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Embodied Memory: Reconfiguring Reproducibility in Luso-Afro-Brazilian Musical Performance

By

Kim Sauberlich

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requirements for the degree of

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in

Music

in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor James Q. Davies, Chair

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Professor Nicholas Mathew

Professor Angela Marino

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Abstract

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In the past two decades, music scholars have explored the relationship between the human body and sound reproduction, analyzing the ways in which sound recording technologies shape ways of listening, singing, and speaking (Sterne 2003, Ochoa Gautier 2014), how they transform the relationship of the living to the dead (Stanyek and Piekut 2010), as well as how sound reproduction fosters appropriate rules of kinship behavior (Moreno 2019, Steingo 2019) and the reproduction of racialized social relations (Waltham-Smith 2021, Williams 2021). Studies such as these comprise an emerging disciplinary turn that asks how sound recording intersects with and transforms human bodies. However, this scholarship tends to privilege either twentieth- and twenty-first-century sound recording technologies or a form of “thing power,” that is, the circulation of print, instruments or media forms and the building of institutions and monuments.

My dissertation *Embodied Memory: Reconfiguring Reproducibility in Luso-Afro-Brazilian Musical Performance* instead argues for the centrality of embodied musical practices in cultural transmission by centering on performance, dance, rhythm, and oral histories of the Black Atlantic. The 1808 transfer of the Portuguese court to the colonial capital of Rio de Janeiro made Brazil a productive site for the study of musical and racial knowledges because it brought about what we might call a “metropolitan reversal.” From 1808, Brazil became a unique case in modern history insofar as the governance of a European empire took place from its colony and as an imperial bourgeoisie aspiring to liberal ideals lived directly alongside the chattel slave population. This setting suggests an inseparability of the lives and practices of the white imperial population and African and Afro-Brazilian men and women, the musics that took place in festive gatherings at slave quarters and in streets as well as song and dance performances in concert halls, songs that circulated through word of mouth, embodied performance, and bourgeois song collections.

I begin by interpolating the cultural labor of Afro-Brazilian musicians into our image of the social to foreground their agency in reproducing European musical canons. The dissertation’s central chapters discuss how portrayals of interracial relations in Luso-Brazilian dance-songs congealed representations of Black male and female bodies: in repeatedly manifesting a set of social relations, nineteenth-century dance-songs could at once enable the reproduction of racial violence and offer possibilities for the subversion of racial archetypes. I proceed to examine Luso-Afro-Brazilian dance-songs as “contagious” musics with “infectious” rhythms, centuries-old metaphors

marshaled by white elites to refer to alluring African diasporic musics and dances that reproduced with extreme rapidity. This section of the dissertation contributes to the dissertation's thesis by exploring the phenomena of contagion and virality long before the advent of viral media enabled by the Internet (see Harper 2019). Lastly, I turn to a present-day performance to imagine a palimpsestual music history that pays attention to a multiplicity of recurring events and repurposed previous iterations in the service of canonization and public memory.

Embodied Memory argues for the centrality of embodied performance in processes of social and cultural reproduction—over and above privileging twentieth-century sound reproduction technologies and material culture more broadly, ultimately showing that musical practice and performance can place in question the idea that Black Atlantic culture is inseparable from forms of cultural annihilation and social death.

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I begin towards the end, at a liminal stage between graduate school and my first job, and at a time in which I must acknowledge my intellectual debts, influences, and thank those who brightened my Californian days and even turned arduous moments into joyful ones. The materials that now comprise Chapter 1 first came together under Roger Parker's supervision at King's College London's MMus, culminating in the form of a master's thesis that addressed musical life in Rio de Janeiro from 1808-1821. With a quiet patience, Roger recognized the promise of my materials long before I did and taught me to think through prose, providing insights that I have both returned to and internalized over the last decade.

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Parkorn Wangpaiboonkit lightened and enlightened most of my days in Berkeley with our talks over brunches, musicals, symphonies, films, and garden parties and gave indispensable advice on writing and on navigating life while keeping one's cool. Rosie Ward has supported me throughout our time in California over conversations that never stop on getting better. I have learnt and am learning from her editorial eyes, teacherly ears, and her unique ability to help so many and in every way that she can. I have had the honor to get to know Alex Cowan's brilliant mind over nearly a decade: first at some of KCL's exhilarating seminars and at several-hour-long discussions that often preceded and followed them; and since we moved to the U.S. in the form of lengthy explorations on living a life of the mind and on inhabiting academic worlds, always interspersed with a heartwarming touch of British skepticism which has made me feel right at home.

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Preface: The Absent Lady

In his 1943 essay “The Absent Lady,” Brazilian intellectual, critic, novelist, poet, and music scholar Mário de Andrade detected a deeply-internalized psychological complex at the heart of the Luso-Brazilian imagination. For Andrade, the “Absent Lady” figured as an ordinary Luso-Brazilian lack whose first instantiations occurred at the beginning of Portuguese transatlantic conquest. As if to narrate an epic narrative of Homeric proportions, he wrote:

The Absent Lady is the suffering caused by a scarcity of women for seafaring people. The mariner fights the sea, and with all the hardships of seafaring, is obliged to abandon his beloved on land. The work of the sea, in synthesis, is the same as the land, the struggle for life, eating, sleeping... But the lady is absent, and without doubt this is the hardest of pains the mariner is exposed to.¹

And thus, Andrade continued, Portuguese men began to sing of their *saudade* (longing) for their absent and distant beloved, and that at first characterized women as “admirable gifts from the sea”—appearing as alluring mermaids, pearls, anthropomorphized fishes, and arriving upon glorious embarkations.² “Initially a maritime complex,” Andrade continued, “in Brazil it became terrestrial too,” re-enacted and haunting the popular imaginary through various guises long after settlement. Once in Brazilian land, additional impediments—now in the form of other men—continued to place women outside the grasp of the Lusitanian narrator. “She is now married,” one song mourns, or “she became a soldier’s wife,” another says, each imagining an intruder coming between the man and the lady.

More than a psychoanalytic exploration of white male imperial subjectivity, “The Absent Lady” was based on historical evidence. Andrade argued that the complex was brought about by the well-documented dearth in the Luso-Brazilian white female population of marriageable age in the colonial period. He tells his readers, for instance, of how seventeenth-century Jesuits were among the first to request a Portuguese shipment of what they called “wayward women,” or orphan girls and prostitutes, to the colony in the name of racial purity—a call answered several times during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and of how, in the mid eighteenth century, the Crown restricted white women’s entrance into convents and prohibited them from leaving Brazil in fear that they would not return. Governor Lourenço de Almeida summarized the concern in 1722 when he wrote that “Brazil will not become depopulated because of the shortage of women.”³ This concern was such that by the 1808 transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro, then the Brazilian capital, authorities endorsed the emigration of white families by guaranteeing them land and jobs upon arrival. They had at this point realized that white families were crucial to the imperial control of the colony’s large enslaved population.

¹ “A Dona Ausente é o sofrimento causado pela falta de mulher nos navegadores de um povo de navegadores. O marinheiro parte em luta com o mar, e por todas as dificuldades que fazem o trabalho marítimo, é obrigado a abandonar a amada em terra. O ramerrão do mar, em síntese, é o mesmo da terra, luta pela vida, comer, dormir... Mas a dona está ausente, e sem dúvida este é o mais sofrido dos males a que o marujo está exposto em viagem. O mar todo-poderoso exige dos que lhe manejam o rito viverem em castidade completa. Mas a saudade da mulher persegue o casto, o desejo dela o castiga demais.” Mário de Andrade, “A Dona Ausente,” *Atlântico: Revista Luso-Brasileira*, 3 (1943), 9-14; 9.

² “Para Lusus como Brasileiros as mulheres são presentes admiráveis do mar.” Andrade, “A Dona Ausente,” 9.

³ A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1982), 212.

As scholars have shown, white female bodies in societies dependent upon Black enslavement “served as a mechanism through which white power, privilege, and identity, flowed to the next generation” and ensured a “smooth intergenerational transfer of both property and whiteness.”⁴ In this colonial setting, the biological reproduction of whiteness is what ensured the social reproduction of empire. This is also to say that, if white women’s bodies enabled the biological and social reproducibility of whiteness in the colony, a dearth in this population reflected a “drop in the reproductive strength of the Portuguese empire,” to put the point in Maria Odila Silva Dias’s terms.⁵ Writing in 1971, historian Carl Degler attributed the pervasiveness of interracial mixing with the African and Afro-Brazilian population in nineteenth-century Brazil to this shortage in the white female population. Degler argued that the death in the white female population encouraged white Luso-Brazilian colonists to marry Black and mixed-race women. For Degler, the “Absent Lady” signified an imperial crisis over white colonial sovereignty and in the long run led to the collapse of the Portuguese empire.⁶

I have begun with Andrade’s “The Absent Lady” because this short, evocative essay and the scholarly commentary that followed it suggests that song can open up histories about both the racialization and sexualization of Luso-Afro-Brazilian subjects and invite us to examine the intersection of biological, social, and musical reproducibility. First, the “Absent Lady” shows that the social reproduction of empire has had a deep kinship with the means and ideologies surrounding the reproduction of human life. And second, Andrade’s essay argues that song acquired a primal role in the Luso-Brazilian imagination and propelled the Absent Lady’s re-enactment through the course of music history. The re-enactment of the Absent Lady points to Erika Fischer-Lichte and Rebecca Schneider’s definition of a “mythic” history (which they place again “objective” history).⁷ For these authors, a mythic history suggests we attend to the “incomplete, never in thrall to the singular or self-same origin,” as Schneider puts it, in a way that “the pristine sameness of an “original is rendered impossible—or, if you will, mythic.”⁸

With these points in mind, this dissertation seeks to understand a varied range of musics of the Luso-Afro-Brazilian world as they enact processes pertaining to social reproduction and embodied forms of reproductive labor: musical filiation, surrogation, and contagion form three central cases. Working at the intersection of Music, Performance, and Black Studies, I turn to sources ranging from Brazilian musicians’ song and instrumental performances to racialized dance-song numbers at imperial comic theaters, and I do so to examine how embodied performance in the form of instrumental performance, dance, and dance-song works to reproduce Luso-Brazilian racialized knowledges, on the one hand, and Afro-diasporic culture, on the other. The dissertation investigates how music acts in the world and upon human agents, how it cultivates bodies, and conversely, how bodies themselves sustain musical knowledge. I am concerned with music’s pragmatics rather than its semantics, as Eric Drott has recently put the point.⁹ This is also

⁴ Brooke Newman, *A Dark Inheritance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁵ Maria Odila Silva Dias, *Power in Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, transl. Ann Frost (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 64.

⁶ Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (Madison and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 226-232.

⁷ Rebecca Schneider, “Performance Remains,” *Performance Research* (2001), 102.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Eric Drott, “Music in the Work of Social Reproduction,” *Cultural Politics*, 15/2 (2019), 162-183.

why I attend to mundane, quotidian, and highly dispersed forms of music-making—whether these are the everyday Black performances at official monarchical institutions, popular songs propagated and reproduced in the liberal press, or the music-making and ritual activities of enslaved and freed African and Afro-Brazilians in the public sphere.¹⁰

I begin by setting the scene in the city of Rio de Janeiro shortly after the Portuguese monarchy and its fifteen thousand subjects, who fled to the colonial city following the Napoleonic invasion of Lisbon of 1808, emigrated to the city. At this time, Portuguese government officials recognized that the colony could offer more than raw materials—sugar, coffee, and gold—for European extraction and consumption, that it could provide a healthy space—a green haven of sorts—for the political, economic, and moral regeneration of the Portuguese monarchy.¹¹ They framed the Court’s arrival in the colony as a “fortunate union,” which would not only “make the most of disaster” but generate peace, prosperity, and harmony. The Prince Regent Dom João VI, as one commentator wrote, would “endear himself even more with his vassals on both sides of the Atlantic, to make himself loved by men, to be a model prince, to gain a great reputation in this manner.” Others spoke of Brazil’s “affluence,” “vitality” and “potency.” The Portuguese, as royal secretary Luís Joaquim Marrócos dos Santos wrote in 1808, could and should develop “stronger roots” in their colony. America was a distant, safe harbor when compared to Portugal’s “wretched,” deteriorating European capital filled with decadent aristocrats and struck by poverty and even famine upon the rushed departure of the Portuguese.¹²

The transfer of the court to Rio de Janeiro engendered what Roberto Schwarz diagnosed as the paradox of Brazilian modernity: he was referring to the disjuncture between the Brazilian Empire’s aspirations to Western European ideals and the exponential increase in the traffic of enslaved Africans.¹³ During the nineteenth century, more than forty percent of Brazil’s enslaved population since the sixteenth century were trafficked as labor force for sugar and burgeoning coffee plantations.¹⁴ This amounted to over a million of enslaved Africans from 1826 to 1850—a number that does not include the thousands of people who did not make it to official records as they were smuggled illegally across the Atlantic, or those who were born and grew up in Brazilian territory under captivity.¹⁵ Although a Portuguese decree prohibited the transatlantic slavetrade in

¹⁰ Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) and Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

¹¹ The “transplantation” or the “enrooting” of the court acts for Schultz as an informal precedent of the official Portuguese nationalist project of Regeneration that took place in the 1850s and that sought to reconstitute that nation by fostering economic growth via an adoption of liberal ideologies and industrialization. See Chapter 1 of Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001).

¹² Schultz also considers Marrócos’s claim that his Brazilian wife was “better than many Portuguese women” to argue that the colony promised the Portuguese with an opportunity for ‘moral renewal’, too—as the Portuguese moved away from a “land of vice and perdition” and the “superficiality and decadence of European aristocrats.” The idea of moral regeneration, in particular in relation to female sexuality, is explored in more detail in Chapter 2.

¹³ See Roberto Schwarz, *Misplaced Ideas: Essays on Brazilian Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 1992).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Sidney Chalhoub, *A Força da Escravidão: Ilegalidade e Costume no Brasil Oitocentista* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2012), 33, 35.

1836, the institution of slavery thrived for many decades to come. From slave dealers in Angola to owners of coffee plantations, so many sectors of society benefited from free enslaved labor that abolition was hardly desirable for them. By the mid nineteenth century, two thirds of the population of the city of Rio de Janeiro during the 1850s were Black and more than half were first generation Africans.¹⁶

Chapter 1, “Haydn’s Spirits, Effigies of Flesh,” turns to two key figures of the Portuguese Royal Court: the first is the Austrian composer Sigismund Neukomm, employed by the court following its transfer to Rio de Janeiro. The second is Afro-Brazilian composer and musician José Maurício Nunes Garcia, chapel master at Rio de Janeiro’s Royal Chapel from 1808 to 1811, an avid conductor and piano and organ performer of Haydn’s and Mozart’s music; he was canonized by Portuguese King Dom João VI as an “African Haydn.” I argue that, while Neukomm retained filial ties to Viennese classicism, José Maurício was perceived during his life and after his death as a surrogate figure of Viennese classicism—a body who performed the labor necessary to reproduce the legacy of dead Viennese authors. This chapter builds on the seminal work of Toni Morrison and Joseph Roach on the concept of surrogation, which suggests that natural, living bodies often act as replacement figures that perform the labor of other disembodied entities lost to absence or death, and to sustain their sovereignty and canonical legacy. In the Luso-Afro-Brazilian musical setting, surrogation at once offers an alternative framework to the dominant disembodied models of canon formation and enables an understanding of how Black cultural labor worked to reproduce canonical memory.

When D. Pedro I, the son of the Portuguese King D. João VI, declared Brazilian Independence and made himself the Empire of Brazil’s emperor on September 7 1822—thus troubling the term’s associations with rupture from a dominant imperial order—he sought to breach with the Portuguese *ancien régime* of his father to construct an empire that would be on a par with modern Europe. Nicknamed “the Liberator,” Pedro I promoted the liberalizing force of commerce, which involved, among other things, the deregulation of both the theater and the press in efforts to bolster ticket revenues.¹⁷ The following two chapters of the dissertation, set in the years after Independence, turn to musical portrayals of interracial relationships. They do so in view of that paradigmatic form of nineteenth-century Luso-Afro-Brazilian salon song for voice and guitar or piano: the lundu, addressed as it was to an imperial bourgeoisie, and disseminated rapidly in Brazilian song collections and theatrical performances. These chapters mobilize the notion of the scenario, as developed by Performance Studies scholar Diana Taylor, to discuss the repeated portrayal of interracial encounters—what scholars have referred to as “intimate frontiers” or “intimate contact zones” in the imperial setting.

Chapter 2, “A Scenario of Black Peril,” traces a corpus of lundus portraying some of the most historically fraught of Black Atlantic social relations: the interracial relationships between Black men and white women. The chapter offers a comparative analysis of lundus by two Afro-Brazilian performers. The first involves seductive improvisations by Domingos Caldas Barbosa (1739–1800), a so-called “troubadour of Venus and Cupid,” whose verses imagined a Black page boy character as he declared his love and affection for a white woman. The second analyzes the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 33. Chalhoub reaches an estimate of 1,041,964 enslaved men and women.

¹⁷ See, for example, Isabel Lustosa, *Insultos Impressos: A Guerra dos Jornalistas da Independência* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000) and Marco Morel, *As Transformações dos Espaços Públicos (Imprensa, Atores Políticos e Sociabilidades na Cidade Imperial (1820-1840))* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 2005).

late nineteenth-century Eduardo das Neves (also known as Dudu Crioulo), a self-ascribed “trovador da *malandragem*,” a “trickster troubadour” whose sexually and racially charged lundu had been “memorized, repeated, and sung by everybody, everywhere, from noble salons to street corners” across Brazilian capital cities. On the one hand, lundu performances enacted a form of biopolitical governance: they made what white imperial society deemed as unorthodox social relations available for public scrutiny. On the other hand, the Black male musicians who performed lundu resisted biopower by capitalizing on the lundu’s racial and sexual transgressiveness. These musicians, I claim, poked fun at imperial audiences and questioned racist archetypes. In an interplay between subjection and subversion, in other words, Caldas Barbosa and Dudu Crioulo’s performances at once reinforced and challenged Brazil’s racial-social order.

Chapter 3, “Contagious Musics, Racialized Bodies” turns to post-1850 Brazilian lundu dance-songs that depicted another scenario, one that involved interracial encounters between white men and Black and mixed-race women. In particular, this chapter is centered around the anonymous lundu song for solo voice and piano “Mulatinha do caroço no pescoço” (“Little mulata with the lump on her neck”), one of the more peculiar of comic imperial songs. While it appeared to celebrate the mixed-race woman’s vital beauty, the song called forensic attention to a supposedly impure body. The eponymous reference to a glandular swelling the “lump on the neck” suggests a well-known symptom of syphilis, transmitted by Europeans in slave quarters, often through the sexual exploitation of Afro-Brazilian women. The song offers one of many ways into the notion of a “contagious music with infectious rhythms,” a centuries-old discourse marshaled by white elites to refer to African diasporic musics they adored and despised. These musics’ heightened corporeality and the ease with which they circulated informed interpretations that upheld the life-and-death ambivalence the image of contagion suggests—life-giving and reproducible, but also indexing disease and destruction. First, these songs echoed popular arguments that portrayed sickness as punishment for sexual perversion. Second, lundu present the Afro-Brazilian woman as responsible for the nurture of the nation, as a coterminous discourse on the hygiene of Black wet-nurses suggests. Through the analysis of contagious song, I take illness beyond the space of metaphor, understanding it as a dramatic extension of practices targeting the Black female body. At last—in a reproductive economy that encompassed sexually transmitted disease and breast milk—these songs emerge against biologically racist thought newly imported from the United States, the bourgeois medicalization and pornification of the female body, and burgeoning knowledges from bacteriology and microbiology.

In the dissertation’s fourth chapter, “Surrogation Redux,” I conclude by reflecting on a present-day performance that I attended at Berkeley’s UC Theatre in October 2022: the last concert of Afro-Brazilian musician Milton Nascimento’s final overseas tour. Nascimento was a proponent of Brazil’s 1970s *Tropicália*, a musical movement that embraced the 1920s avant-garde writings of modernist Oswald de Andrade, who mobilized the metaphor of anthropophagy to propose a model for Brazilian liberation from foreign influence. Tropicalists such as Milton introduced Afro-diasporic rhythmic patterns while also devouring European experimentalism, its cacophonous sounds and nonsensical words. The aim was to digest and transform European cultural forms into new ones, only to nurture and revitalize Brazilian cultural production. But Milton’s final tour was different. Breathless and having been carried onstage, the eighty-year-old singer struggled to utter words and notes. Performing alongside Milton and musically supporting his performance was the twenty-five-year-old Zé Ibarra, whose experimental vocal practices and attire memorialized the Tropicalist past of the 1970s. I argue that this performance enacted a process of surrogation whereby Ibarra became a replacement figure who inherited and reproduced Milton’s musical

legacy. Finally, and despite hearing and seeing a body in pain, audiences interpreted his performance in terms that conflated the original act of creation with the notion of the divine genius, reproducing a foundational scenario that brings us all the way back to where we began with Joseph Haydn.

1.

Haydn's Spirits, Effigies of Flesh

We should not be surprised that the Enlightenment could accommodate slavery; we should be surprised if it had not. The concept of freedom did not emerge in a vacuum. Nothing highlighted freedom—if it did not in fact create it—like slavery.

Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark* (1992)¹

By the time and after Joseph Haydn's 1809 death, biographers such as Giuseppe Carpani and Ignaz Theodor Arnold enjoyed remarking that Haydn was one of the most famous composers in the world. His music reportedly circulated from "St Petersburg to Naples, from Moscow to Madrid, from Paris to London, just as from Lisbon or Stockholm, through all of Germany and France, as in Philadelphia."¹ What is less frequently noted is the coterminous circulation of Haydn's music across Latin America and the Caribbean: in Havana's emerging salons, where one of the city's earliest concert programmes (dated 1801) documents an orchestral finale by the composer; in Ciudad de México's Academia de las Escuelas de Minas, where, among others, pianist Soto Carillo performed the composer's keyboard sonatas; and in Caracas, whose archives register, around 1789, Haydn, Mozart, and Pleyel scores as gifts from the Austrian Emperor.² The city of Rio de Janeiro, from 1808 the capital of the Portuguese empire, also underwent a "Haydnmania" of sorts: when the Portuguese monarchy and fifteen thousand of its subjects fled Lisbon following the Napoleonic invasion of 1808 to transfer the court to the colonial capital. Brazilianist historians have long argued that the Portuguese King D. João VI enlisted Haydn's music for the purposes of the Portuguese empire's moral and religious regeneration in the wake of the court's turbulent transfer to its Brazilian colony, away from what he deemed as a decadent, revolutionary Europe.

The chapter that follows presents a theory of musical reproduction and canon formation that relies less on "thing power," that is, on the circulation of print, instruments or media forms, or the building of institutions and monuments. Instead, I show that the formation of a disembodied canon of "free" spirits was sustained by embodied, and particularly Black cultural labor. I begin by examining a pillar in Haydn memorialization: the Portuguese translation of Frenchman's Joachim Le Breton's *Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Joseph Haydn* (*Historical Notice of the Life and Works of Joseph Haydn*), among the first books printed by the Royal Press when the Portuguese court settled in Rio.³ I point to ways in which the book can be read as part of a broad culture of memorializing Haydn in and around after his death.

I then isolate two figures associated with Joseph Haydn and Viennese classicism more broadly: one Austrian, the other Afro-Brazilian. First I offer an examination of the cultural work of Sigismund Neukomm, who played a key role in Haydn's memorialization. He was employed

¹ Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 37-8.

¹ Emily I. Dolan, *The Orchestral Revolution: Haydn and the Technologies of Timbre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 90.

² For the presence of Haydn in the Spanish-speaking Americas, Luis Merino, "Presencia de Joseph Haydn en Latinoamérica Colonial y Decimonónica: "Las Siete Últimas Palabras de Cristo en la Cruz" y Dos Fuentes en Chile," *Revista Musical Chilena*, 30/135 (1976), 5-21.

³ Joachim Le Breton, *Notícia Histórica da Vida e das Obras de José Haydn*, translated "by an amateur," ed. Paulo Mugayar Kühl [1820] (São Paulo: Ateliê Editorial, 2004).

by the Portuguese King as court composer and music teacher to the Royal family from 1816 to 1821. Neukomm was commissioned by members of the court to produce at least seven masses for the myriad celebrations that were to take place in the city's churches and cathedrals, such as saints' feast days and the acclamation of the King. By examining Neukomm's cultural work during his five-year stay in Rio de Janeiro, I show that, as Haydn's most prestigious student and even a son-like figure, he was crucial to local processes of canon formation. This is to show how the notion of filiation can help us understand Neukomm's relationship with Haydn and the canon more broadly. The second and final section is structured around the work of Afro-Brazilian composer and musician José Maurício Nunes Garcia, the grandson of enslaved Bantu Africans, and among the most distinguished musical personae of the colonial capital. He was chapel master at the Royal Chapel from 1808 to 1811 and avid conductor and performer of Haydn's music, and was canonized by later historiography as the embodiment of Viennese composition in Brazil. I conclude by contending that José Maurício was perceived during his life and after his death as a surrogate or replacement figure who embodied Haydn's spirits. Surrogation, I argue, allows us to sketch a theory of Black Performance that grapples with the centrality of embodied labor in social and cultural reproduction.

*

Less than two decades before the publication of Joachim Le Breton's *Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Joseph Haydn*, the city of Rio de Janeiro underwent the most profound transformation of its history. 1808 was the year in which Portuguese officials elected the city as the new headquarter of the Portuguese court and the capital of that empire. The court's spectacular move took place following the heated month of November 1807, when Napoleon's first invasion of Portugal threatened the deposition of the Bragança dynasty, an event that resulted in riskiest of monarchical enterprises: the abandonment of the throne. Before the Napoleonic army arrived in Lisbon, the Portuguese Prince Regent D. João VI declared a national state of emergency and set sail towards the capital of its largest colony for solace and shelter, not leaving until 1821. The Prince Regent took with him no fewer than fifteen thousand people and their possessions, including a printing press (for the city had none until then) and some sixty thousand volumes from its prestigious Royal Library, all crammed into eight ships, five frigates, and three smaller vessels.⁴

Five years after the court's arrival, Rio's population almost doubled to 80,000 people, and the opening of ports in 1808—an important move in the liberalization of trade—meant that the number of ships entering the city quadrupled in one year.⁵ One contemporaneous commentator even referred to the Prince Regent's Quinta da Boa Vista Palace as a “tropical Versailles” (also

⁴ Lilia Schwarcz provides a magisterial account of the transfer of the court and discusses the Portuguese Royal Library's journey to Brazil in Chapter 6 of *A Longa Viagem da Biblioteca dos Reis* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002), 186-224. For analyses of the ways in which the printing press transformed Brazilian media history, see in particular Isabel Lustosa, *Insultos Impressos: A Guerra dos Jornalistas da Independência* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000) and Marco Morel, *As Transformações dos Espaços Públicos (Imprensa, Atores Políticos e Sociabilidades na Cidade Imperial (1820-1840))* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 2005). Five years after the court's arrival, Rio's population almost doubled to 80,000 people, and the opening of ports in 1808—an important move in the liberalization of trade—meant that the number of ships entering the city quadrupled in one year.

⁵ See Chapter 1 of Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da Monarquia à República: Momentos Decisivos* (São Paulo: UNESP, 1998).

the title of Kirsten Schultz's book *Tropical Versailles*).⁶ The image of Versailles, as Schultz argues, called to mind a comparable moment in French history—that is, when Louis XIV dislocated the French royal residence from the capital and to its suburb of Versailles, which became a critical place for the centralization of power and the consolidation of French absolute monarchy. The reference to Versailles recalled Louis XIV's interests in architectural and landscape innovation following the move—plus the ensuing sumptuous marble structures, and symmetrically landscaped, immaculate gardens—that have become a signature of Versailles ever since.⁷ Most importantly, “Versailles” echoed Louis XIV's grand efforts of self-representation, where the ritualization of both extraordinary and quotidian events served to spectacularize the absolute authority of the monarchy, establishing its transplantation in divine legitimacy.

To further his aims, and in the hope of building a new school of Beaux Arts in the capital city of the Portuguese empire, the Prince Regent recruited a number of French artists. Known as the “French Artistic Mission,” the expedition, led by former Professor of Rhetoric at the Institut de France Joachim Le Breton, reached the shores of Rio de Janeiro's Guanabara Bay on 26 March 1816. Joachim Le Breton's correspondence with Portuguese diplomat António de Araújo e Azevedo, D. João VI's Conde da Barca, documents an ambitious project. His idea was to found a school of fine arts in the mold of the French Institute, enriching what was already seen as “a good system of colonization.” The aim was to erect an edifice and to ship over a small group of French artists of varied training who would teach painting, sculpture, architecture, music and everything in between.⁸

As early as 1798 in an article in the Parisian *Décade Philosophique*, Le Breton suggested that “the most beautiful enterprise that remains to be achieved in the world consists of ... spreading the arts and lights in regions where they lack.”⁹ The 1810s presented the perfect opportunity to: organize a complete system for the instructions of the arts ... I wish that your country, which expects a great destiny, would not lag behind others, in a moment when the population, agriculture and commerce of the [American] continent increases at an admirable rate.¹⁰

⁶ Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001).

⁷ Versailles also serves, as Schutz suggests, to evoke “a recent monarchical past that had its political leadership and sovereignty challenged and was torn asunder by revolution, foreshadowing the impending end of Portugal's own absolute monarchy upon its return to Portugal in 1821. Schultz, *Tropical Versailles*, 2.

⁸ “Le Gouvernement y est maître d'y établir un bon système de colonisation.” Quoted in Elaine Dias, “Correspondências Entre Joachim Le Breton e a Corte Portuguesa na Europa: O Nascimento da Missão Artística de 1816,” *Anais do Museu Paulista*, 14/2 (2006), 306. Dias offers a useful examination of this correspondence and her article features long selected quotations in Le Breton's original French text. A Portuguese translation of Le Breton's full correspondence with da Barca may be found in Joachim Le Breton, “Memória do Cavaleiro Joachim Le Breton para o Estabelecimento da Escola de Belas Artes, no Rio de Janeiro,” [1816] trans. Mário Barata, *Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* 14 (1959), 283-307.

⁹ Quoted in Paulo Mugayar Kühl, “Le Breton, os Ideólogos e o Instituto da França: Modelos Artísticos para o Brasil,” *XXX Colóquio CBHA* (2010), 418.

¹⁰ “Organizar um sistema completo de instruções das artes, em sua dupla acepção. Desejaria que o seu país, com direito a esperar grandes destinos, não ficasse em atraso, quando já uma parte do continente

An austere warning note followed. “[This] is a special occasion,” he counseled, “which will probably not be offered to you again or, at least, will rarely be put forward.”¹¹ Le Breton summed up his plan as a “notable and rare” enterprise which “offers wise governments an occasion to profit from the failures and misfortunes of others.”¹²

This was true, indeed: his artistic expedition (which would only set sail in 1816) was comprised of French artists and artisans who had lost their artistic prestige after the fall of Napoleon.¹³ Fond of a good bargain, Le Breton “believed beyond doubt that it would be less expensive to transport this colony of men in a Portuguese or Brazilian ship than it would be to pay so many tickets, and more, the haulage of furniture and utensils to a rigger”—a deal the Portuguese Count didn’t seem keen to settle.¹⁴ Instead, Le Breton and his troupe boarded the American ship *Calphe*, departing from the French Port of Le Havre. The *Calphe* reached the shores of Guanabara Bay many months later.¹⁵

Amongst those who disembarked was Sigismund Neukomm. His name appeared alongside thirteen others listed, in the report that documents the arrival of the expedition, under the rubric of “artists who will reside in this capital.” He was recorded as follows: “musical composer, excellent organist and pianist, and the most distinguished disciple of the eminent Haydn.”¹⁶ Neukomm’s autobiography tells a different story altogether, claiming that he embarked upon frigate *Hermione* on 2 April 1816 at the Port of Brest together with the Duque of Luxembourg. Curiously enough, a brief search at the digital archive of the *Gazeta do Rio* confirms the arrival of the named boat on 30 May 1816—which would make sense at a time when transatlantic journeys took some six to eight weeks without adverse weather conditions.¹⁷ The idea that Neukomm—a former student of Haydn and hence a branch of the Viennese musical family tree—would complete an expedition so far devoid of musicians was no doubt appealing and indicated that civilization was arriving in Rio’s shores.

umenta com maravilhosa rapidez sua população, suas riquezas agrícolas e comerciais.” Le Breton, “Memória,” 305.

¹¹ “Trata-se de ocasião especial, que provavelmente, não se apresentará mais, ou, pelo menos, ocorrerá muito raramente.” Le Breton, “Memória,” 304.

¹² The full quotation is: “Não é portanto a V. Exc. que tenho necessidade de persuadir; mas faço votos bem sinceros para que suas luzes e seus sentimentos se propagam, antes que vejamos o fim de uma dessas épocas notáveis e raras que oferecem aos Governos sábios ocasião de lucrar com as faltas e as desgraças dos outros.” Le Breton, “Memória,” 305.

¹³ This is a fact overlooked by twentieth-century Brazilian historians until recent decades. That Le Breton’s expedition may be read on the lines of self-imposed exile, and that he and his men traveled to try their luck abroad after a moment of deep political unrest, makes the once-celebrated and capitalized “French Artistic Mission” look a little less grandiose. See Lilia Schwarcz, *O Sol do Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008), 18.

¹⁴ “Creio fora de dúvida que seria menos dispendioso transportar esta colônia em um navio português ou brasileiro, do que pagar tantas passagens, e, a mais, o frete dos móveis e utensílios a um armador.” Le Breton, “Memória,” 304.

¹⁵ This is reported in *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, No. 28 (6 April 1816), 3.

¹⁶ “Compositor de musica, excelente organista e pianista, e o mais distinto discípulo do celebre Haydn,” in *Gazeta do Rio*, No. 28 (6 April 1816), 3. Another newspaper, the Portuguese *Investigador* based in London, reproduces the same notice many months later: *O Investigador Portuguez em Inglaterra*, No. 3, Vol. 15 (London, September 1816), 331.

¹⁷ Neukomm, *Esquisse Biographique*.

In visual art, the French-Portuguese political alliance produced myriad portraits and marble busts of the royal family, depictions of the monarch in grand, gold- and crimson-tinged interior spaces and unprecedented Arcadian depictions of Rio's sunsets.¹⁸ August architectural feats also proved imperative, and by 1826 Le Breton's *beaux arts* project went from being a representation of space to a representational space—or, in fact, what could be called a *self*-representational space.¹⁹ This Imperial School of Fine arts followed a distinctly Greek mold: designed by the French Mission's architect Grandjean de Montigny, it featured a Hellenistic portico with a total of six columns plus high pedestals on either end, all made of giant plates of white marble and granite. A material symbol of imperial power, the school's neoclassical mold calls to mind what Winckelmann said many a decade earlier: that "the only way for us to become great, and even inimitable if possible, is to imitate the ancients."²⁰ At this point in history, the Portuguese dwelled on established European cultural models in the hope to construe a powerful, and paradoxically modern, empire. Classical Greece—which Silva Lisboa (possibly the *Notícia*'s translator) called, in his *Moral Constitution*, "the original source of European civilization" functioned as one of these models.²¹ Sacred vocal music had its due place in a city where neoclassicism—whether in painting, or in architecture—took hold of the bypasser's eyes (and before the spectacle of Rossini operas proliferated at the end of the decade).

A central contribution to Haydn's memorialization was a Haydn biography, printed by the Royal Press: the Portuguese translation of Joachim Le Breton's *Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Joseph Haydn*. The *Notice* had now earned the Portuguese title of *Notícia Histórica da Vida e das Obras de José Haydn*: it had been anonymously translated into Portuguese in honor of its author Joachim Le Breton, who had passed away in little less than three months in Carioca soil. The censorship note permitting this publication concluded that Haydn was a composer "worthy of praise and celebrity as he gives us access to great moral, political, and religious truths that illuminate our sentiment and direct our reason."²² A gentleman from the Portuguese censorship bureau in Rio de Janeiro on that day noted that "I have not encountered [here] anything against the truths of religion or against the laws of the State; and with reference to the merit of this piece, I believe that it will be well received as it comes from the hands of a master, and it will

¹⁸ For reproductions of many drawings and paintings produced by Jean-Baptiste Debret, see the Portuguese edition of the painter's travel diaries: Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Viagem Pitoresca e Histórica ao Brasil*, [1834-9] trans./ed. Sérgio Milliet (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1975). A narrative of the output of Nicolas-Antoine Taunay, another painter of the expedition, may be found in Schwarcz, *O Sol do Brasil*. And for a brief English-language account of the French expedition in Brazil, see Ana Lucia Araujo, *Brazil Through French Eyes: A Nineteenth-Century Artist in the Tropics* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015), 41-2.

¹⁹ These two terms are part of Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad. See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* [1974], trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

²⁰ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, "Thoughts on the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks" in H. B. Nisbet, *German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism: Winckelmann, Lessing, Hamann, Herder, Schiller and Goethe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 33.

²¹ "original fonte da civilização da Europa;" José da Silva Lisboa, *Constituição Moral* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1824), 6.

²² "digno de louvor e celebridade o que pela descoberta ou exposição de grandes verdades morais, políticas e religiosas iluminam [sic] o nosso entendimento e dirigem a nossa razão." Le Breton, *Notícia Histórica*, 21.

increase readership of works of this kind.”²³ The piece was soon dispatched to the shop of Paulo Martins on 34 Rua da Quitanda, where printed matter ranging from novels and poetry to political pamphlets were sold.²⁴

An anonymous correspondent from the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* suggested that Brazilian José da Silva Lisboa was the *Notice*’s translator (some six months after publication):

The translator of these notes, Mr. da Silva Lisboa, advisor to the King, Secretary of Commerce, Judge of the Court, a man of large erudition, completed these *Notices* with many interesting points he had picked up in several German, French and English writings about Haydn and through a prologue in which he clearly expresses, as a sensible and tasteful man, his enthusiasm for our unmatched Haydn.²⁵

Le Breton’s *Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Joseph Haydn* was an *éloge historique*—a eulogy composed in memory of a deceased member of the institute. Its pages were dressed in anecdote—some meant to be amusing, others plainly instructive—and interweaved biographical content with commentary on selected works.²⁶ Covering some forty-odd pages, it was an exercise in telling stories, in remembering and imagining an eminent musical life. Le Breton

²³ This gentleman was named Francisco de S. Teresa Sampaio, whose Portuguese version reads as “não encontrei proposição alguma oposta às verdades da religião, nem às leis do Estado; e enquanto ao merecimento da composição, julgo que será bem recebida, porque é da mão de mestre, e virá aumentar o pequeno número das obras que se podem ler.” This is quoted in Kühn, “Haydn no Brasil,” in Le Breton, *Notícia*, 21-2.

²⁴ The censorship note points that the piece “is planned to be given to the printing press of Paulo Martins” (“pretende dar ao prelo Paulo Martins”); quoted in Kühn, “Haydn no Brasil,” 21. Note that a majority of books published by the *Impressão Régia* (Royal Press) were printed by Paulo Martins and sold at his own shop. For information about this printing press and shop, as well as examples of the material sold there in 1821, see Laurence Hallewell, *Books in Brazil: A History of the Publishing Trade* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1982), 31.

²⁵ Der Uebersetzer derselben, Hr. Da Silva-Lisboa, königl. Rath, und Deputado da Real-Junta do Commercio, Desembargador da Casa da Supplica etc., ein Mann von vielumfassender Gelehrsamkeit, hat diese Notices durch viele interessante Züge, die er aus mehrern deutschen, französischen und englischen Schriften über Haydn u.s.w. ausgehoben hat, und durch einen Prolog vermehrt, in dem er als Mann von Gefühl und Geschmack seinen Enthusiasmus für unsern ewig unerreichbaren Haydn rein ausspricht. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, No. 23 (Leipzig, 7 June 1820), 401-2.

²⁶ The academic *éloge* enjoyed its high point in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and echoed the revaluation of Greek rhetoric within the French institutional context. For a useful discussion on the French *éloge*, especially with a focus on the Académie des Sciences, see Peter France, “From Eulogy to Biography: The French Academic *Éloge*,” in Peter France and William St. Clair, *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 83-102. And as *secrétaire perpétuelle* of the class of fine arts, Le Breton was in charge of writing the *éloges* of academy members who had died in the course of his tenure, and for reading these aloud at the institute’s biannual public sessions. For a discussion of this institutional protocol, see George Weisz, *The Medical Mandarins: The French Academy of Medicine in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 123. Le Breton also wrote about sculptor Pierre Julien on one occasion, architect Ottone Calderari on another, and composer André-Ernest Grétry, to cite a few; Haydn appears to be the only name of Germanic descent within Le Breton’s set of *éloges*. See Le Breton, *Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Pierre Julien* (Paris: Baudouin, 1805); *Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de M. le Comte O. Calderari* (Paris: Baudouin, 1808); and *Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages d’André-Ernest Grétry* (Paris: Baudouin, 1814).

recounted Haydn's destitute years in the Austrian capital before he enjoyed the protection of an Esterhazy prince, away from the "stabs of envy that his fame excited;" of the period when he enjoyed the admiration of the English fashionable classes, "people sensitive to the enchantments of music [who] paid Haydn delicate attention and made eulogies dictated by their enthusiasm;" of his final public appearance in the University of Vienna's Great Hall, the well-known "triumphal scene" in which the now frail composer was carried on an armchair to receive the people's gratitude for his artistic activity, accompanied, ritual-like, by trumpet calls, cheering and the sound of his own *Creation*—a moment that preceded his seclusion from the world of men.²⁷

Like many before him, Le Breton praised Haydn's instrumental music for expressive clarity and thematic balance. Le Breton wrote that Haydn himself "said that a musical composition should have a beautiful natural melody, that ideas were to be continuous, that little ornaments were needed, and above all, [there should be] no overwritten accompaniments"—ideals similar to those of Carpani, who praised Haydn's ability of presenting "perfectly clear" yet "intricately woven" themes, always "free of impediments."²⁸ To Le Breton, even Haydn's precise compositional method—whereby he would reportedly "[make] a sketch of each passage, and he would only write his scores after having meditated all his drafts"—seems to attest to the "purity of style" and "clarity and unity of his works."²⁹ But like Carpani, Le Breton does not seek simplicity alone. In a further passage, he praises Haydn's symphonies for

[the] unity of plan, the clarity and variety of developments, the orchestral richness and the vivacity of colors allow one to listen to these delightful compositions every day, without ever being satiated.³⁰

²⁷ See *Magasin Encyclopédique* (Paris, November 1810), 344, 353, 366: "les traits de l'envie que ses succès excitèrent;" "les personnes sensibles au charme de la musique, combloient Haydn de prévenances délicates ou d'éloges dictés par l'enthousiasme;" and "scène triomphale." The Haydn *Notice* was read by many of its time in France. It was first made available in print by the Institut's official organ, the *Histoire et Mémoires de L'Institut Royal de France*, as was customary for all content presented at public sessions. It was then printed by the *Moniteur Universel*, which had a section devoted to works presented by academicians of the Institut, on 14 December 1810 and 3 January 1811. The many subscribers of the *Magasin Encyclopédique ou Journal des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts*, who paid their quarterly nine francs, could read it in their November 1810 edition. See *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 333-378. Many years later it was included in the *Bibliographie Musicale de la France et de L'Étranger* of 1822. *Bibliographie Musicale de la France et de L'Étranger* (Paris, 1822).

²⁸ "Il disoit qu'une composition musicale devoit d'abord avoir une belle mélodie naturelle; que les idées devoient en être suivies; qu'il falloit peu d'ornemens, et surtout point de recherches, point d'accompagnemens surchargés;" *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 356. This is in line with an argument by Mark Evan Bonds, who suggests that many appreciated Haydn's music for its association with rhetoric until the early decades of the nineteenth century. Mark Evans Bonds, "Rhetoric versus Truth: Listening to Haydn in the Age of Beethoven," in Tom Beghin and Sander M. Goldberg, eds., *Haydn and the Performance of Rhetoric* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 114-6; 110. Carpani's lines are quoted in *ibid.*, 110.

²⁹ The full quotation is "Haydn faisait une esquisse de chaque morceau, et n'écrivait ses partitions qu'après avoir bien médité toutes ces esquisses; aussi est-il remarquable pour la pureté du style, comme pour la carté et l'ensemble de ses compositions;" *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 358.

³⁰ "L'unité de plan, la clarté et la variété des développements, la richesse d'orchestre et la vivacité de coloris, permettent d'entendre tous le jours ces délicieuses compositions, sans qu'on puisse s'en rassasier;" *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 349.

Excessive ornamentation and heavy accompanying figures have no place in this context. It is no surprise that Le Breton condemns the young Haydn for seeking complexity for its own sake, for his pretension to attempt “to write for sixteen voices when he did not even how to write for two,” and for persuading himself that the more notes there were on paper, the better his music could be.³¹

The *Notice* cultivates an image long engraved in the music-historical imagination: one of Haydn as a modest and “by nature gracious” man—personality traits thought to be analogous to the expressive qualities enjoyed in his music. Even one of his pianos, sent by the Érard brothers in 1806, was said to possess ‘an extremely delicate touch’, suitable to one of the finest manners, sweet personality, and at this time, frail health. “[Haydn’s] two travel diaries,” Le Breton also writes, “present some rather interesting anecdotes which prove that adversity had not altered his amiable character.”³² Le Breton’s Haydn appeared ignorant of many worldly matters, and again in his trips to England, Haydn could apparently “only see and observe what could be of interest to music.” One of his anecdotes illustrates a related point. The court composer Leopold Florian Gassmann, portrayed as a born persuader, acts as a foil to Haydn’s musical absorption; and Haydn, concerned with his art alone, is made oblivious to the human realm of intrigue and ambition, and removed from everyday power struggles. Easily persuaded, he becomes the possessor of a “docile hand.” Like many before him, Le Breton enjoyed depicting Haydn as a creative, virtuous and slightly naïve, or depoliticized, individual—in this way following, to a tee, the golden pastoral archetype of the artist.³³

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In its anonymous Portuguese translation of 1820, the *Notícia* contained a dedication to Neukomm, here presented as a chevalier of cosmopolitan caliber, a “member of the Swedish Royal Society of Music, of the Imperial Philharmonic Society of St. Petersburg, of the Paris Royal Academy of Sciences.”³⁴ Unique to the Portuguese translation of the document is the addition of several, often long, discursive footnotes authored by Neukomm. Neukomm’s footnotes, translations from the French with no originals, often occupy a third of a page. Committed to truth-telling, Neukomm sees it as his duty to intervene critically where necessary and, often armed with first-hand evidence, to correct inaccuracies. He adds, “first of all one must be just; *cuique suum* [to each his own].”³⁵ The frequent footnotes dispersed through the text serve to present Neukomm as a messenger of

³¹ Le Breton wrote, “il avoit tenté des compositions à huit et même à seize voix; qu’il croyait que tout était bien quand le papier se trouvait entièrement couvert; mais que le maître de chapelle le réprimande sévèrement de ce que, ne connaissant pas même la composition à deux voix, il l’entreprenant à seize.” Le Breton, *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 340.

³² “Le journal de ses deux voyages [...] fourniroient des anecdotes assez piquantes qui prouveroient que l’adversité n’avoit point altéré son caractère aimable.” *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 358. This is something that David Wyn Jones, with his attention turned to the London Notebooks, has contested. David Wyn Jones (ed.), *Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 143.

³³ See Dorinda Outram, “The Language of Natural Power,” *History of Science*, 16 (1978), 155 and Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

³⁴ “Membro da Sociedade Real de Música da Suécia, da Sociedade Imperial Philharmonica de S. Petersburgo, da Academia Real das Sciencias de Paris, etc.” Henceforth, I will refer to the text’s recent edition by historian Paulo Mugayar Köhl, as the unedited version remains, for the time being, out of my reach. See Joachim Le Breton, *Notícia*.

³⁵ “Primeiro que tudo deve ser justo: *cuique suum* [cada um o seu].” Le Breton, *Notícia*, 57.

truth, someone who had witnessed the unfolding of Haydn's life, who had arrived well-equipped with stories, and was eager to share his knowledge about the late composer with eager new audiences. These stories acquired the authenticity of first-hand ethnographic evidence.

An eighteen-page section comprising five appendices compiled by the translator concluded the book. Amid quotes and commentary on Haydn and the "science of music" in a broader sense, the translator presented his readers with the following: first, Stendhal's Haydn biography; second, a courtly document detailing an old Portuguese King's aptitude for music; third, a paragraph from a funeral eulogy to Corelli; and, fourth, a brief extract from Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Fifth was a biography of Neukomm, from an 1817 German source.³⁶ It contained a short extract from a Haydn letter to Neukomm, which usefully indicated that Neukomm "had left [Europe] to Brazil, where he may now be found."³⁷

What's more, one key passage in the *Notícia* eulogizes a stone memorial that Neukomm supposedly built for Haydn in Vienna:

We hope this piece will please those readers interested in celebrating the memory of this great preceptor [Haydn], who formed the genius of his student [Neukomm]. The latter now holds honorable titles in addition to the respect and affection of this kingdom's inhabitants; unable to erect a pedestal [for a monument of] of his master, as Aristotle did to Plato, Neukomm, in a public gesture of gratitude and filial piety, placed above his grave a tasteful monument which simply contained the name "Joseph Haydn" and the traditional epitaph "Non omnis moriar!"³⁸

The translator turns to Ancient Greece, and Plato and Aristotle now morph into a distinctly musical pair whereby Neukomm, as Aristotle's musical counterpart, likewise becomes his master's faithful acolyte. In inscribing the words "Non omnis moriar!" on Haydn's grave, Neukomm also echoed Haydn himself. After all, and at receiving a medal after the first performance of *The Creation* in Paris, Haydn wrote that

I have often doubted whether my name would survive me; but your kindness inspires me with confidence, and the token of esteem with which you have honored me justifies my hope that perhaps I SHALL NOT WHOLLY DIE."³⁹

One way to read this section of *Notícia*, in fact, involves placing it within a broader metropolitan culture of memorialization emerging around 1800, at a watershed moment for the institutionalization of historical consciousness in public musical life. As Matthew Head has shown, Haydn was the first composer and European-wide celebrity to have been publicly memorialized. Numerous monuments and busts dedicated to him abounded, with some of them even anticipating

³⁶ Le Breton, *Notícia*, 86, 87-9, 97.

³⁷ The full quotation is "Neukomm depois foi a França e daí partiu para o Brasil, onde ainda se acha." Le Breton, *Notícia*, 94.

³⁸ "Espera-se que sejam agradáveis aos leitores que se interessam em solenizar a memória do grande preceptor, que formou o gênio daquele seu aluno, que ora tem nobres títulos ao respeito e afeto dos habitantes deste reino; porque, em gratidão pública e piedade filial, não podendo erguer altar a seu mestre, como fez Aristóteles a Platão, levantou-lhe sobre o túmulo decoroso monumento, com o simples nome "José Haydn" e o clássico epitáfio "Non omnis moriar!" In Portuguese, the word "altar" may also mean an elevated position or a "pedestal;" here, I translate it as the latter to avoid confusion with a religious altar.

³⁹ Nicholas Mathew, "'Achieved is the Glorious Work': *The Creation* and the Choral Work Concept" in *Engaging Haydn: Culture, Context, and Criticism*, Mary Hunter and Richard Will (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 129.

the composer's death. In 1793, sixteenth years before Haydn's death, a stone memorial dedicated to Count Karl Leonhard von Harrach (from Rohrau) constructed a stone memorial whose stone pedestal read: "To the memory / of Joseph Haydn / The Immortal Master / of Music."⁴⁰ One could call these monuments lieux de mémoire, to echo Pierre Nora's notion that refers to official sites of collective memory.⁴¹ As Nora writes, modern memory is archival and material, and experienced through "its exterior scaffolding and outward signs—hence the obsession with the archive that marks our age, attempting at once the complete conservation of the present as well as the total preservation of the past."⁴² Nora cites monumental memory-sites such as statues for the dead as lieux de mémoire.⁴³ We do not know if Neukomm's monument exists or not. But the very notion of a monument fed into this practice of memorialization. Monuments, especially pertaining to Haydn, marked a shift in musical thinking that "provided ways of apprehending the past that fed into the nineteenth-century construction of the musical past as heritage and canon," as Head argues.⁴⁴ Monuments are what articulated modern ideas about the permanence of musical works and buttressed discourses about composers' immortality. In rendering fleeting bodily traces material, they stood metonymically for the immortality of the author and the permanence of his works.

But there is something else at play here. Repeatedly, Neukomm figures as "Haydn's favorite disciple." In his ethnographic footnotes, he presents himself not only as an authority on the life of Haydn, but also as a student worthy of the composer's hard-won approval: "I forbid you from leaving the subject of music," he remembers fondly in the *Notícia*, a magical aura now upon him, the solemn words Haydn once directed to his younger, disheartened self. Haydn's memorialization in Rio involved more than merely the material memorials of print and stone. The presence of the living figure of Neukomm as a direct descendant of the Viennese family tree memorialized, and kept classical music alive.

In addition, readers learn from a biography of Neukomm located in the *Notícia*'s third appendix that Haydn "welcomed him amongst his disciples and treated him like his own son."⁴⁵ This father-son dyad—reinforced by Neukomm's supposed "filial piety," mentioned in the passage in question—bolsters, on the one hand, a much-familiar image of "Papa" Haydn, which speaks as much about Haydn's supposed father-like attributes (whatever these might be) as it does about his status as the 'father' of genres such as the string quartet and the symphony. And on the other hand, it puts forward a much lesser-known idea at least within Anglo-American musicological circles, that Neukomm should inherit this musical legacy. To put it differently: in Rio's Portuguese court, Neukomm became the son of tradition, as Plato's Aristotle in the Americas, worthy of a canonic pedestal himself. If Haydn begat Mozart, it seems he would beget Neukomm, too.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Mathew Head, "Music With No Past?," *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 23/3 (2000), 191-2.

⁴¹ Pierre Nora, *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, transl. David P. Jordan (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

⁴² Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, 26 (1989), 7-24.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 22.

⁴⁴ Head, "Music With No Past?," 198.

⁴⁵ The short quotations are as follows: "o discípulo predileto de Haydn; "o recebeu entre os discípulos e o tratou como seu próprio filho." Le Breton, *Notícia*, 93-4.

⁴⁶ This a reference to what James Garratt describes as "the triadic trajectory Haydn begat Mozart begat Beethoven." James Garratt, "Haydn and Posterity: The Long Nineteenth Century" in Caryl Clark, *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 228.

That Neukomm was Haydn's favorite student was likely a piece of wishful thinking: Neukomm's letters reveal that, back in Vienna many decades earlier, Haydn paid him to arrange works such as *Il ritorno di Tobia*, but in fact did not welcome him very cordially in their first meeting.⁴⁷ Neukomm held a still less glamorous position in the Portuguese court. His letters show that he earned very little money: so little that he once wrote that "I might never be able to pay my return ticket back to Europe."⁴⁸ But whether Neukomm's claims are true or not matter little in the context of this argument. After all, Neukomm's name appeared, over and over, as one that was inseparable from Haydn and who worked to keep Haydn's memory alive via the first-hand knowledge he gathered.

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If Neukomm was served to display a European "filial piety," then José Maurício suggests that it was racialized labor that cemented Haydn's universal musical genius. The Afro-Brazilian chapel master was known for his admiration of the Viennese classics. He played a central role in their dissemination when he conducted the Latin American premieres of Mozart's and Haydn's choral works. Indeed, a second key moment in the memorialization of Viennese classics involved the Latin American premiere of Mozart's *Requiem*, which took place in December 1820 at the Royal Chapel of the Portuguese court in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Performed by the Brotherhood of Saint Cecilia choir, the concert was dedicated to the memory of the musicians from the Brotherhood who had died during the course of the year of 1819. Neukomm reported to Leipzig musical journal *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung (AMZ)* that:

The execution of this masterwork by Mozart left nothing to be desired; all connoisseurs strived to receive, with dignity, the foreign Mozart in this New World. This first attempt was, in all perspectives, so satisfactory that I expect that this will not be the last performance of this kind.⁴⁹

Not least, a later piece of anonymous foreign correspondence from the *AMZ* anticipated that "thanks to the efforts of M. Neukomm and Fr. Mauricio, we shall have the opportunity of hearing *The Creation*, by Haydn. The distribution of vocal parts is already taking place."⁵⁰ This brief mention of *The Creation* is all we know about the then-future performance of what court officials considered a "splendid piece, admired in all Europe, with no prototype in the history of music, and in which Haydn appears to have transcended the sphere of mortals, having elevated his soul to God."⁵¹ We do know that, by 1821, the same José Maurício, who never set foot beyond Brazil,

⁴⁷ Luciane Beduschi points this out after examining the totality of Neukomm's letters located at the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Wiener Stadtbibliothek. See Luciane Beduschi, "Revisão Crítica da Autobiografia de Sigismund Neukomm," *Anais do VIII Encontro de Musicologia Histórica* (Juiz de Fora, 18-20 July 2008), 39.

⁴⁸ The full quotation in its Portuguese translation is: "me dão tão pouco dinheiro que eu não poderei jamais ter condições de pagar o meu retorno à Europa." Meyer, "O Catálogo Temático de Neukomm," http://www.rem.ufpr.br/_REM/REMr5.1/vol5-1/neukomm.htm.

⁴⁹ This was translated by Brazilian musicologist Cleofe Person de Mattos in Cleofe Person de Mattos, *José Maurício Nunes Garcia: Biografia* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, 1997), 144.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁵¹ "a esplêndida obra da *Criação*, admirada em toda a Europa, com pensamento sem protótipo na história da música, em que Haydn parece haver transcendido a esfera mortal, tendo a alma elevada a Deus." Le Breton, *Notícia Histórica*, 43.

wrote two psalms based, in his own words, “on a few motives of the work *The Creation of the World* by the immortal Haydn.”⁵²

Stories about his performing body abounded, especially hailing him as a “Brazilian Haydn” after his 1830 death. French painter Jean Baptiste Debret, employed as official court painter and teacher to the Imperial Academy of Arts in Rio from 1816 to 1831 wrote that

José Mauricio was a star who shined successively on the colony, the kingdom, and the empire, and illuminated with his precious light the Brazilians devoted to music. Divine genius! If death felled you at the height of your career, paralyzing at the same time your skilful hands and your sublime, mystical inspirations, at least you will be immortal! You will travel the world; and, having spread in society, your works will resurrect you every day until all of Europe hears you and the universe applauds you!⁵³

Debret reproduced a discourse we might recognise as distinctively Haydnian: it drew together invocations of religious sublimity, claims to immortality, and aspirations of worldly travels, and always with reference to the embodied work of his hands.

Debret was not the only commentator to employ a discourse about sublime performance. In 1856, intellectual Araújo Porto Alegre recounted a story he had heard from Neukomm, who entered the court’s Royal Chapel one day to hear a “strange sound” resounding from the organ’s lowest register. Neukomm marveled at the unexpected when he found José Mauricio reading the sparsely notated score of his own *Requiem* at sight, improvising on the unfinished motives. The anecdote moved through the affective and dramatic extremes. It departed from the low, “monstrous” tones of the organ only to culminate with an enlightened encounter. Release took place when, at last, the two men hugged and “cried together, when no words could be uttered.”

These are some among a wealth of examples that crowned José Mauricio as Haydn’s surrogate successor and placed him within a direct and unmediated line of transmission with Haydn and the Viennese art tradition. Stories linking José Mauricio to Joseph Haydn remained alive in the popular imaginary, in Brazil and also in Europe, a hundred or so years after the death of the Brazilian chapel master. These myths traveled as far as Milan in 1923, for instance, when the Italian musician and historian Vincenzo Cernicchiario (who had lived in Brazil in the 1860s) asserted that “José Mauricio maintained correspondence with the immortal father of the symphony, who often praised the ingenuity of the father of our religious music.”⁵⁴ This was probably wishful thinking: the correspondence is unlikely, and there are no records that it took place.

⁵² This is translated in Luiz Heitor Correa de Azevedo, *Bibliografia Musical Brasileira, 1820-1950* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1952), 476. For a brief discussion about the fragments in relation to historical recovery, see Cleofe Person de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático: José Mauricio Nunes Garcia* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1970), 120-1.

⁵³ “Il fut un astre qui brilla successivement sur la colonie, le royaume et l’empire, et éclaira de sa précieuse lumière les Brésiliens voués à la musique. Génie divin! si la mort t’arrêta au milieu de ta brillante carrière, en paralysant à la fois tes savantes mains et tes sublimes inspirations mystiques, au moins tu seras immortel! tu parcourras le monde; et, répandues dans la société, tes oeuvres te ressusciteront chaque jour, jusqu’à ce que toute l’Europe t’entende et que l’univers t’applaudisse!” Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil*, 36-7.

⁵⁴ Vincenzo Cernicchiario, *Storia della Musica nel Brasile: dai tempi coloniali sino ai nostril giorni (1549-1925)* (Milano: Fratelli Riccioni, 1926). “È noto che José Mauricio manteneva corrispondenza com l’immortale padre della sinfonia, il quale spesse volte, ebbe a lodare l’ingegno del padre della nostra musica religiosa.”

Unlike Haydn's many effigies of stone, José Maurício could be said to operate as an effigy of flesh. After René Girard, Joseph Roach uses the phrase "effigy of flesh" to describe a replacement double that stood in service of the dead and the newly canonized. The posthumous accounts of José Maurício's piano performances by intellectual Alfred d'Escragnolle, the Viscount of Taunay (who lived from 1843-1899), provide a case in point. Taunay began by recounting what appeared to be a classic court duel: Italianate Portuguese composer Marcos Portugal challenged José Maurício to perform a difficult Haydn piano sonata at sight, as a test of and in order to disprove his renowned abilities at the keyboard.

Taunay recounted a scene that sees the great colonial composer and chapel master of the Portuguese court at the piano, the supposedly jealous operatic composer Marcos Portugal standing at the back, and Portuguese sovereigns D. João VI and his wife Carlota Joaquina listening from their seats. We could think here of the Salieri vs. Mozart rivalry, or even harken back to the purported rivalry taking place between Gassmann and Haydn, as Le Breton had suggested in his biography. José Maurício declares having never heard this sonata in particular, but he still proceeds to perform the piece, with jaw-dropping dexterity. He excels at it, to Marcos Portugal's surprise and disappointment. More than this, he writes that José Maurício displayed such deeply-felt Haydnian sensibility that "he was at one with Haydn."⁵⁵ It was only when his "body and soul [were] surrendered to Haydn," Taunay opined, that he was able to "vivify" Haydn's memory.

José Maurício could be said to operate as Haydn's surrogate, to borrow the term coined by Performance Studies scholar Joseph Roach in his monograph *Cities of the Dead*. Roach employs the concept to refer to "an elusive entity that it is not but that it must vainly aspire both to embody and to replace."⁵⁶ Surrogation works in two distinct but interrelated ways: in the first sense, surrogation refers to someone who acts as a replacement figure, in the absence and especially following the death of another person.⁵⁷ The second, perhaps most familiar definition, foregrounds notions of embodiment to denote a process by which one body performs the labor and provides sustenance for another, and for the purposes of the latter's reproduction. As a medium for raising the dead, José Maurício was construed as a sacrificial victim of sorts who offered himself in the service of canonical memory. His body, in other words, was an organic form that stood in for and performed the cultural labor necessary to sustain the sovereign, larger-than-life body of the author.⁵⁸

Whereas Neukomm was also perceived as Haydn's double, he replaced Haydn differently. It was fitting that Neukomm's body would sustain a filial relationship to Haydn: as a white Austrian composer, he fulfilled the promise of bringing Haydn's legacy to the New World. Neukomm provides a central case for cultural reproduction through the movement, relocation, and cultural work of individuals. And yet, Neukomm's relationship to Haydn was not necessarily tied with cultural labor: mere records of his presence in Rio's Portuguese court were already sufficient to sediment his role as a filial double. By comparison, accounts of José Maurício's musical persona

⁵⁵ Escragnolle Taunay, *Estudos Críticos* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. De G. Leuzinger & Filhos, 1881), 135. "Estava todos com Haydn," 135.

⁵⁶ Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 3.

⁵⁷ One could say that, in sustaining a relationship between the living and the dead, José Maurício's body operated within the realm of intermundane. Jason Stanyek and Benjamin Piekut, "Deadness: Technologies of the Intermundane," *TDR: The Drama Review*, 54/1 (2010), 14-38.

⁵⁸ Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 21.

not only link him to Haydn's work, but they foreground performance: whether that is Debret's mention of his "immortal hands," his sublime organ improvisation, or the piano performance where he "vivifies" Haydn's memory. José Maurício's performances emerge as unique forms of embodied labor, which I contend are best explicated in terms of surrogation because they entail a body laboring for another and to provide sustenance for another, for the purposes of the latter's reproduction.

As a theoretical framework, surrogation provides an alternative to Haydn scholarship and studies of canon formation that rely primarily on the abstract circulation of musical works. This is an important matter, not least because Haydn's works have been understood as the earliest to foster the notion of a self-sustaining and autonomous artwork. Accounts of *The Creation*, in particular, ensured that the work circulated as an authentic quasi-object as they linked the notion of the original act of creation with divine creation.⁵⁹ Breitkopf and Hartel even published the complete edition of his works "with the approval and by the authority of the composer."⁶⁰ As Nicholas Mathew suggests, this perceived autonomy of the aesthetic object worked in conjunction with the autonomy of the marketplace that took place via the dissemination of printed matter.⁶¹ Haydn's contract with the Esterházy family in 1779 marked a watershed in the circulation of musical works, making his music widespread across Europe as it was sold to publishers beyond the confines of the court.⁶² In the 1780s, for one, Haydn sold a number of symphonies to Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein in Bavaria, sent manuscript copies of his op. 33 string quartets to the Vienna publisher Artaria, and provided the court of Madrid with a manuscript of *L'isola disabitata*. One poet employed by the latter court even apotheosized the harmonic language and thematic variety of Haydn's music in the fifth canto of his epic poem *La Música* as early as 1779—that is, more than a decade before the composer's first trip to London and some thirty years before critics such as Ignaz Theodor Arnold (whose words I began this chapter with) would hail Haydn as a quintessentially cosmopolitan figure.⁶³ In other words, rather than honing in on the centrality of the circulation of Haydn's works, surrogation foregrounds the agentic power of a range of human figures and their practices in the making of the canon.

Successful surrogation, as Roach demonstrates, is predicated upon the erasures and forgettings of Black bodies. This form of labor involves working in the service of someone else in order to perpetuate their legacy. At place here is alienated labor, a case in which the results of one's labor are separated from the laboring individual. One could say that the sublime accounts described here worked to sublimate José Maurício's Blackness. The excessive commentary on José Maurício's bodily movements in performance—on his displays of Germanic sensibility and the excessive gestures that aspired to the realm of the sublime—perhaps drew attention away from the racialization of his body. After all, nineteenth-century accounts do not refer to José Maurício's Blackness. His biographer Porto Alegre, for instance, observed that "José Maurício was a man with a more-than-ordinary stature; he had a noble physiognomy, a strong physical constitution, and a penetrating, luminous gaze when he conducted the orchestra or spoke about art." He concluded by negating the importance of race when he wrote, at last, that "while he was Black

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁶¹ Mathew, "Achieved is the Glorious Work," 135.

⁶² Wyn Jones (ed.), *Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn*, 67.

⁶³ See Tomás de Iriarte, *La Música*, ed. Bruce A. Boggs (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2007).

indeed, one must remember that race is in one's insides (*miolo*) and not the outer shell."⁶⁴ Porto Alegre was suggesting that José Maurício's skin color—his "outer shell"—was not a matter worthy of discussion if his insides were not Black; or, that they were "white."

Records concerning the monarch's hesitancy to hire him because of what he called a "visible defect of color" and a "physical irregularity" have no place in these sublime accounts.⁶⁵ As they worked in the service of immortality, the movements and gestures in performance could not be associated with supposedly "irregular" bodies. In aspiring to transcend the world of mortals, or transfigure the saintly author, José Maurício's sublime performances appeared to turn matter into spirit: they abstracted labor from the body that produced it. In their dramatic excess, in other words, the sublime accounts of his performances worked to occlude the routine subjugation of Black bodies that was so central to imperial governance. Surrogation thus puts pressure on foundational Black Atlantic paradigms that explore performance for its ability to act as an index of resistance or liberation. I am referring to Paul Gilroy's humanist, utopian claims that value Black performances for how they channel "a politics of transfiguration in the pursuit of the sublime" and Fred Moten's more recent adaptation of the argument that likewise attends to "the freedom drive that animates black performances."⁶⁶ José Maurício's was a case in which the performing body effaced the racialized body.

To conclude, this chapter has foregrounded a process of cultural labor neglected in Music studies, where scholars customarily discuss the transmission of cultural memory in relation to material culture: stone monuments such as the one Neukomm supposedly built by Haydn's tomb and the Haydn *Notícia* itself. To return to the Toni Morrison's words that began this chapter:

We should not be surprised that the Enlightenment could accommodate slavery; we should be surprised if it had not. The concept of freedom did not emerge in a vacuum. Nothing highlighted freedom—if it did not in fact create it—like slavery.

"The slave population," Morrison continued, "offered itself up as surrogate selves for meditations on problems of human freedom, its lure and elusiveness."⁶⁷ With these words in mind, I have argued that embodied labor in the periphery had agentic power in making a canon of free, that is, self-regulating, autonomous and anonymously circulating "spirits" of dead composers. To put the point in a different way: labor taking place from the periphery, filiation and in particular surrogation, worked to reproduce or sustain the Enlightenment world of "free spirits" that Haydn emblemized. Surrogation suggests that laboring bodies were precisely those who made possible the longevity and guaranteed the disembodied universality of the sovereign and immortal musical author. It suggests that Black labor taking place during the transatlantic slave trade and the West's foremost emblems of an abstracted authorial freedom are inseparable, and that we would do well to pay attention to embodied performance in the periphery.

⁶⁴ Foi José Maurício um homem de estatura mais que ordinária; tinha uma physionomia nobre, um olhar penetrante, e luminoso quando regia a orchestra, ou fallava da arte ... a raça as mais das vezes o miolo é quem decide e não a casca," Porto Alegre, "Apontamentos sobre a vida e as obras do Padre José Maurício Nunes Garcia," 369. Manuel de Araújo Porto Alegre, "apontamentos sobre a vida e as obras do Padre José Maurício Nunes Garcia. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, tomo XIX 3rd trim (1856), 354-69.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* For a more detailed account of these sources, see Mattos, *José Maurício Nunes Garcia*, 67.

⁶⁶ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London and New York: Verso, 1993), 38. Fred Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 10.

⁶⁷ Morrison, *Playing in the Dark*, 37.

2.

A Scenario of Black Peril

We begin with a scene set in song. The second volume of the song collection *Viola de Lereno* (*Lereno's Guitar*), by Afro-Brazilian songwriter, guitarist, and poet Domingos Caldas Barbosa and published in 1826, prints the words of a lundum—a salon song for voice and guitar or piano that depicts a nameless slave boy in love with a white woman. It went by the name of “Lundum”:

Eu tenho uma Nhanhazinha
A quem tiro o meu chapéu;
E tao bela tao galante,
Parece cousa do Céu

(I have a little mistress, / to whom I take my hat off. / She is so beautiful, so gallant, / she seems like a thing from the sky.)

The refrain, printed without musical score, presents two characters: the I, a *moleque* or slave boy; and the *iaiá* or *nhanhá*, a white mistress.

Ai Céu!
Ela é minha iaiá
O seu moleque sou eu

(Oh heavens! / She is my lady, / Her slave boy am I.)¹

A second song, entitled “Lundum” (also “lundu” or “lundu-song”) and also issued in the second volume of the *Viola de Lereno*, depicts the same scene. Once more, the slave boy, identifying himself as “teu escravo chegadinho do Brasil” (“your slave freshly arrived from Brazil”), declares his love for a *nhanhá*. Again, the *moleque* flirts with the woman, reminding her that his “jeitinho é brasileiro” (“‘little ways’ are Brazilian”), a phrase that describes the Black man’s street-smart tactics and mischievous yet subtle bending of everyday rules. He sings of his sensuous “lindas voltas e giros” (“beautiful turns and twists”), as he dances the lundum.² This usage of “lundum” points to another use of the term, one that described an Afro-Brazilian dance hailed for its carnal excess. Those white commentators who witnessed it – L. F. de Tollenare for example – called the lundu dance “mimetic of carnal love.”³

Many a music-lover who sought out and bought this particular collection in Rio de Janeiro’s bookstores also knew that Lereno was the pseudonym that Caldas Barbosa used during his travels to Portugal, when he gained the patronage of Lisbon’s high society and frequented

¹ Domingos Caldas Barbosa, *Viola de Lereno*, ed. Suetônio Soares Valença (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1980), 251. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. *Sinhá*, *iaiá*, *nhanhá*, *sinhazinha*, *iaiazinha*, and *nhanhazinha* are all terms that the enslaved utilized to address white women. Within Brazilian literature, the most famous instantiation of *iaiá* is Machado de Assis’s last novel, the 1878 *Iaiá Garcia*, which centers on a white woman of Euro-Brazilian descent. Her father, Luís Garcia, is a slave owner who inherits enslaved Black man Raimundo from his own father. For a discussion of race in Assis’s novel, see G. Reginald Daniel, *Machado de Assis: Multiracial Identity and the Brazilian Novel* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 2012), 89-90.

² Dance scholar Cristina F. Rosa coins the notion of a “*ginga* aesthetic” to explicate an archetypal Afro-Brazilian sensibility found in dance, martial arts, and sports that correlates to a non-hegemonic system of bodily organization and knowledge production. See Cristina F. Rosa, *Swing Nation: Brazilian Bodies and Their Choreographies of Identification* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

³ L. F. de Tollenare. *Notas Dominicais*. Recife: Governo do Estado de Pernambuco, Secretaria da Cultura, 1978, 29.

literary societies and aristocratic salons.⁴ Caldas (as he is commonly called) catered in his songs and performances to white bourgeois consumers. Typically, his work was disseminated in salon performance and as part of song collections.⁵ Yet his portrayal of a Black man in this second volume was unusual, certainly in view of the precedent set in the first. The title of both collections, *Viola de Lereno*, pointed to Lereno Selinuntino, a white shepherd. While Lereno featured as the protagonist of the first publication, the songs of the *Viola*'s second volume introduce, for the first time, the character of the Black man. The introduction of the race element made for a striking difference in the set. In the first volume, the poet preferred the scenario of a shepherd singing to his "illustrious shepherdess" "gentle nymphs" and such pastoral archetypes as Lereno, Amálias, Armindas, and Arnardas in attendance. Now, in the second volume, he indulged the scandal of a Black man lusting after his white mistress, both anonymous stock types. Cupid's gentle arrows were exchanged for lascivious dancing.

A number of historians have raised the question of Caldas's depiction of interracial relationships between white women and Black men. Musicologist José Ramos Tinhorão was among those who noted the lundu's portrayal of the "psychological position of the Black man in love with the white woman."⁶ In his "Cândido Inácio da Silva e o Lundu," intellectual, novelist, and ethnomusicologist Mário de Andrade followed suit, expressing his amazement at how the lundu-song's "distribution of erotic labor horrifyingly brings forth the flirtations of the Black [man] and his white *sinhá*."⁷ Andrade went on to sketch a musical-historical genealogy of interracial relationships whose origin lies with Caldas's Black male characters. For him, the Black-man-in-pursuit-of-his-white-mistress trope would reappear in the public imagination in the final decades of the nineteenth century, this time via the Black male archetype called Mestre Domingos. "Caldas Barbosa once said to *nhanhás* and even Brazilianized Portuguese women that 'I am your moleque'; and no one ignores the nationally familiar Mestre Domingos, despite his bourgeois indecency," Andrade wrote.⁸

The continuity between the two Black male characters was such that in a lundum called "Iaiazinha," Domingos sang:

Eu tenho uma *nhanhazinha*

⁴ See José Ramos Tinhorão, *Domingos Caldas Barbosa: O Poeta da Viola, da Modinha, e do Lundu, 1740–1800* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2004).

⁵ For two historical accounts of the lundu, see Oneyda Alvarenga, *Música Popular Brasileira* (São Paulo: Editora Duas Cidades, 1982); Mary Karasch *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987, 244). Karasch also argues for the lundu's defining place in the "evolution" of the samba. Bruno Kieffer, for instance, places the lundu song at the apex of a teleological narrative that culminates in song. See Bruno Kieffer, *A Modinha e o Lundu* (Porto Alegre: Editora Movimento, 1986). Historian Peter Fryer hailed that the lundu was the quintessential "Atlantic" dance. Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil* (London: Pluto Press, 2000). Also see Gerard Béhague, "The Lundu and Modinha of Brazil in the Nineteenth Century," Paper originally read at the ninth annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 26-8. *College Music Symposium*, Published 1 October 1967. Access <https://symposium.music.org/index.php/7/item/1615-the-lundu-and-modinha-of-brazil-in-the-nineteenth-century>

⁶ Tinhorão, *Pequena História*, 49.

⁷ Tinhorão, *Pequena História*, 49. Mário de Andrade, "Cândido Inácio da Silva e o Lundu," *Latin American Music Review*, 20/2 (1999): 215-233; 226.

⁸ Andrade, "Cândido Inácio da Silva e o Lundu," 226.

Que quando está de maré
Me chama sempre em segredo
Pra me dar seu cafuné

(I have a nhanhazinha / When she is lively / She calls me in secret / To gently caress me)⁹

With Andrade's remarks in mind, this chapter revisits an archive of lundus in order to excavate an intimate social script for interracial liaison in Brazilian theory and practice. In what follows, I identify, in the stock interaction of *moleque* and mistress, a scenario of Black Peril—a phrase that refers to colonial and imperial depictions of transgressive interracial relationships between Black men and white women. The repeated and persistent portrayal of cross-racial liaisons in the musical and lyric repertory of the lundu, suggest that these scripted interactions amount to a “scenario,” a term that Diana Taylor used to refer to a repeated representation of a single social relation. A scenario is “a schematic plot,” Taylor explains, one that is “structured in a predictable, formulaic, hence repeatable fashion.”¹⁰ It is “not necessarily or even primarily mimetic,” and it works through “reactivation rather than duplication.”¹¹ Like literary tropes, scenarios point to motivic repetition and representational persistence—even with the difference that they always portray embodied set-ups; they rely on “corporeal behaviors such as gestures, attitudes, and tones not reducible to language,” always representing social actors in interaction with one another.

Most importantly, though, a study of the scenario of Black Peril suggests the centrality of this representational persistence in generating meaning, and it does so to make two interrelated points. First, an awareness of the continuity between Caldas Barbosa's slave boy characters and the archetype of Mestre Domingos allows for an in-depth analysis of a near-transhistorical and near-transnational imperial racial imaginary, one that shaped both physical and imaginative relations within the Luso-Afro-Brazilian diaspora throughout the long nineteenth-century, from the 1780s to the early decades of the twentieth century. The lundus' invocations of sexual encounter thus bring to light a physical-social homology not unlike that which anthropologist Mary Douglas observed: the human body instantiates a polity with internal structures that function in a metonymic relation to a social body, and invocations of sexual relations articulate anxieties about the formation of this collective body.¹² The stakes are high. As I will show, the scenario's depiction of Black men as white women's sexual predators challenged white male psychosexual sovereignty; it articulated fears of castration and white male impotence by staging the possibility that unruly, colonized, enslaved Others penetrated white women's bodies.¹³ Second, and in indicating a

⁹ Eduardo das Neves, *Iaiazinha* (1907). Odeon.

¹⁰ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2003. This chapter contributes to efforts to engage musicology with arguments derived from Performance Studies. See, for instance, Alejandro Madrid. “Why Music and Performance Studies? Why Now? An Introduction to the Special Issue.” *Trans. Revista Transcultural de Música* 13 (2009).

¹¹ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 32.

¹² See Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 153.

¹³ See D'Emilio, John and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 37. It also is possible to say that scenarios of Black Peril pointed to the transference of white men's sexuality and sexual desire onto Black men's bodies so they could remain pure, abstract, sovereign bodies. Literary scholar William Pinar argues that “the fantasy of black male bodies violently penetrating white female bodies” allowed “the white male ego to place himself, identify himself, with white supremacy and political dominance while enjoying, albeit

repeatable framework, this scenario can be leveraged to think about embodied musicality, or performances facilitated by dance and music, and histories of the transatlantic slave trade. I thus conclude by arguing that the scenario's representational persistence asks that we rethink the ephemerality or non-repeatability of performance, in music studies and beyond, to offer new possibilities for music historiography and musicological method.

*

Predictably, the first lundu-song from the second volume of the *Viola de Lerenó*, the “Lundum de Cantigas Vagas” (“Lundum of Meandering Songs”) unfolds as a scenario of Black Peril. The lines “Nhanhá cheia de chulices / Que tantos quindins afeta” portray the slave boy's fantasies by binding culinary pleasure with sexual desire. The term quindim refers to an Afro-Brazilian bright yellow pudding with a sugar and egg yolk base, yet in the nineteenth-century quindim was open to double entendre.¹⁴ Quindins were also dengues and meiguices, or gestures of coquetry and affection. Later passages in the lundum persistently elide sexual enjoyment with the sensual pleasure of eating Afro-Brazilian foods. The slave boy reflects on how love stirs his stomach to nervous excitement. His gut is “feito angu” (“like stew”) in one verse, his heart “as soft as quimbondó” in the next. The word “quimbondó,” which refers to a Central African stew comparable to the well-known gumbo, also points to the nasality of Central African Bantu dialects from which words such as these originated.¹⁵ At the end of the lundum, the scenario of Black Peril climaxes with the simple formulation “Eu sou calda de açúcar / Ele apenas mel de tanque” (“I am sugarcane syrup, / he is just molasses.”) Here, the *moleque* sets himself in competition with a “he,” presumably the lady's husband and his *nhonhô*, the master and slave owner. The sharpness and wit of this final line accrues from the association of clear, thin syrup and dark, thick molasses with white and Black character types, the roles of master and enslaved exchanged.

The second volume of the *Viola* was popular enough for several of its songs to be republished in other printed settings.¹⁶ In fact, two songs from the collection – “Eu Nasci Sem Coração” (“I Was Born Without A Heart”) and “Homens Errados e Loucos” (“Mistaken and Mad Men.”)—reappeared in the anonymous codexes *Modinhas do Brazil* Mss. 1595 and 1596. Codex Mss. 1596.¹⁷ This reappearance has led scholars such as Gerard Béhague to argue that Caldas authored a number (and, in fact, most) of the songs in this codex.¹⁸ The *Modinhas*' songs also

via disavowal, a masochistic, self-shattering sexual ecstasy of being penetrated by a powerful (evil and black) man, in oedipal terms, an absent, loathed, longed-for father.” Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); William F. Piñar, “The Gender of Racial Violence in America: Lynching, Prison, Rape, and the Crisis of Masculinity,” *Counterpoints*, 163 (2001), 1-44; 7.

¹⁴ Caldas Barbosa, *Viola de Lerenó Vol. 2*, 238-40.

¹⁵ I am reminded of Jane Malinoff's commentary on Caldas's “skill in translating Afro-Brazilian speech patterns and rhythms into the lyrics of his lundus.” Jane M. Malinoff, “Domingos Caldas Barbosa: Afro-Brazilian Poet at the Court of Dona Maria I,” in Bernard H. Bichakjian (ed.), *From Linguistics to Literature* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V., 1981), 195-204.

¹⁶ As Mozart de Araujo has shown, five pieces from the collection appear in the *Jornal de Modinhas* (Journal of Modinhas). In Gerard Béhague, “Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon) Mss 1595 / 1596: Two Eighteenth-Century Anonymous Collections of Modinhas,” *Anuario*, 4 (1968): 44-81.

¹⁷ Gerard Béhague, “Biblioteca da Ajuda,” 44-81; 56. And Anonymous. *As Modinhas do Brazil*, ed. Edilson de Lima (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2001).

¹⁸ Béhague, “Biblioteca da Ajuda,” 54.

contain several elements suggestive of Caldas's style. Such songs tended to place Afro-Brazilian characters in a tropical paradise, employing terms of African origin and making extensive use of a range of diminutives common in Brazilian Portuguese: "iaiazinha" and "sinhazinha" are two examples.¹⁹ There is no evidence that any other poet or musician at the time was addressing these character-types and their love affairs.

What Béhague leaves implicit is that, while the songs of the codex address *sinhazinhas*, the character singing is always a Black man. Note, for instance, *Modinha* no. 5, "Os Me Deixas que Tu Das" ("The 'Leave Me Alone' that You Say") (see Figure 1). Over a simple guitar accompaniment with simple tonic and dominant harmonies, the slave boy sings an ascending minor sixth figure to the text of the lundu's opening couplet: "Os me deixas que tu das / Quando a gente pega em ti / São coisinhas tão mimosas / Que nas outras nunca vi" ("The 'leave me alone' that you say, / when I want to hold you, / yours are delicate little things, / that I have never seen in any other").²⁰ In its first few words, "os me deixas" ("the 'leave me alone'"), the lundu introduces the syncopated sixteenth/eighth/sixteenth figure that recurs throughout. The eighth-note lingers on the *deixas* ("leave") in the second beat of the measure, and moves across the bar line.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a song. It consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line and a guitar accompaniment line. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines. The first system includes the lyrics: "Os me deixas q' tu das quando a gente pegain q' tu das quando a gente pegain". The second system includes: "ti são coisinhas tão mimosas que nas outras nunca vi" and "ti são coisinhas tão mimosas que nas outras nunca vi". The third system includes: "são coisinhas tão mimosas q' nas outras nunca vi" and "são coisinhas tão mimosas q' nas outras nunca vi". The music is written in a style typical of 18th-century manuscripts, with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

²⁰ Anonymous, *As Modinhas do Brazil*, 79-84; 221-5.

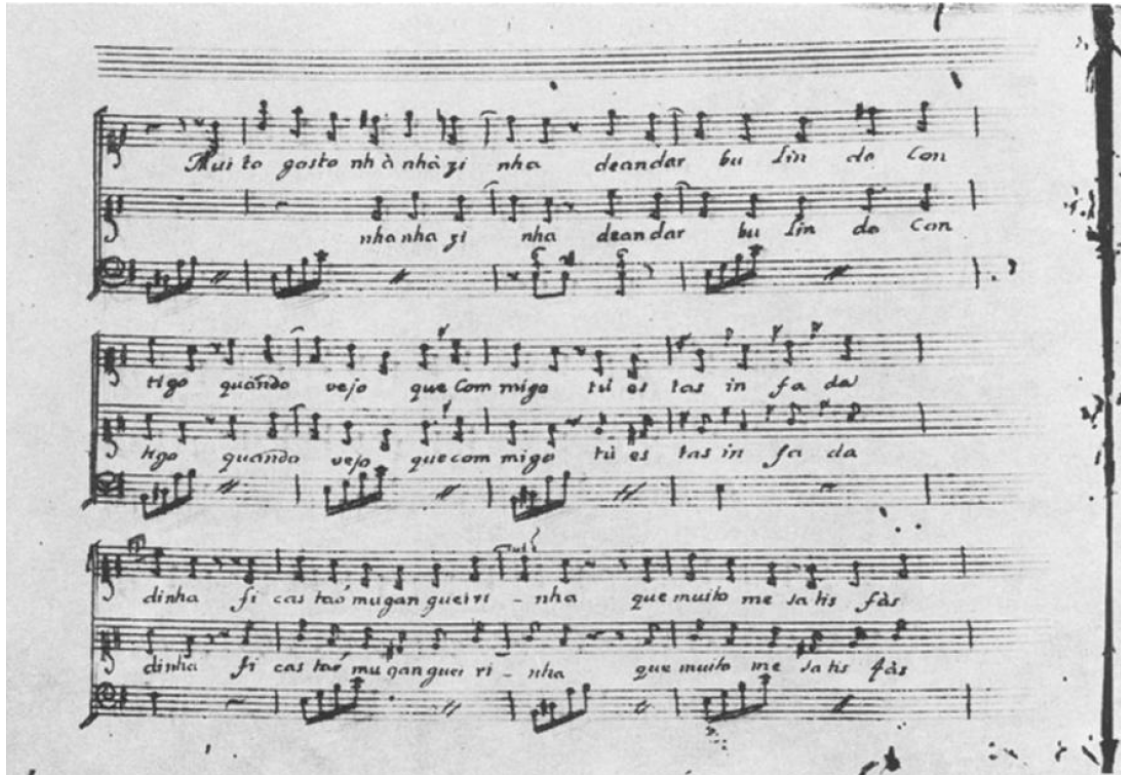


Figure 1 “Os Me Deixas Que Tu Das,” *Modinhas do Brazil* (undated).

Such syncopated figures betray Afro-Brazilian musical practice at work: one only need compare them with the syncopated figures from lundu-songs from the second half of the century. At this later time, the repertoire was defined by the work of white composers such as Sá Noronha and Coelho Machado, who also wrote in more elite genres such as the polka or romanza, as well as for orchestra and chorus. When these white composers notated repeated syncopated sixteenth/eighth/sixteenth figures, they did so with greater rhythmic uniformity, rarely disturbing the barline.²¹ With them, the rhythmic figure was always the same, always contained within the measure, and consistently reproduced in each lundu. This made for what Mário de Andrade called “systematized” syncopation: over and over, the same, with little variation. (Marc Hertzman scorned the same straight-jacketed technique as “characteristic syncopation”: an imitation of what would be, for white ears, a form of musical negritude.)²² To put it simply, brief lingering syncopated moments such as the one on “os me deixas,” reiterated throughout the lundu, emphasize the *ginga* (swing) of the slave boy’s actions and thus index the presence of Afro-Brazilian bodies in song. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, syncopated figures of any kind were unique to the lundu: Portuguese songs, such as those in which shepherd Lereno sings of his love for Amália, Arminda, or Arnarda, were unlikely to contain such syncopated figures.²³

²¹ Carlos Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 2001), 65.

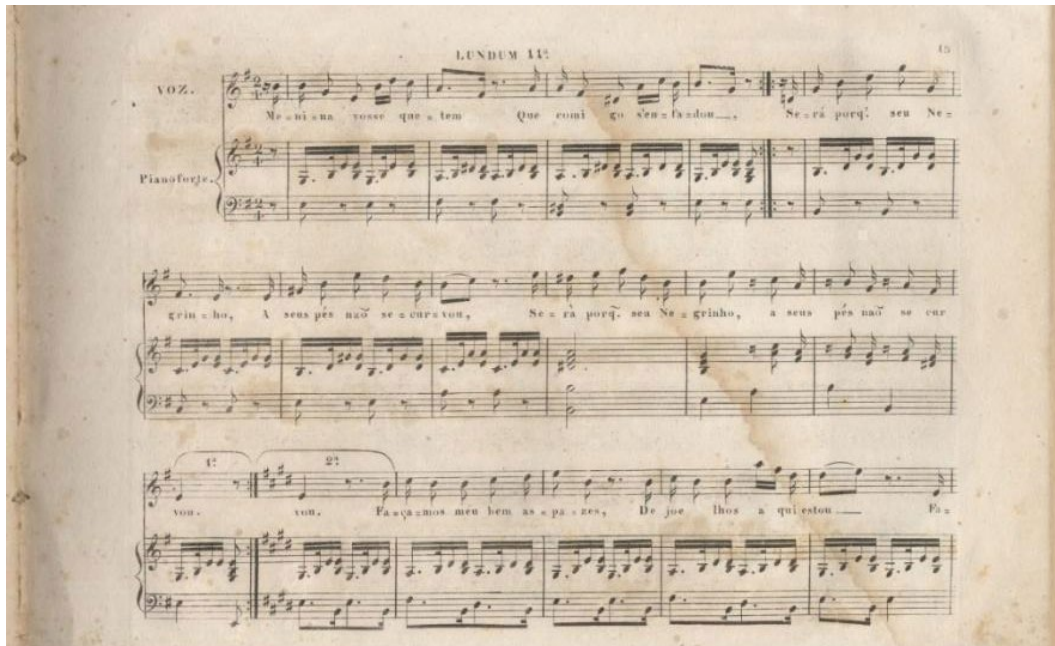
²² *Ibid.*, 65.

²³ Scholars have referred to this figure as a form of characteristic syncopation because songs portraying Black characters indulged in these rhythmic figures. By comparison, Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian song, so-called *modinhas* and *cantigas*, did not feature them at all. Carlos Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente*, 56. Musicologist Mozart de Araujo called the cells “displaced batuques,” the “batuque” being a generic Portuguese term for African drumming. See Olga Maria Frange de Oliveira, “A Modinha e o Lundu no

Caldas-like lundus depicting the scenario of Black Peril continued to circulate widely into the first decades of the nineteenth century. One last example is the Lundum No. 11 “Menina, Você Que Tem” (“Girl, What Is With You”) from João Francisco Leal’s *Collecção de Modinhas de Bom Gosto* (Collection of Modinhas of Good Taste) of 1830. The lundum reenacts the by now familiar scenario. This time, over a plaintive minor-mode melody and arpeggiated musical gestures, cadencing on 4-3 suspensions, the Black man laments his sexual rejection (see Figure 2):

Menina, você que tem, que comigo se enfadou
 Será porque o seu negrinho, a seus pés não se curvou
 Será porque seu amor, para mim já se acabou
 Vamos por favor fazer as pazes
 De joelhos aqui estou

(Girl, what is it with you, why are you so angry at me, / is it because your little black man, didn’t bend at your feet / is it because your love for me has ended? / let’s please get back together / here I kneel before you).²⁴



Período Colonial: Uma Pesquisa Bibliográfica” in Rui Vieira Nery (ed.), *A Música no Brasil Colonial* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Serviço de Música, 2001), 354.

²⁴ João Francisco Leal. “Lundu no. 11, Menina, Você Que Tem,” *Collecção de Modinhas de Bom Gosto*. (Vienna: J. Kress, 1830).



Figure 2 João Francisco Leal, “Lundu no. 11, Menina, Você Que Tem,” *Collecção de Modinhas de Bom Gosto* (1830).

While the collection’s cover and frontispiece suggest that its songs were “composed and arranged by J. F. Leal,” scholars have, predictably, argued that Caldas wrote this song.²⁵ “Menina, Voce Que Tem” fits rather well within Caldas’s idiom. Here is another heavily syncopated lundu-song that thematizes master-slave relations; and here, once again, is the “little Black man” declaring his love for the white woman. The question of Caldas’s authorship notwithstanding, the song provides yet more evidence of the ubiquitous scenario in lundu songs.

“Menina, Você Que Tem” was one among several Black Peril lundus performed in Rio de Janeiro’s comic theaters during the 1830s. In theatrical performance, it was customary for white Portuguese and Brazilian singers to stage such lundus as part of short acts placed in the intermission of concerts, plays, or operas, as was customary for lundu theatrical performance. Evidence suggests that it was in this setting that “Menina, Voce Que Tem” circulated via a catchy textual snippet derived from the song, which stressed an embodied nasality: *foi-se embora enfadadinho*, “she left me all angry.” In July 1833, the *Jornal do Commercio* announced that Portuguese singers Maria Candida and Manoel Baptista Lisboa would take the stage of the Teatro Constitucional Fluminense to sing “a dueto *va-se embora, infadadinho* acompanhado por lundum” (“a duet go away, *infadadinho* accompanied by a lundum”).²⁶ The same newspaper reported that

²⁵ For an analysis of the lundu, see João Baptista Siqueira, *Lundum x Lundu* (Rio de Janeiro: Escola de Música, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1970), 45-53.

²⁶ *Jornal do Commercio* (24 July 1833); “Maria Candida and Manoel Baptista Lisboa cantarão um Duetto *va-se embora, infadadinho* acompanhado de Lundum.”

Portuguese and Brazilian singers were fond of performing this “funny duet,” with repeat performances in June 1834 and November 1835.²⁷

A number of scholars have claimed that “Menina, Voce Que Tem” was the first lundu-song to be printed (recall that the 1826 *Viola de Lereno* was unscored).²⁸ As implied earlier, scores of lundus and “Brazilian modinhas” before 1830 can be found only in unpublished codexes.²⁹ After about 1830, salon lundu-songs were increasingly notated and mechanically reproduced in print, becoming portable and easily detachable from the bodies that produced them. Absorbed into the medial economy of print capitalism, lundus and their scenarios were now less the products of Black labor than the work of an emerging imperial bourgeoisie who commodified and appropriated the lundu for their own purposes. These songs could travel far afield, appearing, for example, in Lisbon’s *Jornal das Senhoras* or for sale in Rio’s bookshops.³⁰

By the late nineteenth century, music critics bemoaned what they saw as a loss of Afro-Brazilian character in song. Araripe Júnior described the lundu’s transfiguration from dance to song as analogous to the process of social mobility: for him, the lundu “ascended the stairs from the plantation to the master’s house, and after it entered the salons of the city.”³¹ He recounted how the “natural religious modesty” of the *sinhazinhas* who performed lundus “abandoned the swinging of the body (“requebros”) and appealed to tender looks.” They replaced the sexually-charged dance movements of the slave quarters, streets, and taverns for softened forms of flirtation permitted in the more tightly controlled spaces of the bourgeois parlor. The word “requebro” was a term colonial commentators used to describe Black and mixed-raced women’s swaying of the hips. And just like that, the lundu was re-embodied, “refined and tempered by hands so agile.”³² Any vestige of sexual expression was now limited to the casual exchange of glances as the lady sat at her piano; attention shifted away from the lower regions of her body as a focal point of performance. Mário de Andrade certainly judged the sung lundu to have been abstracted from the body. It had been “totally stripped” of its color in song, he declared, “cleaned first, perfumed with the harpsichord”; it had been whitened. In his narrative, abstraction was a product of its being danced by whites, who added “face powder to its choreography.” Ironizing the language of psychoanalysis that was so central to his thinking, Andrade remarked that the sung lundu “sublimated” the erotic impulses and racial origins of its danced counterpart.³³

*

Carlos Sandroni argues that such Caldas-inflected lundus—those organized according to what I am calling the scenario of Black Peril—characterized the lundu repertoire in the early decades of the nineteenth century, rapidly disappeared from song collections after the mid-1830s. From this decade onwards, the vast majority of lundu-songs portray another interracial relationship: that involving Black, often enslaved, women and white men, the *ioiôs* or *nhonhês*, terms that the

²⁷ *Jornal do Commercio* (26 June 1834), (22 November 1835).

²⁸ Baptista Siqueira, *Lundum x Lundu*, 45-53.

²⁹ Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente*, 45.

³⁰ The earliest record of the collection in Rio de Janeiro may be traced to August 1830, when the collection was advertised for sale in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* by the bookshop of Joao Pedro da Veiga e Comp. in Rio’s commercial center Rua da Quitanda (6 August 1830).

³¹ Tristão de Alencar Araripe Júnior, *Gregório de Mattos* (Rio de Janeiro: Fauchon & Cia, 1894), 125.

³² Araripe Júnior, *Gregório de Mattos*, 15.

³³ Andrade, “Cândido Inácio da Silva e o Lundu,” 224.

enslaved used to refer to white male slave owners. For Sandroni, the drastic change in character archetypes taking place at this time constitutes a watershed moment in the lundu repertoire. His research shows that, among the totality of printed lundus located at Rio de Janeiro's Biblioteca Nacional Music archive dated after 1837, not a single one portrays the *sinhá's* relationships with the slave boy.³⁴

Sandroni's findings notwithstanding, I want to argue that the scenario of Black Peril did not summarily disappear from the lundu repertoire. What Sandroni fails to acknowledge is that lundus portraying relations between white women and Black men continued to circulate, even if in different guises, many decades later. One could cite evidence, for example, of the appearance of Black male performers in comic lundus in *teatros de revista* (revue theater) in the decades preceding Brazil's 1888 abolition of slavery. These musical revues were a central feature of cultural life in the late nineteenth century and during the first few decades of the twentieth. They frequently offered opportunities to Black actors, who were off-limits on "legitimate" stages, though they also capitalized on racial and gender stereotypes. *Teatros de revista* were favored by every rank of the bourgeoisie at the turn of the twentieth century, parading recognizable costumes, customs, and music. They represented archetypal Brazilian character-types, ranging from Black men and women to beggars, country bumpkins, and politicians. And as they showcased lundus, they catered for a white imperial bourgeois interest and delight in the risqué, the sexually explicit, and "perversely" unorthodox relations between masters and the enslaved.

One performer who sang Black Peril lundus was Black musician, clown, and entrepreneur Eduardo das Neves, popularly known as Crioulo Dudu. Among the most famous performers of the early twentieth century, Dudu owned a circus troupe together with Benjamin de Oliveira, for which he performed and wrote a range of musical numbers.³⁵ Dudu embraced his wealth, flaunting flamboyant outfits onstage. Scholars have described him as "an audacious entrepreneur, who embraced wealth, capitalism, and the promises of inclusion within the republic."³⁶ Dudu's presence was ubiquitous: he performed across South America, published a number of song collections, and was among the first Brazilian musicians who went on to pursue a career in the recording industry.³⁷ His popularity was such that his songs had been "memorized, repeated, and sung by everybody, everywhere, from noble salons to street corners, until the wee hours of the night," as he wrote in the introduction of his *Trovador da Malandragem*.³⁸

³⁴ See Chapter 1 of Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente*. Sandroni writes about the difficulty of dating these lundus, as a large number of them do not have a printed date. The author was able to provide approximate dates by tracing each publication's editors and the dates in which they worked. *Ibid.*, 57. As Martha Abreu has discussed, the post-1850s lundus portray the *mulata* as being at once a corrupting temptress and a beautiful representative of the Brazilian nation; she is both glamorized and sexualized. Martha Abreu, "Sobre Mulatas Orgulhosas e Crioulos Atrevidos: Conflitos Raciais, Gênero, e Nação nas Canções Populares (Sudeste do Brasil: 1890-1920)," *Tempo* 18/6 (2004) 1-31.

³⁵ Lisa Shaw, *Tropical Travels: Brazilian Popular Performance, Transnational Encounters, and the Construction of Race*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 34.

³⁶ Marc Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race in Brazil* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 81.

³⁷ Martha Abreu. "Outras Histórias de Pai João: Conflitos Raciais, Protesto Escravo e Irreverência Sexual na Poesia Popular, 1880-1950," *Afro-Ásia*, 31 (2004): 235-276.

³⁸ Hertzman, *Making Samba*, 81. Eduardo das Neves, *Trovador da Malandragem* (Rio de Janeiro: Bibliotheca da Livraria Quaresma Editora, 1926), 3-4.

Dressed as a clown, Dudu was well-known for impersonating the elderly enslaved man Mestre Domingos. One of his popular verses, published by the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (*Journal of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute*), simply entitled “Mestre Domingos,” went as follows:

Mestre Domingos,
Que é que você [sic] qué?
Quero a Sinházinha
Para ser minha muiê
Negro atrevido
Vai te lava,
P’ra fazer quitute
E come com a sinhá...

(Mestre Domingos / what is it that you want? / I want Sinházinha / to be my wife / naughty Black man / go wash yourself / to make dinner / and eat with sinhá).³⁹

In these verses, the anonymous editor of the *Revista* who published the song misspelled the words “você” as “você” and of “mulher” as “muiê.” In doing so, this editor catered to a white imperial interest in Afro-Brazilian performances of authenticity: he inscribed grammatical errors to index the presence of a racialized Other.

This is only one among many of Dudu’s songs that reference the act of eating. He also sang a lundu entitled “Lundu Gostoso” (“Tasty Lundu”), in which the Black man sings he will “ir pra Bahia ver sinhá” (go to Bahia to see his sinhá). Over lightly syncopated guitar arpeggios that drive the song forward, the Black protagonist jokes that he will “comer seu óleo de dendê” (eat her dendê oil)--a type of palm oil used in a range of Afro-Brazilian, in particular Northeastern Bahian, foods. Another example that joins culinary pleasure and sexual desire is the anonymous and unscored collection *Cancioneiro do Norte*, published by folklorist José Rodrigo de Carvalho in 1903. Like Mestre Domingos, the elderly enslaved man Pai João daydreams “Que o meu sinhô vai pra feira, / Pra eu ficar com mim sinhora / Sentadinhos de cadeira” (That my master goes to the market, / so I can stay with my lady, / sitting with her on her chair). Or, as he sings provocatively in another verse: “Que o meu sinhô va pra missa / Pra eu ficar com mim sinhora / Comendo boa linguiça (That my master goes to church / so I can stay with my lady / eating a good sausage).⁴⁰

In Pai João’s song, the Black man’s sexual metaphors are vulgar: he wants to eat sausage with the lady; and his crassness comes through grammatical errors and misspellings: “mim sinhora” instead of “minha sinhora” (“my lady”). It is little wonder that newspapers of the time tied Dudu’s performances to African American analogues: in 1904, the Rio de Janeiro satirical newspaper *O Malho* announced a “cake-walk cantado e acompanhado ao violão pelo insigne canconetista Eduardo das Neves” (cakewalk, sung and accompanied with guitar by the distinguished songwriter Eduardo das Neves).⁴¹ Also like African American minstrel shows,

³⁹ *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, July-September 1944 (184), Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 92.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 259.

⁴¹ *O Malho* (16 June 1917). Martha Abreu, “O Legado das Canções Escravas nos Estados Unidos e no Brasil: Diálogos Musicais no Pós-Abolição,” *Revista Brasileira de História*, 35/69 (2015), 177-204; 178. Abreu, “Outras Histórias de Pai João,” 235-276. The danger of African slaves wreaking havoc on white civilization is most poignantly depicted in D. W. Griffith’s 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation*: a lustful Black male chases after a pristine white woman considered the epitome of Southern femininity. At last,

Dudu's performances gave rise to stereotyped cartoons of Black performers.⁴² We can see one of these derogatory caricatures in a roughly drawn cartoon from 16 June 1917 of the periodical *O Malho*, which ridicules Dudu by depicting a racialized hillbilly character type holding a guitar.



Figure 3 Caricature of Eduardo das Neves in *O Malho*, 16 June 1917.

However, in the same untitled lundu, the enslaved Black male character mocks, dares, and dreams of power and freedom.⁴³ As he sings in the last verse, “Ai, se meu sinhô morresse! ... / Eu tinha muita alegria, E casando com mim senhora / Tomava a carta de forria.” (Ai, if my master died! ... I'd have so much happiness, and marrying my lady / I would get a writ of emancipation).⁴⁴ In this lundu, the protagonist appears as a trickster or a *malandro*, literally a scoundrel or rogue depicted as a Black or mixed-race man. A self-described *Trovador da Malandragem* (*Trickster Troubadour*), Dudu would have enjoyed performing a song in which the enslaved man uses his wit and for the purposes of deceit. A Black man turned *malandro*, Dudu's lundu thematized sexual excess, racial transgressiveness, and a distinctly Afro-Brazilian capacity to disrupt the social order.

In his performances, then, Dudu both reinforced the imperial racial order and capitalized on racial stereotypes. The same is true for Caldas. He was the author of self-exoticizing songs designed to amuse white European aristocrats and the imperial bourgeoisie. Many decades before

she prefers leaping from a cliff to her death rather than submitting to an interracial relationship. Nikki L. M. Brown and Barry M. Stentiford, *The Jim Crow Encyclopedia* (London: Greenwood Press, 2008), 651.

⁴² Martha Abreu compares Dudu's trajectory and significance with that of African American singer Bert Williams, popular at Broadway in the decades of 1900 and 1910. Both were targets of racism, but they had a central role in opening paths for other Black artists. As they performed to a majorly white public, Bert and Dudu managed to impose their presence in the musically modern scene of theaters and contributed significantly to widen opportunities for artists descended from slaves and Africans. Martha Abreu, *Da Senzala Ao Palco: Canções Escravas e Racismo nas Américas (1870-1930)* (São Paulo: Editora da UNICAMP, 2017), 551.

⁴³ Note that, while it is difficult to know when the song was authored, it probably circulated in the public domain through the course of the nineteenth century. José Rodrigo de Carvalho, *Cancioneiro do Norte* (Rio de Janeiro: MEC/Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1967), 152.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 259.

Dudu, Caldas was already writing lundus that mingled sexual desire with culinary pleasures of eating *quindim* puddings with the lady. Food—in particular Afro-Brazilian delicacies such as *quindins* and *dendê* oil—served to sell a commodified form of Afro-Brazilian corporeal sensibility to imperial bourgeois markets. Yet every now and again, Caldas inserted irreverent lines that challenged racial structures: one cannot forget the evocative line “Eu sou calda de açúcar / Ele apenas mel de tanque” (“I am sugarcane syrup, / he is just molasses).”⁴⁵ In other words, the scenario always accommodated multiple significations that could be realized in performance.

*

If the question of Black Peril appeared over and over in lundu-songs, the matter was largely absent in the non-musical archive. Any mention of interracial relationships—in particular between white women and Black men—is notably missing from archives and sources traditionally employed by historians. The first of these is the Brazilian criminal archive, which stands out for the lack of official legislation prohibiting interracial relationships throughout the colonial, imperial, and republican eras. The United States is a useful point of comparison, as interracial marriage was prohibited in several North American states throughout the colonial era and after independence.⁴⁶ The second involves widely established works of Brazilianist historiography. Gilberto Freyre’s work is notable for its extensive examinations of white men’s sexual exploitations of Black women. For him, the white male domination of Brazil’s “virgin nature and the immature land” went hand in hand with “taking [Black and indigenous] wives and begetting offspring with a procreative fervor.”⁴⁷ By contrast, his treatment of the relationships between Black men and white women remains contradictory. Freyre does not ignore the several known cases of Black men’s relationships with white women whose “degenerated nerves arouse[d] irrepressible desires.” He even recounts cases of extrajudicial crimes committed against Black men accused of harassing white women in spectacular detail.⁴⁸ Yet he maintains that the relationships between Black men and white women rarely took place in the tightly controlled spaces of the patriarchal plantation family; any instantiation of imaginaries involving Black Peril—no matter how horrific—is relegated

⁴⁵ In Caldas Barbosa, *Viola de Lereno*, ed. Suetônio Soares Valença (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1980).

⁴⁶ Among such states was Massachusetts, for instance, which prohibited interracial marriage from 1705 to 1843. In *The Fight for Interracial Marriage Rights in Antebellum Massachusetts*, Amber D. Moulton examines civil rights advocates’ efforts to overturn the Massachusetts ban on interracial marriage that took place between 1705 and 1843. Amber D. Moulton, *The Fight for Interracial Marriage Rights in Antebellum Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015). Although Brazilian criminal law did not explicitly prohibit relationships between Black men and white women, historians have argued that they were regulated from within the patriarchal plantation family and thus operated within a complex nexus of race, class, and family honor. It was standard to claim that white *donzelas* (ladies) attracted to Black men “dirtied” or dishonored their families. Young white women remained within the reins of the slave-owning patriarch, whose fear of interracial mixing motivated numerous endogamous marriages, arranged marriages involving extradition to Portugal, and enforced convent stays. See Silva Dias, *Power in Everyday Life*, 52-70.

⁴⁷ Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, transl., Samuel Putnam (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 320-36.

⁴⁸ Freyre cites a case where an accused Black man was castrated, had the wound salted, and was buried alive. Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*, 338-9.

to footnotes.⁴⁹ In other words, Freyre paid considerable attention to those interracial relationships that celebrated the Portuguese colonizer's sexuality, affirmed white male sovereignty, virility, and capacity to colonize. Black Peril—which challenged the white man's control and possession of white Luso-Brazilian women and conjured images of castration—is repressed within the historiographical imagination. As Avelar shows, Black Peril is an “unspeakable scene” within Freyre's work. Black Peril posed such a threat to the formation (and perpetuation) of the imperial social body that it remained repressed in public consciousness.

The scenario of Black Peril was made unspeakable—in imperial laws and historiography—but it was not unsingable or undanceable. This point might suggest that the lundu did not reflect or was not “derivative of an overdetermining source of power—as the colonial administration or the state have often been assumed to be in several popular music studies,” as Jocelyne Guilbault has shown in relation to Afro-Caribbean musical practices.⁵⁰ Instead of stemming directly from forms of state power, song was what gave rise to the articulation of racial and sexual relations that, as Guilbault continues, do “not rest on some unifying principle of central power (the sovereign, the state).” As we have seen, music's role in articulating relations of power is heightened, in particular, in the Brazilian setting, where criminal law did little to regulate interracial relationships. Brazilianist scholars have, in fact, repeatedly shown that, in the absence of official legislation, forms of cultural expression such as music, carnival, and religious practices were key to bringing about relations of power, together with social tensions arising from them, into public view.⁵¹ The lundu, too, rendered fraught interracial relationships available for public scrutiny and knowledge production.

As we have seen, the multiple guises of the Black man after the white woman portrayed in lundu-songs show the extent to which the scenario of Black Peril reappeared and accumulated from the end of the eighteenth century to the early decades of the twentieth. When writing songs or selecting music for performances, musicians relied on the scenario's highly structured nature: scenarios privilege the generic over the specific, and they contain a set of aesthetic and dramatic conventions that could be easily borrowed.⁵² Songwriters and performers portrayed bodies in repeated configurations, stock characters engaging in a predictable set of actions. They frequently employed syncopated rhythmic cells—not unlike the sixteenth/eighth/sixteenth figures associated with Caldas's Black characters. The scenario seized the bodies of social actors and imposed patterns on them, on their ways of acting and thinking.

Even if Dudu did borrow from generic models that came before him, he did not reproduce the scenario's previous iterations directly. The scenario of Black Peril thus emerges as a “morphological template,” as Leo Cabranes-Grant called it: it is a “once-againness [that] activates

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 353. Idelber Avelar, “Cenas Dizíveis and Indizíveis: Raça e Sexualidade em Gilberto Freyre,” *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 49/1 (2012): 168-186. See Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*, 10.

⁵⁰ Jocelyne Guilbault, *Governing Sound: The Cultural Politics of Trinidad's Carnival Musics* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 4.

⁵¹ The lundu reveals a range of “micropractices of power effected through music” and suggest that we view “music as a field of social management,” as Guilbault puts it. Guilbault, *Governing Sound*, 4. Africanness in Brazil was “carefully controlled and circumscribed—within a few discrete areas of cultural life (like music, carnival, or religion).” Paulina L. Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in the Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 115.

⁵² Mary Ann Smart examines convention as a worthy entity of analysis and examination in Smart, “In Praise of Convention: Formula and Experiment in Bellini's Self Borrowings,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53/1 (2000), 25-68.

a series of semantic transfers and variations that modify and adapt their meaning to new historical predicaments.”⁵³ The scenario entails a form of reproducibility, but one that is not mimetic and that does not produce self-identical copies.⁵⁴ One could, then, suggest that the scenario’s iterable structure occurs in the form of what Performance Studies scholar Zeca Ligiéro calls a *motriz*. Ligiéro deploys the Latin etymology of *motriz* to rethink the notion of a *matriz cultural Africana* (“African cultural matrix”), a phrase widely used in Brazil to describe a supposedly “original,” stable, unadulterated cultural origin or practice. *Matriz* derives from *matrice* (matrix), transliterated both as “uterus” and a mold from which one can make copies. *Motriz*, in turn, comes from *motore*, thus referring at once to the force that provokes action, the implicit quality of moving, or someone who moves.⁵⁵ In a deconstructive slippage of etymological opposites, the *motriz* places the notions of a mold and movement in close proximity. Like the structural logic of the *motriz*, the scenario points to a form of reproducibility that produces variations that dislodge, displace and, at times, disrupt what came before it. In other words: a scenario provides structures for dramatic action, but its iterations are always in transformation. At once structured and dynamic, the scenario emerges from common praxis as it does from lived experience. A product of everyday music-making, the scenario belongs to the realm of strategy as it does to that of human tactics.

The scenario’s iterability opens up a number of questions for the study of music, the place of embodiment in performance, and the transatlantic slave trade. In music studies, iterability is pressing when we consider the influence of arguments that valorize music for iterability’s opposite: the non-repeatable or ephemeral. In her classic 2004 article “Drastic or Gnostic?” to cite the most sophisticated and influential take on sonic presence, Carolyn Abbate argued that we have much to learn if we think about music as it takes place at a “nonrepeatable moment and place, in a context so viscerally powerful and ephemeral, so personable, contingent, fugitive to understanding.”⁵⁶ For Abbate, the effect of so much musicological writing, whether hermeneutic or historicizing, was to produce a “necropolis” of musical works. A kind of social death accrued to those devoted to the domestication of that which “remains nonetheless wild”: “real” music as it is produced, absorbed, and then absent.⁵⁷ The musicological archive (of musical works or souvenirs) works to “capture,” to take something as possession of one’s own, to imprison, to delimit, to restrict movement: to try to “capture” that which can only exist in the present is to inflict a form of violence upon it. One aim of Abbate’s project was to rescue music from the “necropolis” that constitutes the mechanically reproduced souvenir. As Peggy Phelan had written a few years earlier, the non-repeatability of embodied performance is what disrupted the circulation of capital. As that which

⁵³ Leo Cabranes-Grant, *From Scenarios to Networks: Performing the Intercultural in Colonial Mexico* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2016), 43.

⁵⁴ Reproducibility (rather than reproduction) is key. As Samuel Weber’s discussion of Benjamin’s extensive use of the German suffix *-barkeit* (-ability) has shown, an “-ability” entails a structural possibility or potentiality rather than a form of actuality. Like the notion of reproduction, reproducibility also points to that which iterates. But unlike the former, the latter suggests that when this potentiality to repeat is realized, the repeated entity irrevocably departs from what came before it. Samuel Weber, *Benjamin’s -abilities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 3-11; 95-114.

⁵⁵ Zeca Ligiéro, “O Conceito de Motrizes Culturais Aplicado a Práticas Afro-Brasileiras,” 129-144.

⁵⁶ Carolyn Abbate, “Drastic of Gnostic?,” *Critical Inquiry* 30/3 (2004), 529.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 508.

cannot be saved or mechanically reproduced, Phelan argued, performance interrupts capitalist reproduction.⁵⁸

Yet arguments that valorize music for its non-repeatability and ephemerality are not without risks: the notion of a non-repeatable performance may well subvert the logic of mechanical reproduction; but arguing for non-repeatability also means downplaying music's role in the formation of memory. For theater scholar Rebecca Schneider, arguments claiming that performance is ephemeral do not so much resist (as they seem to claim) the internal logics of the European historical archive, but they abide by those logics. As it houses the material, the archive holds no place for non-written behavior and embodied performance. In fact, the authority of the archive feeds off the disappearance of performance practices.⁵⁹ "Should we not think of the ways in which the archive depends upon performance," Schneider writes, "indeed ways in which the archive *performs* the equation of performance with disappearance, even as it *performs* the service of 'saving'?"⁶⁰

The danger of claiming that music "disappears the moment it appears"—becomes especially poignant when we turn to theorizing those "multiple absences" constitutive of histories of the transatlantic slave trade. For Saidiya Hartman, the Black Atlantic social unconscious already began with absence. The continuous fragmentation of the Black subject brought about by the transatlantic slave trade initiated the loss of the Black subject's psychic origins. From the outset and haunting us today, the centuries' long trade of Black bodies has rendered the notion of an "origin" inseparable from natal annihilation and social death. In attempting to recall Afro-diasporic memory, Hartman writes, "what we return to is fractured memory and a traumatic memory of cultural obliteration."⁶¹ What we return to are tales of forgettings and disappearances. The absence of Black male subjects from accounts about the origin of the enslaved subject is particularly telling. For Hortense Spillers,

Under slaveholding forms of white paternity, the Black male was subject to a paternal law which effectively removed him from paternal rights and filial ties as well as excluding him from interracial fraternal alliance. This removal led to a corresponding displacement of the name-of-the-father onto white fathers, brothers and sons.⁶²

If Black paternal figures are displaced onto the bodies of white men, the so-called "primal scene" of the transatlantic enslaved subject evades Black men's relationships with Black women. As Hartman has argued, the primal scene is, instead, instantiated by white men's often exploitative relationships with Black women. This originary moment remains visible and iterable in the popular imagination via spectacles of white men's exertion of violence onto Black women's bodies. But according to this logic, Black men disappear altogether from the scene.

⁵⁸ Peggy Phelan famously wrote that "Performance's only life is in the present. Performance cannot be saved, recorded, documented, or otherwise participate in the circulation of representations of representations: once it does so, it becomes something other than performance. Performance ... becomes itself through disappearance." Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 146.

⁵⁹ Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 87-110.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁶¹ Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 76.

⁶² Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* (1987), 17/2, 64-81; 80.

Transatlantic slavery perpetuated Black subjects' psychic loss as much as archival absences from historical narratives. For scholars including Harman, Marisa Fuentes, and Maria Ryan in musicology, the absences of Black subjects in conventional tellings of history are "absences that call attention to themselves," as Toni Morrison also wrote.⁶³ Archives are populated with whites' diaries and travelogues with racialized descriptions and drawings of Black subjects, with fugitive slave ads occupying numerous pages of newspapers and periodicals, and with procedures that aimed to punish them. But sources produced by Black and enslaved subjects are rare in these archives. As Hartman asks in her seminal essay, "Venus in Two Acts": "How does one recuperate lives entangled with and impossible to differentiate from the terrible utterances that condemned them to death, the account books that identified them as unit of value, the invoices that claimed them as property, and the banal chronicles that stripped them of human features?"⁶⁴ In response to the countless omissions that characterize the historical archive, Hartman developed the notion of a "critical fabulation," deploying methods from storytelling to imagine narratives that are impossible to tell.⁶⁵ While it is important not to fill historical gaps, she argues, we must remain aware of them. For Hartman, archival absence serves to provide opportunities for reflection, to take pause, and to attend to the residues of history.

As Stephen Best has argued more recently, the writings of authors such as Hartman display what he calls a "melancholy historicism": a hidden desire to recover the past or what has been erased from history. Within discourses about Black people, "melancholy historicism provides the view that history consists in the taking possession of such grievous experience and archival loss," Best writes.⁶⁶ Melancholy enables a strange intimacy with lost objects, with the Black subjects whose voices have been erased and whose silences haunt us to this day. It is with these thoughts that I want to end. Addressing Black histories entrenched in absence suggests that scholars still have much to learn from the evidence available in colonial archives. In their absence from imperial archives and foundational tellings of Brazilian history, Black male subjects and imaginaries of Black Peril seem to place before us another history of archival lack. But histories of Black performers and of Black Peril are scarcely absent if we search elsewhere, beyond the confines of legal accounts and court procedures and travelogues and caricatures. This "elsewhere," as I have shown, consists of a large, plentiful repertory of lundu-songs. The relationships between Black men and white women constituted an unspeakable matter—in criminal law and in historiography—yet this matter was still singable and, at times, even danceable. The scenario's widespread appearance in the lundu-song suggests that imperial lundus are nothing if not unique forms of historical evidence that redress the imperial archive's erasure of Black male bodies. At last, scenarios of Black Peril show that racial imaginaries are persistent—but processual rather than stable—and consist of incomplete projects that are incessantly maintained and reformed. The scenario points, as it piles through the ages, to that which keeps refusing to disappear.

⁶³ Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe*, (2008), 1-14. See Introduction of Marisa Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). And Maria Ryan, "Enslaved Black Women's Listening Practices and the Afterlives of Slavery in Musical Thought" (American Musicological Society, 2020).

⁶⁴ Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 14.

⁶⁵ See Stephen Best, "Neither Lost nor Found: Slavery and the Visual Archive," *Representations*, 113/1 (2011), 150-63; 157; and Nell Irvin Painter, *Southern History Across the Color Line* (Chapel Hill, NC: 2002), 16, 39.

⁶⁶ Stephen Best, *None Like Us: Blackness, Belonging, Aesthetic Life* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 15.

3.

Contagious Musics, Racialized Bodies

The anonymous song for solo voice and piano “Mulatinha do caroço no pescoço” (“Mulatinha with the lump on her neck”) was among the most widely circulated Brazilian songs around the 1888 abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. It was a lundu-song: as discussed in Chapter 2, the lundu-song was a salon song that was disseminated via word of mouth, in song collections for bourgeois homes and in comic theaters in the interludes of longer plays and operas (and is distinguished from the Afro-Brazilian lundu-dance). Although lundu-songs were not always notated, lundus were similar to Italian romanzas, with added syncopated musical cells to mark their corporeality. The first verse of “Mulatinha with the lump on her neck,” which varies from edition to edition, reads as follows:

Eu gosto da cor morena,
Sempre amena,
Que me prende e me arrebatá;
Essa cor é da faceira,
Feiticeira,
Mulatinha que me mata¹

(I like the color brown, / Always mild, / That attracts me and enraptures me; / This color is graceful, / [She is a] sorceress / Little *mulata* who kills me).

The song often ends with the words:

Tenho febre, tenho frios,
Calafrios,
Tenho gosma, tenho typho.

(I have fevers, I have colds, / Chills, / I have pus, I have typhoid).

These words push in two semantic directions. They celebrate the mixed-race woman’s beauty and sexual power. At the same time, the chills the male narrator sings about are not only caused by love. The mulatto woman, after all, has a “lump on her neck.” As Henriette Michaelis wrote in 1893, the word *caroço* refers to both “stone (in some sort of fruit); or swollen gland.”² In this song, the narrator seems to believe that he has been infected and diseased by his contact with the anonymous woman.

“Mulatinha do caroço no pescoço” is part of an archive of post-1850 salon songs that imagined interracial relationships between Black, often enslaved, women and white men, their masters, *ioiôs* or *nhonhôs*. As I have indicated in Chapter 2, the 1850s may be considered a watershed moment in the lundu-song repertoire: scholars such as Carlos Sandroni have argued that the lundu-song repertoire of the mid nineteenth-century shifted away from what I have referred to as a “scenario of Black Peril” to portray the interracial relationships in question.³ Lundu-songs

¹ The song was printed in several publications, including Anonymous, *Trovador: Coleção de Modinhas, Recitativos, Arias, Lundus, etc.* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Popular de A. A. Cruz Coutinho, 1876), 50; and Julia Brito Mendes, *Canções Populares do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Cruz Coutinho, 1911).

² H. Michaelis, *Novo Diccionario [sic] da Lingua Portugueza e Ingleza* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1893), 141.

³ See Chapter 1 of Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente*.

such as “Mulatinha” were reproduced across social spaces and mediascapes—in both theatrical numbers and the bourgeois parlor—to become some of the most widely circulated types of Brazilian song until the emergence of the samba in the early decades of the twentieth century. As Martha Abreu has also shown, representations of Black women in lundu songs of this period engaged in processes of racialization by portraying them as seductive and enrapturing, as “Mulatinha” indicates, but also as corruptive bodies that were often possessed of physical defects.⁴ The white male elites who wrote and circulated these songs at once betrayed their own attraction to the Afro-Brazilian population and depicted Black and mixed-race women as a danger to their sexual and moral health.

I show that “Mulatinha do carço no pescoço” offers one of many ways into a study of a “contagious music with infectious rhythms,” a centuries-old discourse marshaled by white elites to refer to a wide range of irresistible African diasporic musics that were also associated with social transgressiveness and degeneration.⁵ In her 1994 essay “Same As It Ever Was,” Susan McClary showed up the notion of a “contagious” music as a powerfully racialized metaphor, one used to account for a range of diasporic musics that purportedly display a heightened corporeality and that reproduce rapidly and beyond social boundaries. As Performance studies scholar Barbara Browning argues, discourses of “contagious” musics are concomitant with anxieties about corporeal alterity, diasporic flows, social relations, and cultural exchange more broadly.⁶ In theorizing breast milk and sexual fluids, for instance, Browning proposes a theoretical model of effluvia, in which “cultural fluid” exchanges are played out in the literal fluid exchanges of sexual bodies, rendering epidemiology a way of configuring global relations.”⁷ For Browning, the dispersion and popularization of Black musical idioms was also concomitant with the first processes of global economic exploitation—that is, the accelerated exchanges of the colonial period. In this argument, “contagious” musics from the seventeenth-century *ciaccona* to reggae, funk, soul, or mambo share similar discursive fates. They are all contagious musics with “infectious” rhythms: they spread quickly, transnationally, and are often characterized as dangerous and as overtly sexually explicit by white critics.⁸ Economic exploitation, cultural exchange, and disease *are* interrelated,” Browning argues, “but Africanness is hardly the deadly pathogen (whiteness is).”

In this chapter, I suggest that songs such as “Mulatinha” belonged within an epidemiological setting: that of the syphilis epidemic of mid nineteenth-century Brazil. The period marked, not incidentally, the height of a syphilis epidemic, where the mass contamination of syphilis within the enslaved population took place through the activities of Europeans. While the high incidence of syphilis in Brazil, especially in Rio de Janeiro, has been reported since the eighteenth century, the rate of mortality increased exponentially by the 1860s. From this time onwards, Brazilian health officials included syphilis and fevers, among others, in its annual

⁴ Martha Abreu, “Sobre Mulatas Orgulhosas e Crioulos Atrevidos: Conflitos Raciais, Gênero e Nação nas Canções Populares (Sudeste do Brasil: 1890-1920),” *Tempo* 18/6 (2004) 1-31.

⁵ Susan McClary, “Same as It Ever Was: Youth Culture and Music,” in *Reading Music: Selected Essays* (New York: Ashgate, 2007), 29-40.

⁶ Barbara Browning, *Infectious Rhythm: Metaphors of Contagion and the Spread of African Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 6, 7.

⁷ See Browning, “Breast Milk is Sweet and Salty (A Choreography of Healing),” in André Lepecki (ed.), *Of the Presence of the Body: Essays on Dance and Performance Theory* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 96-110.

⁸ Browning, *Infectious Rhythm*, 7.

reports.⁹ This is to show that songs such as “Mulatinha” are not simply metaphorical for social corruption of the white imperial social body. Rather, musical references to contagion emerge from this colonial setting. On the one hand, the lundu-song’s fixation on the Black female body served in the public dissemination of anti-Black rhetoric and racist stigma. On the other hand, the concern for detail, indeed intimacy, was illustrative of a fundamental shift in how the Black female body was understood in Brazil. A shift to forensic “objectivity,” arguably, was afforded by the response of the medical sciences to the ongoing challenge of syphilitic corruption.

The archive I have in mind includes a range of lundu-songs together with nineteenth-century scientific research at Rio de Janeiro’s Faculty of Medicine and records of Black dance performances. Also involved are nineteenth-century journals, satirical pieces, published song collections and unpublished manuscripts, among others—a weave of new research materials that may be set alongside sources long known to Brazilian historians. I draw on various lundu-songs, in connection with knowledge from Central African Kimbundu philosophy and Bantu dance gestures to examine imperial processes aimed at taming the Afro Brazilian dancing body. My method constitutes a refusal to globalize music historiography from singular European perspectives, often recounted by British and French travelers and government officials, and from a Western center—from which the scholar departs and returns. I avoid the general musicological tendency to inadvertently support “the claim that history writing belongs amongst the works of literature and imagination through which the West deals with the non-West,” as Martin Stokes has compellingly argued.¹⁰ This chapter is thus not interested in Europeans’ attempts to categorize and taxonomize non-European knowledges. Instead, it interests itself in local knowledges, though always from within the imperial ground. It seeks to test how songs produced in a fraught transatlantic milieu bring forth and allow a recovery of contemporaneous practices of governing the Black female body. The chapter seeks to present a bodily archive of sorts—by this I mean turning to historical archives to find what they can tell us about bodies, social relations, and intimacy. In attending to Black bodies’ fleeting, temporally uneven, and fragmented appearances in the archive, scenarios provide “not only a history *of* the body as it is imagined through time, but also a history *by* the body; and most importantly, a history that is performed in a bodily way: erratically and spontaneously,” to quote dance historian Kéline Gotman.¹¹

⁹ Historians show that, from 1850 to 1890, Brazilian capital cities witnessed the institutional formalization and consolidation of the modern medical sciences. A new generation of Brazilian doctors trained under European biological scientists and their disciples produced discourses about racial classification, women’s role in biological reproduction, and hygiene. Medical students interested in topics that ranged from women and madness to body hair began to learn gross anatomy and study the body in terms of areas to be divided indefinitely. See Lauren H. Jaeger, Sheila M.F.M. de Souza, Ondemar F. Dias, and Alena M. Iñiguez, “Mycobacterium tuberculosis Complex in Remains of 18th–19th Century Slaves, Brazil,” *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 19/5 (2013), 837–839; and Sérgio Carrara, The Symbolic Geopolitics of Syphilis: An Essay In Historical Anthropology. *História, Ciências, Saúde--Manguinhos*, 3/3 (1996), 391–408.

¹⁰ Martin Stokes, “Notes and Queries on ‘Global Music History,’” in Reinhard Strohm (ed.), *Studies on a Global History of Music: A Balzan Musicology Project* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2018), 3–17.

¹¹ Kéline Gotman, *Choreomania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 11. It is with this latter point in mind that Leo Cabranes-Grant, after Taylor, called the scenario a morphological template: a “once-againness [that] activates a series of semantic transfers and variations that modify and adapt their meaning to new historical predicaments.” Leo Cabranes-Grant, *From Scenarios to Networks: Performing the Intercultural in Colonial Mexico* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2016), 43.

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“Mulatinha with the lump on her neck,” to reiterate one last time, is only one among numerous lundu-songs that paid forensic attention to the Afro-Brazilian female body. More than simply depicting Black women, often in interracial relationships, it was not uncommon for the white composers and lyricists who wrote these songs to hone in on physical attributes, the intention being to make a forensic, often derogatory, examination of their bodies. For instance, one anonymous lundu proclaimed: “The nose was so flat, like potatoes / In each nostril / Fits a rat / Dirty neck / Hairy / And still / It was fat.”¹² Another “Velho Lundu” (“Old Lundu”) describes a mixed-race woman’s “big ears, all scratched, all greasy. She has little feet, with little hairs in each toe, as if two little bugs. She has little hair, curly, and in each hair, there are two head lice.”¹³

These lundus, by the ways in which they depict Black female bodies, here by their focus on what they saw as the “ugliest” and most “repellent” of minutiae, bring into question the sexualization and racialization of contagious diseases. After all, the mid-nineteenth century marked a turning point on perceptions about the disease in both Europe and abroad. While syphilis was understood as a divine punishment for collective sins in early-modern mercantilist European cities, those in the nineteenth century perceived the illness as a form of individual punishment for sexual sins and supposedly immoral behavior.¹⁴ In Europe, the contagious illness became associated with the activities of libertines and prostitutes; and in imperial Brazil at the height of the transatlantic slave trade, white commentators, medical professionals, and government officials linked it with the bodies of mixed-race and Afro-Brazilian women—even when white men were the ones who spread syphilis in the slave quarters by raping Black women.

In the years ranging from 1850 to 1890 the illness underwent a process of medicalization whereby imperial doctors dedicated their efforts to uncover its causal agents and modes of transmission as well as to develop prophylactic measures and public health policies to control the illness. Much of the medical discourse of this period was aimed at wet nurses, an activity relegated to the labor of African and Afro-Brazilian enslaved and freed women, was central to colonial and imperial life: their were bodies that nurtured the nation. Manuel Pederneiras from Rio de Janeiro’s Faculty of Medicine, for example, published six propositions aimed at the “care in the admission of wet-nurses, under the following conditions: [they should be] eighteen to thirty years, employed only shortly after giving birth, have well-developed and salient mammary glands, milk without smell, of a slightly sweet and well-consistent texture.” Not least, he continued, wet-nurses should be “without transmissible illness (syphilis), but should have good teeth, be intelligent, docile, and gentle.”¹⁵ According to commentators such as Pederneiras, the bodies of Black women had to be

¹² “Nariz tão chato / Que nem batata / Cada um buraco / Cabia um rato / Pescoço sujo / Que nem veludo, / Inda por cima / Era papudo. See Abreu, “Sobre Mulatas Orgulhosas,” 3; and Hildegardes Viana, “Um Velho Lundu,” *Folclore*, Órgão da Comissão de Folclore do Espírito Santo, Vitória, vol. 85, July/Dec 1968.

¹³ “Orelha grande, escavalada [sic], toda riscada, toda ensebada; Tem um pezinho, de veludinho, em cada dedinho, tem dois bichinhos; Tem um cabelinho, enroladinho, em cada fiozinho, tem dois piolhinhos.” “Um Velho Lundu” (“An Old Lundu”). See Abreu, “Sobre Mulatas Orgulhosas,” 2. And “Melodias Registradas por Meio Não Mecânicos,” *Arquivo Folclórico da Discoteca Pública Municipal*, São Paulo, 1946, 36.

¹⁴ Sérgio Carrara, *Tributo A Vênus: A luta Contra A Sífilis No Brasil, Da Passagem Do Século Aos Anos 40* (Rio de Janeiro: FIOCRUZ, 1996).

¹⁵ “Cuidado na admissão das amas, com as seguintes condições: 18 a 30 anos, decorrido o mais breve tempo após o parto, glândulas mamárias bem desenvolvidas, mamilos salientes, duros, leite sem cheiro,

cleansed in the name of the imperial social body. Others, still, justified white men's sexual violence by positing that having sexual relations with a young Afro-Brazilian woman could purify the blood and cure them of syphilis. Also at Rio's Faculty of Medicine, Dr. Joao Álvares de Azevedo Macedo Júnior registered in 1869 "the strange custom of colonial times and still prevalent in Northern Brazil and Rio de Janeiro in old sugar plantations: "the inoculation of this virus in a nubile woman is considered the most secure way of extinguish it itself."¹⁶ (This was all before Berlin doctors Fritz Richard Schaudinn e Paul Erich Hoffman discovered *Treponema pallidum*, syphilis' causal agent in 1905).¹⁷

As dictated by medical practice of the time, nineteenth-century medical professionals such as Pederneiras brought about a fragmentation of the Black female body; he invested in the mastery of minuscule and previously unstudied body parts. In itemizing this body, he listed the quality of glands, fluids, and even smells. Lundus, like contemporaneous medical writings, were obsessed with hygiene, as we have seen. They described literally sick bodies with lumps or swollen glands, typhus, and pus. Lundu-songs also took the body apart, detail by detail. For the white song composers who wrote these lundus, it seemed necessary to not only mock appearance, but fragment and dismember the Black female body. A convention of the lyric form is microscopic dissection: lundus break the mulata down in unimaginable ways; they display parts of her for examination in a way that bore no relationship whatsoever to a living person. What we see here is a medical instrumentalization of the Black female body, both as an object of analysis and as one that ensured the health of the general population.

Like lundu-songs written before 1850, these songs are musically characterized by a repeated syncopated sixteenth/eighth/sixteenth figure, a ubiquitous rhythmic cell in Brazilian popular repertoires, African diasporic traditions, and in Latin America more broadly. Here are two examples:

Gentis, gentis [sic, "gentes"], voce ja vio [sic, "viu"] ja
 Ioio mais sidoto [sic, "sedutor"]?
 ("People, people, have you seen already / A more seducing master?")

doce ligeiramente bem açucarado e bem consistente, isenta de moléstia transmissível (sífilis, escrófulas etc.) bons dentes, inteligente, dócil e meiga." Manuel Veloso Paranhos Pederneiras, *Expostos da Casa de Santa Misericórdia*. Doctoral thesis from the Faculdade de Medicina do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro: Emp. Tip., December 1855).

¹⁶ "A inoculação deste vírus em uma mulher púbere é considerado o meio seguro de o extinguir em si." Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala*, 441.

¹⁷ Carrara, *Tributo A Vênus*; O. S. Araújo O. S. *Alguns Commentários Sobre a Syphilis No Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil* (Empreza Gráfica Editora Paulo Pongetti & Cia, 1928); C. Souza, *Da responsabilidade Civil e Criminal do Syphilitico: Publicação da Liga Paulista de Prophylaxia Moral e Sanitária* (São Paulo, Brazil: Typ. Hennies Irmãos; 1909). Also see Chapter 7 of Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala* (Rio de Janeiro: Maia e Schmidt Ltda., 1933). The figure of the wet-nurse breastfeeding the white baby, for writers like Freyre, supposedly played a primal role in the formation and nurture of the Brazilian (read: Luso-Brazilian male) subject. (No doubt Freyre himself had been wet-nursed as a child.)



Figure 1: Anonymous, “Gentis, você já viu já?” mm. 16-18

The figure also appears in the anonymous “Lundu das beatas”:

Yoyosinho, va-se embora
 Qu’eu não gosto de brincar
 Nao venha com seus carinhos

Yoyosinho, go away / That I don’t like playing / Don’t come here with your caresses



Figure 2: Anonymous, “Lundu das beatas.”

In the first half of the nineteenth century, when lundu songs were primarily written by Black songwriters and guitar players, syncopation was more flexible. As we saw in Chapter 2, Black songwriters and guitar players frequently employed rhythmic cells notated as taking place across the measure line. Notation of this sort from the earlier repertoire suggests a gestural music that traced the *ginga* (swing) of Afro-Brazilian traditions. From the 1850s, however, when lundus came to be written exclusively by white composers for white audiences, they inscribed whiteness into the syncopation: the 16TH/8TH/16TH figure always the same, always contained within the measure, reproduced over and over again in each lundu. White composers who wrote lundus such as “Gentis, você já viu já?” (Sá Noronha, and Coelho Machado are two common names) also wrote polkas and romanzas for orchestras and choirs, where this use of syncopation was straight-jacketed. This is to say that rhythm was an ingredient of the characterization by white composers:

an imitation of what would be, for white ears, a form of musical negritude, or a form of what Carlos Sandroni has referred to as “characteristic rhythm.”¹⁸ In other words, the repertory employed what Marc Hertzman calls “musical blackface.” White lundu composers employed syncopation in the same manner that white actors painted themselves black: to imitate the musical dialect of the Other.¹⁹

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While salon lundu-songs proliferated, imperial commentators were concerned by the sexual lasciviousness of what they called the lundu-dance. Recall from Chapter 2 that white commentators used the term lundu-dance to differentiate it from its salon variant. The dance’s association with blackness, sexuality, and the body not only come from its lyrics and music, but the dance gestures that accompanied it. The lundu-dance’s “umbigada,” or “belly bump,” a sexually charged African diasporic gesture that involved a brief touch between male and female navels was associated with a dangerous corporeal excess. As we have seen, the gesture was “mimetic of carnal love,” as one commentator famously hailed it.²⁰ Slave masters understood the gesture as licentious. Across Brazil, both governmental and religious authorities proselytized against the move: police officials and Catholic commentators rallied against the gesture, though it was difficult to eradicate entirely from public view. Some sources suggest that many groups of performers strategically removed the gesture from their performances.²¹

For many, the gestures of the lundu-dance displayed an excess that could not so easily be absorbed into the imperial body. Take the opinion of Araújo Porto Alegre, among the most prominent intellectuals of his time and one of the editors of the 1836 magazine *Revista Nitheroy*, the earliest official publication to self-consciously shift away from the partisan disputes that had dominated post-independence Brazilian press to “reflect on objectives of the common good, and of glory of the nation.”²² Porto Alegre’s fifty-page treatise “Ideas about Music,” though it extolled Viennese instrumental music as the pinnacle of civilization, also examined those musics that acted as a central manifestation of the diverse inhabitants of this same nation. The lundu-dance, he argued, originated in the North-eastern state of Bahia, Brazil’s first and earliest slave port, as well as the seat of the nation’s African diasporic culture and home to the largest majority of the nation’s sugar plantations. For him, the lundu-dance was bound to carnal surplus: it appeared as “sweet, voluptuous in excess” just as “everything is sweet in Bahia, the land that produces sugar, and that which we eat crying with the sting of the chili pepper.”²³ Porto Alegre indulged a rhetoric that

¹⁸ Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente*, 65.

¹⁹ See the first chapter of Marc Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

²⁰ L. F. de Tollenare, *Notas Dominicais* (Recife: Governo do Estado de Pernambuco, Secretaria da Cultura, 1978), 29.

²¹ See Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente*, 63.

²² *Nitheroy: Revista Brasiliense*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Dauvin et Fontaine, 1836), 160-83; 177.

²³ Porto Alegre’s account was popularized by painter Jean Baptiste Debret to the world in his travelogues published in 1838 in Paris: “In Bahia everything is sweet, the earth produces sugar and if the inhabit stimulates himself with spicy foods it is solely to maintain his lascivious laziness.” What appeared to be an ethnographic, first-hand account of the musics and dances of Brazil’s inhabitants was, in fact, a description that echoed that which Porto Alegre had published a few years earlier. Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Viagem Pitoresca e Histórica ao Brasil*, [1834-9] trans./ed. Sérgio Milliet (São Paulo: Livraria Martins

juxtaposed the pleasures of the dance with those of savoring sweet desserts. In so doing he may have said to have echoed the conflation of dance, sex, and food that Caldas Barbosa had already relied upon to describe the lundu.

Another commentator, the prominent critic Francisco de Paula Brito, pushed the notion of the danced lundu as carnal surplus to the extreme, indulging playful erotic descriptions of sweet and spicy foods. He did so by characterizing the lundu's effects as analogous to the medical application of a concoction of the crushed Spanish fly, an insect whose aphrodisiac effects were well-accepted throughout the nineteenth century. "Experience has shown," he wrote in 1849, "that a Brazilian lundu well played in on a viola with castanets and tambourine is equivalent to a strong fomentation of cantharides (*cantáridas*) over the whole body; it fortifies the nerves in such a way that it is able to make a paraplegic jump out of bed and come to dance it too."²⁴

The presence of the danced lundu implied the presence of particular bodies—those of Black and mixed-race women. Perhaps the most famous lundu dancer of the 1830s was Joanna Januária Bitencourt, whose nickname "Joanna Castiga" made a sexually suggestive pun on the verb "castigar" ("to punish"). Her performances took place not in the capital city but in the Northern city of Recife, in *entremes* acts during the 1836-7 season of the Teatro São João, at the time the second largest theater in Brazil. Alongside her partner Ciri Gordo, Castiga performed her signature lundu "Castiga, Meu Bem, Castiga," a number whose surviving refrain suggested her partner was having an affair. "If you want to marry me," she sang, "there will be secrets everywhere." The performance, fondly recalled by writers later in the century, staged a sexual fantasy of sorts. Gordo would sing the refrain "Castiga, Castiga, here is your Black man" while the audience clapped vehemently and "men threw their hats onto the stage so as to glimpse her alluring figure and so that Castiga might punish them with her feet."²⁵ Castiga's performances triggered a series of

Editora, 1975) and Martha Tupinambá de Ulhôa and Luiz Costa-Lima Neto, "Memory, History and Cultural Encounters in the Atlantic: The Case of 'Lundu,'" *The World of Music*, 2/2 (2013), 47-72; 53.

²⁴ *A Marmota na Corte* (12 October 1849). We know that the ground blister beetle, whose venoms are today regarded as toxic, could be bought in Rio de Janeiro's apothecaries from a 22 January 1810 judicial order that sought to regulate "active, suspect, dangerous, or venomous" drugs ranging from aphrodisiacs to opiates and dictated that "apothecaries should not sell them without a prescription from an authorized person." Desembargador Manuel Fernandes Thomaz, *Repertorio Geral ou Indice Alfabético das Leis do Império do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Eduardo e Henrique Larraimert, 1849), 437. Brito quite literally described the lundu as an "aphrodisiac dance," using the same phrase that Gilberto Freyre would later coin to describe Black dance-song forms that displayed sexual hyperesthesia. Brito's earlier usage of the "aphrodisiac dance" is worth mentioning because it directly counters Freyre's. In a project to denaturalize scientifically racist arguments that endowed Black and indigenous bodies with a supposedly innate sexual excess, Freyre argued that colonial dances that manifested a sexual hyperesthesia demonstrated not an innate sexual excess, but that such dances served to compensate for what he saw as a moderate sexual temperament. Freyre placed these "artificial" Black dances against those danced by the Portuguese colonizer, whose supposed innate sexual prowess deemed such dances unnecessary. Despite his corrective efforts, then, Freyre fell right back into the problem he sought to extricate himself from, at once naturalizing a people's relationship to sexuality and downplaying the historical understanding of Black dances in aphrodisiac terms. See Chapter 4, "The Negro Slave in the Sexual and Family Life of the Brazilian" in *The Masters and the Slaves*, trans. Samuel Putnam (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

²⁵ Castiga was rarely known by her full name, Joana Januária de Sousa Bittencourt. The refrain recalled in several historiographies since the 1880s. See Maria Helena Franca Neves, *De Traviata ao Maxixe: Variações Estéticas da Prática do Teatro São João* (Salvador: As Letras da Bahia, 2000), 144.

complaints, most of them issued by the prominent Catholic satirical weekly *O Carapuceiro*; the editor Frei Caneca reprised objections to the lundu's purported sexual improprieties by decrying the dance's umbigadas, its "dishonest movements" and "indecent contortions."²⁶ Presumably in response to complaints such as these, the city's chief of police signed a decree prohibiting lundu dances from the stages of the Teatro. He reported that he "entirely reprove[d] that the dance denominated lundu be staged in any intervals of the spectacles of this public theater," and the chief of police closed the matter thus: "in an attempt to combat this [staunch] taste for immoral dances, I reprove this dance."²⁷ This was how the lundu was formally banned in Recife.

Lundu-dance performances may have been marginal with respect to the main spectacles of an opera or play, but their risqué appeal clearly bolstered ticket sales. A Bahian theater manager's reliance on the revenue from lundus was such that on 26 September 1837 he submitted a municipal request to lift the restriction. He asked that the city allow him to "re-establish stagings of the lundu, without the contortions which, in their indecency, shock morals, but stage the dance during farces and never during dramas, because in large part, spectating families watch these from their theater boxes." This request was denied, on the grounds that the "dance should be avoided, anyway, because the performers always exceeded their limits, rendering it immoral, offensive to the modesty of the families."²⁸ In other words, Castiga's performances implicitly countered the ethic of the family unit, and she was thus understood to be corrupting the social body with her lundu dances.²⁹

In the 1850s, newspaper critics still made claims about the lundu's aphrodisiac dangers to the bodily constitution of the ladies of the upper echelons of Brazilian imperial society. Paula Brito, the aforementioned editor of the *Marmota do Rio de Janeiro*, a publication that sought to consolidate a bourgeois female readership, argued time and again that dancing "threw women into disorder as it made the girls' 'fibers' vibrate, and even those of women's; because there are dancing women who have grandchildren, and wouldn't even stop." The "smells they released upon dancing" contradicted their status as the "perfumed flowers of today's society." "They all dance," Brito lamented, "girls, young ladies, matrons, old ladies, the well-made, the badly-made, the perfumed, the ill-scented, that, in turning around twice, discharged unpleasant smells."³⁰ Brito viewed sweatiness as anathema to [white] women's physical and moral dispositions: these performances of waste and excretion were contrary to a bourgeois culture of sensibility emerging at the time. Dancing once again functioned as a dangerous aphrodisiac for those "natural bodies"

²⁶ See *O Carapuceiro* (13 September 1837).

²⁷ Sílio Boccanera Júnior, *O Teatro na Bahia da Colônia à República (1800-1923)* (Salvador, BA: EDUFBA / EDUNEB, 2008), 152.

²⁸ Boccanera Júnior, *O Teatro na Bahia da Colônia à República*, 155.

²⁹ One might add that, though the lundu was a partner dance, accounts of white dancing men are somewhat scarce. One of the few well-known ones concerns José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, the principal adviser to Pedro I. We do not know where he danced. Probably, it was not at court, but at gatherings where lundus would occur spontaneously (such as the sort of tavern at the edge of Rio de Janeiro where Prince Pedro himself could occasionally be found). As John Charles Chasteen has argued, Silva's dances are likely to have taken place during the pre-Lenten season, when challenging social convention was commonplace. Most importantly, perhaps, his case suggests that when a white man danced umbigadas, he was not the subject of public outrage but associated with a white male virility. John Charles Chasteen, "The Prehistory of Samba: Carnival Dancing in Rio de Janeiro, 1840-1917," *Journal of Latin American Studies* (1996, 28/1), 29-47; 36.

³⁰ *A Marmota*, 4 Nov 1851, 10 Jan 1851.

that performed the empire's reproductive labor, always standing in a metonymic relation to the social body.

As the century progressed and outside the space of the theater, local authorities became progressively concerned each time dozens of slave men and women gathered late at night for ritual festivities with plenty of singing, drumming, dance, and drinking. Municipal laws issued in the 1850s prohibited Black dances in the city's streets and frequently shut down drumming and dance circles. Legislation targeting African musics also specified penalties and severe punishments. Article 58 of Rio's Military Police Archives, a decree issued in 1855, states that: "The dances of blacks and slaves are prohibited in the streets and squares of this city: the offenders will suffer twenty-four hours of prison, and slaves two dozens of whippings."³¹ Also in 1855, English traveler James Wetherall wrote in his diary:

Upwards of 20,000 blacks would be assembled and scattered over the hill, upon which the church is situated: hundreds would be dancing their national dances whilst thousands looked on, and these orgies would be incessantly continued. The dancers in public have been prohibited for some years, but immense crowds, dressed in the height of negro fashion, go there during the three Sundays in January when the feast takes place. Dances are held in the houses, and even outdoors, in spite of the prohibition.³²

By 1873, a member of the Conservative Party and a district police officer defined Black dances as "the most barbarian and immoral dances, a most complete orgy that terrorized well-meaning families as they tried to sleep at night." The dance supposedly incited drunkenness and fights. The police officer in question dispersed and arrested "a great number of black Africans ... who were giving themselves up to immoral dances in the middle of the most disturbing clamor."³³ Note his emphasis on the sensual aspect of batuques, a typically white man's fear of supposedly exaggerated African sexuality. "The town had become a free territory for a few hours!" Captain Gomes was disturbed, and he was not alone. He detected danger in so much physical energy discharged not in the service of labor, exhibited in those semi-naked, dancing Black bodies, adorned with golden trinkets—nakedness and dance which suggested excessive sensuality." He permitted the enslaved to dance only on Sundays and Holy Days, and continued: "a foreigner arriving in the city would believe he had before him an African village, so numerous and noisy were the batuques and so lascivious its gestures."³⁴ For white imperial commentators, dance could produce adverse effects on the imperial social body such as social unrest, noise pollution, and literally rob the imperial state of its nourishment—Black labor—through slave rest and recreation.

This is all to say that while the circulation of imperial lundu-song proliferated, authorities imposed more and more restrictions on Afro-Brazilian lundu-dances. This is to say that, when examined alongside the coterminous prohibition of Afro-Brazilian musical practices, lundu-songs attest to the eradication of Black memory. As Roach has argued, "through the operation of law,

³¹ "Ficam prohibidas as dansas [sic] dos pretos e escravos pelas ruas e praças d'esta cidade; os infratores sofrerão vinte e quatro horas de prisão, e os escravos duas dúzias de palmatoadas." APEJE, PM do Rio, lei no. 1129, 26 Jun 1855. Da Polícia de Mercados, Casas de Negócios e Portos de Embarques."

³² James Wetherell, *Stray Notes from Bahia* (Liverpool: Webb and Hunt, 1960).

³³ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 17 March 1873 and 19 March 1873.

³⁴ F. dos Santos Gomes, *Histórias de quilombolas: mocambos e comunidades de senzalas no Rio de Janeiro—século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional.

the state appropriates to itself not only violence but memory.”³⁵ For the enslaved, after all, music and dance (as well as language) maintained cultural continuities; they were forms of living memory that tied them to the motherland. Slave owners deliberately put together enslaved subjects from different Central African regions, their purpose being the annihilation of cultural memory. Fragmenting African cultural origins and memory was an “opportunistic tactic of whiteness,” as Roach put it, and it was crucial to imperial practices. And as a Yoruba proverb said, “The white man who made the pencil also made the eraser.”³⁶ Prohibition, in this sense, attests to the genocidal diasporic histories predicated on displaced transmission, which worked to erase African traditions, and that resulted in the Black subject’s grievance and loss.

Lundu-songs, widely reproduced until the end of the century, worked to displace more fraught racialized and embodied expressions. As it displays a sundering from the Black dancing body, the lundu-song may be said to reactivate the displacement of Black corporeal expression from a number of early-modern dance songs. Compare the lundu to the danced ciaccona, whose “infectious lasciviousness” stoked fears of a racially transgressive body in seventeenth-century South America. In McClary’s analysis, when Italians took to singing and dancing ciacconas, Catholic commentators took issue with how endlessly repetitive rhythmic motifs sent white audiences into a frenzy and “infected [them] with the passions.”³⁷ The ciaccona was also transformed over time to become a form of song that retained some of its earlier danced corporeality, now manifested in its hypnotic, circular rhythmic cells in the accompaniment and vocal lines (that is, before these repetitive figures were separated further from the dancing body to become the property of instrumental technique in solo chaconnes). We can recall that the zarabanda also underwent a process of abstraction from the racialized bodies that produced it. Not unlike lundus, musicians playing *rasqueado* guitars, castanets, and tambourines would band together for zarabandas—but in the court of Louis XIV, its music soon became a musical marker of racialized alterity.³⁸

Witchcraft investigator and judge French Pierre de Lancre (1553-1631) temporarily banned the sarabande on the grounds that “it is the most violent, most animated, most passionate dance, and its gestures, although mute, seem to demand that which the lustful man desires of a woman more with [its gestures’] silence, than any other [dance].”³⁹ In France, the sarabande later became the subject of anti-Black treatises that claimed that it excited “bad emotions in even very decent people.”⁴⁰ The courtiers of Louis XIV attenuated the sarabande’s transgressive vitality by using the same term to refer to something different: a slow triple-meter dance whose accentuated second beats took place as the dancers lifted their toes until the end of the measure. This single dance movement produced a “contrast between motion and suspended animation,” as McClary writes. It was a necessary moment of stillness that cut through the unrestrained movement of the earlier zarabanda.⁴¹ And this was before composers began to use the term to refer to the stately

³⁵ Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 58.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁷ McClary, “Same as It Ever Was,” 34.

³⁸ The zarabanda’s musical historiography suggests Black Iberian-Moorish origins and that in the Spanish *Nuevo Mundo* referred to a rowdy partner dance with “lively and amorous movement[s].” Pruiksmá, “Of Dancing Girls and *Sarabandes*,” 152.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁴⁰ Ritchie, *The Accompaniment in “Unaccompanied” Bach*, 13.

⁴¹ Susan McClary, “Unruly Passions and Courtly Dances,” 85-112; 93.

instrumental form that we associate with the sarabande today. In all of these cases, the transformation from dance to song curtailed public expressions of a transgressive Black corporeality. Lundus, ciacconas, and sarabandes are formally and generically different, but they all share this feature: they re-enact contiguous processes of displacement and racialization.

For Mário de Andrade, the lundu-song provided an opportunity for “aristocracies with their classical music [to] retemper themselves in the red blood of popular music.” Andrade was upending the verb “to temper,” to render moderate, to suggest that the lundu-song served, instead, as a small addition, an opportunity to revitalize the bourgeois cultural life.⁴² The lundu-song retained only selective and diluted traces of Black embodiment. While white salon song with rhythmic markers designed to characterize Black bodies was acceptable, unwanted modes of Black presence, located in the dancing Black body, remained “impenetrable” to the bourgeois social body, to borrow Andrade’s term. The subtlety of this argument suggests what recent scholarship has called a process of social immunization, where markers of difference act not as a basis for the exclusion or civilization and assimilation of racialized bodies.

Social immunization, as prominently espoused in the political theory of Roberto Esposito, occurs when an untamed excess which implicitly threatens the social body is brought into the collective bloodstream in a managed way.⁴³ The logics of social immunization, like that of biological immunization, ensure the incorporation of selected, diluted expressions of alterity. The aim, as we are all too aware, is to prevent a fully-fledged threat, and in doing so to guarantee the preservation and reproduction of the dominant body. In music studies, Ana María Ochoa Gautier has adapted the concept to define white imperial authorities’ efforts to temper what they perceived as the untamed vocal “noise” made by nineteenth-century Columbian indigenes. The tactic, for Ochoa Gautier, was to obfuscate the body of the perceived Other and its “modes of presence in order to prevent uses that are understood as undesirable.”⁴⁴ One could, along these lines, say that Luso-Brazilian imperial audiences incorporated racialized song only as a means to detract from the dangers associated with the dancing African body, and that salon song, with its characteristics of blackness, worked to immunize the social body from the powers and perceived dangers of Black dance. In this sense, lundu-songs incorporated undesirable expressions of a Black alterity, but they did so in a selected manner: they provided bourgeois listeners acceptable, or immunized, forms of embodiment that prevented Black expression from growing and activating its disruptive potential. Dancing mulatas, “syncopating their bodies with their hips,” were far more dangerous for white commentators. Adapted to the discourse of immunization, then, the lundu-song might be understood to instantiate a means for the containment of Black performance.⁴⁵

All at the same time, the examples presented in this section transfigured the significations of African diasporic dance. Castiga’s umbigadas form a case in point: in that they posed a racialized sexual threat suggests a radical reversal or weaponization of the dance gesture’s Angolan Kimbundu term, the *semba* or *massemba* (the words for “navel” or “joining at the navel” that the Portuguese called umbigadas). The umbigada did not always stir up a bodily surplus, so

⁴² Andrade, Cândido Inácio da Silva e o Lundu,” 227.

⁴³ In Ochoa Gautier’s formulation, the aim of social immunization is to obfuscate “modes of presence in order to prevent uses that are understood as undesirable.” I am referring to Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier’s argument in Chapter 4 of *Aurality*.

⁴⁴ I am referring to Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier’s argument in Chapter 4 of *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014).

⁴⁵ T. A. de Araripe Júnior, *Gregório de Mattos*, 2 ed. (Paris: Garnier, 1910).

excessive that it could not be absorbed into the imperial social body. Far removed from the promiscuous undertones it came to be associated with, at one point in its genealogy, the umbigada was a sacred gesture. One 1859 Portuguese-Kimbundu dictionary suggested as much when it traced the *semba*'s etymology to the verb "to pray."⁴⁶ More than this, the examples discussed in this section reversed the *semba*'s life-giving significations in Kimbundu cosmology.⁴⁷ As a movement towards the center of one's body, the *semba* embodied the vital force of the Kalunga spirit. Congolese philosopher Fu Kiau explicates the movement towards the center as a seminal process in Kongolese cosmology: the navel, with its role in sustaining life before birth, was perceived as the "first mouth." This movement inward, as it is also referred to, imagines an earth in perpetual motion, a continuum of rebirth after rebirth, the living-dying-living-being that constitutes human life and a never-ending process of transformation.⁴⁸ The umbilical cord's function in providing fetal sustenance or in nurturing life before birth meant it was a "first mouth." It was the lifeline through which Divine power flows and which energizes and makes possible the creative process.⁴⁹

The Bantus of the hinterlands of Luanda danced the *semba* in marriage and courtship rituals. That touch between male and female belly buttons, following Fu Kiau, embodied an exchange in energy, a realignment of the universe's axis.⁵⁰ As many a *preto velho* (a term for an older Black man, often a *capoeira* player) will remind us today, in a kind of knowledge that gets passed down from generation to generation in the hinterlands of Bahia, the *semba* was danced to Dandalunda. Dandalunda is the goddess of marriage, birth, of waters and the sea, and the *orixá* guardian and caretaker of the body and the womb: the circulation of blood and the flow of nutrients that sustain life in the fetus. She is also the goddess of sacred waters and the tributary rivers that flow, under the guidance of the water spirit Yemanjá, into the ocean. Throughout Central and Southern African traditions of Bantu origin, birth and flesh are closely linked to the waters. Upon the healthy birth of a child, the severed umbilical cord is still often carried to a nearby river as an

⁴⁶ The sacred connotation was dictionarized in 1859. See Bernardo Maria de Cannecattim, *Collecção de Observações Grammaticaes sobre a Lingua Bunda ou Angolense* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1859), 19. For a contemporary discussion of *semba*'s etymology in relation to devotion, prayer, and pray, also see David Treece, *Brazilian Jive: From Samba to Bossa and Rap* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 21.

⁴⁷ My discussion of the umbigada's vital significations could be said to reverse Curt Sachs' influential but oft-critiqued notion of the "mimetic mating dances." For Sachs, dance gestures such as the umbigada were mimetic on the grounds that they re-enacted the life acts of courtship and mating (so-called "hunting" and "death" dances are his additional examples). Sachs's idea that the gesture mimed the sex act, "itself considered as the ultimate form of dance," also lent it a life-giving function and thus placed dance at the origins of human life, purportedly developed before speech. In Sachs's hands, gestures such as the umbigada were the first in an evolutionary line that tied it to non-human life—with the "mating dances" of chickens and birds as some of its predecessors—and that culminated with Western ballet's abstract formations. See Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1933).

⁴⁸ See the arguments of Congolese philosopher Kimbwandende Kia Bunseki Fu-Kiau, *African Cosmology of the Bântu-Kôngo: Principles of Life and Living* (New York: Athelia Henrietta Press, 2001).

⁴⁹ Gerhard Kubik, *Tusona: Luchazi Ideographs* (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2006), 246.

⁵⁰ The dance gesture's centrality to marriage was such that men could not dance with other men, women with other women; neither could brothers, parents, or children; same-sex umbigadas or umbigadas between family members disrespected the law of fertility. The equivalent gesture that men danced among themselves is referred to as the *pernada*, a competitive version of the dance, which involved beating thighs. *Ibid.*

offering to the orixá.⁵¹ In view of these practices, the life-giving entity of Dandalunda could be said to reclaim the lundu-song's portrayals of sickly, pus- and typhoid- filled Black female bodies.

Imperial Luso-Brazilian commentators chronicled the transformation of an Afro-diasporic dance with sacred and procreative significations, an embodiment of marriage and alliance, into a perverse sexual act. Once a gesture with life-giving significations, then a mere sexual surplus. The genealogy of the lundu's umbigada, a cypher of an ever-threatening sexual excess, reaches all the way back to vitalistic Bantu cosmologies.

*

I want to end by considering some of the ethical implications of employing metaphors so closely associated with illness at the time of the COVID-19 epidemic, which has not ceased to claim deaths worldwide. After all, the notion of a fully-fledged, contagious threat in the form of Afro-diasporic dance and that of a tamed mode of alterity as Luso-Brazilian salon song characterizing Black subjects through “infectious” rhythm involves metaphorical deployments of contagion and immunization. In reflecting on this matter, one might recall Susan Sontag's *Illness as Metaphor*, which Sontag wrote while undergoing chemotherapy for breast cancer in the late 1970s. *Illness as Metaphor* was an attempt to enjoin readers to take illness literally and to show how fanciful flights of the imagination so easily get attached to thinking about illness. “Illness,” she insists, “is not a metaphor,” although it is often treated as such. Sontag outlined her problem with metaphorical thinking when it came to disease:

First, the subjects of deepest dread (corruption, decay, pollution, anomie, weakness) are identified with the disease. The disease itself becomes a metaphor. Then, in the name of the disease (that is, using it as a metaphor), that horror is imposed on other things. The disease becomes adjectival. Something is said to be disease-like, meaning that it is disgusting or ugly.⁵²

In literature as in music, Sontag shows, venereal diseases such as syphilis, whose transmission takes place through sexual fluids or contamination with blood products, are associated with pollution, with an outside entity that enters and corrupts the social body. The same may be made about lundu-songs, which not only sexualize and racialize Afro-Brazilian women but portray theirs as diseased bodies having the capacity to corrupt a social structure. At their most allusive, Sontag adds, words are harmful: “metaphorical, and figurative language more generally inhibit people from seeking treatment early enough, or from making a greater effort to get competent treatment.”⁵³ With this in mind, what are we to make of the proliferating use of cultural theories of “immunization” to address social formations at a time in which millions of people worldwide have refused to obtain life-saving vaccinations? When metaphors are pervasive, in other words, thinking about disease becomes so ubiquitous that literal meaning is lost.

If, for Sontag, metaphors of contagion are associated with destruction, on another end of the spectrum are a set of metaphors that have rendered contagion as a generative force. I am referring to current discussions emergent in music studies about the powerful circulation of “viral” media. Increasingly, music scholars are interested in “catchy” tunes—whether referring to nineteenth-century earworms or present-day “viral” songs enabled by the Internet—or which conceive “contagion” or “infection” as productive models for understanding cultural contact and

⁵¹ Gerhard Kubik, *Tusona*, 246.

⁵² Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (New York: Picador, 1978.), 58.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

global circulation of cultural forms tout court.⁵⁴ In all these instances, contagion is understood as analogous for processes of cultural transmission and reproduction: contagion is *like* transmission, and therefore a suitable heuristic for understanding it. More than this, these examples celebrate contagion as a reparative force of sorts, because it crosses boundaries, whether social, racial, or national. It carries the promise to free the scholar from methodological and disciplinary constraints.

One could argue that the metaphor of a “contagious music with infectious rhythms” is worth thinking with because it foregoes models of the social that either exclude “foreign elements.” The metaphor might be said to sanction bodily expressions indexing alterity by tolerating or incorporating them into everyday life. As Ana Lopez has shown, Latin American and Caribbean rhythms can at once act as the near “perfect markers of the instability of borders while also providing indices of the imaginary demarcations that constitute the process whereby Self/Nation defines itself (and is defined) in relationship to Others.”⁵⁵ These contradictions embedded within the notion of an “infectious” rhythm complicate any model of the social body that distinguishes in a straightforward manner between what is inside the social system from what outside, separate, unassimilated.

However, the COVID-19 epidemic has produced a critical moment to rethink the epidemiological language we use in our scholarship. In fueling anti-Asian racism and xenophobia, the pandemic provides heightened awareness for the study of how notions of contagion are associated with racialized bodies. Polarized political wrangling in the United States (at least) over the purported origin of the coronavirus—was the virus “produced” at Wuhan’s Huanan seafood market or leaked from the same city’s Institute of Virology—has only exacerbated prejudice. The idea of a “contagious” or “infectious” body has had material consequences and legitimated acts of violence against East Asian communities—from street harassment to the vandalization of Asian-owned establishments.

When separated from the historical settings that originated it, metaphors tell us very little about processes of racialization and sexualization that take place when dances and rhythmic figures are associated with metaphors of disease. In this sense, the corpus of post-1850 lundu-songs that I have critiqued allow us to place the figure of a diseased body against discourses about blackness that emerged during the syphilis epidemic, bringing to light imperial efforts at managing and regulating the bodies of Black women. That discourse of musical contagion, still wielded today as a governing rationality to understand generative processes of musical exchange, border-crossing, and popularity, has a racial genealogy indebted to scientific discourse, the medicalization of the Black female body, and the racialization of illness.

⁵⁴ See, for instance, Paula Harper, “Beyoncé: Viral Techniques and the Visual Album,” *Popular Music and Society*, 42/1 (2019), 61-81. I am also referring to a thought-provoking musicological attempt to engage contagion and virality papers in the conference *Viral Italian Sounds*, University of California, Berkeley. 9-10 May 2019.

⁵⁵ Ana M. López, “Of Rhythms and Borders,” in Celeste Fraser Delgado and José Esteban Muñoz (eds.) *Everynight Life: Culture and Dance in Latin/o America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 310-42.

4. Surrogation Redux

On 16 October 2022, I attended Berkeley’s UC Theater performance of “A Última Sessão de Música” (“The Last Music Session”) featuring Brazilian musician Milton Nascimento. The event occurred midway through a tour designed to mark Nascimento’s final public performances and to commemorate his career and musical legacy.¹ At eighty years of age, Nascimento was carried onto the stage, given the microphone and called to sing. He appeared breathless and his intonation sounded flat as he struggled to complete the evocative melodic lines long associated with his work. The organizers saw to it that he was heavily supported by twenty-five-year-old Zé Ibarra, dubbed by critics as a “nova MPB” or “new MPB” musician—a category used to define a twenty-first-century attempt to revitalize the Brazilian Popular Music (*Música Popular Brasileira*) styles of the 1960s and 70s. At the time, for me, the performance generated a sense of unease. Nascimento’s singing—his unmistakable falsetto, together with the use of melismatic melodic lines that are rarely found in the work of other late twentieth-century Brazilian musical genres—had long been his defining feature. That falsetto had fascinated audiences since his debut and best-selling 1972 album *Clube da Esquina*.² (Nascimento’s distinctive vocality is particularly marked if we compare his singing to the defining coarse chest tones of his collaborator Chico Buarque and to Tropicalist Gilberto Gil’s deeply resonant throat sounds, themselves associated with Northeastern folk music).³

In the lead-in to the concert tour, there had been some speculation as to the state of Nascimento’s health in the Brazilian press. Nascimento himself had always flatly denied the allegations. In an interview in May 2022, he explained: “People say this and that, that I am trembling, but there is no such thing as illness, no. In fact, the doctor sent back [blood] tests, recent blood tests, and I am perfect, and have never been so great,” he continued.⁴ The denials notwithstanding, my own experience attests that audiences attending “The Last Music Session” heard—and saw—a musician who seemed unfit for the stage. I was not alone, and the performance generated mixed reactions. One commentator described

¹ The tour began in Rio de Janeiro, passed through European cities, the United States, and concluded in Belo Horizonte’s Mineirão Stadium to honor Milton’s home state of Minas Gerais.

² Nascimento, M and Lô Borges. (1972). *Clube da Esquina* [Album]. EMI Records.

³ Nascimento has been hailed as one of the most prolific musicians and composers of twentieth-century Brazilian popular music, and had been associated with Tropicalismo, a cultural movement of sorts that amalgamated a variety of popular music styles and that sought to complicate the idea of a Brazilian tradition. Tropicalismo refers to the movement that took upon the Tupinambá cannibal as a symbol that gorged up the mighty to nourish its very blood. Brazilian poets, film-makers and musicians deliberately revived this image in the 1960s – a current developed forty years earlier in the modernist literature of *antropofagia* – to absorb, and in their way, complicate the relationship between foreign and national, modern and old. See in particular Chapter 2 of Lorraine Leu, *Brazilian Popular Music: Caetano Veloso and the Regeneration of Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 24-58.

⁴ “Tem uma coisa disso, que eu fico assim tremendo, mas não tem isso de doença, não. Inclusive o médico mandou os exames de ontem, exames atuais, e ele tá perfeito, nunca esteve tão bem.” Maju Coutinho. “Milton Nascimento fala sobre a despedida dos palcos: ‘Vou parar de fazer show, mas não vou parar de compor nem de cantar.’” *Globo*, 22 May 2022, <https://g1.globo.com/fantastico/noticia/2022/05/22/milton-nascimento-fala-sobre-a-despedida-dos-palcos-vou-parar-de-fazer-show-mas-nao-vou-parar-de-compor-nem-de-cantar.ghtml>. Accessed 2 July 2023.

A contrast of feelings in watching this video. There was immense happiness in enjoying Nascimento's intense talent—my top 3 of MPB. But on the other hand a huge dismay in seeing him so physically debilitated. The potency of his voice is no longer the same, but let us enchant ourselves with the magic that his figure irradiates, and for the richness of all his work.⁵

Why did he go on tour, one might ask? A friend in the audience wondered if he needed the money, especially given the pandemic's economic impact on artists and musicians. What could have led the young musicians joining him to willingly travel with him?

And yet, the audience was enchanted. People cried. I noticed that some had even teared up *before* the show, anticipating their feelings as they waited in line outside the venue on Berkeley's University Avenue. Rather than attempting to answer the above questions—questions that emerge if we attend to the radically drastic powers of the event of performance—this chapter concludes the dissertation by offering a number of ways of thinking about how performance attests to the presence of the past. How does performance, and in particular, an act of public homage such as Nascimento's "Last Music Session," enact processes of canonization and build collective memory?

To pursue this question, I interweave a number of sources, combining my own reflections of the UC Theater performance, ethnographic reflections of interlocutors who attended, a selection of Nascimento's songs from his 1972 *Clube da Esquina (Corner Club)* album, and recorded performances that spanned the course of Nascimento's career. My argument is that Nascimento's final concert re-enacted a primal moment of the modern musical imagination, one that brings us all the way back to where we began: to Chapter 1's introduction of "Haydn's surrogates." This is why this chapter discusses Nascimento's "Last Music Session" not as an ethnographic case study but draws connections between this performance and earlier iterations of the event. To put it simply, I argue that this seemingly isolated final tour re-enacted and built upon foundational performances of canonization that spanned over two hundred years.

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After driving for over five hundred miles from the Central Western state of Goiás to Nascimento's performance at the Mineirão stadium, concert-goer Bruna Almeida declared to a TV Globo reporter that "Today we are here to celebrate history. Our house," she continues, "breathed *Clube da Esquina* and our father contributed to that."⁶ The "history" that she is celebrating is not so much Nascimento's but a personal family history. "Our father," she explains, "declaimed Milton's songs when I was a child." She continues by saying that "*Clube da Esquina* were my lullabies," in a hyperbolic statement that nevertheless holds somewhat true for the many millions of Brazilians

⁵ @carlosvicente4146 "Contraste de sentimentos sinto ao ver este vídeo. Imensa alegria de curtir o imenso talento do Milton - o meu Top 03 da MPB. Mas por outro lado grande consternação ao vê-lo muito debilitado fisicamente. A potência da voz não é mais a mesma, mas nos deixemos inebriar pela magia que sua figura irradia, pela riqueza de toda sua obra." Milton Nascimento, "Milton Nascimento - A Última Sessão de Música," YouTube, May 15, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=buVoDfQMfdE&list=TLGGkuXFfJfjqkEzMDA3MjAyMw&t=3s>.

⁶ "Nossa casa respirava *Clube da Esquina* e nosso pai contribuiu pra isso e hoje a gente vem comemorar essa história." Milton Nascimento, "Milton Nascimento - A Última Sessão de Música," YouTube, May 15, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=buVoDfQMfdE&list=TLGGkuXFfJfjqkEzMDA3MjAyMw&t=3s>.

whose parents lived through the 70s and 80s (I certainly heard Nascimento’s “San Vicente” as a young child and even karaoked “Maria Maria.”)⁷

Saudosista or sentimental declarations such as Almeida’s might initially come across as glib. They may seem weakly tied to the music, given the violent cultural and political setting that not only gave rise to much of Nascimento’s oeuvre in the first place but that became synonymous with it. Consider, for example, the censorship of Mercedes Sosa’s performance of Nascimento’s “San Vicente” in Argentina. Consider also that, when Nascimento and Sosa filled massive auditoriums across South America, protesting youth erupted in song and exclaimed loudly every time the pair sang the lines “libera a los prisioneros” from Violeta Parra’s “Volver a los Diecisiete” in reference to the political prisoners jailed under South American military dictatorships.⁸ In Nascimento’s solo performance, young fans at the immense Mineirão soccer stadium in the city of Belo Horizonte stood in the footsteps of the old: as heirs to their parents’ legacy and to a now canonical past that Nascimento’s music stands for. Given these political ties, explicit associations between early legs of the tour and support for Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva’s successful re-election in October 2022 was perhaps predictable. These performances allowed attendees to look back at a traumatic past under military repression, but also to the political militancy that Lula had already stood for at the height of Nascimento’s fame in the 80s.⁹

Back at UC Theater, some 6449 miles away, Zé Ibarra, whose experimental vocal practices and attire memorialized the Tropicalist past of the 1970s, performed something of a surrogate role as he stood for Nascimento himself. I showed in Chapter 1 that surrogation entails a process in the transmission of cultural memory that takes place through several acts of replacement and carries implications for the study of performance. As Joseph Roach writes, surrogation suggests that “performance offers a substitute for something else that pre-exists it.”¹⁰ Ibarra is a member of Bala Desejo, a band composed by a group of prominent young musicians who quarantined together during the COVID-19 pandemic in search of artistic renaissance. Bala Desejo rose to fame via invited appearances in a range of YouTube channels. Because of this, critics have asked whether their adoption of what Ibarra sees as an “older aesthetic” is a form of imitation or tribute to 1970s Tropicália.

In describing a long line of influence, Ibarra writes that his work benefits from “the influence of Pink Floyd, Supertramp, Yes, Emerson Lake and Palmer, Caetano, Mutantes, Lenine, Queen and borrows from jazz and classical [music].” He purports to present “a sound that is inspired by the progressive rock of the 70s, but which is also frequently assimilated to the *Clube da Esquina*.”¹¹ For some, the young representatives of the “new MPB” are not so new. Critic Romulo Moraes describes Bala Desejo’s music as “a familiar wind that blows softly, but like a joy

⁷ “Nosso pai declamava as músicas do Milton pra mim quando eu era criança. *Clube da Esquina* foi meu ninar infantil.” Milton Nascimento, “Milton Nascimento - A Última Sessão de Música,” YouTube, May 15, 2022,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=buVoDfQMfdE&list=TLGGkuXFjFqjkEzMDA3MjAyMw&t=3s>.

⁸ See, for instance, Mercedes Sosa (1982). *Mercedes Sosa En Argentina (En Directo)* [Album]. Phonogram S.A.I.C.

⁹ Lula was National President of the Worker’s Party from 1980-1988.

¹⁰ Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 3.

¹¹ “Com influências de Pink Floyd, Supertramp, Yes, Emerson Lake and Palmer, Caetano, Mutantes, Lenine, Queen e bebendo no jazz e clássico, apresentando um som que se inspira no rock progressivo dos anos 70, mas que é assemelhada frequentemente ao *Clube da Esquina*. Dônica, YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/@Donica/about>.

chant sung around a candle that risks being blown out.”¹² For others, Ibarra represents an attempt to revitalize Tropicália as a form of progressive nostalgia. “A lot of people think about aesthetics straight away, because it’s an organic, seventies aesthetic, and then they already pin it as a thing of the past,” writes Ibarra. His and Bala Desejo’s project is “our generation’s collective rescue of making art.”¹³ Which is to say that their aim is to mount a salvage operation that allows newness to recreate itself in the modes of the old.

Yet another mode of memorialization took place in this “Last Music Session.” Nascimento, I recall, was ceremoniously carried onto the stage. While audiences could still see glimpses of his body, this entrance took place in the dark, a moment that was sonically accompanied by low, drawn out and unresolved bass and guitar figurations. In the background, light high-hat cymbal strokes built gradually in intensity. As he reached his seat, or “throne,” as one attendee called it, the figurations resolved and a surge of lights flooded the stage to reveal the elderly musician in sunglasses. When the audience saw his trademark long, multi-colored mantle, they cheered wildly. Nascimento’s ceremonial entrance onto the stage was no isolated event. In my reading, this performative moment re-enacted another, seemingly far removed event taking place some 5,996 miles to the east. The genealogy of this event goes back all the way back to where this dissertation began: to Joseph Haydn and his own final public appearance in Vienna two hundred or so years earlier.

Also in a ceremonial manner, the then elderly and frail composer was carried onto the stage in a throne-like armchair, accompanied by trumpet calls, cheering and the sound of his own *Creation*. And as Haydn reached the center of the stage, the *Creation*’s C-major chord erupted from the darkness of the celebrated “Vorstellung des Chaos.” August Griesinger, one of his earliest biographers, described what he referred to as the “triumphal scene” as follows, with Salieri “presiding” at the first performance of *The Creation*:¹⁴

At that place which is imperceptibly prepared, and which suddenly surprises one, progressing with the brightest and most splendid harmonies: “And there was light!” the audience as usual broke into the loudest applause. Haydn made a gesture of the hands heavenward and said, “It comes from there!” For fear that a storm of emotions too long continued might endanger the health of an old man, he allowed himself to be carried away at the end of the first part. He took leave with streaming eyes, and stretched out his hand in blessing to the orchestra.¹⁵

Though their contexts are dissimilar, and, though they belong to very different modernities, the events of Milton Nascimento’s “Last Musical Session” were not unprecedented. It is the claim of

¹² See Romulo Moraes, “Bala Desejo’s “Sim Sim Sim” is a Tale of Narcissism and Privilege,” Pop Matters, November 14, 2022, <https://www.popmatters.com/bala-desejo-sim-sim-sim-2>.

¹³ “Muita gente pensa logo em estética, porque é uma estética orgânica, setentista, e aí já coloca como uma coisa do passado. “Resgate coletivo da nossa geração de fazer arte.” Claudio Leal, “Conheça a Bala Desejo, Banda com Jeito Setentista que Nasceu da Quarentena,” Folha de São Paulo, April, 7 2022, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2022/04/em-sim-sim-sim-banda-bala-desejo-dialoga-com-a-vanguarda-dos-anos-1970.shtml>.

¹⁴ See *Magasin Encyclopédique* (Paris, November 1810), 344, 353, 366: ‘les traits de l’envie que ses succès excitèrent’; ‘les personnes sensibles au charme de la musique, combloient Haydn de prévenances délicates ou d’éloges dictés par l’enthousiasme’; and ‘scène triomphale’.

¹⁵ Georg August Griesinger, “Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn, [1810],” Vernon Gotwals (trans.), *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 1-66.

this chapter that the entrance of the Brazilian “genius” may be read as one within a long genealogy of events involving the final on-stage appearance of a celebrated musician.

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What exactly is at play in last public appearances such as these? Chapter 1 has shown that such events worked in the service of immortality. While these performances displayed the elderly musicians’ frail bodies, they did not remind audiences of the ephemerality of their flesh. Rather, the set of final public appearances to which Nascimento’s concert belongs serve to cement the status of the musician as a canonical figure of a given musical tradition. As one commentator put it, in the “Last Musical Session,” “Nascimento emerged as “an immortal [person] walking through the earth.”¹⁶ In his work on memorialization, Joseph Roach argues that performances produce memory by distinguishing between the performer’s two bodies: a mortal body whose daily movements and mannerisms are largely forgotten, and a performing body whose movements are recorded extensively and remain unforgotten even after death. In my adaptation of Roach’s theory, the figure of the musician acquires a natural ephemeral body on the one hand, and a lasting performing body on the other.¹⁷

As a medium operating between the world of the living and that of the dead, Nascimento has been a prominent commentator on the deaths of famous musicians. Before the Berkeley performance of his own “Maria, Maria,” a song largely popularized in Brazil by Elis Regina, Nascimento “dedicated this song to Elis, one of the great loves of my life.”¹⁸ At the Mineirão performance on 13 November 2022, Nascimento honored another musical icon of Brazilian popular music: the singer Gal Costa, a long-term musical collaborator who had died only four days before the final performance of his “Last Music Session” tour. In fact, Nascimento’s performance was preceded by a memorial to Costa, one that involved a series of images of the late singer through the course of her career, projected alongside her notable recordings. A caretaker of death and memory, Nascimento provided commentary on the death of singer-songwriter Rita Lee in May 2023 and posted on Instagram a duet between himself and Lee in a performance of her song “Mania de Você” live at Globo TV in 1998.¹⁹

I should clarify why I am drawing a connection between these final public appearances. More than a mere (and European) instantiation of this scene, Haydn’s music emerged at a watershed moment in eighteenth-century aesthetics and modern thinking, one that has been mythologized over and over again as an original or epistemic threshold in the modern musical imagination.²⁰ We might recall from Chapter 1 that Haydn was a “first,” in so many senses of the term. We might remember that processes of canonization were far more than a purely intra-European phenomenon, involving large numbers of diverse peoples, and extending out across the transatlantic world and beyond. Decades before Beethoven grew to prominence, at the outset of the nineteenth century, Haydn was among the most celebrated composers in Europe and scholars

¹⁶ See Lari Reis, “Milton Nascimento e a Máquina de Fazer Emoções,” *Yellowevershine*, November 24, 2022, <https://yellowevershine.com.br/2022/11/14/milton-nascimento-e-a-maquina-de-fazer-emocoos/>. “Um imortal caminhando pela terra.”

¹⁷ Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 29.

¹⁸ “Dedico essa música para Elis Regina, um grande amor da minha vida.”

¹⁹ Milton Nascimento, Instagram, May 9, 2023, <https://www.instagram.com/miltonbitucanascimento/>.

²⁰ See, for instance, Nicholas Mathew, *The Haydn Economy: Music, Aesthetics, and Commerce in the Late Eighteenth-Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2022).

have deemed him as the first European-wide musical celebrity. (Recall that earlier major composers such as J. S. Bach hardly reached the same popularity as Haydn did during his lifetime and in the years immediately following his death).²¹

Research has also shown that Haydn was among the first of European composers to be remembered publicly and memorialized.²² His death in 1809 saw a surge in public acts of memorialization dedicated to him: from Chapter 1, we can also recall a stone memorial imprinted with the words “non omnis moriar,” which Sigismund Neukomm placed at Haydn’s tomb in Vienna, as well as Joaquim Le Breton’s posthumous *éloge historique*, a eulogy dedicated to Haydn’s memory that was read aloud in the biannual public sessions at the Paris Institut de France and printed in newspapers and magazines.²³

Like Haydn, Nascimento was also made immortal before his death. TV Globo’s footage of his final performance at the Mineirão shows audiences clothed with T-shirts and hats engraved with Nascimento’s face and name. Beyond these souvenirs or receptacles of nostalgia is a memorial embedded in the flesh in the form of an intricate arm tattoo with the *Clube da Esquina* album cover art, as another segment of this footage shows. The footage also records attendees speaking about the event as history, which is to say that, as it was happening, it was a “historical record,” already a part of the archive. Also, as per the Haydn archetype, the many forms of memorialization at play in this “Last Musical Session” addressed his impending death in a self-conscious manner. As he was about to embark on his massive tour, Nascimento released an official YouTube video announcing the event and taking viewers through a brief timeline of his musical career. “I am looking forward to embarking on this “travessia” together,” the eighty-year-old musician said in a reference to his and Fernando Brant’s song “Travessia” (“Crossings”)—words, apparently, meant to reflect on his career as well as his looming death.²⁴ His final concert, one more commentator suggested, “reflected on the proximity of death, which was creatively elaborated as a celebration of life.”²⁵

There is something else at play in Nascimento’s performance. The dramatic shift that took place as he reached his seat onstage—the visual and sonic shift from darkness to light so far

²¹ See Chapter 2 of Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon’s Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn* (London: Routledge, 2001).

²² The Creation moment, indeed, has supplied the watershed moment for several music-analytical traditions (whether Schenkerian, New Musicological, Topical, or Media-Conscious). See, for example, Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis* (Oxford: 1937), V, 114-27; Heinrich Schenker, “The Representation of Chaos from Haydn’s *Creation*,” trans. Drabkin et al, *The Masterwork in Music II* (Cambridge: 1996 [1926]), 97-105; Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (New York: 1972), 370-3; Lawrence Kramer, “Haydn’s Chaos, Schenker’s Order; Or, Hermeneutics and Musical Analysis: Can They Mix?” *19th-Century Music* 16/1 (1992), 3-17; James Webster, “The Sublime and the Pastoral in *The Creation*,” *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Clark (Cambridge, 2005), 150-63; Emily I. Dolan, “The Work of the Orchestra in Haydn’s *Creation*,” *19th-Century Music* 34/1 (2010), 3-38.

²³ See Joaquim Le Breton, *Notícia Histórica da Vida e das Obras de José Haydn*, translated “by an amateur,” ed. Paulo Mugayar Kühl [1820] (São Paulo: Ateliê Editorial, 2004).

²⁴ “Eu espero fazer essa “Travessia” junto.” Milton Nascimento, “Milton Nascimento - A Última Sessão de Música,” YouTube, May 15, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=buVoDfQMfdE&list=TLGGkuXFjJfjqkEzMDA3MjAyMw&t=3s>.

²⁵ “A proximidade da morte, criativamente elaborada como uma celebração de vida.” Daniel Brazil, “A Despedida de Milton Nascimento,” *A Terra é Redonda*, November 16, 2022, <https://aterraeredonda.com.br/a-despedida-milton-nascimento/>.

described—engaged a similarly Haydnian intersection between the twin notions of immortal author and divine genius. For those of Haydn’s time, as we saw in Chapter 1, Haydn reception crucially linked the notion of the original act of creation with [that of] divine creation.²⁶ To recall Griesinger’s words: as *The Creation* turned from dark to light, “Haydn made a gesture of the hands heavenward and said, “It comes from there!” For fear that a storm of emotions too long continued might endanger the health of an old man, he allowed himself to be carried away at the end of the first part.”²⁷ A number of French musicians who had sent Haydn a medal of appreciation spoke of Haydn’s music along similar lines. “When in his work HAYDN imitates the FIRE OF HEAVEN, he seems to have portrayed himself, and thus persuades us all that his name will shine fully as long as the stars whose rays he seems to have absorbed.”²⁸

Likewise, for audiences, Nascimento’s performance prepared the stage for an otherworldly revelation. As he sat in stillness, singing at times but largely supported by Ibarra, Nascimento’s final utterances appeared to surpass the worldly labors frequently associated with musical performance. The evidence of digital ethnography in online chat forums and elsewhere shows that, over and over, fans suggest that a canonical figure of Brazilian popular music such as himself never needed to “prove” his musical abilities. Rather, his presence or “being there” was already enough of a god-given gift. Anonymous YouTube user @marcosandre4193 wrote that “He doesn’t need to prove anything to anyone. [We should just] be thankful for his presence.”²⁹ The online consensus is that Nascimento’s immortality is secured. Like Haydn, Nascimento’s final public appearances positioned him in the realm between life and death by tying notions of musical genius with those about an original, godly creator. This is to say that Nascimento’s godliness in his last public performances is not as exceptional as the modern idea of “creation” suggests. (I take “creativity” to mean a god-like facility to make music *ex nihilo*, and “creation” to be a quasi-divine and original act.) Rather, these perceptions of him carry with them a longer history that may be traced all the way back to a much-mythologized moment in the birth of modern music. Note that the same is not true for all performances by celebrated musicians: Joni Mitchell’s 2022 public appearance at the Newport Music Festival after her 2015 brain aneurysm has sparked similar attention. This is “the stuff of legend,” journalist Vanessa Romo suggested.³⁰ But when compared to Nascimento’s ritual performance, which engages the role of death in the production of public memory, Mitchell later described her performance as a “return to infancy.”³¹

The overarching popular perception of Nascimento as a semi-divine presence owes much to a comment supposedly made by Elis Regina. Recall that, through the course of his career, Nascimento has been known as the possessor of the “voice of God” after singer Elis Regina

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

²⁷ Griesinger, “Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn,” 1-66

²⁸ Cited in Emily Dolan, “The Work of the Orchestra in Haydn’s *Creation*,” *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 34/1 (2010), 3-38.

²⁹ “Ele não precisa provar nada pra ninguém, e só agradecer a presença dele.” Karen Kampana, “Milton Nascimento em Londres 2022,” YouTube, June 22, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cB6ukr6Ah94>.

³⁰ Vanessa Romo, “Here’s Why Joni Mitchell’s Performance at the Newport Folk Festival is so Incredible,” NPR, 26 July, 26 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/07/26/1113608539/joni-mitchell-newport-folk-festival-aneurysm>.

³¹ *Ibid.*

supposedly said that “if God could sing, he would have the voice of Milton Nascimento.”³² This statement has been quoted repeatedly, appearing in YouTube videos and comments as well as newspaper articles in both Portuguese and English. Writer Pedro Tierra, for example, has recently repeated it by saying that “the voice of Milton Nascimento is material proof of the existence of God.”³³ In a commentary that was packed with superlatives and echoed notions of cosmic harmony, Tierra spoke of Nascimento’s voice as the “most ‘in-tune’ voice in the world.” While commentators such as Tierra offer little musical specificity to their remarks, Elis was referring to the clear, crystalline falsetto that became part of his signature singing style early on and which we argued was synonymous with Nascimento’s celebrity.

As a broad cultural phenomenon, scholars have argued that the godliness of the high male voice harkens all the way back to the voices of male castrati. Engaging in a discussion that spans all the way from castrati’s singing to the falsettos of twentieth-century singers, Freya Jarman has posited the sounds of castrati as precursors to twentieth-century falsetto male voices.³⁴ Martha Feldman, in turn, argues that, like so-called “falsetto” singers, castrati’s high voices were also associated with notions of “divine singing.” Representational imagery pertaining to their singing imbued them with the symbolic characteristics of angels and associated them with celestial beings and heavenly creatures.³⁵ Operating according to the world of the intermundane, for Feldman, castrati were perceived as guardians of the dead.³⁶ What is more, and as Feldman shows, castrati’s alterity—defined by their genital mutilation—ensured their association with otherworldly or monstrous creatures. As Casanova wrote, “mutilation had turned [the castrato] into a monster, but all the qualities that embellished him made him into an angel.”³⁷ Note the link between an uncanny form of musical skill and notions of monstrosity: as James Davies has suggested, so-called “divine geniuses” were frequently linked with ideas of alterity, broadly speaking: “genius” performers were “maniac” and associated with horror and notions of monstrosity.³⁸ Brazilians, too, have often referred to exceptional musicians as “monsters.” Nascimento, in particular, has been associated with monstrosity, as user @marcosandre4193 continued to show; he referred to Nascimento as a “sacred monster” (“monstro sagrado.”)³⁹

³² “Se Deus cantasse, ele teria a voz de Milton Nascimento.”

³³ Rede TVT, “A voz de Milton Nascimento é prova material da existência de Deus,” YouTube, May 21, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kWEDoE34OnY>.

³⁴ Freya Jarman-Ivens (ed.), *Oh Boy! Masculinities and Popular Music* (London: Routledge, 2014). Other commentators have spoken about the creepy, pseudo-castrato sound of the *Beach Boys*’ falsettos in “God Only Knows.”

³⁵ See in particular Chapter 1 of Martha Feldman, *The Castrato: Reflections on Natures and Kinds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 29. According to Martha Feldman, this representational imagery owes to the castrato’s sacrificial cycle.

³⁶ Castrati were assigned to sing over the bodies of dead children. Feldman, *The Castrato*, 29-31. Jarman and Feldman have discussed the transhistorical connections at work between castrati and twentieth-century falsetto voices in their 2022 panel entitled “Folded Time, Shifting Borders: Towards New Castrato Histories.” (International Musicological Society, 2022).

³⁷ See Feldman, *The Castrato*, 30.

³⁸ See James Davies, *Creatures of the Air: Music, Atlantic Spirits, Breath, 1817-1819* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022) [Forthcoming].

³⁹ @marcosandre4193 refers to Milton as a “sacred monster” (“monstro sagrado.”) Karen Kampana, “Milton Nascimento em Londres 2022,” YouTube, June 22, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cB6ukr6Ah94>.

Yet in its own musical milieu, Nascimento's falsetto fascinated audiences with his singing in a way that other musicians of his time had not. For critic Martha Ulhôa de Carvalho, the distinctiveness of Nascimento's falsetto was such that "a listener will recognize first Nascimento's voice and then his singing style. Although his style of composition is quite unique, sometimes it is more difficult to identify a tune by Milton Nascimento when it is sung by another interpreter."⁴⁰ His song "San Vicente," which was written in collaboration with lyricist Fernando Brandt and first appeared in the 1972 album *Clube da Esquina*, makes remarkable use of his falsetto. The words of "San Vicente" borrow from Jose Vicente's play *Os Convalescentes (The Convalescents)*, which tells the story of an imaginary city laboring under a military coup. (The play, written in 1969, was banned from the stage throughout the period of Emílio Garrastazu Médici's regime.) By concealing revolutionary meaning in a cloud of metaphorical language, famously, Brandt managed to avoid censorship; and in what was probably yet another covert reference to those who were murdered and tortured during the regime, Nascimento dedicated his live 1974 performance of the song to "the several others taken by the hand of god."⁴¹

In the song, Nascimento's crystalline falsetto stands out immediately. He opens with these words:

Coração americano
Acordei de um sonho estranho
Um gosto vidro-e-corte
Um sabor de chocolate

(American heart / I woke up from a strange dream / A taste of glass and cuts / A flavor of chocolate)⁴²

Operating within a simple, stepwise and gently rising melody accompanied by solo guitar, Nascimento gently ornaments the syllabic text of this first verse. The song builds in volume, dynamics, and intensity in the second verse, while the guitar assumes a new percussive role endemic to the flamenco and a range of hispano-american genres. As the song climaxes even further in the third verse, now with a clapping accompaniment characteristic of the Argentinian and Bolivian *chacarera*, Nascimento begins to improvise more freely with melismatic melodic lines that are rarely found in the work of other late twentieth-century Brazilian musical genres. His live 2013 recording erupts in long, improvised wordless vocalizations that break in and out of falsetto, before the song dissolves softly by rising upward into the falsetto register.⁴³ For one commentator, "It was like Milton was a down-side-up sky diver. He jumped out of the plane and instead of floating to earth with an open parachute, he soared upward, and higher, and just zoomed around like gravity wasn't nothing [sic] real."⁴⁴ In other words, the broad consensus that characterized Nascimento as a semi-divine presence in his "Last Music Session" owes in part to perceptions of his "godly" falsetto, the latter being a form of representational imagery that has

⁴⁰ Martha Ulhôa de Carvalho, "Canção da América—Style and Emotion in Brazilian Popular Song," *Popular Music*, 9/3 (1990), 321-349; 332.

⁴¹ "A muitos outros que a mão de deus leva." Milton Nascimento and Som Imaginário (1974). *Milagre Dos Peixes (Gravado Ao Vivo)* [Album]. EMI Records.

⁴² Milton Nascimento and Lô Borges. (1972). *Clube da Esquina* [Album]. EMI Records.

⁴³ Milton Nascimento. (2013). *Milton Nascimento: Original Album Series* [Album]. Warner Music Brazil.

⁴⁴ Bill Withers, "San Vicente," Kalamu May 16, 2022, <https://www.kalamu.com/bol/2008/08/04/milton-nascimento-”san-vicente”/>.

circulated widely after Elis Regina supposedly made her declaration. The “Last Musical Session” shows us, once again, that canonization is not a purely secular operation, cleansed of superstition or belief. It shows that canonizing performances—whether Haydn’s or Nascimento’s—are intrinsically connected to rites of passage, thus undoing traditional divides between concert and sacred ritual that have characterized much of music scholarship—and that have played a role in the separation between the methods of historical musicology and ethnographic-based ethnomusicological studies.

At the UC Theater Berkeley performance, Nascimento’s entrance and exit from the stage was accompanied by his own “Tambores de Minas” (“Minas Drums,”) harking back to a 1997 performance produced in conjunction with choreographer Gabriel Vilela and released as an album and DVD in 2003.⁴⁵ At these points of the performance, the intricate mantle inspired by the work of Arthur Bispo do Rosario became visible. Nascimento’s was a “tunic for an immortal [person],” as designer Ronaldo Fraga stated in an interview. Milton appears as a kingly and divine figure: “he is a shaman, he is an entity, he is a semi-god” and must be dressed as an immortal,” Fraga continued.⁴⁶ Nascimento’s “Tambores de Minas” is a homage to the congado tradition, a syncretic ritual developed by the secret societies of Yoruba slaves and popularized in the states of Minas Gerais and Maranhão since colonial times. To be clear, the congados that Nascimento refers to here are rituals rooted in particular brotherhoods’ myths of origin. For example, the narrative told by members of the community of the Kingdom of Jatobá details the apparition of Our Lady of the Rosary in the sea in an indeterminate era in the Brazilian colony. While white men could not retrieve her from the waters, it was the music, dancing, and divinations of the African and Afro-Brazilian enslaved that brought the Lady out and made her the patron saint of that community.⁴⁷

Popularized to this day, the practice of congados memorialized by Milton does not indicate a process of social death or the annihilation of cultural memory. Rather, and to quote John Thornton’s words, it suggests that Afro-diasporic culture was not surviving in the Americas: it was *arriving* (my italics) as it was transformed and adapted itself to its new environment in ways that could not have been predicted.⁴⁸ If the transatlantic slave trade propelled forms of cultural fragmentation, rupture, and multiple instances of forgetting, Nascimento’s “Final Music Session” encodes endeavors to remember: to regenerate and keep Afro-Brazilian memory alive. As Nascimento left the stage for one final time, audiences heard the closing moment of the 1997 “Tambores de Minas” recording. Milton uttered the words “seus tambores nunca se calarão”: the Minas drums will never succumb to silence.

⁴⁵ *Globo*, 22 May 2022. <https://g1.globo.com/fantastico/noticia/2022/05/22/milton-nascimento-fala-sobre-a-despedida-dos-palcos-vou-parar-de-fazer-show-mas-nao-vou-parar-de-compor-nem-de-cantar.ghtml>. Accessed 2 July 2023.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Leda Martins, *Afrografias da Memória: O Reinado do Rosário no Jatobá* (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1997). The ritual begins with the opening of the doors of the community chapel, followed by a liminal stage where a series of choreographies and gestures focus on the symbol of the crossroad and signal the congadeiros encounter with dangerous spirits. What Victor Turner refers to as *communitas* is achieved at last: participants break into song and join one another for a closing feast. The doors of the chapel are solemnly closed, marking the closing of the Kingdom.

⁴⁸ John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 320.

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