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## The Imaginary of Brazilian Popular Music

## Ruben George Oliven

#### Resumo

Na primeira metade do século XX observa-se no Brasil uma proliferação de canções que retratam o imaginário da época. As canções que compõem a MPB (Música Popular Brasileira), nome dado ao conjunto de sambas, chorinhos e marchas carnavalescas daquela época privilegiam três temas: trabalho, mulher e dinheiro. O trabalho é rejeitado, exaltando-se a malandragem. A mulher é poderosa, sendo capaz de encorajar o homem a realizar coisas na rua porque é amado em casa, mas podendo também, por sua traição, imobilizá-lo. O dinheiro vale menos que o amor, mas é um bem necessário. Como é difícil ganhar o suficiente trabalhando, há uma simultaneidade da noção da crescente importância do dinheiro e a proposta de soluções mágicas que minimizem sua escassez.

Palavras-chave: Música Popular Brasileira, samba, imaginário brasileiro, trabalho, relações de gênero, dinheiro

#### Abstract

During the early half of the twentieth century there was in Brazil a proliferation of songs which depicted this period's imaginary. Songs that made up the Brazilian Popular Music (MPB, Música Popular Brasileira) – name given to the ensemble of sambas, chorinhos and Carnival marchas for this period – foregrounded three themes: work, women, and money. Work is rejected, while malandragem is praised. Women are powerful, capable of either encouraging men to accomplish deeds on the streets because they are loved at home, or immobilizing them by betrayal. Money is worth less than love, but it is nonetheless a necessary good. Since it is difficult to earn enough from work, there is, at once, an increasing awareness of the importance of money and the proposal of magical solutions for minimizing its scarcity.

Keywords: Brazilian Popular Music, samba, Brazilian imaginary, work, gender relations, money

## The Imaginary of Brazilian Popular Music

Ruben George Oliven

## Samba and the telephone

As with other music genres, there is controversy over the first recorded song formally defined as samba. Generally, this is attributed to the famous song Pelo Telefone, which was registered in Brazil's National Library as belonging to this music genre by Donga and Mauro de Almeida in 1916.1 In one of its versions (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cyq81SD--YA), the song talks about a message delivered by telephone by Rio de Janeiro's chief of police, ordering police marshals to put an end to gambling in the city's downtown clubs. In its "popular" version, the first verses make a satire of the fact that, in Largo Carioca, right in the center of the city, people were playing roulette without the police doing anything about it (Sodré 1979: 54):

The chief of police O chefe da polícia
By telephone Pelo telefone
Sent out news Mandou me avisar
That in the Carioca Que na Carioca
There is roulette Tem uma roleta
For playing Pra se jogar

Besides the mention of money in reference to gambling, there are two other elements of modernity in this early samba song. The first one is an

<sup>1</sup> Cabral remarks that "There are those who claim that Pelo Telefone was not really the first samba to ever be recorded, but this is a question that only comes up during the heat of discussions. It cannot be denied that, before Pelo Telefone, other sambas were recorded which were not described as such on the record's seal, while other genres were recorded as samba which were not samba at all, and there were even recorded samba songs that were identified as such. It would not be difficult, then, to choose one of these records as the first samba song ever to be recorded, if Pelo Telefone were not the one to unleash the process by which samba would become the hegemonic music genre of songs recorded in Brazil" (Cabral 1996: 32-33).

explicit reference to the telephone – at that time, a symbol of technological progress. The second concerns the numerous controversies surrounding the authorship of Pelo Telefone and the fact that Donga, who was said often to appropriate other peoples' work, had been smart enough to register the song and lyrics in the National Library. That would be equivalent to filing a patent for an invention. At that time, there was not much concern about copyright, and oftentimes musical creation was a collective and anonymous process.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, samba emerged under the sign of money, technology, and the market, at the dawn of an emerging urban-industrial society and of an incipient cultural industry that took its first steps producing records and, from 1923 on, developing the radio.

Samba began to flourish in the twenties and matured during the thirties and forties. Up until the fifties, it was the hegemonic musical genre in Brazil; together with chorinho³ and marcha carnavalesca⁴, it formed what became known as MPB (Música Popular Brasileira, or Brazilian Popular Music) (Bastos 1995, Sandroni 2001, Vianna 1995, McCann 2004). This was a time of significant social and economic changes. Slavery, the foundation of Brazil's economy and society for three centuries, had been abolished not too long before (in 1888). Brazil had become a Republic (in 1889), and migration from rural to urban areas was on the rise. During the thirties and forties, urbanization spiked and industrialization gained new breath with the spread of wage labor (Oliven 1988a). There was growing monetization of social life, as well as a redefinition of gender roles along with a transition from the

<sup>2</sup> In an essay called "Os Sambistas" written in the 1930's, poet Manuel Bandeira discussed the question of authorship of early samba songs. A few months after watching Sinhô "improvise" a samba song in the piano in 1929, he found a cordel by seu Candu published in 1927 which included the same chorus. Bandeira thus made an interesting reflection on the authorship of these cultural manifestations: "All this makes me think of how difficult it is to establish the authorship of these carioca samba songs which spring from no one knows where. Many times we are certain that it came from a Sinhô, who is royalty, but the truth is that the author is seu Candu, whom nobody knows. And who knows whether it really is by seu Candu after all? Possibly, behind seu Candu is someone who did not leave trace of his name in a samba which the entire city is going to sing. The surest thing to say is that whoever wrote such delicious chorus is neither A nor B, neither Sinhô nor Donga: it is the carioca, that is, someone from Espírito Santo [state], or Belém of Pará [state]". (Bandeira: 1993: 464-465).

<sup>3</sup> Chorinho ("little cry"" or "little lament") is an instrumental style that originated in nineteenth- century Rio de Janeiro. It has a fast rhythm characterized by improvisation, syncopation and counterpoint. Its original instruments are flute, guitar and cavaquinho (a small chordophone with four strings).

<sup>4</sup> Marcha de carnaval, also known as marchinha de carnaval, is a popular music genre in carioca carnivals from the 1920's to 1960's. Some of them became classics, and were sung all across Brazil.

patriarchal to the nuclear type of family.

All these transformations and their consequences were present in popular music. During the thirties and forties – when an urban-industrial society emerged in Brazil – there was a proliferation of samba songs focusing on three themes that were often inter-related: work, women, and money (Oliven, 1999). It is on songs from this period that this paper will focus. It analyzes compositions which became classics and, as such, became part of the Brazilian imaginary during the early decades of the twentieth century, when the notion of brasilidade (Brazilianness) came into being (Oliven 1996). It is for this reason that Brazilian Popular Music is so crucial for the analysis of the Brazilian imaginary.

Most samba writers from this period are men, generally of humble origins and, oftentimes, descendents of slaves. Their compositions favor themes that found strong echo in a changing Brazilian society in which work, money and gender relations figured prominently. As put by Noel Rosa, one of Brazil's best known sambistas at the time, in an interview to the newspaper O Globo (31 Dec 1932): "Previously, the word samba had one synonym: woman. (...)

Now, the malandro<sup>5</sup> [rogue] is as much concerned with money as with women in his samba songs (...) after all, these are the only two things that matter in this world."

## Why work?

Until the nineteenth century, manual labor in Brazil was considered a degrading activity, fit only for slaves. The attitude of "aversion to drudging work" – that is, rejection of work as anything positive – did not fade away with the end of slavery, but persisted well into the twentieth century. Even with the advent of industrialization, wage labor did not provide opportunities for significant social mobility since the social order continued to be marked by rigid class boundaries.

The thirties and forties in particular witnessed a proliferation of songs extolling malandragem – as a world view and survival strategy that rejected formal work. They expressed the refusal of some sectors of the popular

<sup>5</sup> A malandro is generally an important male character in sambas, and the word is used in Brazilian society to identify a clever, easy-living trickster.

classes to submit to the discipline and monotony associated with the world of wage labor (Oliven, 1984). This is evident in the 1931 samba song O que será de mim? (What will become of me?), written by a devotee of malandragem, Ismael Silva (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w5tKjYgBdAE):

If one day I am
Forced into drudging work
I don't know what will become of me
Because I live in malandragem
And there is no better life than that

De ir para o batente Não sei o que será Pois vivo na malandragem E vida melhor não há

Se eu precisar algum dia

Oh, there is no better life
There is no better life
Let them speak
Let them speak
Work is no good
There is no doubt about that
Oi, I will work only if I am forced to
No one does it for pleasure

Oi, não há vida melhor Que vida melhor não há Deixa falar quem quiser Deixa quem quiser falar O trabalho não é bom Ninguém pode duvidar Oi, trabalhar só obrigado Por gosto ninguém vai lá

Aversion to work, which is regarded as a source of suffering, and the extolling of malandragem as a lifestyle are quite explicit in this composition. These themes also appear in the 1931 samba Nem é bom falar (It is better not even to talk about it) by the same musician in partnership with Nílton Bastos, Francisco Alves and Noel Rosa. In it, worried composers fear that "Its better to keep quiet/ in case this life of pleasure comes to an end", assuring us at the same time that "in this life/nobody will make me quit it"

The association between work, women and money appears even more clearly in the song Caixa Econômica (Savings Bank), recorded in 1933 by Orestes Barbosa and Antônio Nássara (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uD\_MEzFxoPg&feature=related):

You want to secure your peace and quiet
Watching me kill myself at work
Just so you can enjoy yourself
Life is quite comical
I am not the Savings Bank
Which has interest to collect
And what is it you want to buy, hum?

Você quer comprar o seu sossego Me vendo morrer num emprego Pra depois então gozar Esta vida é muito cômica Eu não sou Caixa Econômica Que tem juros a ganhar E você quer comprar o quê, hem? You say I am a bum
Because I don't go to work
I am not a checkbook
For you to get your cash
If you live without worries
Always playing chic
Always in the front row

My grandpa died in the struggle
And my father, poor man
Was exhausted by toil
That's why I was born tired
And, to be fair,
I declare to those who work
That my laziness is the way I am
Inherited from my ancestors

Você diz que eu sou moleque porque não vou trabalhar Eu não sou livro de cheque pra você ir descontar Se você vive tranqüila Sempre fazendo chiquê Sempre na primeira fila Me fazendo de guichê

Meu avô morreu na luta E meu pai, pobre coitado Fatigou-se na labuta Por isso eu nasci cansado E pra falar com justiça Eu declaro aos empregados Ter em mim esta preguiça Herança de antepassado

The story told in this samba is driven by a woman. It is she who accuses the narrator of being childish for not wanting to work, and he defends himself on two grounds. First, by arguing that work is useless for the working classes ("My grandpa died in the struggle / And my father, poor man / Was exhausted by toil"). Laziness is put as a hereditary trait manifested since birth - something for which, therefore, he is not responsible ("That's why I was born tired/ And, to be fair,/I declare to those who work/ That my laziness is the way I am/ Inherited from my ancestors.") The second line of defense is in fact a counter-attack, expressed in the accusation that the woman is an insatiable consumer ("Always playing chic") with a predatory character ("I am not a checkbook / For you to get cash") inasmuch as she wishes to gain stability by making her man enter the world of order, represented by wage labor ("You want to secure your peace and quiet / Watching me kill myself at work"). The man also refuses any association between himself and everything that has to do with money ("I am not a savings bank / Which has interest to collect" and "I am not a checkbook"). Besides "aversion to drudging work", other themes are recurrent in malandragem songs. First, there is chronic lack of money. The malandro is always de prontidão (literally, readiness, or lacking money) because miserê (misery) looms large. In some of Noel Rosa's best known compositions such as Com que Roupa? (With which outfit?), O

174

Orvalho Vem Caindo (Dew comes falling) Fita Amarela (Yellow ribbon) lack of money is ever-present. Other common subjects are braveness, cleverness, categoria (style), and scams. These are means of surviving without work which the malandro deploys in his daily affairs.

In Acertei no Milhar (I hit the jackpot), a samba written by Wilson Batista and Geraldo Pereira in 1940 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2eOpqjyjX6I), hitting the jackpot represents the ideal of salvation:

Etelvina, my darlingl!
What's the matter, Jorginho?

I hit the jackpot I won 500 bucks

I am no longer going to work

I'll give all my old clothes to the poor We can destroy all the furniture

This instant

Hand them over to me

Etelvina

We'll have another honeymoon

You'll be a fine lady You'll live in a big hotel

And I will buy a name somewhere or other Of a marquis, Dom Jorge de Veiga, of a viscount

A French teacher, mon amour I'm gonna change your name To Madame Pompadour

At last, now I am happy

I will travel all over Europe up to Paris

And our children, hum?

- Oh, what the hell!

- I will put them in a boarding school Call Mané from the grocery shop

Because I don't want

To be in debt to anybody any longer

I'll buy a blue jet

To travel around South America

Etelvina, minha filha! Que há, Jorginho? Acertei no milhar Ganhei 500 contos

Não vou mais trabalhar

E me dê toda roupa velha aos pobres

E a mobília podemos quebrar

Isso é pra já Passe pra cá

Etelvina

Vai ter outra lua de mel Você vai ser madame

Vai morar num grande hotel

Eu vou comprar um nome não sei onde De marquês, Dom Jorge de Veiga, de Visconde

Um professor de francês, mon amour

Eu vou trocar seu nome Pra madame Pompadour

Até que enfim agora eu sou feliz Vou percorrer Europa toda até Paris

E os nossos filhos, hein?

- Oh, que inferno!

- Eu vou pô-los num colégio interno Me telefone pro Mané do armazém

Porque não quero ficar Devendo nada a ninguém Eu vou comprar um avião azul Pra percorrer a América do Sul But then, suddenly, all of a sudden Etelvina called me

It's time for work Etelvina woke me up It was all a dream, folks Aí de repente, mas de repente

Etelvina me chamou Está na hora do batente Etelvina me acordou Foi um sonho, minha gente

The background for the song is prontidão and the difficulties that stem from it, such as having to work, debts to pay, and so forth. The way out is in the world of dreams. The narrator dreams that he got a lot of money from gambling, and quickly declares that he is no longer going to work. A world of fantasies follows such as a new honeymoon, international trips, living in a hotel, children in a boarding school, brand new furniture, paying off debts, and so forth. From being a mere worker the narrator climbs up the social ladder to become not a member of the bourgeoisie, but a nobleman. All this will be brought about by money. But a lot of money is only possible by hitting the jackpot, and, as discloses in the end, that was all but a dream. The woman is the object of this fantasy: it is to her that the dream will be told, it is she who will become a madame, it is also she who will call him back to reality – that is, to work. The "aversion to drudging work", which characterizes the malandro, runs through the entire composition.

It is worth remarking that one of the composers of Acertei no Milhar, Wilson Batista, was involved in a famous controversy with Noel Rosa that started when the former composed Lenço no Pescoço (Scarf Round my Neck) in 1932 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vmD6DozAGnc):

My hat askew Dragging my clogs My scarf round my neck My razor in my pocket

I pass by swinging I tease and challenge

I am proud
Of being such a loafer

I know they talk about These ways of mine I see those who work Living in misery I am a loafer Meu chapéu do lado
Tamanco arrastando
Lenço no pescoço
Navalha no bolso
Eu passo gingando
Provoco e desafio
Eu tenho orgulho
Em ser tão vadio

Sei que eles falam Deste meu proceder Eu vejo quem trabalha Andar no miserê Eu sou vadio Because I had a tendency for it I remember, as a child I would play samba-canção songs by ear Not with me I want to see who is right

And they play
And you sing
And I won't give it away

Porque tive inclinação
Eu me lembro, era criança
Tirava samba-canção
Comigo não
Eu quero ver quem tem razão

E eles tocam E você canta E eu não dou

This samba song, which exalts the malandro ("I am proud of being such a loafer"), is an explicit and conscious rejection of work ("I see those who work living in misery"). Besides pennilessness and braveness, another image present here is the well-worn stereotype of the idle Brazilian ("I am a loafer because I had a tendency"). It is as if there were a Brazilian national character, one of its atavistic types being the character Macunaíma whose first words soon after being born were "Boy, how lazy I feel!..." (Andrade 1993). The malandro appears as a hero with no character, a source of pride for the "Brazilian race" and founder of a new logic ("I am proud of being such a loafer"): in contrast with the Protestant ethic a new malandro ethic.

Noel Rosa was a typical bohemian, something quite common among certain sectors of the white middle class to which we belonged. But despite his sympathy for, and networks with, the malandragem, his petit bourgeois origin might have led him to associate the image of the malandro showcased in Lenço no Pescoço with lowly, violent, and dangerous characters. Thus Noel decided to make ironies with Wilson Batista when he wrote the samba Rapaz Folgado (Impudent lad) (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VoQcmo2S6oo); in it, he criticizes Batista's "wild" view of malandragem and tells the young composer to put on shoes and a tie,

Stop dragging your clogs
Because clogs are not sandals
Get that white scarf off your neck
Buy yourself some shoes and a tie
Throw away this razor which weighs you down
As well as the hat tipped to one side
I want you to escape from the police
By writing a samba-canção song
I have already given you paper and pencil

Deixa de arrastar o seu tamanco
Pois tamanco nunca foi sandália
Tira do pescoço o lenço branco
Compra sapato e gravata
Joga fora essa navalha que te atrapalha
Com o chapéu do lado deste rata
Da polícia eu quero que escapes
Fazendo um samba-canção
Já te dei papel e lápis

Find yourself a girlfriend and a guitar
Malandro is a defeatist word
Which is only good for
Devaluing the sambista
I'm telling civilized folks
To stop calling you a malandro
But just an impudent lad

Arranja um amor e um violão Malandro é palavra derrotista Que só serve pra tirar Todo valor do sambista Proponho ao povo civilizado Não te chamar de malandro E sim de rapaz folgado

The malandro is here seen negatively ("Malandro is a defeatist word"); instead, he suggests a mild term ("I'm telling the civilized folks / To stop calling you a malandro / But just an impudent lad"). The controversy involving Noel Rosa and Wilson Batista may be seen not only as a dispute between two composers with different social backgrounds, but also between two conceptions of samba. While Wilson represented the samba de morro ("samba from the hills", written in the hillside slums and rooted in the world the black urban poor), Noel – his ties with the popular sambistas notwithstanding -represented the samba de asfalto ("samba from the asphalt", written in middleclass neighborhoods with a greater participation of whites). Another of his songs involved in the controversy with Wilson Batista, Feitiço Decente (Decent spell), was considered racist by Caetano Veloso, one of Brazil's most important contemporary composers. But this accusation might have been somewhat misplaced, as ethnomusicologist Carlos Sandroni has argued (see http://www.idelberavelar.com/archives/2008/07/caetano\_veloso\_e\_carlos\_sandroni\_polemizam\_sobre\_noel\_rosa.php).

These and other compositions from that period see work as an institution which should be avoided and the incompatibility between the world of work and that of pleasure, where pleasure is almost always associated with women. The female figure is indeed vital, just as it is ambivalent. As a lover, she is a potential source of pleasure but also of sorrow if she leaves her man and makes a fool of him. In the opposite pole, as wife and mother, women are not so much sources of pleasure but of family duties, acting as agents of the reality principle – that is, by symbolizing the need to provide for the home as well as the monotony of daily routine (as in the Chico Buarque's 1971 samba Cotidiano [Day-to-day]) (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FB4IaqWITB8).

This image of the woman as a token of order and a reminder of the need for man to join the productive process is also present in Capricho de Rapaz Solteiro (A bachelor's caprice), a 1933 samba by Noel Rosa:

8 VIBRANT V.8 n.1

RUBEN GEORGE OLIVEN

Never again will this woman See me working He who lives for samba Lives the way he likes

He'll never die of hunger In this city of Rio de Janeiro

To be a malandro Is a bachelor's caprice Nunca mais esta mulher Me vê trabalhando Quem vive sambando

Leva a vida

Para o lado que quer De fome não se morre Neste Rio de Janeiro Ser malandro

É capricho de rapaz solteiro

These lyrics foreground aversion to work, which is regarded as a burden. They express the (male) pleasure that is only possible by escaping drudging work and opting for malandragem. This is regarded as a caprice which is accessible only to bachelors, since women are imagined to push man towards the monotony of work. However, once the decision is made in favor of pleasure, the solution to the issue of survival is faced in magical terms: "He who lives for samba lives the way he wants / He'll not die of hunger in this city of Rio de Janeiro"). In other words, this is a caprice which cannot be enjoyed by all.

Even the option for work is not without its own problems. But the opposition between capital and labor is not present; rather, there is a displacement of this conflict, and its transformation into another kind of problematic. This is shown in Izaura, a 1949 song by Herivelto Martins and Roberto Roberti (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LwJ5eR-lqls).

Ai, ai, ai, Izaura
Today I cannot stay
If I fall into your arms
No alarm clock
Will wake me up
I will go to work

Work is a duty
Everyone has to respect this
I will be back on Sunday
Your caresses are so good
No one can deny
If you want me to I'll stay
But that will harm me
I will go to work

Ai, ai, ai, Izaura Hoje eu não posso ficar Se eu cair nos seus braços Não há despertador Que me faça acordar Eu vou trabalhar

O trabalho é um dever
Todos devem trabalhar
No domingo eu vou voltar
Seu carinho é muito bom
Ninguém pode contestar
Se você quiser eu fico
Mas vai me prejudicar
Eu vou trabalhar

Even though this samba song talks about work, the opposition between labor and capital is turned into a conflict between work and pleasure. This opposition not only ignores relations within a class society, but deems it impossible to conciliate the spheres of work and pleasure. This could draw on the idea of a "tropical culture" where principles operating in other lands would not take hold. This view had been identified by Oswald de Andrade in the early twentieth century: according to him, in the tropics, the antipode of the bourgeois would not be the proletarian, but the bohemian.

The lyrics are marked by a firmly productivist decision ("I will go to work"), which situates the narrator at the pole of order. But the entire composition is also pervaded by a view of work as something grievous, alienating and exogenous to man ("Work is a duty / Everyone has to respect this"), rather than as a relation of men among themselves and with nature.

The lyrics also evoke the Biblical myth of the fall. In Eden, man and nature formed a whole; with original sin, induced by Eve, man is condemned to earn his bread through his own sweat. One therefore needs to work, to transform and control nature with the aid of other men. There is in this song a sharp dichotomy between work and pleasure, and it is significant that pleasure is displaced to Sundays – precisely, the only day when man is not supposed to work and therefore to act upon nature. Only then, there would be room for pleasure. Any other day, "to stay" (choose pleasure) would mean to be "harmed".

#### Powerful women

In the male imaginary as depicted in Brazilian Popular Music, it is the woman who figures as a pivot in the conflict between need (or the obligation to work) and the urge for pleasure. As we have seen, she plays both roles at once. In the first, she stands for the world of order, encapsulated in the family institution, a symbol of the need for the breadwinner to bring home the bread and of the monotony of daily routine. In the opposite pole, as a lover, she is a potential source of pleasure. In this case, however, she is a dangerous persona: away from the world of order, she may easily abandon man and make of him an otário (fool), the reversal of the malandro.

Popular music is particularly suitable for an analysis of male representations on gender relations in Brazil, since most composers are men. Indeed, MPB is one of the few arenas where men feel free to speak their minds about their feelings towards women. While in most other kinds of public discourse a man seeks to convey an image of strength and superiority vis-à-vis the opposite sex, in music he may be frank about his anxieties and fears, his weaknesses and pains, his desires. Quite often, what emerges is the picture of a fragile and helpless creature, who seems to have suffered irremediable losses.

As early as 1928, Sinhô, the "King of Samba", spoke of men's weakness in the samba Gosto que me Enrosco (I like being illuded when I hear you say) (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bFkgLyfRxqs):

I like being illuded when I hear you say
That the weaker part is the woman
But man, with all his strength,
Descends from nobility
And does whatever she wants
They say the woman is the weaker part
In this I cannot believe
Between kisses, hugs, and caresses
A man who is without [money]
May very well go about stealing

Gosto que me enrosco de ouvir dizer
Que a parte mais fraca é a mulher
Mas o homem com toda sua fortaleza
Desce da nobreza
E faz o que ela quer
Dizem que a mulher é a parte fraca
Nisto é que eu não posso acreditar
Entre beijos e abraços e carinhos
O homem não tendo
É bem capaz de ir roubar

Berlinck suggested the prevalence of three female images in the samba lyrics he analyzed: the "domestic", the "piranha6", and the "oneiric". The first one is the submissive and passive woman, dedicated to the home, a server of her man, and who orders social relations and organizes the daily routine. The second is a woman of easy living, who satisfies her bohemian man but who is also characterized by betrayal and by unsettling social relations. The third one is a non-existent in the real world, a purely romantic invention (Berlinck 1976). One may argue that these three types, as various facets of the same picture, are in fact conflated in the MPB imaginary (Oliven 1988b).

The "domestic" paradigm is generally represented by Emília, recorded in 1941 (but most probably written before that) by Wilson Batista and Haroldo Lobo (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1qEMcuy37FU), and by Ai que saudades da Amélia (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gRciNzm4PYY),

<sup>6</sup> Piranha is a voracious fresh water fish with very sharp teeth. Attacking in shoals, it is able to devour a person or even a cow attempting to cross a river in the Amazon area. It is a Brazilian word for a prostitute or a licentious woman.

recorded in that same year by Mário Lago and Ataulfo Alves. It is worth while fully reproducing the lyrics:

#### Emília

I want a woman Who knows how to do the laundry and cook; Who, early in the morning, Wakes me up when it is time for work.

There is only one And without her I cannot live in peace. Emília, Emília, Emília I no longer can.

Nobody knows as she does
How to prepare my coffee.
I don't mean to demean the others
But Emília is the woman.
My Lord knows how much
I miss her.
Emília, Emília, Emília
I no longer can

#### Oh, how I miss Amélia

I've never seen so many demands Nor anyone who does what you do to me. You don't know what it is to have consciousness, You don't see I am just a poor lad.

You can only think of luxury and wealth, You desire everything that you see. Oh, my God, how I miss Amélia, She was a real woman.

Sometimes she would starve next to me
And would appreciate not having anything to eat.
And, whenever she saw me annoyed, she would say:
"My son, what are we to do?"
Amélia did not have any vanity,
Amélia was a real woman

#### Emília

Eu quero uma mulher que saiba lavar e cozinhar; que, de manhã cedo, me acorde na hora de trabalhar

Só existe uma e sem ela eu não vivo em paz. Emília, Emília, Emília eu não posso mais.

Ninguém sabe igual a ela
preparar o meu café.
Não desfazendo das outras,
Emília é mulher.
Papai do céu é quem sabe
a falta que ela me faz.
Emília, Emília, Emília
Eu não posso mais

### Ai que saudades da Amélia

Nunca vi fazer tanta exigência nem fazer o que você me faz. Você não sabe o que é consciência, não vê que eu sou um pobre rapaz.

Você só pensa em luxo e riqueza, tudo o que você vê, você quer. Ai, meu Deus, que saudades da Amélia, aquilo sim é que era mulher.

Às vezes passava fome ao meu lado e achava bonito não ter o que comer. E quando me via contrariado, dizia: "meu filho, que se há de fazer?" Amélia não tinha a menor vaidade, Amélia é que era mulher de verdade The most general aspect highlighted in these classic sambas is the domestic character of the female figures, their submission and passivity. Another trait is also fundamental: the security they represent. They are anchor-women, as well as compass-women, who "settle" men and give them a direction. This idea is further reinforced by the presence, in both songs, of a clear projection of the motherly figure. Amélia calls the narrator "my son", and Emília performs very motherly tasks: she wakes him up, prepares his coffee like no one else, and so forth.

It is interesting to note how these two exceptional women are absent, possibly dead. They stand for a standard that no longer exists, which conjures up a great void. They are compared with other women, who are never capable of equaling these two mythic figures.

This type of woman, besides being unassuming, provides men with emotional security. Men, on their turn, appear in MPB as needy beings, victims of irreparable loss and in search of a mythic figure to offer them unconditional love, the vital substance (mother's milk?) that secures their very existence. In a 1940 samba by Ataulfo Alves and Roberto Martins, "Woman makes man", the composition and its title suggest that women are the drive behind man's success.

But, if it is woman who makes man, she also has the power to unmake him, and that is where danger lies. She is indeed regarded as very powerful, as the vital substance that animates man so he can accomplish things, so he can be brave in the streets because he is loved at home. By the same token, when she is not there, the energy flow that man needs to pursue his struggle is cut off. She may stand either for the daily routine, the obligation to work, and pleasure. She may be associated both with nature in all its purity and with money in all its filthiness.

That is why among the key themes of samba songs from this period is the fear of being abandoned, betrayal and vengeance, and these are all linked to pleasure, work, and money.

The association between male work and female desertion takes on a classic form in Oh! Seu Oscar, a samba by Wilson Batista and Ataulfo Alves recorded in 1939 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ld1ZPaTULBQ):

I got home tired from work
And the neighbor told me at once:
-Oh! Seu Oscar
It's been half an hour
Since your wife went out
And left a note
The note said:
I no longer can
I want to live in the orgy

I did everything for her well-being
I even ended up in the docks
Sacrificing my body night and day
But it was all in vain
She is, she belongs to the orgy
Yes... I stopped!

Cheguei cansado do trabalho
Logo a vizinha me falou:
- Oh! Seu Oscar
Tá fazendo meia hora
Que sua mulher foi-se embora
E um bilhete deixou
O bilhete assim dizia:
"Não posso mais
Eu quero é viver na orgia"

Fiz tudo para ter seu bem-estar Até no cais do porto eu fui parar Martirizando o meu corpo noite e dia Mas tudo em vão Ela é, é da orgia É... parei!

Oscar is a character who "demonstrates" the uselessness of work. He works his hardest to give his wife a comfortable life, even by mortifying his own body as a longshoreman in the docks. But all this effort is useless, because his wife, in an utmost display of ingratitude, leaves him for the "orgy", and that immobilizes him. The narrator is turned into an authentic fool, inasmuch as, in retribution for his effort and labor, his woman abandons him for a life of pleasure outside their home.

The accusations and complaints against women are common in songs from this period, often portraying work as an imposition by women upon men.

Noel Rosa has sambas where women are compared to money and bank interests. This is what we see in Positivismo, co-authored with Orestes Barbosa and released in 1933 (http://www.youtube.com/results?search\_query=positivismo+noel+rosa&aq=o&oq=positivismo+no):

The truth, my love, lives deep down a well It is Pilate in the Bible who tells us And he also died because he had a neck, The author of Paris's guillotine

Go ahead, my dear proud woman

A verdade, meu amor, mora num poço É Pilatos lá na Bíblia em nos diz E também faleceu por ter pescoço O autor da guilhotina de Paris

Vai orgulhosa querida

<sup>7</sup> Orgia has a slightly different meaning from the English orgy. It is best translated as "life of pleasure and abandon".

But listen to this lesson In the uncertain exchange of life The pound is the heart

Love comes as principle, order as basis Progress should come in the end You rejected this law by Auguste Comte And decided to be happy without me

Go ahead, heart which does not pulse With your exorbitant interest To turn yet another pound Into a floating debt

Intrigue is born with a small coffee Which one drinks to see who's going to pay So I'll never again have to taste your poison I've decided to poison myself Mas aceita esta lição No câmbio incerto da vida A libra é que é o coração

O amor vem por princípio, a ordem por base O progresso é que deve vir por fim Desprezaste esta lei Auguste Comte E foste ser feliz longe de mim

Vai coração que não vibra Com teu juro exorbitante Transformar mais outra libra Em dívida flutuante

A intriga nasce num café pequeno Que se toma para ver quem vai pagar Para não sentir mais o teu veneno Foi que eu já resolvi me envenenar

The title of this song is an explicit reference Auguste Comte's positivist philosophy, which enjoyed great influence in Brazil from the late nineteenth to the early years of the twentieth century. The narrator accuses the woman of forgetting the positivist motto ("Love as principle, order as basis, and progress as aim") and thus abandoning him.

Life is compared to an uncertain exchange operation, in which the heart, instead of being responsible for love and affect, is equaled to the pound sterling – at that time, the strongest currency in the international financial system. That is why the woman has a heart which behaves like the stock exchange, and becomes so poisonous that her man decides to poison himself. In this samba, the woman is associated with anti-love, abandonment, money, and finally with poison.

The theme of revenge is also vaguely hinted at through the narrator's suicide, the way he eventually finds to escape his woman's machinations. Revenge is, by the way, a key topic in sambas from this period. It is the fruit of abandonment and betrayal. If woman makes man, she can also unmake him. Thus we see here a "Delilah complex" in which Samson, after having been betrayed by a woman and blinded by the Philistines, knocked everything down.

The most typical composer of this theme in MPB is Lupicínio Rodrigues. He is the par excellence minstrel of jealousy, formulating what came to be called fenomenologia da cornitude (phenomenology of cuckoldry). Nervos de Aço (Nerves of steel), first recorded in 1947 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MByVS9mhvzU), inaugurated a series of compositions addressing the topic of dor de cotovelo (jealousy). In it, helplessness caused by abandonment is the dominant theme:

Do you know what it is to have a love

Sir?

To be crazy about a woman And then finding this love

Sir

In the arms of another man

Do you know what it is to have a love

Sir?

Willing to die for it

And then finding it in some arms Which can't even be part of mine?

There are those with nerves of steel No blood running in their veins

And no heart

Sem sangue nas veias

E sem coração

Mas não sei se passando o que eu passo Talvez não lhes venha qualquer reação Eu não sei se o que eu trago no peito É ciúme, despeito, amizade ou horror Eu só sei que quando eu a veja

Me dá um desejo de morte ou de dor

Você sabe o que é ter um amor

Meu senhor?

Ter loucura por uma mulher E depois encontrar esse amor

Meu senhor

Nos braços de outro qualquer Você sabe o que é ter um amor

Meu senhor?

E por ele quase morrer

E depois encontrá-lo em um braço

Que nem um pedaço Do meu, pode ser

Há pessoas com nervos de aço

And no heart

But I don't know if had they been through what

I've been through

They might somehow react

I don't know whether what I have in my breast

Is jealousy, spite, friendship or horror I just know that whenever I see her

I long for death or pain

In this song, there is no reference to work, money or anything else: the subject is woman tout court. And this is a woman who arouses an overwhelming kind of love. But this woman, who stirs such an intense feeling, betrays. The feeling of abandonment is so great that not even "people with nerves of steel, no blood running through their veins, and no heart" would fail to react if they were to experience what the narrator went through. It is this state of affairs that triggers a desire for revenge. Indeed, Vingança

(Revenge) (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZXFginzWtFc) is the title of one of Lupicínio's most popular songs, recorded in 1951. It is significant that both Nervos de Aço and Vingança enjoyed great commercial success at a time when selling records in Brazil was much harder than it is today.

## Money, what for?

Samba was born singing about money. As indicated early on in this article, the first verses of the "popular" version of Pelo Telefone allude to money by making a satire of the fact that right in downtown Rio de Janeiro (then the capital of Brazil) people played the roulette without the police doing anything about it.

It is claimed that Sinhô, the "King of Samba", took part in the composition of this song. But even though he is mentioned in the lyrics, he was not registered as one of its authors (Alencar 1981). One of the places where Sinhô used to hang out was the famous house of Aunt Ciata, a woman from the state of Bahia who gathered musicians in Rio de Janeiro during the early twentieth century. Pelo Telefone was written there, and it was also there that Sinhô realized that "composing sambas could bring money, prestige and polemics, three things he greatly enjoyed. (...) His favorite topics were day-to-day activities and love stories, with a particular stress on money and women, his paramount concerns in real life" (Severiano 1988).

Sinhô's exclusion from the authorship of Pelo Telefone might have caused him to withdraw from the group that gathered at Aunt Ciata's house, and sparked the debates he waged with the group of baiano (from Bahia) composers in Rio de Janeiro. In 1918, he released Quem são Eles (Who are they), his first Carnival success. This song triggered a polemic with the group of baiano musicians from Rio de Janeiro. One of the strophes goes like this:

You don't need to ask
I won't give it to you
I don't have any money
But I can steal some

Não precisa pedir
Que eu vou dar
Dinheiro não tenho

The topic of money appears in this song en passant, in between other issues as if it were something of lesser importance. The narrator lacks money, and in order to get it he will not work (something considered dishonorable)

but steal. Inasmuch as he presents himself as detached from material concerns, it is implicit that it is a woman who is asking him for money, and that she is not indifferent to financial matters.

O Pé de Anjo (Angel foot), a Carnival marcha recorded in 1920 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JboqkLrrI8U), was one of Sinhô's greatest successes. In it, besides taking forward the polemic with his foe, the "King of Samba" talks about women and money in one of the strophes:

The woman and the chicken A mulher e a galinha
Are two selfish animals: São dois bichos interesseiros:
The chicken for corn A galinha pelo milho
And the woman for money E a mulher pelo dinheiro

The woman is compared to the chicken which is always pecking, and she is regarded as a selfish, money-consuming creature. The idea is that while men stand above material interests, women are constantly bringing up such an ignoble topic as money. Xisto Bahia, one of the precursors of Brazilian Popular Music, concluded Isto é Bom (This is good), a marcha written in 1880 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iUqorvESjQI) for a music hall performance by saying, "Whoever wants good things / Should not love money".

In the marcha Amor Sem Dinheiro (Love without money), a great success in the 1926 Carnival, Sinhô discusses the relation between money and love by showing how impossible it is to live love fully without money:

Love, love, Amor, amor

Love without money, honey Amor, sem dinheiro, meu bem

Has no value Não tem valor

Love without money

Is a flash in the pan

E fogo de palha

Is a house with no owner

E casa sem dono

Where the scum lives Em que mora a canalha

Love, love, etc. Amor, amor, etc.

Love without money

Is a withered flower

Verses that don't rhyme

Take me and I'll go

Amor sem dinheiro
É flor que murchou
São quadras sem rima
Me leva que eu vou

Love, love etc. Amor, amor, etc

Love without money

Is sugarcane with no juice

A frog in the pond

Singing wearily

Amor sem dinheiro
É cana sem caldo
É sapo no brejo
Que canta cansado

The song's argument is clear. Love requires a financial basis, without which it is no more than "a flash in the pan". It is interesting to note however that the same Sinhô released in 1928 a partido alto (improvised) samba<sup>8</sup> called Que Vale a Nota sem o Carinho da Mulher (What is money good for without the caresses of a woman) which goes in the opposite direction. In the first verse, he proclaims the supremacy of love over money:

Love! Love! Amor! Amor!

Is not for those who want it Não é para quem quer

What is a bill good for, my dear De que vale a nota, meu bem

Without the pure caresses of a woman? Sem o puro carinho da mulher?

(Whenever she wants it) (quando ela quer)

The title condenses the meaning of the song. It affirms the value of love over money, and that the latter cannot accomplish anything without the caresses of a woman. There is a pervading tension in songs of this period that deal with money. On the one hand, everyone knows that, in an increasingly commercialized society such as Brazil's in that period, money is needed to fulfill one's wishes. But since it is difficult for poor men to earn much through manual labor, they express their sour grapes by claiming that affection is much more important than wealth. These compositions from the early twentieth century are marked by the co-presence of an awareness that money is increasingly important, and the belief that affective and magical solutions can minimize scarcity. In this period, moreover, money is increasingly associated with the female figure. She can be either the Emília ou Amélia who do not complain and eventually support the malandro, or the housewife who is always insisting with her husband about the need to bring money home. She

<sup>8</sup> Partido alto is a type of improvised samba characterized by the percussive beat of the pandeiro (an instrument played with the palm of the hand). It usually has two parts: a refrão (refrain) sang by a choral formed by the group of persons attending the performance, and the versos (verses) soloed by performers who often compete among themselves.

can also be the piranha who pretends to love, but in fact is only interested in money.

A common theme in this period is woman's interest for money and the pressure she puts on man for getting it. The men reply is that they will get some, but that this is less important than all the affection they have to offer. This becomes clear in Dinheiro não há (There is no money) by Benedito Lacerda and H. Alvarenga, recorded in 1932 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nBo\_tvcAxeo):

There she comes, weeping Lá vem ela chorando What does she want? O que é que ela quer? Certainly not a blow Pancada não é

I know Iá sei

A woman from the orgy Mulher da orgia

When she begins to cry Quando começa a chorar

Wants money Quer dinheiro
And there is no money Dinheiro não há

There is none Não há

I have a lot of tenderness Carinho eu tenho demais
To sell and give away Pra vender e pra dar

There will be no lack of spanking either Pancada também não há de faltar

But not money Dinheiro, isto não
I won't give her any Eu não dou à mulher

I'll swear by the earth,

Sky and stars

O céu e as estrelas

If she wants me to

Se ela quiser

But there is no money

Mas dinheiro não há

The song clearly affirms lack of cash as well as abundance of love, which may even make itself felt, as in other songs from this period, through physical aggression. The woman (in this case, from the orgy) is always regarded as demanding money, when the male sambista claims he has something much better to offer her.

Tristezas não pagam Dívidas (Sadness doesn't pay debts) released in 1932 by Ismael Silva (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMPhlIdoMt8) associates women and money by stressing how the latter is present in daily life and cannot be compensated for by affection:

Sadness does not pay debts
Crying is no good
Não adianta chorar
One should despise
Deve se dar o desprezo
A woman who does not know how to love
A toda a mulher que não sabe amar

A man should know O homem deve saber
Know his own value Conhecer o seu valor
Instead of doing like Inácio did Não fazer como o Inácio
He paid for Estácio Que levou muito tempo
For a long time Bancando o Estácio

Sadness does not pay debts, etc Tristezas não pagam, etc.

One should never let a woman

Do as she wishes

Because no one should cry

Just for love

Nor lament

IThis will not defeat me

Nunca se deixa a mulher

Fazer o que ela entender

Porque ninguém deve chorar

Só por causa do amor

E nem se lastimar

Por causa disto eu não vou me derrotar

Sadness does not pay debts, etc. Tristezas não pagam, etc.

The song says that a man should forget affection (because women do not know how to love) and take care of obligations like debts that cannot be paid off with sadness caused by unrequited love. It is not a choice for the financial world. Much to the contrary, the tone of the lyrics is of great sorrow; women are being blamed for pushing men into the ignoble pursuit of filthy lucre. Instead of disdaining money, the sambista decides to despise the woman who stands for it. Although he affirms he will not be overcome, the tone of the song conveys obvious defeat.

The affection versus money dilemma is something that runs through this entire period. As in the 1920s, several songs from the thirties underscore that love is far more important than money, and that the latter cannot bring happiness. To be rich also entails the risk of losing everything, and thus of suffering. It is better to be poor but happy rather than rich and sad.

In this vein, other composers made an even sharper critique of money. This is the case of Wilson Batista, who was involved in the abovementioned musical polemic with Noel Rosa during the thirties. Not too long before he died in 1968, he wrote with José Batista Meu Mundo é Hoje (Eu sou assim) (My world is today [This is how I am]) (http://letras.terra.com.br/

paulinho-da-viola/486092/) – a song which reads almost like a testament to his philosophy of life:

This is how I am

Whoever wants to like me

This is how I am My world is today

For me, there is no tomorrow

This is how I am

One day I will die this way I'll take along no regrets Nor the weight of hypocrisy

I feel sorry for those Who grovel on the ground And deceive themselves

For the sake of money or position

I was never part Of this battalion

Because I know that, besides the flowers, Nothing else goes along with a coffin Eu sou assim

Quem quiser gostar de mim

Eu sou assim Meu mundo é hoje

Não existe amanhã prá mim

Eu sou assim

Assim morrerei um dia Não levarei arrependimento Nem o peso da hipocrisia

Tenho pena daqueles
Que se agacham até ao chão
Enganando a si mesmos
Por dinheiro ou posição
Nunca tomei parte
Neste enorme batalhão
Pois sei que além das flores
Nada mais vai ao caixão

The song's title encapsulates the idea that life should be enjoyed in the present, and that from life nothing is taken save what one has lived. This is all acknowledged very serenely. It is a critique of those who had to suffer humiliation for the sake of money or position.

The critique of money was also developed in a radical way by Noel Rosa. He realized very early on that money was an increasingly pervading reality in the lives of all those living in Brazil's large cities. This position is clearly synthesized in Fita Amarela (Yellow Ribbon), a 1933 song co-authored with Vadico (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=utUzUVEs90s):

When I die I don't want weeping nor candles I want a yellow ribbon With her name on it

If there is a soul
If there is another life
I would want the mulata

Quando eu morrer Não quero choro nem vela Quero uma fita amarela Gravada com o nome dela

Se existe alma Se há outra encarnação Eu queria que a mulata To tap dance over my coffin

When I die (...)

I want no flowers

Nor crowns of thorns

I just want the weeping of the flute

The guitar and cavaquinho

When I die (...)

I have no heir I don't have a penny I lived my life in debt with everyone But I haven't paid them off

When I die (...)

My enemies
Who today badmouth me
Are going to say that they had never seen
Anyone as good as me

Sapateasse no meu caixão

Quando eu morrer (...)

Não quero flores Nem coroa com espinho Só quero choro de flauta Violão e cavaquinho

Quando eu morrer (...)

Não tenho herdeiros Nem possuo um só vintém Eu vivi devendo a todos Mas não paquei a ninquém

Quando eu morrer (...)

Meus inimigos Que hoje falam mal de mim Vão dizer que nunca viram Uma pessoa tão boa assim

The composition brings a philosophy grounded in indifference towards the solemn side of life (or death), and denounces all the hypocrisy in the cult of the virtues of the dead. But such philosophy is grounded, above all, in the transience of life and in a relaxed way of living it. From life nothing is taken, and for life nothing is left. Thus value lies not in the weeping of those who remain, but the sound of music and the delight of having a mulata tap dance over one's coffin. And, of course, one should not take financial commitments too seriously.

Filosofia (Philosophy) is the name of a song written by Noel Rosa in 1933 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-VRommuacW4):

The whole world condemns me And no one feels sorry for me Always badmouthing my name Not concerned whether I will die of thirst Or of hunger O mundo me condena E ninguém tem pena Falando sempre mal de meu nome Deixando de saber Se eu vou morrer de sede Ou se eu vou morrer de fome But philosophy Helps me today

To life indifferently, like this In this endless prontidão I go on pretending I'm rich So no one will deride me

I don't care If you say That society is my enemy

I will go on singing around this world

Being a slave of my samba Even if being a loafer

As for you

From the aristocracy
Who have money
But cannot buy joy
Will have to live forever
Being a slave of those
Who cultivate hypocrisy

Mas a filosofia Hoje me auxilia

A viver indiferente, assim Nessa prontidão sem fim Vou fingindo que sou rico Pra ninquém zombar de mim

Não me incomodo Que você diga

Que a sociedade é minha inimiga Vou cantando neste mundo Sendo escravo do meu samba

Muito embora vagabundo

Quanto a você

Da aristocracia

Que tem dinheiro

Mas não compra alegria

Há de viver eternamente

Sendo escrava desta gente

Que cultiva a hipocrisia

The song's philosophy is about being indifferent to prontidão, that is, the lack of money. The difficulties it brings and the criticisms made by society are fully compensated for by the fact that he does not want to be a hypocrite like the aristocrats addressed by the song, who "have money, but cannot buy joy".

Uncomplaining figures like Emília and Amélia who knew "how to do the laundry and cook" and who "appreciated not having what to eat", in this period women are increasingly reminding men that they should work hard, as in the samba Vai Trabalhar (Go get a job) by Cyro de Souza, recorded in 1942:

This is not convenient for me This does not suit me well Me in the lesco-lesco, By the sink

In order to make some money

Isso não me convém E não fica bem Eu no lesco-lesco na beira do tanque Pra ganhar dinheiro

While you are in the samba

E você no samba

The whole day, oh

The whole day, oh

O dia inteiro, ai

O dia inteiro, ai

O dia inteiro, ai

You understand Você compreende But pretend you don't get E faz que não entende

That it only takes some good will Que tudo depende de boa vontade
To get our life straight Pra nossa vida endireitar

You should cooperate

Be strong and helpful

Look for a job

Quit the samba

And go to work

Você deve cooperar

É forte e pode ajudar

Procure emprego

Deixe o samba

E vai trabalhar

Even though written by a man, the narrator is a woman who complains to her man that instead of going to work he goes to the samba, and is supported by her hard work. But to live by work is difficult, as shown in another samba by Cyro de Souza, Vida Apertada (Hard life), from 1940 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k-yruButp-A):

My God, what a hard life Meu Deus, que vida apertada I work but I have nothing Trabalho, não tenho nada Vivo num martírio sem iqual I live in total martyrdom A vida não tem encanto Life has no enchantment Para quem padece tanto For someone who suffers so This way, my end will be dark Desse jeito eu acabo mal Ser pobre não é defeito To be poor is not a fault Mas é infelicidade But unhappiness Nem sequer tenho direito I don't even have a right De gozar a mocidade To enjoy my youth Saio tarde do trabalho I leave work late And get home half-dead Chego em casa semi-morto Pois enfrento uma estiva Because I have to endure work in the docks Todo o dia lá no cais do porto Everyday at the harbor

The subject of this composition wears himself out by working as a longshoreman at the docks, just to realize that, besides not earning much, he does not even have the right to enjoy his youth.

Many compositions from this period remark that, unfortunately, one

needs to work in order to get money. One such example is Dinheiro não é Semente (Money is no seed), a samba by Felisberto Martins and Mutt recorded in 1941:

Money is no seed
That you plant and it bears fruit
If I want to see its color
I have to work

If I walk around well-dressed it is because I like it If I walk around moneyed it is due to my own sweat

I don't live for seeing another life I live because I understand That without work

I will never be tranquil By my friend's scissors I am always cut

Money is no...

Dinheiro não é semente Que plantando dá Se eu quero ver a cor dele Eu tenho que trabalhar

Se ando alinhado é porque tenho gosto

Se ando endinheirado é com o suor do meu rosto

Não vivo por ver um outro viver Vivo porque sei compreender

Que sem trabalhar
Eu não fico sossegado
Na tesoura dos amigos
Eu ando sempre cortado
O dinheiro não é...

There is here a clear view that money does not grow on trees, but is a fruit of labor. There is even an allusion to the biblical myth of the fall, when man confronts the need for earning his bread through "his own sweat". Not even the possibility of borrowing from friends guarantees money.

Besides not earning much from labor, money in general tends to disappear in Brazil, as shown in the marcha Onde está o dinheiro? (Where is the money?) by José Maria de Abreu, Francisco Mattoso and Paulo Barbosa released in 1937(http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eEtgwSstucU):

Where is the money? The cat ate it, the cat ate it And nobody saw it

The cat ran away, the cat ran away

Its whereabouts
Are overseas

Where is the money?

I will look for it And I will find it And with money at hand

I'll buy a wagon

Onde está o dinheiro?

O gato comeu, o gato comeu

E ninguém viu

O gato fugiu, o gato fugiu

O seu paradeiro Está no estrangeiro Onde está o dinheiro?

Eu vou procurar E hei de encontrar E com o dinheiro na mão Eu compro um vagão I'll buy the nation
I'll even buy your heart

Where is the money?, etc.

It's not in the North It'll be in the South

There are those who know and won't tell  $% \frac{d^{2}}{dt^{2}}=\frac{dt^{2}}{dt^{2}}$ 

It escaped by a hair's breadth And this is the crux of the matter

One can't be happy Where is the money?, etc. I will go look for it, etc.' Eu compro a nação Eu compro até seu coração

Onde está o dinheiro?, etc.

No Norte não está No Sul estará

Tem gente que sabe e não diz

Escapou por um tris

E aí está o xis

E não se pode ser feliz Onde está o dinheiro?, etc. Eu vou procurar, etc.

Along with an implicit reference to corruption, there is the idea that with money one can buy anything, including the nation and other people's hearts. But the crux of the matter is that those who know where the money is won't tell.

In 1951 Getúlio Vargas returned to Brazil's Presidency, and, in order to curb inflation, he proposed the creation of a Ministry of the Economy. Geraldo Pereira and Arnaldo Passos wrote a song with just this name, which was recorded that same year (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LHbP\_kYHUGg):

Mr. President

Your Excellency showed it for a fact That now everything will be cheaper Now the poor will be able to eat

Mr. President

That's what the people wanted The Ministry of the Economy Is going to sort it all out

Mr. President

Thank God, I'll no longer have to eat cat There will be plenty of beef in the butcher shop

I can already live with love

I will bring

My nêga to come and live with me And she will no longer starve to death

Life was so hard

That I had to send off my nice nêga To face some madam's kitchen

In Copacabana

Seu Presidente

Sua Excelência mostrou que é de fato

Agora tudo vai ficar barato Agora o pobre já pode comer

Seu Presidente

Pois era isso que o povo queria O Ministério da Economia Parece que vai resolver

Seu Presidente

Graças a Deus não vou comer mais gato Carne de vaca no açouque é mato

Com o meu amor eu já posso viver

Eu vou buscar

A minha nega pra morar comigo Pois já vi que não há mais perigo Ela de fome já não vai morrer A vida estava tão difícil

Que eu mandei a minha nega bacana Meter os peitos na cozinha da madame Now I will go and get her Because I really like her And the cats are the ones to laugh with joy Up in the hills Em Copacabana Agora vou buscar a nega Porque gosto dela pra cachorro E os gatos é que vão dar gargalhada de alegria Lá no morro

In this samba, the narrator sarcastically pretends to believe that the creation of a Ministry of the Economy would solve all the poor's problems. There is also the notion that a woman should not work, except in the face of extreme hardship.

But in the fifties, the shortage of money among the poor becomes the subject of many sambas such as O Dinheiro que ganho (The money that I make), a samba song with lyrics and music by Assis Valente released in 1951 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7jmgKsPrjys):

With the money that I make
I cannot hang out in the streets
Up and down, up and down
With the money that I make I can only live
In my shack, sitting on the floor
Eating flour and beans by hand
Regarding the mulata stirring the legumes
So they won't go bad

If I am in the streets and a friend comes
I have to invite him
To have a shot, have a chat
Go for a walk, killing some time
And after that, the dinner
And also some coffee
There goes all my money
I have to walk to the Salgueiro
(I am short of money)

O dinheiro que ganho
não dá pra ficar no meio da rua
prá cá e prá lá, prá cá e prá lá
O dinheiro que ganho só dá pra viver
no meu barracão sentado no chão
Comendo na mão farinha e feijão
Olhando a cabrocha mexendo o legume
pra não azedar

Se fico na rua lá vem um amigo
e eu sou obrigado a lhe convidar
tomar um traguinho, bater um papinho
Dar uma voltinha pro tempo passar
Depois do passeio lá vem o jantar
e também o café
Lá se vai meu dinheiro
Eu vou pro Salgueiro a pé
(meu dinheiro não dá)

The composition is simple, and depicts someone who does not enjoy enough resources to spend time in the street. Lack of money confines him to the house, a traditionally feminine space in Brazilian society. (DaMatta 1979).

In 1958, Dorival Caymmi released Saudade da Bahia (How I miss Bahia), which sings the suffering of migrants from the Brazilian Northeast who fled their homes to try make a living in the South. He concludes it by declaring

that "I am sorry for those who believe / That celebrity and money will make them happy".

Me dá um Dinheiro aí (Give me some money), written by Ivan Ferreira, Homero Ferreira and Glauco Ferreira in 1959 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wTDdd3dFPG4) portrays the figure of the beggar, one that has proliferated in our times, from the panhandler to the flanelinha (car watcher):

Hey, you there Ei, você aí

Give me some money, Me dá um dinheiro aí,
Give me some money. Me dá um dinheiro aí.

You won't?
Não vai dar?
You really won't?
Não vai dar não?
So you will witness
A big mess
A grande confusão
That I'm gonna make
Drinking until I pass out
Bebendo até cair

Give me some, give me some (oi)

Me dá, me dá, me dá (oi)

Give me some money, hey, you there.

Me dá um dinheiro aí.

The sixties were marked by significant social and economic changes in Brazil. Censorship which followed the 1964 coup made it harder for songs addressing topics which could be viewed as subversive. This however did not prevent some composers from talking about the social problems the country was going through. The military regime was gesturing towards education as an avenue for upwards social mobility, and there was an increase in private institutions of higher learning. In 1969, Martinho da Vila depicted in Pequeno Burguês (Petit Bourgeois) (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y9zEfDU6zoQ) the bitterness of somebody who tried to get a better life through a university diploma:

Great, I passed the entrance exams

But college is private

Private, it is private

Felicidade, passei no vestibular

Mas a faculdade é particular

Particular, ela é particular

The books are so expensive

So many fees to pay for

My money has been scarce

I had to borrow some

Livros tão caros

Tanta taxa pra pagar

Meu dinheiro muito raro

Alguém teve que emprestar

I lived in the outskirts Morei no subúrbio
I got late trains Andei de trem atrasado

From work to classes
No dinner and very tired
But at home, at midnight
I always had to endure
A bunch of problems
Children to raise
But fortunately
I succeeded in graduating
But my commencement ceremony
I could not attend
There was no money for the gown
Nor for my ring
That bald dean
Did not hand me my paper

And after all these years
Only disappointment, disillusion
They say I am a petit bourgeois
A very privileged one
But you are the bourgeois
I am nothing but nobody
And whoever wants to be like me
Will have to struggle a lot
A good lot

Do trabalho ia pra aula
Sem jantar e bem cansado
Mas lá em casa à meia noite
Tinha sempre a me esperar
Um punhado de problemas
E criança pra criar
Mas felizmente
Eu consegui me formar
Mas da minha formatura
Não cheguei participar
Faltou dinheiro pra beca
E também pro meu anel
Nem o diretor careca
Entregou o meu papel

E depois de tantos anos
Só decepções, desenganos
Dizem que eu sou um burguês
Muito privilegiado
Mas burgueses são vocês
Eu não passo de um pobre coitado
E quem quiser ser como eu
Vai ter que penar um bocado
Um bom bocado
Vai penar um bom bocado

The picture is one of disappointment and disillusion. The happiness brought by fulfilling the dream of entering college and all the prestige that this would still bring during the sixties is followed by numerous expenses because college is private. One needs to borrow money, go from work to night classes without dinner, and then endure the long train ride to the city outskirts in order to face one's children and a lot of problems at home. Even commencement, a ritual normally attended by the family, is foreclosed to him due to the lack of money for the gown and the "Doctor's" ring. The song concludes that the poor are indeed wretched, and are not able to move upwards in a country where income is not evenly distributed, public universities are difficult to enter, and private colleges are expensive.

In 1975, Chico Buarque, who would later on sing the end of the malandro for good in A Ópera do Malandro (The malandro opera), wrote the lyrics and music of Vai trabalhar vagabundo (Go to work, vagabond) (http://www.

## youtube.com/watch?v=-OmgdchaKjo):

Go to work, vagabond
Go to work, creature
God allows everyone
One crazy thing

To spend Sunday with family

Monday relaxed

And joyfully embark on the stream

Prepare your documents Stamp your heart Do not lose one minute

Lose reason

Go to work

You may forget the mulata You may forget the snooker You may tighten your tie Go and hang yourself Go and give yourself away Go and ruin yourself

Don't waste this opportunity Amass some savings

Lose three bucks in the lottery scam Spend your Sunday in the mangrove

Monday is empty

In the blood bank earn enough for another day Watch out for the viaduct, for the airplane

Do not wait another minute

Miss the question

Try to think about the future In the dark, try to think Go and renew your insurance

Go and become senile Go and give yourself away Go and ruin yourself

Go to work

Spend Sunday on your own Monday is a disgrace Vai trabalhar, vagabundo Vai trabalhar, criatura Deus permite a todo mundo

Uma loucura

Passa o domingo em família

Segunda feira beleza

Embarca com alegria na correnteza

Prepara o teu documento Carimba o teu coração Não perde nem um momento

Perde a razão

Pode esquecer a mulata Pode esquecer o bilhar Pode apertar a gravata

Vai te enforcar Vai te entregar Vai te estragar Vai trabalhar

Vê se não dorme no ponto Reúne as economias

Perde os três contos no conto da loteria

Passa o domingo no mangue

Segunda feira vazia

Ganha no banco de sangue pra mais um dia

Cuidado com o viaduto com o avião

Não perde mais um minuto

Perde a questão

Tenta pensar no futuro No escuro tenta pensar Vai renovar teu seguro

Vai caducar Vai te entregar Vai te estragar Vai trabalhar

Passa o domingo sozinho

No father, no mother, no neighbor Right there at the square

You will end up moribund

With a bit of patience

At the end of the line in the retirement fund

Go in peace, my brother Rest in the peace of God

You left a home and a pension for yours

The child is crying

Your wife is going to wear herself out Just to put another malandro in your place

Go and give yourself away Go and ruin yourself Go and hang yourself Go and become senile

Go to work Go to work Go to work Segunda feira a desgraça Sem pai nem mãe nem vizinho

Em plena praça

Vai terminar moribundo

Com um pouco de paciência

No fim da fila do fundo da previdência

Parte tranqüilo, ó irmão Descansa na paz de Deus

Deixaste casa e pensão só para os teus

A criança chorando Tua mulher vai suar

Pra botar outro malandro no teu lugar

Vai te entregar Vai te estragar Vai te enforcar Vai caducar Vai trabalhar Vai trabalhar Vai trabalhar

The situation here is one of hardship and the character, who descended from malandro (with a positive connotation) to vagabond (negative connotation), has to fend for himself and get some money by resorting to means such as blood donations – after having been a fool and fallen for the lottery scam. This is an asphyxiating picture, compounded by "Go and give yourself away | Go and ruin yourself | Go and hang yourself", where one needs to work hard in order to survive.

Perdoa (Forgive me), a composition from the sixties by Paulinho da Viola (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=75q\_zhX7QRI), addresses financial hardships head on:

My dear, forgive me Forgive me for my heart of a sinner You know that I could never live Without your love

I have been buying on credit
Because my money is not enough
Can you imagine if I were married
With over six children to support

Meu bem perdoa Perdoa meu coração pecador Você sabe que jamais eu viverei Sem o seu amor

Ando comprando fiado Porque meu dinheiro não dá Imagine se eu fosse casado Com mais de seis filhos para sustentar They never made it easy for me
And I may say I am hard working
I made a deal with you
When I went over to receive and you did not pay me
But for now, my dear
My dear, forgive me... etc.

Call the owner of this house I want to tell him my name Say a very beautiful verse And he will answer in order to satisfy my hunger

I, as the house owner,
Am not obliged to serve not even bananas
If you want to know my name
I am the one who hasn't eaten in a week
But for now, my dear
My dear, forgive me... etc.

Call the owner of the grocery store
Who is always by his hammock daydreaming
Say a very beautiful verse
And he will answer in order to quench my thirst

The owner of this grocery store Cannot be forced to sell to anyone You may pick up the guitar because today is Sunday And there is no beer But for now, my dear

My dear, forgive me... etc.

Nunca me deram moleza E posso dizer que sou trabalhador Fiz um trato com você Quando fui receber você não me pagou Mas ora meu bem Meu bem perdoa... etc.

Chama o dono dessa casa Que eu quero dizer como é o meu nome Diga um verso bem bonito Ele vai responder pra matar minha fome

Eu como dono da casa Não sou obrigado a servir nem banana Se quiser saber meu nome É o tal que não come há uma semana Mas ora meu bem Meu bem perdoa... etc.

Chama o dono da quitanda Que vive sonhando deitado na rede Diga um verso bem bonito Ele vai responder pra matar minha sede

O dono desta quitanda Não é obrigado a vender pra ninguém Pode pegar a viola que hoje é domingo E cerveja não tem Mas ora meu bem

Meu bem perdoa

The narrator is addressing a woman whom he asks for forgiveness. He tells her about the economic hardships he has been through: how he has no money and has been buying on credit; even though he works hard, even his interlocutor owes him and won't pay back. There is then a nostalgic element in the verses, which stands in opposition to harsh reality ("If you want to know my name / I am the one who hasn't eaten in a week"). The reason for the request for forgiveness remains, however, unclear. Would it be due to man's inability to fulfill his traditional role as a provider, in a situation where he is

even prevented from procreating and thus securing his progeny ("Can you imagine if I were married / With over six children to raise?")

At that time, work is still a struggle, and it is increasingly harder to make a living. This is explicit in *Pode guardar as panelas* (You may put away the pans) (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zoZqHMzfsl8), a 1979 samba by Paulinho da Viola:

You know that the tide
Is no piece of cake
And those who sleep without a cap
Know what it is about
I know my heart aches
When I talk the way I did
To say that the worst has happened
You may put away the cooking pans
Because today money fell short
(You know that the tide)

I struggled a lot
Asking for loans and no one would lend me
I went over to Mr. Malaquias
To buy on credit but he didn't let me
My salary, tight, poor thing, it's funny
It has disappeared

I resorted to the horses, I bet on the head But it didn't work out (You know that the tide)

You know that the tide... etc.

To get our pans full, woman
I don't know how
I have run about everywhere
I did what I could
To wait for a miracle
That would work things out
My faith has already been shaken
I don't want to be disappointed again
(You know that the tide)

Você sabe que a maré
Não está moleza não
E quem não fica dormindo de touca
Já sabe da situação
Eu sei que dói no coração
Falar do jeito que falei
Dizer que o pior aconteceu
Pode guardar as panelas
Que hoje o dinheiro não deu
(você sabe que a maré)

Dei pinote adoidado Pedindo empréstimo e ninguém emprestou Fui no seu Malaquias Querendo fiado mas ele negou Meu ordenado, apertado, coitado, engraçado Desapareceu

Fui apelar pro cavalo, joguei na cabeça Mas ele não deu (você sabe que a maré)

Você sabe que a maré...etc.

Para encher nossa panela, comadre
Eu não sei como vai ser
Já corri pra todo lado
Fiz aquilo que deu pra fazer
Esperar por um milagre
Pra ver se resolve esta situação
Minha fé já balançou
Eu não quero sofrer outra decepção
(você sabe que a maré)

This song is a shift in the way of looking at money, towards the loss of previous illusions. As a background, the refrain is constantly repeating that life is quite hard for the working classes. Even though he acknowledges that he may hurt some sensibilities, the narrator prefers to be frank and straightforward ("You may put away the cooking pans / Because today money fell short"). The effect is powerful, because money is directly associated with food. Differently from sambas from previous times, in which the word money was generally avoided, here it is explicitly mentioned. The narrator is a wage worker whose earnings are not enough to provide for the entire month. So he is forced to come up with alternative ways of getting it. But the methods previously used (to borrow, buy on credit, gamble) no longer work, and he no longer believes in miracles; hence such deep disillusionment. The very title of the song, "You may put away the pans", suggests a retreat, that he is "taking his team off the field", an absence of solutions on the horizon.

Paulinho da Viola is an epigone of classic samba players. He writes sambas at a time when this musical genre no longer prevails in Brazil. In this sense, he may be associated with the closure of an epoch. This was a period which began with composers affirming that money has little value and may be obtained through magical means, and ended with an acknowledgement of its importance and of the enormous difficulties involved in earning it.

The samba songs analyzed in this article were composed as an urban-industrial society came into being in Brazil and reveal the social imaginary of the time. During this time, large Brazilian cities were the stage for a rearrangement of work relations, the dissemination of wage labor, a redefinition of gender roles, and new forms of family organization. It is not surprising, then, that women, work and money were so closely interwoven in sambas composed at this time. Although the cultural industry was still at its infancy, these compositions achieved enormous success and are still sung with relish to this day. They thus echoed and continue to echo in Brazil's imaginary.

Translated from Portuguese by Leticia Cesarino

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