

THE RHYTHMICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SAMBA BETWEEN 1910 AND 1940: TRANSFORMATION OR EMERGENCE? A REEVALUATION OF THE BANTU CONTRIBUTION IN THE FORM OF TIMELINES AS A RHYTHM CONCEPT

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INTRODUCTION

When I first left Brazil and came to Europe as a professional Percussionist, the most common question I was asked by my new musician friends was: “What is Samba”? “How does a Samba go”? I realized then, I had actually never thought about what could be the one defining feature of Samba or even if there was such a thing. I proceeded to analyse the rhythmical structure of Samba and in the process I learned intellectually what I already knew intuitively. It was a process of bringing to my conscious knowledge the musical concepts that governed the creation and execution of Samba, which I already unknowingly possessed. It was my attempt to define Samba, a concept “so vast and profound in Brazilian music and life as to practically defy definition” (Waddey 1980:196), which led to the historical moment when Samba emerged into Brazilian life.

From a history of persecution and repression in the first decades of the 20th century samba became by 1940, the strongest cultural manifestation to represent Brazilian identity. In the space of a mere three decades, this musical form spread from the lower classes and permeated the highest echelons of Brazilian society. The reasons for this rise of samba to the status of Brazilian national music have been the subject of many studies, books and essays (Vianna 1995; Shaw: 1999; McCann 2004 to mention a few).

However, musically it has always been talked about as having suffered a transformation (Sandroni 2001), which implies having evolved from a first form of Samba, as it was recorded in 1917 (“Pelo Telefone”), to the style of Samba prevalent in 1940, known as Samba do Estácio¹ or Samba Batucado². Samba, as it is known today in Brazil, inherits its rhythmical shape from the Samba Batucado. The composers from Estácio are thought to have created this shape in the 1930s (Didier in Sandroni 2001:32). What I suggest is that, the rhythmic cell that guided Samba during its rise to the position of Brazilian national music did not appear suddenly at the end of the 1920s with the Estácio composers, it already existed in other musical forms, as a creative concept and the Brazilian national style of music was the result of, not a transformation of the first sambas recorded, but in fact, the emergence into commercial popular music of a rhythmical concept which was part of the culture of the disenfranchised ex-slaves and their immediate descendents. I further suggest that this “timeline” is a direct inheritance from the Bantu culture of the Congo/Angolan slaves brought to Brazil, for it is from those areas in Africa that the majority of slaves in the states of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais came from.

Most authors, when dealing with the “birth” of Samba, give great importance to the Bahian community settled in an area near the centre of Rio called Cidade Nova (New City), a newly formed neighbourhood built on reclaimed marshlands in the late 1800s. This is not a misplaced importance, since this group was highly active inside the Afro-Brazilian large community, especially in the cultural aspect, being responsible for several carnival groups, Afro-Brazilian religious temples (Candomblé) and generally being a socio-cultural focal point for the community as a whole. One household in particular is singled out as the point from which Samba radiated to the rest of the city of Rio de Janeiro, that of Tia Ciata (Aunt Ciata). The singer and radio presenter Almirante (Henrique Foréis Domingues) stated that Samba was born in Tia Ciata’s house (Cabral 1996:32).

However, if we were to believe that Samba came to Rio with the Bahian émigrés of Cidade Nova, we are denying the people from Rio who were not descendent from the Bahians, any

¹ Named after the neighbourhood of Estácio de Sá in Rio de Janeiro, where the main composers and performers of this style of Samba came from.

² From a form of music and dance called Batucada, most probably derived from the circle dance of Batuque.

role in forging the style of music that came to represent the musical culture of that city and of the country as a whole. We must ask ourselves: What were the people of Rio, and they were in their majority descendents of Bantu slaves, playing when the Bahians arrived? What sort of music did the people, who had no connections with the dominant classes and therefore had no access to the record industry, play? These are some of the questions we will try and tackle on this paper to determine how crucial was the Bantu contribution, in particular the use of the timeline concept, to the development of Samba.

The understanding of the timeline concept is absolutely vital for the understanding of Samba, especially outside the Brazilian environment. Indeed, it might even provide the most useful way for people in Brazil, who come from areas where Samba is not a strong part of the local popular tradition, to get an insider understanding of the genre's rhythmical concept.

The historical background looks at the slave trade between Brazil and the West and West-central Coasts of Africa, the distribution of slaves in Brazil and surviving cultural traits from Africa in different regions of Brazil, with especial attention to the region around Rio de Janeiro where Samba developed to become Brazil's national music. We shall then look at the importance of timelines as a concept in music creation inside African societies and in the Diaspora. A comparison between the different musical genres in existence at the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries in Rio de Janeiro will follow looking at the similarities and contrasts in the instrumentation, form and rhythmical concept of such genres. We shall discuss the two styles of Samba: the earlier Samba, recorded under this name but much more akin to the Maxixe, and the later style of Samba Batucado preferred by the *sambistas*³ of Estácio, pointing out the intimate relationship between Samba and the Rio de Janeiro Carnival festivities. An analysis of some Sambas, from Brazil as well as Angolan Sembas, will provide not only a comparison of the importance of timelines in both cultures, but also a sense of the degree of embeddedness this essential element has in both musics. For that, I interviewed an Angolan musician connected to traditional music, Brazilian instrumentalists and singers connected to samba in different levels and non-Brazilian musicians who learned and play Samba.

The conclusions are followed by a bibliography and a track list with details of the music in the accompanying illustrative CD.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF SLAVE CULTURES

Where am I?

The colonization of Brazil by the Portuguese began in earnest in the mid 1500s and the first slaves were brought from Africa in the 14th century. Although there is no precise indication of an exact date, Arthur Ramos suggests that it could have been as early as 1531 (Ramos 1939:231) with the traffic increasing in the subsequent decades as the monoculture of sugar cane boomed and became the main source of income to be had from the colony, by the Portuguese Crown. Later, in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, gold mining, principally in Minas Gerais, coffee and sugar cane plantations in the provinces of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, sugar cane plantations in Pernambuco and Alagoas, tobacco and sugar cane plantations in Bahia and finally, cotton cultivation in the province of Maranhão became the main employers of slave force from the African continent (Ramos 1941:517). Slavery was finally abolished in Brazil in 1888 but the importation of slaves from Africa stopped at around 1851 due to the action of the British Navy, within Brazilian territorial waters, against Brazilian slave ships (Drescher1988: 440).

During the three hundred years of slave trading, a special relationship developed between slave traders from the city of Rio de Janeiro with the ports of West/Central Africa (Cabinda, Luanda and Benguela) and between traders in Salvador, Bahia and the ports of West Africa in the Mina Coast⁴ (Miller 1988:325).

³ *Sambista* is the name used in Rio de Janeiro to designate a person who composes, plays or dances Samba.

⁴ Mina was never an ethnic group in Africa but became one in Brazil. In fact, according to Verger the term designated "slaves obtained at the ports of Grand Popo, Whydah, Jaquin and Apa in the coast of today Benin. Known as Mina Coast because of its commercial dependence on the Castle of São Jorge da Mina in the Gold Coast (Ghana)" (Verger 1964: 5).

Pierre Verger talks of the African immigration to Bahia being divided into cycles: 1- From Guinea. 2 - From Angola in the 17th century. 3 – From the Mina Coast. 4 – From the Bight of Benin from 1770 until 1851 (Verger 1964:3). However, these cycles did not happen in Rio de Janeiro, where there was almost a total absence of trading with the Mina Coast and the vast majority of slaves came from ports in today Congo and Angola (Verger 1964:30).

Ships leaving from the Angolan ports of Luanda and Benguela, brought slaves captured in raids deep into the African continent, reaching as far east as Zambia and the province of Katanga in present day Congo (Miller 1988:216), whereas from the ports of the Mina Coast and the Bight of Benin shipped slaves came from diverse ethnic groups such as Yoruba, Ewe, Hausa and Egba (Verger 1964:31). The result was an enormous diversity of ethnic backgrounds amongst the slave population in Brazil. In spite of this diversity, there is however, a predominance of West African culture in Bahia, especially Yoruba and a much more Bantu orientated Afro-Brazilian culture in Rio de Janeiro and adjacent states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais (Ramos 1942:138).

Who am I?

The predominance of the Yoruba culture in Bahia has two reasons: firstly, the mass enslavement of the Yoruba people took place from around the beginning of the 19th century, according to Illife (Illife 1995:141), after civil war broke up in the Yoruba Kingdom provoking its collapse and secondly, the traffic of Yoruba slaves to Brazil was mainly to the port of Salvador, as stated by Verger. Therefore, the last wave of slaves to come to Bahia was predominantly Yoruba. According to Nishida, the number of slaves traded between 1838 and 1848, in one single Parish of Salvador, Bahia shows that nearly 60% were Yoruba and only 20% were Bantus. In the subsequent decades from 1850 until 1888, 70% of slaves were Yoruba and in the same period less than 10% were Bantus (Nishida 1993:370). On the other hand, most of the surviving African cultural elements around the Southeast of Brazil are decidedly Bantu ones. In several communities, the Afro-Brazilian population retains a vocabulary of African language with the majority of words having an etymological root in the languages from the Congo/Angola region, such as Kimbundo, Umbundu and Kicongo, as demonstrated by Vogt and Fryer (Fryer & Vogt, 1996). In a fieldwork trip to Brazil, I had the opportunity of engaging in conversation with “Seu” Crispim, a member of the community of Ausente, in Minas Gerais (Crispim 2005). “Seu” Crispim is one of two people in that community who can speak a language they claim to be African and comparing words used by Crispim to those collected by Vogt and Fryer in the community of Cafundó, São Paulo, I found that the vast majority had a Bantu root. As an example, here are just a few of them with the root pointed out as Kimbundo (KB) or Kicongo (KC):

Portuguese	English	Cafundó	Ausente	root
Casa	House	Injó	Anjó	KB
Boi, vaca	Ox, cow	Ingombe	Ongome	KB
Cão	Dog	Arambuá	Ambuá	KB
Galinha	Chicken	Sanje	Ocassange	KB
Chapéu	Hat	chipango	Quipongo	KB
Defunto	Deceased	Quimbimba	Quinvimba	KC
Açúcar	Sugar	Uíque	Uíque	KB

This can give an idea of the extent to which Bantu culture survived in the Southeast of Brazil. When I talk of a Bantu culture, I am taking into consideration an acculturation process amongst ethnic groups of Bantu descent, as pointed out by Robert Slenes (Slenes 1995). Slenes argues that the cultural diversity amongst ethnic groups in West Africa, presented a huge obstacle for acculturation to occur (Slenes 1995:8) in consequence of which, ethnic distinction was maintained to a greater degree within the social groups of West African origin in Bahia, e.g. in the religious practises called Candomble, with different temples related to different areas of West Africa: Nagô temples maintained Yoruba tradition, Ketu temples tradition from Dahomey (Bastide 1960: 270).

The same, however, did not happen with the peoples of West /Central Africa due to greater similarities between their individual cultures. Linguistically, any given pair of languages from the great Bantu sub-areas is as close to each other as two modern neo-Latin languages (Slenes 1995:8) and the cultural similarities were not restricted to languages alone. Representatives of Bantu ethnic groups who were taken to Brazil and mixed with each other, would not take long to realise the existence of profound cultural links between them (Slenes 1995:6) and the tendency was the merging of cultural elements from these distinct groups, including language, music and religious rituals. This complex process started even before the crossing of the Atlantic (Slenes 1995:11) and the final development of a Pan-Bantu cultural identity in the areas of larger Bantu population, i.e. Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and São Paulo.

However, we find in Rio de Janeiro, since the beginning of the 19th century, a number of Candomblé houses functioning side by side with Bantu religious temples (Bastide 287). Equally, the state of Bahia received a number of slaves from the Congo/Angola area and their culture manifests itself in the form of music, dance and religious rituals through the *Samba de Roda*, *the Maculelê* and *the Capoeira*⁵ and also in a small number of Congo/Angola Candomblés (Kubick 1979:17). The distribution of slaves determined the predominance of cultural aspects but not the exclusivity of such aspects.

TIMELINES IN AFRICAN CULTURES

Asymmetric balance

In his Theory of African Music, Kubik cites the use of ostinato percussive lines as one of the main concepts of music making in Africa, alongside call and response singing, elementary and gross pulses, cycles and interlocking playing. He defines them as “regulative elements found in many kinds of African music, especially in West Africa and in Western Central Africa” (Kubik 1994:44). In fact, Kubik goes further and states “timelines are so important structurally in those types of African music that we can call them the metric back-bone of these musics” (Kubik 1979:18). Nketia called these patterns time-lines and describe them as “standard rhythm patterns to represent a fixed time span”(Nketia 2002:150), whilst Agawu prefers the term “topoi” and refers to them as “a point of temporal reference”(Agawu 2003: 73).

These repetitive patterns serve not just as a time keeping device for an ensemble but also as rhythm conceptual guide for every component of that ensemble, i.e. drums, vocals or any other instruments used, therefore becoming the main structural referent (Anku 1997: 215). Timelines can be externalised as a pattern through an actual sound, normally from a high pitch drum, a metal or wood sounding instrument. However, crucially it may remain implicit in the resultant rhythms of the ensemble without being expressed. (Agawu 2003:77). This shows that, although most authors considered that the function of timelines is to regulate the tempo or time keeping, it goes deeper than that. It regulates more than time alone.

If we look at the examples of timelines used in West Africa given by Agawu, in his book “*Representing Africa*” (Agawu 2003: 75) and also the ones given by Kubik in his “*Angolan Traits in Black Music, Games and Dances of Brazil*” (Kubik 1979:15,17,19,21), we will see that they are all asymmetric patterns, i.e. they are composed of two unequal halves. However, because the way they work is by repetition ad infinitum, they create a sort of balance, an equilibrium made up by two opposing sides. Rather like light and shade, in and out, Ying and Yang. So, through the repetition of asymmetry, they give symmetry to the performance, as for every action is followed by a reaction followed by action again. Every tension is followed by a release followed by tension again. Looked upon in this light, the rhythm tension should stop being perceived as clash or conflict, which are “antithetical to African tradition (Agawu 2003:78). This principal of complementary oppositions is also the basic fundament of dancing (personal communication Johansson 2006), the tension of the body in movement in opposition to the release when the feet grounds the weight of the body. This

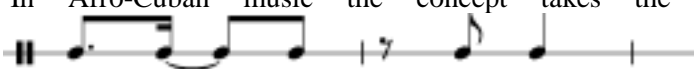
⁵ Samba de roda is a circle dance, Maculelê is a kind of dance/fight using sticks with intricate choreography and Capoeira is a Brazilian Martial Art performed to music (Almeida 1986).

relationship between asymmetric timelines and dancing should be explored further but such exploration would go beyond the aims of the present paper, which is to concentrate on the function of timelines within the musical spectrum of Africa and the Diaspora.

Timelines across the sea

This creative concept of balanced asymmetry survived the Middle Passage and became an integral part of the musical process in the New World, not just in Brazil but also in Cuba. The beginning of the 19th century saw an increasing number of Bantus being taken to Havana, especially from the port of Benguela (Miller 1988:517).

In Afro-Cuban music the concept takes the shape of the Clave rhythm



which is according to Roberta Singer a “rhythmic organizational principle” (Singer 1983:189). But it is also expressed through other timelines and rhythmic phrases coherent with the Clave. One instrument that uses such timelines, as its fundamental language, is the Timbales and Ortiz warns us of the “direct Bantu influence in the music of the Cuban timbales” (Ortiz 1995:60). This influence manifests itself in the principal timeline of the Timbales known as Cascara or shell (pattern C on the next section), which is played on the side of the drum (Mauleón 1993:76). The concept of playing timelines on the side of the drum is shared by the Batuque music of Brazil (Kubik 1990:126) and the Yuka dance, a predecessor of the Rumba, in Cuba (Sublette 2004:259). It is relevant to point out that the description of the Yuka dance matches that of the Batuque (Ditto: 259). The fact that the concept of timeline travelled with the Bantu and survived, suggests a great degree of embeddedness, not just in the drum ensembles, as pointed out by Agawu (Agawu 2003:77) but as creative concept too.

Inside the timeline

In order to compare some of the timelines across both sides of the Atlantic, I shall use a notation system based on Kubrik, utilising “X” for beats played and “o” for a beat rest (Kubik 1979).

Although our main interest is the timelines of the Congo/Angola area, we will also look at some timelines used in West Africa. The important concept expressed by timelines is one of asymmetry and the exact placement of the notes is relevant to stylistic notions only. To analyse this asymmetry I shall talk of Tension and Release of the rhythm; the tension will relate to emphasis off the beat i.e. in opposition to the dance step and release for emphasis on the beat or in agreement with the dance step. The beat is the equivalent of the gross pulse (Agawu 2003: 73). With that in mind, when we look at the following timelines from West Africa (Kubik 1979:15), we can see that they are both over twelve beats and they convey the same feel of tension/release, with the tension occurring in beats 3, 5 and 8 plus beat 6 on the first example and the release on beat 10.

- A - [X o X o X X o X o X o X]
- A1 - [X o X o X o o X o X o o]

Two better understand the duality of the timelines we could notate it in two halves of six beats each.

- A2 - [X o X o X X | o X o X o X]
- A3 - [X o X o X o | o X o X o o]

If we consider each half as one bar, it is apparent that the tension occurs mainly on the first bar on beats three and five and certainly the release is on beat four of the second bar.

Now, if we look at two sixteen beats timelines from the Congo/Angola area, we see that first part of the pattern contains the release and the tension is concentrated in the second part.

- B - [X o X o X o X X o X o X o X o]
- B1 - [X o X o X o X o o X o X o X o o]

Divided into two bars:

- B2 - [X o X o X o X X | o X o X o X X o]
- B3 - [X o X o X o X o | o X o X o X o o]

It is of interest to note that these sixteen beat patterns always indicate a Congo/Angola connection and pattern B specifically, points at the port of Benguela and its hinterland (Kubik 1979:19).

Now if we look at two timelines from across the Atlantic, pattern C from Cuba and D from Brazil, we notice quite clearly the concept of tension and release and the main difference between them is that; the Cuban one is a ten stroke pattern while the Brazilian remains with nine stroke, just as the Angolan.

C - [X o X o X X o X X o X X o X o X]

D - [X o X o X X o X o X o X o X o X o]

Divided into two halves:

C1 - [X o X o X X o X | X o X X o X o X]

D1 - [X o X o X X o X | o X o X o X X o]

One important aspect of the Brazilian timeline shared by the Angolan nine-stroke pattern B is the silence at the beginning of the second. Effectively, they share a missing beat, and this capacity of sensing where the beat is, but regularly articulating it as a silence is, part of the aesthetic of play in numerous African communities (Agawu 2003:77) and the heart of the Afro-Brazilian syncopation (Sodré 1998:11)

This is what has baffled so many musicians and others who are used to place a note on the first beat of the bar. Indeed, some studies of African rhythms tend to try and analyse timelines like a compound time signature and divide them in halves with odd number of beats. For example, Floyd presents

[X o X o X X o | X o X o X o X X o]

As our pattern D (Floyd 1999:8), totally ignoring the regularity of the dancing. This difficulty in absorbing the syncopation is accentuated when the melodic and harmonic structure of the song inverts the timeline and pattern D becomes pattern E:

E - [o X o X o X X o | X o X o X X o X]

This is actually the most common shape in the Samba of Brazil and a survey of my Samba records collection shows that over 90% of songs recorded after the 1920s are built around this shape.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF SOUNDS

Where am I?

In the last quarter of the 19th century Brazil suffered enormous political, social and economical transformation with the end of the Brazilian monarchy, the advent of the Republic (1889) and the abolition of slavery (1888). The failure of the coffee plantations in the State of Rio and the gradual emancipation of slaves caused a massive migratory movement of Africans and Afro-Brazilians of Bantu origin, both as slaves and ex-slaves, towards the city of Rio from the 1860s onwards (Cabral 1996:30). The implications to the composition of Rio's population of such dramatic changes are quite evident when we consider the census of 1872 in which the Cidade Nova for example, boasted a population of twenty six thousand people, with twenty two thousand people declaring themselves as natives of the state of Rio, a proof of the exodus from the coffee plantations to the urban area and furthermore, thousands of freed Africans were living side by side with others who were still slaves and with newly arrived Portuguese immigrants (Tinhorão 1986:61). Due to the re-urbanization of Rio de Janeiro's centre, occurred on the first decade of the 20th century, many of the poor were displaced and joined new arrivals from rural areas in populating the hills that permeate the city. Musically, the city harboured a myriad of sounds as diverse as its population. Rural styles of music and dance, such as the Batuque and the Jongo⁶ lived next to European the fashionable dances of Polka and Schottische. The interaction between these opposing cultures was inevitable and new urban musical genres appeared in Rio. This process involved the three categories defined by Slobin as: super-culture, sub-culture and inter-culture. "Super" and "sub" do not denote the superiority or inferiority of either group, but one to be an overarching (super) and the other an embedded unit (sub). The "inter", of course, meaning the

⁶ Jongo is work song sang in riddles and the dance that goes with it (Fryer 2000:50)

crosscutting trend between the other two (Slobin 1992:2). If we look at some of the main musical styles present at that time, we shall understand more about the dynamics involving the different social groups present at the moment when Samba became firstly, “chief social mobilizer within Rio’s Afro-Brazilian community” in the 1920s (Rafael 1990:74) and later, in the 1930s, “the universally recognized cultural symbol of Brazilian identity” (Fryer 2000:157).

Who am I?

The Batuque and The Lundu

The term *Batuque* was used as “a general name to designate the choreography accompanied by strong percussion” and the accompaniment itself (Alvarenga 1945:132) or as “a generic term for any kind of black dance” but also as a secular dance of Congo/Angola origin (Fryer 2000: 95). The choreography involved the *umbigada*, a pelvic thrust or belly bounce (*umbigo* in Portuguese means belly button) performed by the dancers and considered by writers in the 19th century, as indecent and immoral. However, it was not just in Brazil that the *umbigada* was found. Browning gives us notice that the Portuguese encountered the *umbigada* amongst the Angolans (Browning 1995:19). Angolan percussionist and singer Corte Real informs that the movement of the *umbigada* in Angola is called *massemba* and it is used, even today on the Semba, a style of music and dance originated with the Ovimbundu people in the region of Benguela and later taken to the capital city of Luanda (Corte Real 2006).

This connection with the Bantu culture of Angola was also made through the instrumentation. French traveller Auguste de Saint Hilaire describes the Batuque in the following manner:

“ The Negroes danced the batuques (and indecent dance very popular amongst the Brazilians), whilst one played a kind of Basque drum and another rubbed the ridges across a thick cane with a small round stick, producing a sound similar to that of a rattle” (Saint-Hilaire 2000:40, my translation).

The “Basque drum” is the tambourine of Arabic origin, which arrived in Brazil via the Iberian Peninsula and the stick scraping the ridged thick cane is a perfect description of a Reco-reco or Cassuto, an instrument inherited from the Congo/Angola area by the Brazilians (Kubik 1979:40).

Saint Hilaire was travelling in the rural areas of Rio, Minas Gerais and Bahia between 1816 and 1822, so the interaction between different cultures in Brazil was already taking place even outside the more cosmopolitan surroundings of the capital city. It also puts the Batuque firmly in the realm of rural music, something that is reinforced by the German traveller Georg Freyress, who in the early part of the 19th century described the Batuque as a rural dance using the *umbigada* and informs that it is rare to witness any other dance in the countryside (Casculo 1943:65).

Camara Casculo in his *Antologia do Folclore Brasileiro* gives accounts of other travellers depicting another type of dance/music popular in the 19th century: the Lundu. Described by the Frenchman L.F. Tollenare as “a voluptuous dance and a crude representation of carnal love” (Casculo 1943: 73), the Lundu appears to be no different from the Batuque. However, by the end of the 18th century, the white society adapted the Batuque of the slaves to choreography with movements from the Iberian *fandango* (Tinhorão 1986:51) with the stamping of the feet and the clicking of the fingers above the head, as if playing castanets. With this new dance, accompanied by the guitar, came the development of a song form called Lundu and a distinction between the new Lundu, a mischievous but acceptable dance and the Batuque still deemed “immoral” and “vile” (Tinhorão 1986:54). Considered to be the first Brazilian national dance (Fryer 2000:116), the Lundu continued to be a popular dance with the lower classes of all races, while the upper classes cultivated it more as a song form (Tinhorão 1998:111) and eventually ended up in the theatre reviews as a genre of humoristic music, on account of double entendre lyrics and a suggestive choreography remnant of the *umbigada*.

Today, the Lundu is still found in the island of Marajó, in the North of Brazil, as a song form (Fryer 2000:125) but I also witnessed in the community of São Félix, in Northwest of Minas Gerais in 2004, the Lundu being performed as a dance using the stamping of the feet. However, neither raised arms nor *umbigada* was present in the choreography. Songs accompanied on guitars and one drum provided the music but one telling moment was when, just before the Lundu started, Zé Fino (José

Ferreira dos Santos), the community's leader, said: "Agora eu quero é *batucar*" meaning "now, I want to *batucar*" (Santos 2004), a verb meaning to dance the Batuque (Ferreira 1975:193), making a direct connection in Zé Fino's language, between the Lundu and the Batuque.

In another revealing fact, the Lundu was only performed after the singing of religious songs. The term Lundu has its origin probably in the African religious rituals of Calundu (Tinhorão 1998:100). In agreement, Camara Cascudo cites the traveller Nuno Pereira describing the drumming of the Calundu that kept him awake all night (Cascudo 1943:46). However, the choreography of the *umbigada*, a feature of the Lundu, is not in keeping with religious rituals but much more akin to courtship dance (Livingston-Isenhour/Garcia 2005:28). In Angola, the *massemba* is part of the pre-nuptial ritual of *alambamento* (Corte Real 2006) and in Cape Verde the Lundum, considered to have come from Brazil, was part of wedding celebrations as a dance for the bride and groom (Brito, Margarida 2006). Therefore, although the name Lundu derived probably from the word Calundu, it is more likely that the dance was a form of entertainment after the religious rituals, as it is still common today in some Afro-Brazilian religious rituals (Browning 1995:27).

The secular Lundu was affected by the same repression exerted by the police against Afro-religious rituals (Tinhorão 1998:100). Years later, the same connection of secular music and religious ritual would be made when, the religious houses were legalized but Samba was still suffering strong repression and the *sambistas* used the cover of a religious gathering to sing and dance Samba after the ceremonies (Samba Cabral 1996:33).

The Modinha, the Polka, The Choro and the Maxixe

The genre of Modinha, from the Portuguese *Moda* meaning song (Livingston-Isenhour/Garcia 2005:23), was the music of the upper class from the second half of the 18th century. Initially, the Modinha was played in the elite's salons and had a distinct European interpretation. However, it got popularised during the 19th century becoming part of the lower middle classes repertoire in the form of romantic songs, accompanied by the guitar instead of the pianoforte preferred by the upper class, very often in the time signature of the Waltz, (Livingston-Isenhour/Garcia 2005:24). The Modinha went into disuse and only sporadically compositions are written in that form. However, it left an indelible mark in the melodic forms in Brazilian music, from the Lundu song to the Bossa Nova and beyond.

The advent of the Polka in the mid 19th century brought a change to the urban culture of Rio and other capitals in South America, by projecting a European way of dancing (Chasteen 2004:125). The upper classes, which always looked to Europe as the model of civilization, adopted wholeheartedly the new fashion of dancing whilst embracing their partner in contrast with the lower classes Batuques and Lundus, where the couples always danced separated and using suggestive hip movements (Sandroni 2001:64). But it was in the lower middle classes of the Cidade Nova that Slobin's "inter-culture" manifested itself at its strongest when, the new dance posture from one "sub-culture" is married to the hip movement of another to create the Cidade Nova "*requebros*", meaning sway, (Chasteen 2004:125) and a new popular fashionable style of music and dance in the form of the Maxixe. Cabral puts the roots of Maxixe in the Lundu (Cabral 1996:20) but whereas the Lundu started its life as a rural manifestation and made its way up to the upper class salons by changing into a song form, the Maxixe stayed essentially as a dance for the urban lower class and was never accepted into the high society, to the point of being banned from the repertoire of military bands, by the Minister of War (Chasteen 2004:18).

Maxixe became so popular at the dawn of the 20th century that in 1890 it was considered Rio's "carnival music par excellence" (Chasteen 2004:31) and at the beginning of the new century, if the Lundu was the first Brazilian national dance a hundred years before, the Maxixe took over that position (Sandroni 2001:66).

Besides the emergence of the Maxixe, the mixed marriage of the European Polka and Afro-Brazilian Lundu in the last decades of the 19th century in Rio, gave birth also to instrumental groups who performed Lundus, Polkas, Modinhas and Waltzes for entertainment. The style of interpretation used by these groups was called Choro, from the Portuguese word for crying (Tinhorão 1998:197), although some musicologists believe the name to be derived from *Choromeleiro*, from an Iberian folk oboe *Charamela* used by early groups and later a term used to designate a group with any kind of

wind instrument (Livingston-Isenhour/Garcia 2005:65). The Choro group was usually composed of a six-string guitar, a *cavaquinho*⁷ and a flute, but could also have an ophicleide and later incorporated mandolins, clarinets and even saxophones (Tinhorão 1998:198), which situated the Choro within the middle classes if anything else, by the purchasing power necessary to afford the instruments.

From being a style of musical interpretation in the 19th century, Choro later came to be considered as a genre, which incorporated elements of the Polka, Lundu, Modinhas and the Maxixe and as such, reached its peak of popularity in the 1920s and by the time the Radio and the record industry had made Samba the Brazilian national music in the 1930s, Choro was already in decline (Tinhorão 1998:202). Although the Choro did not recover its popularity to the levels of the early 20th century, it never really went away and it underwent revivals in the mid 1950s and again 20 years later, when it became extremely popular, establishing itself as a genuinely Brazilian form of instrumental music.

Anyone listening to Samba being performed will notice that it incorporates elements from all of these musical genres. The percussion ensembles and call and response form from the Batuque, the suggestive swaying dance from the Lundu and the Maxixe, the use of the guitars and *cavaquinho* from the Choro and the song form from the Modinha. This process of acculturation reached its culmination in the years between 1910 and 1940 and by that date Samba had come to age as a form of Brazilian expression.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF SAMBA

Who am I?

The name Samba has forever been associated with the first recordings made in Brazil in the 1910s. The song “Pelo Telephone” (track 5 on CD), registered by Donga (Ernesto dos Santos) and Mauro de Almeida, is often accredited of being the first Samba ever recorded, although doubts have been cast upon its authorship and even if it is a Samba after all and not a Maxixe (De Souza 2003:13). These two issues have arisen due to: firstly, the improvisatory nature of Samba at the time and secondly, by the underlying nature of the composition’s rhythm, which fits more comfortably within the typical one bar metric of the Maxixe (pattern on page 37) rather than the two bar cycle of the modern Samba (See pattern E, pg.19).

Donga’s “Pelo Telefone” was not the only composition to be considered a Maxixe; in that category Cabral also includes “classics” by the composer Sinhô (J.B. da Silva) (track 6 on CD), who went by the self-entitlement of “King of Samba” (Cabral 1996:34). These two composers, the former a son of a Bahian émigré and the latter a born and bred Carioca⁸ were linked to the centre of Rio de Janeiro and especially with Praça Onze (Square 11th of June) an area once called by Heitor dos Prazeres, another composer from the early world of Samba, “a pequena África”, meaning little Africa (Sodré 1998:18) due to the number of Afro-Brazilians that lived in and around the square and the Afro-Brazilian cultural ethos of the place with its Candomble Terreiros⁹, parties in honour of Orixás¹⁰ and Carnival groups (Cunha 2001:168).

At the centre of this hub of musical activity, historians put the house of Tia Ciata (Hilária Batista de Almeida), one of the cradles of the samba culture (Vianna 1995:51), where there were memorable parties with music being played in different spaces of the house, in a physical and a social sense. Tia Ciata, like other Bahian émigrés, rented one of the huge houses left by the retreating bourgeoisie and promoted parties, for religious or social reasons, which were frequented by members of the Bahian community, locals, professionals and musicians and even journalists and politicians (Tinhorão 1998:277). During the parties the house would be divided into different musical and social environments with the elders and important people, including any visitors, in the front room; the

⁷ Cavaquinho is a Brazilian Ukulele like small guitar.

⁸ Carioca is a person born in the city of Rio de Janeiro

⁹ Candomblé is an Afro-Brazilian religion of Yoruba origin. Terreiro, literally backyard, is the name given to Afro-Brazilian religious temples.

¹⁰ Orixás are the deities of the Yoruba pantheon.

younger generation singing samba in the middle rooms and out in the backyard the people of the *Batucada*¹¹, as it was described by the *sambista* João da Baiana (Tinhorão 1998:285). This division was quite rigid and guests, such as members of the white society, would never go beyond the front room, just as the people of the *Batucada* would not come into the house.

The music in the middle rooms and the musicians who played it worked as cultural couriers, taking musical information from both camps. The Sambas, denominated *samba corrido*, were based on call and response with indeterminate duration (Waddey 1981:259), a form still used in Batuques around the rural areas of Southeast Brazil, as I had the opportunity to witness it at Brejo dos Crioulos, district of São João da Ponte and in Taperinha, district of Porteirinha, Minas Gerais in 2005.

Meanwhile, the music presented in the front room worked like a "biombo cultural" or cultural screen (Sodré 1998:15) at once protecting the Batuque in the yard from the preying eyes of the white society and showing a more acceptable musical face to the outside world. Choro, a form of music with distinct European features, was one of the most popular styles of music to be presented in that part of the house. One of musicians to frequent Tia Ciata's house, Alfredo da Rocha Vianna Filho, aka Pixinguinha, an accomplished flautist and saxophonist who became an icon of Brazilian popular music, said that he preferred to stay in the front room playing Choro rather than join the samba players at the back of the house, even though he wrote several sambas in his career (Cabral 1996:34).

The consignment of the more "European" face of the music to the front room and the "hiding" of manifestations with stronger African features in the back of the house are symptomatic of prevalent attitudes in Brazil at the time. The Brazilian elite still believed then, some thirty years after the abolition, in the superiority of white culture and in the "whitening" ideology (Shaw 1999:5), which was responsible for the importation of white European workers to substitute the freed slave workforce. This posture is illustrated by the European cultural image of Brazil the dominant class tried to present to the world. For example, there was considerable outrage when, in the early 1910s, the First Lady of the country, Mrs Nair de Tefe, played during a reception on a guitar a Maxixe (Tinhorão 1986:81). Two things caused this outrage: firstly the fact that, the Maxixe was considered very low class, with a strong connection to Afro-Brazilian culture and only a few years before it had been banned by her husband, then Minister of War. Secondly, that she played it not on a piano, the instrument of the upper class (Livingston-Isenhour/Garcia 2005:24), but on a guitar an instrument associated with Samba and extremely repressed by the police, as declared by Donga (Cabral 1996:27).

Police repression of samba players came from a believe that all samba players were vagabonds and it was an extension of the repression already shown to Batuques. In fact, to have a Samba party in your own house, it was necessary to get a permit from the police. However, Tia Ciata's husband had good connections, being as he was, the Police Chief's head of Office and a permit was unlikely to be refused (Chasteen 2004:47). Due to the social mobility and connections enjoyed by Tia Ciata, it is not surprising that the musicians who frequented her house came into contact with influential people inside the Rio de Janeiro society. The pianist Sinho enjoyed the friendship of politicians and intellectuals (De Souza 2003:31) and João da Bahiana, another musician from the Tia Ciata circle, having had his *pandeiro*¹², another instrument associated with Samba and vagrancy, confiscated by the police, got a new one as a present from a Senator who was his grandfather's fellow free-mason (Vianna 1995:114).

What am I?

Out of Tia Ciata's house came the acceptable face of "samba", even though with more than an accent of Maxixe. But Samba was being played in other parts of Rio and Shaw talks of a second type of Samba existing in the hills and more rural surroundings of the city: "a Samba persecuted and considered part of a marginal world" (Shaw 1999:5). It was in this marginal context that Samba sub existed just like the Batuque with which it shared so much. When Alvarenga said, "Lundu is similar to

10 Batucada was, like the Batuque before it, a ring dance accompanied by clapping, percussion and chorus where the participants tried to sweep the legs off each other. A game remnant of the Brazilian martial art of Capoeira (Sandroni 2001:103)

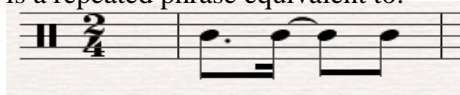
¹² The name of the Brazilian tambourine, considered the quintessential samba instrument.

Batuque and Samba. It differs in assuming a more polite stance” (Alvarenga 1945:148), we can assume that the writer was referring to the dance, meaning that in being polite the Lundu had abolished the “*umbigada*” i.e. the Lundu adopted by the white society and not the initial Lundu danced by the slaves. On the other hand Batuque, Samba and Batucada by default, were placed in a context of impoliteness and rudeness, hence the image of the *sambista* as someone who was necessary to be kept an eye on by the police.

The context in which samba happen in and around the hills and in areas more distant from the centre of the city, was one connected with the Macumba¹³. Usually, after the religious meeting was over when people gathered to dance in the backyard of the house, in very rural surroundings, in an image that differs totally from the front room of Tia Ciata’s house (Goldwasser 1975:119). Samba, a word that until the beginning of the 20th century was used to “refer rather generically to polyrhythmic dance (with percussive accompaniment) enjoyed by poor Brazilians” (Chasteen 1996:30), incredibly like the use of the word Batuque, became synonymous with these gatherings where the dances happened.

A group of *Sambistas* from the neighbourhood of Estácio had contact with others in more distant areas, such as the hill of Mangueira and the district of Oswaldo Cruz in the northern part of the city. This group including Ismael Silva, Rubem Barcelos, Alcebíades “Bide” Barcelos, Nílton Bastos and others, started to compose Sambas away from the idiom of Maxixe (Cabral 1996:34).

After the success of “Pelo Telefone” in the carnival of 1917, many songs appeared with the denomination of Samba. The word Samba became fashionable and it was used to describe even music that was not Samba (Cabral 1996:33). Many pieces, which at the time (1918-1919) were labelled sambas, did not differentiate from “Maxixes” but for their “tonal/formal” plan (Lago 2002:11), i.e. they would have more of a call and response form typical of the ring dances and a simpler tonal structure, but the rhythmic idiom was the same as the Maxixes. But the group from Estácio used a “new” melodic formula where the phrases extended over two bars following the Estácio “paradigm” (Sandroni 2001: 32), rather than the one bar cycle typical of the Maxixe. However, when asked about how this new Samba came to be, Ismael Silva, one of the most successful composers of the Estácio group, explained it was a necessity to have a rhythm that moved forward when their group paraded during Carnival. He described the old Samba groove as “tan tan tan tan tan” and their new one as “bum bumpaticum bumprugurun dum” (Cabral 1996:242). Although it is clear the first mnemonic is a repeated phrase equivalent to:



And the second is over two bars as:



However, Silva puts the emphasis, not on the timeline but on the run of sixteenth notes and the sound of the *surdo*¹⁴, an instrument introduced to Samba street ensembles by the Estácio group. To understand this fully we must have a quick look at the structure of the Carnival groups in Rio at V that time.

Where am I?

Street Carnival in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, was divided into three main levels: the great Societies, the Ranchos and the Cordões. The Societies inaugurated in the 1860s very often along political lines, were the carnival expression of the aristocratic upper class and dominated the Carnival parades of the late 1800s with their pomp and luxurious costumes modelled in the Venetian carnival (Cabral 1996:21). The Ranchos, much more associated with the lower middle classes, were connected to the festivities of the Christmas cycle, especially those related the Three Wise Men or Kings, as it is known in Brazil (Tinhorão 1998:42)

¹³ Macumba is an Afro-Brazilian religion with Yoruba and Bantu elements popular in the Rio de Janeiro area.

¹⁴ Surdo is a drum in the form of a military bass drum used to mark the beat in street samba ensembles.

and the Cordões were the groups where the lower classes congregated and incorporated more Afro-Brazilian elements, including a heavier percussion section, showing the more “African” face of the Rio Carnival (Ditto: 266).

The Ranchos became accepted as a civilized way to enjoy carnival and the more prestigious members of the Afro-Brazilian community, including Tia Ciata, headed Rancho carnival groups (Cunha 2001:169), which demonstrated their aspiration to a higher status in society. Musically, the Ranchos used Choros, Maxixes (also known as Tangos), Polkas and slow Marches that became known as Marcha Rancho, with an instrumentation that included guitars, *cavaquinhos*, flutes, *pandeiros* and castanets. That differed from the Cordões, which came out with short choruses and improvised verses, often singing about *sambar*¹⁵ (Cunha 2001:205), accompanied by instruments of percussion, just like in the Batuque circles, including *pandeiros*, *reco-reco*s, bass drums and shakers.

In the hillside slums and outlying suburbs, the Cordões gave way to Blocos but the music did not change. They did not participate in the official carnival and were strongly repressed by the city police (Rafael 1990:76) but by the end of the 1920s the Blocos came into greater evidence and one in particular, the Bloco Deixa Falar (Let them Talk) founded by that group of *sambistas* from Estácio, is considered to be the first Samba School¹⁶ in Rio de Janeiro, although it never relinquished the denomination of Bloco (Cabral 1996:41).

“Bide”, one of the percussionists of Deixa Falar, created a drum just like a bass drum, to mark the beat for the whole ensemble and gave it the name of *surdo*, meaning muted because of the deep sound it produced. It is this sound that Silva reproduces with the syllables Bum and Dum. This is the element Silva considers the innovation in his Samba because the rhythm it played gave samba a forward motion but the pattern it played was already part of the Batuques. In the Batuque de Semba,

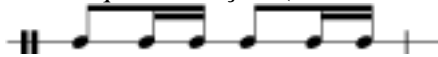
from Angola, the lower of the drums plays (Corte Real: 2006):



In the *Quijengue*, a drum used in the Batuque in São Paulo (Kubik 1990:138)



And in the Batuque de Araçuaí (see track No 3):



The Bloco Deixa Falar articulated those patterns from the Batuques through the use of the *surdo*. In any case, the use of bass drums in the Cordões had been quite common, as it is shown in images of groups in the first decades of the 20th century (Cunha 2001:153).

When was I

The drum most relevant to the timeline aspect of the Samba Batucado is the *tamborim*¹⁷ and to analyse it we will take the statement given to Cabral by two early *sambistas*: Bide, from Estácio and Carlos “Cachaça” Castro from the hill of Mangueira (Cabral 1996:247-250,261-269). They were both born in 1902, Bide outside of Rio, Carlos in the hill of Mangueira. Bide, who came to live in Estácio at the age of seven (1909), says he “found” the *tamborim* around and that he played it ever since he was a child. So we may assume that the *tamborim* was around in 1912 or 1915. Carlos talks of going out with Blocos in the hill of Mangueira when he was twelve years old (1914) and that all the Blocos sang Sambas. In 1928 Mangueira Samba School was formed through existing Blocos and the instrumentation of the early Samba School incorporated the *tamborim* (Goldwasser 1975: 25). What we can deduce from this information is that the *tamborim* and the timelines it externalised were

¹⁵ The verb *sambar* means to dance samba.

¹⁶ Samba Schools are the carnival groups that parade in competition during Rio’s carnival since 1930.

¹⁷ Tamborim is a small drum; at first with a square wooden frame and later became round. It is played with one stick.

already part of the world of the alternative Samba before the Samba Batucado is said to be created by the Estácio group. More importantly, it means that the rhythmic concept of the *tamborim* timeline would be in place governing the construction of melodic lines.

Why am I?

The idea that Samba could have become the Brazilian national music was never in the minds of the sambistas. It had its roots in the intellectual movements of the 1910s and 20s that turned its back to the Euro centric approach to culture and started to value “as coisas brasileiras”, the Brazilian things (Vianna 1995:99). This was a quest for a national identity that gathered pace when, in 1930, the country was taken over by the nationalist dictator Getúlio Vargas and by 1932, the Afro-Brazilian Carnival parade, which incidentally happened at Praça Onze, was brought under the control of the government and organized as a competition (Shaw 1999:11). This coupled with the huge success of samba records and the advent of radio made Samba a symbol of Brazilian identity, an identity of miscegenation, after the ideas of anthropologist Gilberto Freyre (Freyre 2002), which in a way was used to hide the African face of Brazil. Samba was praised for being mulatto and therefore it could not be black. The socio/political moment in Brazil was a paradoxical one. On one hand the populist government of Vargas promoted popular music and especially samba, a style of music with clear African roots and on the other the policy of “whitening” was still encouraged (Shaw 1999:30).

No more evident was this attitude of racial discrimination than in the record industry and on the radio. The vast majority of artists who became idols in the 1930s were all white. Composers such as Noel Rosa, Herivelto Martins and Ari Barroso; singers Mario Reis, Francisco Alves and Almirante; and the female singers Linda Batista, Araci de Almeida and Carmem Miranda became house names to the Brazilian public. Meanwhile, the black sambistas worked as accompanists and black composers had to sell their compositions or at least give up a share of their rights to the recording artists. Francisco Alves bought many songs from composers such as Ismael Silva, whom he called in the same breath “his right arm” and “a Negro with a white soul”(Cabral 1996: 245), and from Cartola, one of the founders of Mangueira Samba School (Barbosa & Oliveira Filho 2003:87).

By 1940 Samba was established as the centrepiece of Brazilian popular music and the Samba Schools carnival parade well on the way to become one of the biggest spectacles on earth.

A MAP OF THE PAST

Looking for a way in

Phonographic recordings, although a way of preserving a style of music, can be misrepresentative because it is only a static moment in the continuum that is the true representation of any musical tradition. Thus, when we listen to one recording of one artist in one given moment, it can only be perceived for what it is: a picture of what was happening in that particular music at that particular moment through the interpretation of one particular artist. It is especially difficult when there are no recordings of a certain tradition. In those instances we must take on board Nettl when he said that:

“The music of the present is a map to its past” (Nettl 1996:1).

In the case of Samba, there are recordings of the early Maxixes labelled as samba and many recordings of the Samba Batucado from 1928 onwards. However, there are no readily available recordings of either the samba made in the hills or in the outlying districts of Rio in the 1910s and 20s or the Batucada, not even the ones at Tia Ciata’s house. Therefore, I have chosen some recorded music to serve as the map of the past.

Tracks one and two are Sembas from Angola, the first by the Group Kituxi and the second by Jovens do Hungu. Tracks three and four are a Batuque from Araçuaí and a Samba de Roda from São Brás, respectively.

Semba is a popular music style originated from Batuque de Semba and it is considered to be the possible origin of the word Samba (Kubik 1979:18) and besides the *umbigada*, some elements it

Track 7 “É Batucada”

The image shows the musical score for Track 7, "É Batucada". It consists of four staves of music in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The first two staves are connected by a brace and a first ending bracket labeled "1.". The third staff continues the melody, and the fourth staff ends with a double bar line and the marking "DC". The melody features syncopation and a "missing beat feel" as described in the text.

Track 8 “Canjiquinha Quente”

The image shows the musical score for Track 8, "Canjiquinha Quente". It consists of a single staff of music in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The melody is simpler than Track 7, with a clear downbeat on every second bar.

What is important to notice is that, all of the melodies follow the same rule in regard of cross measure syncopation. The melodies alternate a syncopation across the bar line with a phrase stating the downbeat on the next bar, creating the relation tension/release and the “missing beat feel” talked by Sodré. This alternation is then repeated as a two bar concept. Of course there are exceptions, it would not be a rule otherwise. The 9th bar of the melody in track one does not state the downbeat. However, it does not state the downbeat on the 10th bar, thus avoiding inverting the basic pattern and irreversibly breaking the rule. This rule is reinforced by the repetition of the timeline.

This rule is not applied to tracks five and six, both songs labelled as sambas but clearly Maxixes. However, the rule is present again in the recordings of tracks seven (É Batucada - 1932) and eight (Canjiquinha Quente - 1937), both examples of the Samba Batucado.

A quick survey of the Brazilian samba repertoire will demonstrate that this formula is a constant, therefore constituting an unwritten “rule” for the samba creative process. But how is this unwritten “rule” passed on from generation to generation?

The key to the house of Samba

In order to understand how the rhythmic concept of Samba could be learned and taught, I conducted a survey of twenty instrumentalists and vocalists who work with Samba in different levels. Ten of them were Brazilians and ten non-Brazilians. To the question of “What is Samba”?

The answers varied from just a “rhythm” or a “musical language” to an “estate of mind”, “magic”, “swing” or simply the “gathering of friends”. When asked “What would be, for them, a defining feature of Samba”, amongst the Brazilians some mentioned non musical features such as “passion” and “sincerity” whilst others chose certain instruments like “pandeiro”, “cavaquinho”, “surdo” and “tamborim”¹⁸, but with the non-Brazilians the defining feature was of a more musical nature in the form of “the *tamborim* pattern” or the “underlying feel of sixteenth notes”. But, whatever meaning or definition chosen, they all agreed that Samba was something you did as a group, as an ensemble, a social activity involving playing, singing and dancing. When Willie Anku said of the African ensemble:

“The intrinsic perception of time synchronization of the various composite parts of the ensemble is to great extent embedded in the performer’s awareness and expectancies of the emergent and resultant rhythms” (Anku 1997:213)

¹⁸ Surdo is the name given to the large bass drum used in Samba percussion ensembles. Tamborim is a small drum played with sticks.

He was talking mainly about drumming. However, this synchronization must involve all aspects of the music, including and especially the voice. The song is the reason for musician to play and for the dancer to dance and it must follow the same rhythmic rules as the accompaniment. Considering that the *tamborim* timeline is the main rhythmic rule of Samba, I asked the musicians what it meant to them and whilst the non-Brazilians talked of “the samba rhythm structure” and “the samba clave” (a clear allusion to the Cuban concept), the Brazilians talked of the “swing” and “feel”.

However, the answer that best illustrates the position the timeline concept occupies in the creative process of each group was “When you play samba, do you think of the *tamborim* line or the rhythmic shape of it?” To my amazement, all the Brazilians, answered NO and all the non-Brazilians YES.

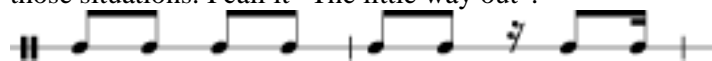
This exercise shows if anything, that for the Brazilians there was no need to think of a guiding formula in order to synchronize their rhythmic patterns within the ensemble. They have that formula embedded on their playing. The same question was put to an Angolan musician in respect to the timeline concept in Semba and his answer was like those of the Brazilians. Samba in Brazil, like Semba in Angola, is ordinarily transmitted by oral tradition but as Nettl said:

“Oral is sometimes changed to aural; people learn not so much what is said or sung to them but what they hear. The concept of memory is suggested as a major factor” (Nettl 1983:187)

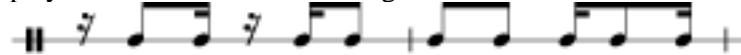
The memory of previous players is handed down in the dynamics of an ensemble. However, the non-Brazilian players do not have this environment and therefore, have to learn by understanding patterns and structures. It is not to say they will never achieve, in the world of samba, the same degree of embeddedness as a Brazilian player but initially he/she will need the key to the samba house and that key is the timeline concept.

The little way out

Brazilians have a famous expression “jeitinho”¹⁹ meaning little way or “dar um jeitinho” to find a little way out. Whenever a Brazilian is presented with a problem, the solution is to “find a little way out”. I asked, on my survey, what would you (the player) do if someone played or sang across the rhythm of the timeline? The Angolan said it would never happen, showing the rhythmic concept within that community to be deeply embedded. The Brazilians said almost unanimously they would “put it right” and the non-Brazilians talked of putting it right by playing something “neutral”. The surprising thing is that none of the Brazilians mentioned a two bar phrase widely used in Brazil for those situations. I call it “The little way out”:



The first bar is neutral, as it does not resolve off the beat (tension) or on the beat (release). The second bar finishes on a syncopation across the bar line and can be joined to the *tamborim* timeline and thus start or resume the normal rhythm. To illustrate the level of embedded knowledge of a Samba player we shall look at tracks eight and nine. On the first one, the underlying feel of the timeline is:



And the melody is:

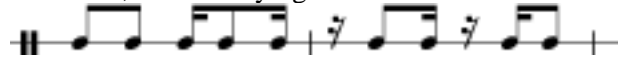


The melody should start on the second beat of the first bar. However, Carmem Miranda starts on the second bar and by doing so, comes in conflict with the timeline. The accompanying artists immediately stay within a neutral rhythm for five bars before resuming the normal timeline. The same happens with track nine:

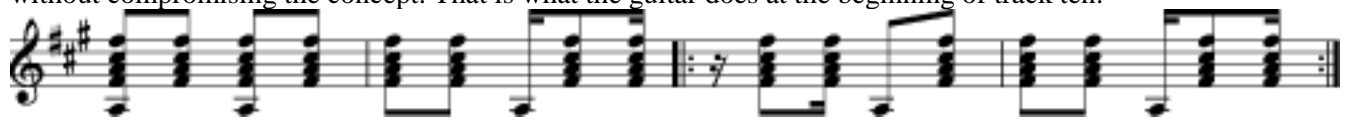
¹⁹ The diminutive suffix -inho is employed in Brazil as a term of endearment but also implies a



This time, the underlying feel is an inverted samba timeline:



But Agepê (the singer) starts on the opposite bar and the musicians use the “little way out” to dissipate the conflict. This is a very commonly used subterfuge to “put right” the feel of the rhythm when there is a conflict between the timeline concept and a dominant phrase, such as the melody, of the song. It is also a clear demonstration of embedded knowledge on the part of the musicians. However, this phrase can also be used to reinforce the downbeat for example, when starting a song or a new part of a song, without compromising the concept. That is what the guitar does at the beginning of track ten:



The “little way out” is proof of the adaptability and the durability of the timeline concept. It could be considered a new timeline but it holds in its innermost the secret of Bantu musical thinking.

CONCLUSIONS

There can be no doubt that the Bantu culture of Congo and Angola left an indelible imprint on the culture of Southeast Brazil. From the work songs on the plantation to the circle dances used to alleviate their suffering, to the Jongo sang for three days and nights (Fryer2000: 105):

“Tava durumindo (I was asleep)
 Cangoma me chamou (the drum called me)
 Disse levanta povo (It said arise people)
 Cativoiro já cabô” (slavery is finished)

The Bantu people gave its music to Brazil. A music based on the power of the drum and at the front of it is the Samba. It was born from the old Batuques; it could have been more than one, because the old master called Batuque any drum-accompanied music played by the slave. But one thing is certain; it came from the rural areas and arrived in the city of Rio de Janeiro as a second-class citizen. The old Batuque gave way, at least in name to the Lundu and the Lundu changed. It acquired the politeness of the white society and became cultured. But not all of the old Batuque had changed. Much of it remained as a strong, impolite expression of resistance in the Batucada and the Hard Samba (samba duro) with its racing timeline (Browning1995: 164). And when enough people had gathered in the hills and backyards, when the sound of the drum and the snoring of the puitas could no longer be ignored by the dominant society, the Samba emerged. Emerged and became the musical, more than musical, the cultural identity of Brazil. Even though, the direct descendents of the Bantu people, who had come on this long journey, were prevented from taking a front seat. And they sat back quietly with the commanding timelines inside of them.

Throughout this journey, the Bantu people carried their values and beliefs. Some got lost, some got changed when they met people with different values and beliefs. But certain things survived and one of them was the ability to make music without conflict. So, they articulated the one thing that controlled all others: their timelines. They expressed them with their instruments, their drums, their voices and the other elements agreed. The timelines got integrated with the instruments that expressed them better, the Tamborim in the Samba, the Timbales in Cuba. But even when they are not expressed loudly, there are quietly commanding the music form inside the musician. Africans have them so embedded in their way of playing they cannot envisage anybody playing them incorrectly. The Bantu people passed on to the Samba player in Brazil this ability. The ability to feel the beat

without the need to articulate it, time and time again. The ability to know the music without the need to think about it. Ethnic identity has been successfully transformed in Brazil into cultural identity (Kubik 1979: 10). Now, people from all over wish to acquire this cultural identity and to do that they need to start from the most fundamental element of all: a magic piece of complementary opposition.

The development of Samba covers all three aspects of Wa Mukuna's focuses for interpretation of evolution processes of Africanisms in the Americas (Wa Mukuna 1994:208). Firstly, it persists. It has continuity through surviving patterns and postures. But mainly it retains the most important concept of all, that of the asymmetrical line. Secondly, it innovates; it has transformed itself by absorbing new song forms, new instrumentation, and new ensembles. Thirdly, it creates new timelines, new dialogues between instruments inside the ensembles. Much more needs to be researched; the relationship between the form of the timeline and the fundamentals of dancing; the interpretation of sixteenth notes as they are stretched to create an irresistible feel of forward motion. But whatever the reason anybody has for dealing with Samba, their primary aim must be the understanding of the timelines. Samba moves on and throughout its life, in different forms, tempos, instrumentations, from the time in the hills to the carnival parade, many things can change, but the one thing that remains is the form of the timeline, a the voice from the past still echoing in the present. The voice of so many anonymous *sambistas* and *batuqueiros* with their *pernadas* and *requebros* singing anthological songs that nobody will ever hear. Like the voice of Carlos Cachaca, the poet of Mangueira, who insisted in calling the Batucada, Samba (Barbosa&Oliveira Filho 2003:41). Was it not the same thing, anyway? After all, Moreira da Silva sang that: Samba, in the hills is not Samba. It is Batucada.

“*Samba no morro*
Não é Samba é Batucada
É Batucada
É Batucada”

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