical impoverishment (1978) the results of analysis would suggest that ‘if complete abandonment of traditional music has not taken place, there certainly has been the abandonment of components, or substantial impoverishment resulting from shifts in musical energy’ (underline mine). With such an approach, the significance of change for the individual participant is, however, usually overlooked in favour of an interpretation of change based on notions of loss of, or departure from supposedly fixed or stable pre-migration musical models.
An acculturationist or neo-evolutionist explanation of the same changes would carry with it assumptions of unilinear adaptation whereby, in situations of culture contact, it is assumed that a subordinated group (in this case the Sydney Brazilians) move in the direction of the superordinate group and in doing so forsake aspects of their former musical traditions in a desire to gain entry into, or acceptance by the dominant culture. Once again, the homogeneity of the acculturating immigrant group is assumed a priori, as is the direction of change. The importance of contrasting or conflicting viewpoints, notions, attitudes, beliefs, etc., at the level of the individual participant is ignored as an important cause of change as is the significance of change for the individual participant.

An analysis of the Sydney bailes and desfiles resulted in the identification of certain processes and results of change to those Sydney festivities. For example, problems caused by the shortage of Brazilian musicians and instruments in Sydney were overcome through the use of non-Brazilian musicians and the substitution of innovative percussion instruments such as the "wonder surdo" (see p.101) for the usual traditional Brazilian instruments. Non-traditional baile instruments such as the piano accordion, electric organ and electric guitars, while not normally included in the Rio Carnaval bailes or music of samba-enredo, were also used in Sydney. In connection with the Sydney desfiles, kit drums were substituted for the usual caixas and surdos of Brazilian samba-enredo (see p.270). Hand-made surdos, recos-recos, chocalhos, tamborims and agogos were also used, some for the sake of 'authenticity' (as was the case with Wilson Palma's hand-made chocalhos filled with specific numbers of lead pellets to achieve "the Rio sound", see p.270), some for innovative reasons (for example, Palma's home-made plastic reco-reco (ibid.), and others to compensate for those instruments that were simply not available in Sydney.

While not disputing that changes to the Sydney bailes and desfiles resulted from the change in location (Brazilian to Sydney) and the shortage of experienced Brazilian musicians in Sydney, the emic-etic approach goes well beyond a description of the event and naming of the processes and results of change. Rather, it focuses on the more important level of significance. For example, it reveals that each individual participant interprets the significance of changes such as those summarised above, on the basis of his/her own degrees of emic/etic experience with Carnaval in Brazil, social, cultural, economic and musical background and personal attitudes and beliefs. Naturally, no two people share exactly the same folk models experiences, or background details.
Experienced Sydney Brazilian musician and carnival organiser Tristão de Aguiar clearly welcomed changes in the Sydney bailes as as a positive outcome from the change in location, Brazil to Sydney, and in spite of the dramatic changes in his own personal circumstances, professional musician in Brazil to Brazilian immigrant and non-professional musician in Sydney (see p.75). As de Aguiar remarked, "we would have been stoned to death in Brazil for the quality of our desfiles and desfile music but it was quite alright according to here in Australia".

Chris Kennedy, the Australian-born trombonist who performed in Tristão de Augiar's 1975 Carnival Showband, was, although for contrasting reasons to those of de Aguiar, also delighted with the Sydney bailes in which he and de Aguiar jointly participated. Unlike de Aguiar who had a thorough knowledge of Brazilian bailes and desfiles and associated musics, Kennedy totally lacked a first-hand of knowledge of the same Brazilian events and musics. As a consequence, he lacked a basis for cross-cultural comparison and possible interpretation of change in terms of musical impoverishment. For Kennedy, the Sydney bailes were new and innovative and presented an ideal opportunity through which he could acquire new skills and experiences through music. Change came in the form of expansion of folk models evident in Kennedy's adoption of those newly acquired sambas and his subsequent re-interpretation of the same as "jazz" compositions (see p.108).

Thus, what may be interpreted as musical impoverishment could also be interpreted as musical enrichment depending on how change is analysed. Indeed, the modified emic-etic approach emphasised the fact that each individual Sydney baile or desfile participant responded to change in a personal way and from the perspective of his or her folk models (pre-migration/post-migration in the case of the Brazilian and non-Brazilian immigrant members) and degree of musical experience.

In line with that approach, when traditional baile songs were performed in Sydney they were shown to serve a variety of functions. Songs such as AsPastorinhas, for example, although changed in the ways detailed in Chapter I, reinforced a sense of Brazilian identity for certain individual Brazilian participants in the Sydney bailes. That is to say that it enabled some individuals to maintain a link with what they now considered as important symbols of aspects of their pre-migration lives, irrespective of whether or not they afforded the same status to AsPastorinhas whilst living in Brazil.

An interpretation of AsPastorinhas from an enclave perspective would incorrectly suggest that the Sydney version was merely a continuity of Brazilian musical
tradition in Australia – a symbol and collective expression of Brazilian immigrant homogeneity in Sydney. An emic-etic analysis of *As Pastôrinhas*, however, revealed that the musical group responsible for the Sydney version comprised Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians and singers with widely contrasting levels of experience with Brazilian *Carnaval* and carnival music. For example, as a professional musician, Tristão de Aguiar had played or sang *As Pastôrinhas* many times whilst living in Rio de Janeiro. His acquisition and performance of the song was linked with a living tradition from which the song had emerged and of which he was a vital part. While he was familiar with certain stable elements of that particular song such as the melodic cue patterns normally played by the "metal" (collection of brass and wind instruments heard during a Rio *Carnaval baile*), he was also familiar with the flexibility of performance associated with such songs in Brazil according to changes in performance location, available instruments and musicians etc. His pre-migration folk models were as much a factor in his interpretation of the change in the Sydney version of *As Pastôrinhas* as were his post-migration attitudes regarding the function of the Sydney *bailes* and what he referred to "as the planting of the first seeds of Brazilian *Carnaval* in Australia".

The piano accordianist Aníbal Apparicio was a Uruguayan immigrant who, by way of contrast, had copied the song from Brazilian recordings owned by friends in Uruguay. In his context as a professional accordianist in Uruguay, *As Pastôrinhas*, while part of a living musical tradition in Uruguay, served a dual function in that while it still maintained its symbolic link with elements of Brazilian culture and tradition, it was, for Apparicio, also linked with elements of his pre-migration occupation and lifestyle in Uruguay. In that sense, *As Pastôrinhas* was not an exclusive symbol of Brazilian culture. Carlos Lopez, the professional Brazilian saxophonist who also played in the Sydney version of *As Pastôrinhas*, nevertheless criticised the use of the accordian as a departure from the typical Brazilian interpretations with which he was familiar. The Uruguayan accordianist was simply re-interpreting the song in much the same way as he had been doing in Uruguay and disregarded that aspect of musical change in the Sydney version as of little if any significance.

At the same time, the Sydney interpretation of *As Pastôrinhas* was a musical manifestation of the varied, yet combined musical expression of those Brazilian/non-Brazilian Sydney *baile* participants. Collectively, they modified and accepted their interpretation of *As Pastôrinhas* to accommodate their varying degrees of carnival and musical experience, contrasting cultural backgrounds and use of non-traditional *baile* instruments such as the accordian and electric guitar in the Sydney version.
A feature of the emic-etic approach is its ability to tolerate such diversity and accommodate changes such as those mentioned above that result from the presence of non-Brazilian participants. Sambação, Sydney's first Samba School, was formulated on ideological assumptions of potential multicultural harmony. On one hand, non-Brazilian participation in Sambação resulted from a genuine desire on the part of Samy Sabag and other Brazilians in Sambação for social and musical contact with Australian-born people and people of other nationalities in Sydney. To overcome the shortage of experienced Brazilian-born musicians in Sydney and alleviate communication problems between Brazilian organisers and Australian-born entrepreneurs and Festival committees, other non-Brazilian musicians were, out of necessity, also invited to participate in the Sydney bailes and desfiles.

The frequent use of non-baile/desfile musical styles in Sydney was a direct reflection of such inter-ethnic interaction. For example, the creation of original Brazilian-influenced musical compositions such as Marcha do Cangurús with its juxtaposition of Australian symbols (Koala, Kangaroo and Platypus) with certain traditional symbols of the Brazilian Carnaval baile such as the fantasias (carnival costumes) and text that referred to the resolution between Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of the 1975 Carnival Showband over their conflicting interpretations of the alignment of the low samba surdo beat (see p.106) were generally viewed as a positive outcome of such contact.

The concept of centrality played a major role in this thesis. Centrality was taken to mean those musical elements of a particular musical style such as Brazilian samba that are, on the basis of information from the musicians within that tradition, identified as 'essential' to that music. From the Brazilian viewpoint, that is from the basis of an acceptance of degrees of structural and musical centrality such as those demonstrated throughout Chapter III, problems occurred with music and visual aspects of the Sambação (Stage 1) and Centre desfiles and desfile music. More importantly perhaps, musical changes in the Sydney bailes and desfiles were, undoubtedly, as much a reflection of folk model divergence as of consensus. By extension, as argued throughout this study, an analysis of change at the level of the individual participant provides the most rewarding interpretations of change.

Figure 75. Brazilian Music in Sydney - Individual Case Studies (see Vol.II, p.203).
On one level, those individual Brazilians listed in Figure 75 under the heading ‘Brazilians with Pre-Migration Emic Experience’ were able to provide emic information about Brazilian Carnaval baile and desfile. On another level, those emic folk models varied with the contrasting backgrounds within that select group. For example, two of the members were from Rio (R), two from São Paulo (SP) and one from Belo Horizonte (BH), urban Centre’s with different histories of urban Carnaval development (see Chapter III, pp.127-28). In addition, their individual involvement with the Carnaval bailes, desfiles and Escola de Samba in Brazil was varied. Some were musicians, one was a dancer and one, an organiser. Regardless of any emic commonalities in their Carnaval backgrounds each interpreted change in the Sydney performances in a personal and different way.

For example, Tristão de Aguiar provided organisational assistance with the Sydney bailes on request and withdrew from the Sydney carnival group when his services were not essential to the planning and execution of a baile or desfile. He not only welcomed changes to the Sydney bailes that resulted from the change in location, Brazil to Sydney, but was often the initiator of changes through the substitution of musical instruments and the composition of original carnival songs based on themes connected with the introduction of Brazilian Carnaval into Sydney (for example, Marcha do Cangurús). Similarly, regardless of his extensive degree of first-hand knowledge of and experience with Brazilian Carnaval and the Brazilian Escolas de Samba, Lourenço Forte welcomed changes in Sydney and initiated changes for example, through his innovative introduction of modified non-traditional musical instruments such as the ‘wonder surdo’ (see p.101).

For Edison Cardoso, whose background details (see p.76) were significantly different from those of de Aguiar and Forte, his involvement in the Sydney bailes during Period I was motivated primarily by his desire for social contact with other Brazilians in Sydney as well as for financial gain. Accordingly, he viewed change such as the substitution of commercial Brazilian Carnaval recordings for live carnival music in Sydney as an unavoidable aspect connected with the introduction of a Brazilian-modelled festive event into Sydney.

Along with the substitution of musical instruments and musical style, rhythmic simplification and rhythmic standardisation were major types of change evident in the Sydney bailes and desfiles. The importance of improvisation in the music of Brazilian samba-enredo was demonstrated in detail in Chapter III (see pp.178-205). Essential rhythmic functions and stabilising elements of samba-enredo such as the low samba
surdo beat (\(\begin{array}{c} \hline \end{array}\)) provide the framework or rhythmic grid for the more virtuosic rhythmic improvisations typical of samba-enredo in Brazil. In contrast to that degree of flexibility, which is an integral part of the Brazilian performances, the Sydney samba-enredo interpretations were, up until the final stages of the Centre, in the main, marked by rhythmic simplification and standardisation. As shown throughout the thesis and summarised in the discussion that follows, musicians in Sambação and the Centre were varied in their response to that type of change.

On the simplistic level, one could argue that rhythmic simplification and standardisation resulted mainly from the shortage of experienced Brazilian/non-Brazilian samba musicians in Sydney, and due partly to the frequent lack of Brazilian percussion instruments. Indeed, the Sambação and Centre interpretations of the accompaniment rhythms of Brazilian samba-enredo were simplified through the omission of soloistic percussive instruments such as the pandeiro, agogô, repinique and cuica and the improvised and virtuosic syncopated rhythms usually associated with those instruments in Brazil. Rhythmic simplification resulted in rhythmic standardisation whereby the musicians would intentionally or unintentionally, through direct imitation or transmission, draw on a repertoire of rhythms that were either developed in Sydney or copied from commercially available Brazilian recordings and purposely introduced into Sambação or the Centre.

A purist or acculturationist approach to such examples of change would, in all likelihood equate rhythmic simplification and standardisation with loss and/or impoverishment. Assumptions of immigrant group homogeneity and consensus of folk models would further support the argument for and focus on a ‘loss of continuity’ of musical tradition. The interpretation of the significance of that change might be couched in negative terms which overlook or ignore conflicting viewpoints and interpretations that could be provided through examination at the level of the individual Brazilian/non-Brazilian participant. In contrast, the modified emic-etic approach formulated in this thesis takes such divergence as an a priori determinant of change and the interpretation of change.

For example, when Mauricio Sabbag left his family’s cattle farm in Mata Grosso, near the Amazon region in Brazil, his knowledge of the Rio Carnaval, samba-enredo instruments and rhythms was based on televised Carnaval and commercial recordings of carnival music. Nonetheless, when he took control of the Sambação Stage 2 bateria, he expressed a total dissatisfaction with the rhythms produced by the Australian musicians in the Stage 2 bateria, accused them of destroying the "traditional" Brazilian
rhythms, and professed an emic knowledge of Brazilian *samba-enredo* on the basis of his ethnicity rather than pre-migration musical experience (see p.122). Indeed, any musical skills that he possessed were acquired after he arrived in Australia.

Walter da Fonseca also acquired his musical skills in Australia. To overcome his lack of pre-migration musical experience he relied on commercial recordings of Brazilian carnival music in Sydney which he imitated and transmitted to other non-experienced musicians rather than admit that his pre-migration knowledge of those rhythms was primarily etic. In doing so, his resistance to change led to a standardisation of the Centre's rhythms in contrast to the rhythmic flexibility inbuilt into *samba-enredo* in Brazil. In order to instruct other non-experienced musicians in the Centre, he chose a select number of borrowed rhythmic patterns which were copied by those musicians (see p.153). Regardless of his own musical limitations at that time, he nevertheless expressed a level of dissatisfaction with the music and other aspects of the Sydney *desfiles*. That dissatisfaction was, however, overshadowed by his need for involvement with the various groups and he willingly accepted change in return for acceptance by others members in the groups.

João Carlos, by far the most experienced Brazilian percussionist in Sydney during Period 3 (see p.249), elected to participate in the Centre. Faced with changed circumstances in Sydney, he chose to accept the changes and departures from the Brazilian traditions with which he was so familiar. Indeed, his "new creations", rhythmic improvisations which were structured on specific rhythmic cueing devices and call and response phrases that he borrowed from the Rio *Escola de Samba*, *Mocidade de Independente de Padre Miguel* and taught to other Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians in the Centre (see p.295), resulted in rhythmic simplification and standardisation, two of the most significant types of musical change in the Centre's *desfiles*, changes which resulted in a level of musical cohesion that was virtually nonexistent prior to his involvement in the Centre.

With the exception of a few musicians (for example João Carlos, Lourenço Forte) Brazilian musicians in Sambação and the Centre lacked first-hand musical experience with the *samba* rhythms before their arrival in Australia and participation in the Sydney carnival organisations. Nonetheless, a majority of those interviewed claimed a familiarity with the percussive *samba* sounds which were, due to the popularity of *samba* particularly in Brazil's southern urban centres, a constant part of their daily lives. In a sense, their aural appreciation of *samba* was linked with their enculturated or conditioned expectations of and desire for the usual soloistic variations
that are typical of samba in Brazil. At the same time, their ability to imitate those same soloistic rhythms or reproduce and create the virtuosic samba improvisations was, for the better part of Periods 1-3, limited by their own physical inexperience with the rhythms.

That distinct conflict between their emic/aural appreciation of samba whilst in Brazil and their emic/experiential understanding of samba in Australia required each of the Brazilian musicians to change or expand his/her previous samba related folk models according with the new function of the music in Sydney. Due to the contrasting backgrounds of those participants, the effects and significance of rhythmic simplification and standardisation in Sydney, as demonstrated above and in more detail in the summary that follows, varied with each person according to factors such as the individual participant's leadership/non-leadership role in Sambaçao/Centre, personal views regarding the function of Sambaçao/Centre as a part of his/her post-migration lifestyle and status as an immigrant, desire for contact with other Brazilians in Sydney, desire to maintain a link with Brazil, desire to gain acceptance into the broader non-Brazilian Sydney population, need of a vehicle for the improvement of self-esteem etc.

At the same time, the significance of the Sydney samba rhythms, was also interpreted by non-Brazilian musicians in a personal and individualistic way. For example, Australian-born Centre organiser and musician John MacDonald (see p.253) was critical of the quality of the Centre's samba rhythms. His criticisms were based on an understanding of Brazilian samba that he gained primarily from an extensive collection of commercial samba recordings that he had purchased while holidaying in Brazil. Nevertheless, his successful promotion of the Centre to non-Brazilian audiences throughout 1983 resulted in a high status and profile for the Centre members and those simplified rhythms of which he was critical. Thus, while he was aware of the changes to the Sydney interpretations of samba, he accepted those changes in the light of what he regarded as the more important function of the Centre in diffusing elements of Brazilian culture throughout Australia. Other non-Brazilian musicians in Sambaçao with less experience with Brazilian samba (for example, Craig Leclos and Jim Ross) were unaware of such change. Thus, simplification and standardisation of the Sambaçao and Centre interpretations of samba resulted from experience and inexperience. The more experienced musicians recognised change and accepted it, and in some cases initiated it, and the less experienced, particularly the non-Brazilians, didn't even realise that simplification or standardisation was change.
Musicians in the Rio Escolas de Samba have, through years of ongoing experimentation with *samba-enredo* (1930-1989 approx.) and in a natural effort to avoid rhythmic chaos, established certain stable or essential rhythmic elements of *samba-enredo* which provide for more elaborate soloistic improvisations. The alternating weak and resonant surdo *samba* beat is one such example. Rather than represent a form of musical impoverishment, simplification and standardisation of the Centre’s rhythms could be interpreted as an early development stage which in a sense paralleled *samba-enredo* developments in Brazil. The emergence of the first Escolas de Samba and Carnaval desfiles in the early 1930s led to the popularisation of urban *samba* and refinement of that musical genre. As the number of *samba* musicians increased and the music became the cornerstone of the competitive Carnaval parades, essential stylistic features of Carnaval samba became established. Instrumental competition on an individual and group level also encouraged musical innovation and rhythmic complexity as individual percussionists and Samba School *baterias* competed against each other for the prestige and status that could be gained through *samba*. Indeed, by 1984, the Centres rhythmic improvisations came to include the soloistic *cuica*, *pandeiro* and *agogo* sounds as musicians such as Walter da Fonseca, through years of practice in Sydney, eventually developed a virtuosic level of expertise with those soloistic Brazilian percussion instruments. As is the case in the Brazilian Escolas de Samba, certain Brazilian musicians in the Centre were aware of the status that could be achieved through virtuosity on a *samba* percussion instrument.

Accordingly, what represented musical poverty or loss for one individual musician could be interpreted as innovation or experimentation for another. Simplification of *samba-enredo* rhythms by Brazilian standards may well have represented rhythmic complexity or enrichment for certain Australian-born musicians in Sambação or the Centre. What was a vital facet of one individual’s musical or cultural identity was of little consequence to another individual with contrasting pre-migration/post-migration experiences.

Along with her brother João Carlos, Sueli da Fonseca was the Sydney Brazilian immigrant with by far the most extensive degree of first-hand experience with the Escolas de Samba and Brazilian Carnaval. Faced with changed circumstances in Sydney, she also chose to participate in Sambação and the Centre and accept the changes and departures from the Brazilian traditions with which she was so familiar. Indeed, not only did she train non-Brazilian dancers to perform *samba* dance steps but she accepted roles in the desfile presentations that, on her own admission, she would have refused when she was a member of an Escola de Samba in São Paulo, namely that
of puxador de samba (solo vocalist) for the Centre, and at times, for the Rio Samba Show (see p.288). Thus, an identification of change without due consideration for the conflicts and divergencies between her pre-migration and post-migration folk models would have been inadequate as the basis for the interpretation of such change.

The individual case studies examined in the remainder of this conclusion strengthens the argument for the use of the modified emic-etic approach to change, an approach which focuses on the importance of individuals as catalysts of change and the value of the individual in providing insights into the significance of multicultural musical events that are not provided through the application of static consensus approaches.

For example, those Brazilian individuals listed in Figure 75 (see Vol.II, p.203) under the heading 'Brazilians without Pre-Migration Experience' had a pre-migration understanding of the Escolas de Samba and Brazilian Carnaval that was primarily etic. Faced with new circumstances, each individual also responded to change according to his or her pre-migration and post-migration folk models. In Rio de Janeiro, Allan de Meno refrained from direct involvement with an Escola de Samba. He held firm views regarding the function of the Escolas de Samba and, in line with certain middle-upper class Brazilian attitudes, afforded them little status. Due to her father's direct influence, Marilane de Mello's pre-migration carnival folk models were similar to those of her father, Allan de Mello.

Faced with new circumstances in Australia, however, both individuals adopted vital aspects of the same folk models that they had openly rejected whilst in Brazil. Allan de Mello joined Sambacção and was an active member. He turned to the composition of original sambas and sambas-enredo, an activity which played a major part in his self-identity as a Brazilian-Australian. His dramatic change of attitude and adoption of previously rejected folk models was reflected clearly in his compositions, the text of which exalted Sambacção, the actions of the Sydney Samba School, and specific Brazilian members in Sydney (see Chapter III, p.213). Regardless of her lack of first-hand pre-migration desfile experience, Marilane de Mello likewise adopted new folk models in Sydney. She was one of the most dedicated and active members of Sambacção and the Centre and contributed to the desfiles as lead vocalist and President of the Centre during the main part of Period 3.

Before arriving in Australia, Rinaldo Medeiros has grown up and lived in Nova Friburgo, a city 100 kilometres from Rio de Janeiro. His exposure to the Rio desfiles...
and Escolas de Samba came mainly through television and, as such, his understanding of that event was also primarily etic. His children were very young when the family emigrated to Australia and they were, according to Medeiros, quick to adopt the Australian way of life. Medeiros and his wife had a long-term plan for settlement in Australia and were keen to blend valued elements of their former Brazilian traditions and senses of identity with cultural aspects of their new cultural environment. The whole family were active in Sambação and the Centre. Medeiros supported the potential multicultural function of both groups. He acted as treasurer for the Centre between 1980 and 1984 and helped organise their desfiles and social gatherings. As explained in Chapter III, the innovative fancy dress desfile costumes (drinking straw, paper cup and Flinstones costumes) that he made for his wife and children reflected his open-minded attitudes and willingness to modify the Sydney desfile so that it could become an expression of multicultural identity.

Other Brazilian individuals with a pre-migration understanding of the Escolas de Samba that was primarily etic were mixed in their acceptance of change in Sydney. In some cases, they expressed a greater reluctance to accept change than were those members whose pre-migration experience was primarily emic (see Sueli da Fonseca, João Carlos, Tristão de Aguiar and Lourenço Forte above). Wilson Palma has never participated in an Escola de Samba in São Paulo where he lived. Nevertheless, he went to extraordinary lengths to construct percussion instruments that would make what he believed to be a Rio desfile sound (see Chapter IV, p.270).

The emic-etic approach to the significance of change for non-Brazilian participants provided additional and contrasting levels of interpretation yet again. For example, Samy Sabag was responsible for the introduction of the first Samba School, Sambação into Sydney. He had years of experience as an organiser and dancer in the Escolas de Samba in Belo Horizonte where he lived before his move to Australia in 1974. The flexibility of his pre-migration background (born in Bolivia, lived in Brazil) and contrasting first-hand experiences with national Carnivals in those locations influenced his choice of actions in Sydney, particularly evident in the expansion of his pre-migration folk models. Regardless of his choice of the Rio Escola de Samba, Carnaval bailes and desfiles as the model for imitation by members of Sambação, Samy Sabag implemented concise changes that he hoped would establish Sambação as a vehicle for the promotion and accommodation of cross-cultural activity and inter-ethnic exchange.
He held firmly to the notion that Sambação would represent an expression of South-American-Australian identity in Sydney. He provided the documents upon which the group was initiated and formulated the group's written constitution in such a way that would prevent the organisation from excluding membership on the basis of ethnicity, race or colour (see p.141). Due to his extensive first-hand knowledge of the Brazilian *Escolas de Samba* and *desfiles* he was aware that the introduction of such a Brazilian-modelled organisation in Sydney would, of necessity, involve considerable changes. In turn, Samy Sabag not only accepted change but encouraged and promoted it. He encouraged Australian-born musicians Jim Ross and Carig Leclos to experiment with the music and allowed them to be innovate.

Australian-born musicians such as Jim Ross and Craig Leclos (Sambação Stage 3) were oblivious to specific changes to Sambação such as the omission of essential *desfile* components. Their knowledge of Brazilian *Carnaval* and carnival music came via Samy Sabag and other Brazilians with whom they had contact in Sydney. Sabag provided them with written scores of Brazilian *baile* and *desfile* tunes which they performed according to Sabag's instructions. They also included non-Brazilian tunes that were arranged by Jim Ross. To compensate for their lack of knowledge of the Brazilian traditions, with Sabag's consent, the Australia-born musicians inserted percussive improvisations into their versions of Brazilian *marcha* and *samba-enredo* in an attempt to Brazilianise their sound (see p.229). They were satisfied with their carnival music interpretations in view of the function of the group as a Brazilian-styled multicultural group despite severe criticism from certain Brazilian members of the Centre.

The significance of musical changes in the Centre which resulted from the presence of non-Brazilians also varied in accordance with changes in leadership. For example, when John MacDonald played *cuica* in the Centre's *bateria* led by Walter da Fonseca, he was criticised on the basis of his ethnicity rather than his musical ability, which was comparable to that of the bulk of Brazilians in the group. In contrast to da Fonseca's occasional criticisms on the non-Brazilians' contribution, Lourenço Forte purposely modified a Brazilian *agogô* in order that deaf New-Zealand percussionist Murray Mandel could participate in the *bateria* (see p.278). Forte, who's pre-migration emic knowledge of Brazilian *Carnaval* far exceed that of da Fonseca's, was more concerned with encouraging non-Brazilian participation than the negative effects that may have resulted from their participation. Once again, the point is that, faced with new circumstances, Brazilian and non-Brazilian musicians alike, each interpreted the function of Sambação and the Centre and changes to those groups in terms of their
own aspirations and views of the world.

Finally, consideration has been given throughout the previous chapters to the processes and results of shared musical interaction between Brazilians and non-Brazilians with a view towards demonstrating how the interacting individuals have contributed to the structure of the musical product, and the various uses and functions of the music and associated symbolic elements for Brazilians and non-Brazilian musicians and organisation members.

The application of the emic-etic approach to the structure of Brazilian immigrant carnival folk models in Sydney revealed that, despite their general lack of pre-migration *Carnaval* and *Escola de Samba* experience, Brazilian immigrants who participated in the Sydney *bailes* and *desfiles* between 1971 and 1984 were able to structure their Sydney Samba Schools in much the same way as the Brazilians models that they chose to imitate. The non-specialist and specialist components of a typical Brazilian *Escola de Samba* were reproduced in the Sydney organisations regardless of the changes to their re-enactments that arose from the lack of Brazilians in Sydney and the much smaller size of the Sydney Samba Schools compared with the Brazilian *Escolas de Samba*.

The significance of those changes in terms of loss of authenticity was overshadowed by their need to establish Brazilian-styled carnival organisations in a different cultural environment. For reasons of class, status, personal safety etc., a majority of those Brazilians in Sambacão and the Centre had refrained from membership in an *Escola de Samba* while living in Brazil. The drop in socio-economic status and subsequent loss of self-esteem was sufficient motivation for them to adopt elements of *Carnaval* that they had rejected in Brazil. Thus, their actions and carnival folk models in Sydney should not be interpreted as a continuity or loss of pre-migration traditions in the post-migration location but rather as the adoption of new carnival folk models or the expansion of previously existing.

Along similar lines, as a result of cross-cultural contact with those Brazilian immigrants, non-Brazilian carnival participants in the abovementioned groups and events also adopted new carnival folk models or expanded their previously existing ones. Thus, it has been demonstrated that the emic-etic approach offers a third possible level of interpretation. As an alternative to traditional interpretations of change whereby two fundamental and contrasting levels of interpretation result in explanations of change in terms of 'continuity' versus 'change' or 'preservation' versus
‘loss’ or ‘impoverishment’, the emic-etic approach, as applied throughout this thesis, provided the third level of interpretation which might be called ‘enrichment’. The process of enrichment through interaction and expansion accommodates idiosyncratic divergency and stems from an evaluation of the significance of the multicultural musical manifestation and changes to that manifestation in the light of its dynamic function as an integral part of the post-migration location and its undeniable contribution to the constantly changing multiplicity of folk models that epitomise urban multicultural life.

Interpretations of change which serve only to re-inforce popular consensus models of music deny the reality of human existence. While human idiosyncratic divergency may be interpreted by some as a threat to the stability of societies and the preservation of the status quo, a focus on, and understanding of individual divergence within the realm of musical activity, in urban ethnic musical activity or otherwise, provides rich and rewarding insights into the complexities surrounding issues such as interrelationship between music and identity and the ramifications of those links for the broader society in which music plays a vital part.

While the Brazilian and non-Brazilian members of Sambação or the Centre clearly lacked common folk models and consensus regarding the function of Sambação or the Centre in the light of pre-migration folk models, they did share common folk models concerning the dynamic function of those Sydney carnival organisations as a vital part of multicultural Australia. There was sufficient degrees of post-migration consensus to ensure that, regardless of fluctuating ratios of Brazilian/non-Brazilians, both groups survived long enough to make some degree of impact on the broader, multicultural Sydney populations. Thus, not only are folk models replaced, but more importantly, they are expanded and enriched. Indeed, I conclude with the proposition that the essence of multiculturalism is the tolerance of a diversity of folk models.