

CROSS-DRESSED POETICS: LESSONS AND LIMITS OF GENDER TRANSGRESSIONS
IN BRAZILIAN POPULAR MUSIC

By

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To my parents, Sylvio and Marisa

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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This thesis examines manifestations and implications of gender transgression in Brazilian popular music from c. 1966 until c. 2006. In late twentieth-century MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*) sexually ambiguous performances destabilize fixed gender identities, question established notions of masculinity and femininity and provide a site where artists and audiences can challenge heteronormativity. Focusing on verbal and non-verbal aspects of musical discourse of select contemporary singers and songwriters, I investigate the ways in which their works subvert and/or assert Brazilian society's hegemonic (hetero)sexist ideas.

Influenced by the international counterculture movements, young Brazilian music-makers were committed to fighting a double source of oppression: the moral traditions of Brazilian society, as well as the repression posed by the authoritarian military dictatorship (1964–1985). Successive generations followed the artistic lead of Chico Buarque and Tropicalist Caetano Veloso and have consistently defied hegemonic discursive practices in relation to gender and sexuality. Analysis of performances and lyrics produced over the past forty years reveals how the practice of cross-dressed poetics and the creation of ambiguous stage personae have contributed to the questioning of patriarchal values, female submission, masculine and feminine standards

and the exclusivity of heterosexuality. Nevertheless, exhaustive repetition within commodity culture and social dynamics pose a limit to the subversive potential of such artistic utterances. The fact that those defiant experiences occur in a select, carnivalized public space means that they do not necessarily translate into acceptance of personal gender transgressions or into sexual politics, and the preference in Brazil continues to be to keep unconventional sexuality as the “unspeakable.”

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis examines manifestations and implications of gender transgression in a central field of expressive culture in Brazil. In late twentieth-century Brazilian popular music sexually ambiguous performances destabilize fixed gender identities, question established notions of masculinity and femininity and provide a site where artists and audiences can challenge heteronormativity, which will be defined fully below. Focusing on verbal and non-verbal aspects of musical discourse—lyrics, sound structure, and artistic performance, live / recorded—of select contemporary Brazilian singers and songwriters, I investigate in which ways their works subvert and/or assert Brazilian society’s hegemonic (hetero)sexist ideas. The verbal discourses contained in the songs examined in this investigation are readily accessible, as vocals are clear and understandable. Musical arrangements never interfere with aural comprehension (as it can in certain genres, such as dance music, heavy rock and others). The analysis of relevant artistic cases during a forty-year span, from c.1966 until c.2006, intends to demonstrate how a cross-dressed poetics manifest itself in composition and performance. Once established, each case of critique will be complemented by discussion of its impact on society on a broader level, according to the period of occurrence. A guiding hypothesis for the present investigation is that despite the significant gains in proposing new and less rigid notions of gender and sexuality, the traditional way Brazilian society operates poses a limit on the subversive potential of such artistic utterances, which often tend to be confined to and understood as part of a carnivalized space.

Several key terms are introduced in this preamble and will be used throughout the chapters to follow. Most have been incorporated into discourses of gender and queer studies over the last several decades. *Heteronormativity* should be understood as those punitive rules (social, familial, and legal) that compel individuals to conform to dominant (hegemonic) heterosexual

standards for identity. The term is a short version of *normative heterosexuality*.

Heteronormativity is strictly correlated to gender conformity and rigid boundaries that separate feminine from masculine. The common-sense notion is that gender is a sign of sexual orientation, and policing gender functions as a way to secure heterosexuality. *Sexist* refers to having strict definitions of what pertains to female and male, often with implied bias. In the binary opposition between feminine and masculine, the latter tends to enjoy a privileged position. *Heterosexist* is, in turn, a similar rigid and hierarchical separation of heterosexual and homosexual. The terms *carnivalized* and *carnivalesque* derive from the Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin. They will be used here in regards to artistic expression that incorporates aspects of the rituals of carnival, such as eccentricity, role inversions, and violations of generally accepted behaviors. When referring to Brazilian society, carnivalization also incorporates Roberto da Matta's idea that social life embodies the ambivalences symbolized in the rituals of carnival, as well as double moral and behavioral standards that separate public conduct from private life. As for *patriarchy*, the term is here taken to mean a social system established on the basis of the difference between masculinity and femininity, where men's power stands in opposition to women's subjection. A conventional patriarchal relationship should be understood as having clear definitions of gender roles; both men and women are supposed to obey these rules. The adjective *androcentric* does not refer to human in general, rather it is used as applied in feminist theory and criticism, as a synonym for male-centered, i.e., with respect to notions or discourses created by men which presuppose male intellectual authority, denying female articulation. *Gender trouble*, which is the title of Judith Butler's most influential publication, refers to identities that do not conform to the established notions of feminine and masculine. Although the term *queer* has been adopted for political purposes as referring to gay people, in the present

study it is being used in a broader sense as identities that defy labeling and project attributes of both genders and distinct sexualities, not necessarily in a linear correlation. A distinction must also be made between *performativity* and *performance*: according to Butler, while the latter presupposes a subject and is volitional, the former denies the subject and is a compulsory repetition of established behavioral codes that ends up creating the category which it names. *Gender performativity* follows society's conventions and, through an exhaustive and controlled repetition, creates and solidifies gender categories themselves. These terms will occur in what follows with respect to composition (of music and/or lyrics), public presentation of songs, and reception of the same, by audiences and critics alike.

Among the innovations introduced in Brazilian popular music in the 1960s was a challenge to traditionally stable gender identities. Noted artists essayed a new poetics with license for sexual ambiguities. With such modifications, those involved in music-making as well as their audiences carved out a socially acceptable space for gender transgressions that could permit destabilization of fixed identities and of the exclusivity of heterosexist discourses. In the late 1960s and early 1970s in Brazil, urban middle-class popular music was a site for major cultural transformations. With the emergence of the trend known by the acronym MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*) c. 1966 several shifts in musical expression were consolidated. Changes were inspired both by political activism, prominent since 1962, and by international ideas of counterculture, which began to arrive in Brazil soon after their emergence abroad, primarily in the United States and England. For its part, MPB first developed under a nationalist flag, embracing "authentic" Brazilian popular music; acoustically-based songs were composed in opposition to romantic pop and rock 'n' roll. Such an approach was held by some to comprise a rejection of cultural imperialism. A strict distinction between "committed" and "alienated"

production did not last long in the late 1960s, years of vibrant creativity and reinvention. The musical movement known as Tropicália (which burst upon the scene in late 1967) played a major role in the blurring of lines between supposedly opposing musical camps. Since the early 1960s, Brazilian youth had been expressing desires for social, political and behavioral change, and the work of young Tropicalist artists spoke to such a situation. This avant-garde within MPB was marked by an overall strategy to query and to challenge received cultural values. The group broadened the meaning of MPB with the incorporation of elements of rock 'n' roll and other unaccustomed material, establishing a hybridism that would become a significant aspect of Brazilian popular music. With sexually ambiguous performances and adoption of androgynous motifs, the movement's leading artists also played major roles in defying traditional notions of gender through art. In the development of alternative gender approaches in popular music, Chico Buarque, for most the leading figure of MPB, and Tropicalist Caetano Veloso stand as the most relevant names. Each artist projects a distinctive kind of gender trouble, and they still serve as models for successive generations of artists. Their main innovations were the adoption of a different gender point of view, thematic paradigm changes, and the construction of sexually ambivalent stage personae.

Recognizing the centrality of his contributions, Chapter 2 examines Chico Buarque's creation of female poetic personae and offers an analysis of the ways in which the artist challenged gender thematic patterns, confronting the androcentric canon of popular music. Since as early as 1965 Buarque has made original compositions adopting a woman's point of view and exploring new subject matters. He questioned patriarchal attitudes and expressed a variety of female subjectivities through such personae as the mother, the lover, the prostitute, and the lesbian. He subverted the established strict co-relation in popular music between the gender of

the singer and the poetic “I.” Buarque not only composed songs from a woman’s point of view, he performed them from a female perspective as well. The singer-songwriter established an inspiring example for new generations, and the most relevant cases will be examined in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 covers male singers and songwriters who were encouraged by Buarque’s artistic lead, and, through the incorporation of international countercultural ideas, projected new models of masculinity. In this regard, Caetano Veloso can be considered the most productive name in MPB. As co-leader of *tropicalismo*, with Gilberto Gil, he contributed to an overall renovation of themes and also adopted a female point of view as singer/songwriter. More uniquely, Veloso brought to Brazilian popular music the concept of a sexually-ambivalent stage persona. He should be noted as the artist responsible for queering the MPB scenario. Since 1968, he has consistently assumed publicly a personal image that resists fixed gender identities and labeling, and, distinct from Buarque, his artistic persona is frequently associated with his private life. Sexually-ambiguous stage personae have also been adopted by other noted male artists, especially vocalist Ney Matogrosso and singer-songwriter Gilberto Gil. The use of stage personae to challenge heterosexism gained full expression in the work of Matogrosso, who began performing in the early 1970s and would become the first singer of mainstream MPB to discuss openly his homosexuality. He mocked heterosexual and homophobic discourses through original gay and drag performances. His ever-changing masquerades were creative hybrids of emerging androgynous aesthetics with iconography from Brazilian nature, which served his purpose of contesting the perception of homosexuality as “unnatural.” For his part, Gil explored androgyny and spiritual fusion of masculine-feminine principles through lyrics and musical vehicles. Along with Veloso, Gil also played a major role in challenging the privileges of heterosexuality.

Chapter 4 deals with the innovations achieved by select female vocalists and songwriters. Increased general interest in women's issues in MPB, along with a more progressive social and political context, helped to create opportunities for a new generation of female music-makers. In the late 1970s and the 1980s women songwriters found space to challenge patriarchy, and to probe diverse female subjectivities, not necessarily constructed in relation to men or to their roles as romantic partners. Talented songsmiths such as Joyce, Ana Terra, Fátima Guedes and Ângela Rô Rô dealt with themes such as motherhood, domestic violence, and lesbianism. Mainstream female vocalists also contributed to the projection of new models of femininity. Tropicalists Maria Bethânia and Gal Costa gained acceptance for performances that included maintenance of masculine poetic "I" of the original compositions. In the years to come, more radical alternatives would be explored. In the 1980s artists such as Simone, Marina Lima, Sandra de Sá and Ângela Rô Rô suggested lesbianism or bisexuality, forcefully projecting sexual ambivalence. They also subverted hegemonic discourses through the provocative performance of traditional *machista* or homophobic songs. The works of younger artists such as Adriana Calcanhoto and others prove that gender subversions continued to take place within MPB from the 1990s until the mid 2000s. Singer-songwriter Ana Carolina constitutes an interesting case of gender-role inversion, as she has consistently adopted an unusual masculine poetic "I" in composition and performance alike.

Having determined the practice of cross-dressed poetics over the final decades of the twentieth century, the concluding chapter discusses musical activity in broader social perspective. Assuming that the artistic practice of unconventional gender and sexuality does not necessarily translate into sexual politics, questions are raised about the subversive potential of sexually-ambiguous performances. In this regard, it is important to consider the ways in which artists deal with public and personal boundaries, by adopting attitudes that confront or reinforce

heteronormativity. In the analysis of the social and political limitations of deviating performances, it is also essential to bear in mind their carnivalesque nature, which informs the way they are culturally absorbed. The carnivalizing tradition of Brazilian society, where double moral standards prevail, sets limits on these defiant discourses, which may be accepted as transient hierarchical and behavioral inversions. In this sense, general theories of the development of Brazilian society also help to put gender issues in music into perspective and to bring into relief the limited effects of such performances.

This thesis concerns in a general way two areas of inquiry within which there are substantial resources: Brazilian popular music and gender studies. As for the much more specific angle of investigation that orients the present work—the intersection of popular-music and gender studies in the case of one nation—extant materials are relatively limited. There is an extensive bibliography on the contemporary Brazilian popular music known as MPB, which garnered special attention during its emergence in the sixties and became a defined area of interest for both national and international scholars from a variety of disciplines. Along with theses and other scholarly works, popular-press publications are also widely available: songbooks with studies, biographies, memoirs, periodical interviews and articles, and, since the mid-1990s, websites. One non-academic source should be highlighted for its extensive research on sexuality and gender representations in popular music: *História sexual da MPB: a evolução do amor e do sexo na canção brasileira* (2006) by journalist Rodrigo Faour. This volume contains close to six hundred pages of musical examples dealing with related themes since the 1920s. The book also provides numerous interviews with artists, topically-organized lists of songs and pages dedicated to album-cover illustrations since the 1950s. As for scholarly publications per se, there are few specific sources that tackle gender issues head on and/or focus

on the sexually transgressive nature of some prominent singer-songwriters' performances. Scattered references are largely superficial or limited in scope, continuing to emphasize more celebrated aspects of Brazilian popular music, such as political impact and the appropriation of foreign material. It is fair to say that a gap exists in critical coverage. Major publications that deal with homosexuality in Brazil, such as *Devassos no paraíso* (2000) by João Silvério Trevisan and James Green's *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (1999) do in fact look at unconventional musical expressions and their contributions toward defying hegemonic heterosexual discourses on a broader social level.

As a general overview of the history of Brazilian popular music, José Ramos Tinhorão's *Pequena história da música popular: da modinha à canção de protesto* (1978) is useful, as it provides explanations of the origins and development of the main genres of popular music within social and cultural contexts, although there is no specifically relevant information on issues of gender. In the fifth revised edition (1986), Tinhorão, known as one of the most prolific and rigorous investigators of the field, goes beyond the seventies and includes coverage of genres that had gained more widespread popularity, such as country music, though gender is still scarcely considered. In the recent scholarly literature produced in Brazil, the collection *Decantando a República: inventário histórico e político da canção popular moderna brasileira* (Cavalcante et al., ed., 2004) exemplifies different disciplinary approaches to popular music, offering historical, political, and sociological perspectives, including gender angles. Maria Célia Paoli's essay "Os amores citadinos e a ordenação do mundo pária: as mulheres, as canções e seus poetas" examines how male songwriters have presented the everyday life of ordinary people, mostly in regards to love and intimacy. The author explores the ways in which popular song lyrics illustrate how men dealt with women's changing roles in the Brazilian society. Another

recent multidisciplinary compilation, *Ao encontro da palavra cantada – poesia, música e voz* (Matos et al., ed., 2001) tackles popular songs as cultural artifacts that can be analyzed from a variety of theoretical perspectives, from musicology and ethnomusicology, to anthropology, history, literature, and semiotics. In “Dicções malandras do samba,” Cláudia Matos develops the theme of gender relations within urban samba and presents the most frequent female stereotypes depicted in this musical genre. Manoel Berlinck’s article “Sossega leão! Algumas considerações sobre o samba como forma de cultura popular” (1976) was a landmark study in this regard; it was the first academic study to analyze the roles of women in early urban samba (from the 1920s to the early 1960s).

As for Anglophone studies, *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization* (2001), edited by Charles A. Perrone and Christopher Dunn, is a valuable source of general information, especially about contemporary musical movements in the Brazilian Northeast, including Bahia. Various articles therein, whether concerned with Tropicália or more current musical phenomena such as Funk, are sensitive to gender articulations. With respect to the generation of Buarque, Veloso, Gil per se, Perrone’s seminal study *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song: MPB 1965-1985* (1989) follows in many ways lines established by Brazilian critics Augusto de Campos and Affonso Romano de Sant’anna, crossing the bridge between literature and popular culture and analyzing popular songs as artifacts with both general cultural and specifically literary significance. *Masters* contains significant analysis of social and political conjuncture, and specifically with regards to gender, there are two pivotal references: Buarque’s creation of female lyrical personae and Gil’s poetic motif of gender fusion.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Brazilian countercultural movements made serial reflections on Brazilian popular music, as studied by Christopher Dunn. His definitive account

Brutality Garden: Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture (2001) covers this specific musical movement, its interrelations with other arts, its Afro-Diasporic connections, and its broad cultural legacy. Among the attitudes that emerged in the late 1960s, Dunn specifically notes an insubordination with respect to the rigidity of categories of gender and sexuality, which was instigated by North American and European youth movements. He illustrates how Veloso and Gil expressed gender ambiguity, androgyny and homosociability. The author believes that the presence of homoeroticism in their works opened debates and criticized the Brazilian construction of masculinity.

Within the international academy since 1990s there has been an increased interest in gender and sexuality as represented in popular culture. For the purposes of the present research, the most useful items are those that illustrate approaches to gender transgressions per se. Sheila Whiteley, who has been one of the most consistent investigators in this field, authored *Women and Popular Music: Sexuality, Identity and Subjectivity* (2000), in which she examines examples of alternative gender-identity constructions, androgyny, and sexual ambivalence in the performances of Annie Lennox and k.d. lang. While Whiteley's approach is largely musicological and technical (with a proliferation of notated musical excerpts), it is accessible to non-musically trained readers. Whiteley also edited *Sexing the Groove: Popular Music and Gender* (1997), a compilation that covers a broad range of disciplinary perspectives concerned with the analysis of gender, mainly in British and North American pop, rock, and folk. Essays focused on some sort of gender trouble, such as sexual ambivalence in Mick Jagger's performance and androgyny in k.d. lang's stage personae, generate special interest by offering examples of theoretical approaches for the analysis of unconventional constructions of "femininity" and "masculinity." A clear indication of the vitality of these themes is the special

issue of *Popular Music* (Bradby and Laing, 2001) dedicated to Gender and Sexuality, with articles addressing such themes as homosexuality and homosociality in pop and rock music, sexual ambivalence, and feminism in the performances of various groups. Within English-language academic discourse, the work of Frances Aparicio innovates by focusing on Latin American and U.S. Latino popular music. Her *Listening to Salsa: Gender, Latin Popular Music, and Puerto Rican Cultures* (1998) details the representation of women in songs produced by Puerto Ricans or for this community. Through a feminist “close reading” of the lyrics, along with the analysis of musical performance, the author investigates dominant discourses on gender in genres such as bolero, merengue, and salsa. She proposes to reveal the articulation of gender issues and the ways by which some prominent female singers and songwriters may subvert prevailing stereotypical imaginaries. Much of what she does can be brought to bear on other Latin American musics.

Urban anthropologist Ruben George Oliven conducted research on *malandragem*, comprising the lifestyle and values of urban hustlers, a main feature of modern citified comportment (principally) in Rio de Janeiro. Oliven studied its expression in mid-century Brazilian popular music, and gender relations within this subject. He has offered insightful information on the traditions of male and female representations in the samba. His articles “A malandragem na música popular brasileira” (1984), “The Production and Consumption of Culture in Brazil” (1984) and “‘The Woman Makes (And Breaks) the Man’: The Masculine Imagery in Brazilian Popular Music” (1988) are valuable resources in any investigation that seeks to unravel webs of gender intrigue.

As for gendered angles on late twentieth-century Brazilian popular music, four sources are particularly valuable: Severino João Medeiros Albuquerque, *Tentative Transgressions:*

Homosexuality, AIDS, and the Theater in Brazil (2004); César Braga-Pinto, “Supermen and Chiquita Bacana’s Daughters: Transgendered Voices in Brazilian Popular Music” (2002); Maria Helena Sansão Fontes, *Sem fantasia: masculino-feminino em Chico Buarque* (2003); and Adélia Bezerra de Meneses, *Figuras do feminino na canção de Chico Buarque* (2000). Albuquerque deals with theatrical representations, yet he offers an extremely useful framework to understand gender, sexuality, and transgressive discourses in the realms of the expressive arts. In particular, the author highlights aspects of Brazilian culture or society that should be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the limited effects of unconventional representations. Albuquerque also refers to different genres, including popular music, giving special emphasis, for instance, to the theatricality of Ney Matogrosso’s stage performances. Fontes dedicated a monograph to the examination of Chico Buarque’s unusual lyrical approach to gender and of the ways he subverted the traditions of male-dominated Brazilian songwriters. She details how the singer-songwriter established a new poetic stance by assuming women’s point of view and by challenging common female stereotypes. Meneses is recognized for her extensive research on Chico Buarque, and she can be considered the songwriter’s best critic. The volume *Figuras do Feminino* is entirely dedicated to the examination of Buarque’s poetic motifs in regards to female characters. The critic notes the songwriter’s rupture with traditional gender representation in Brazilian popular music. Her approach gives special attention to affective aspects, the analysis of Buarque’s romantic lyricism, and the ways in which male and female characters and narrators are represented within this theme. Both Meneses and Perrone emphasize the songwriter’s exceptional psychological and emotional insight in regards to gender relations, and more uniquely, to the feminine.

Braga-Pinto's insightful essay "Supermen and Chiquita Bacana's Daughters: Transgendered Voices in Brazilian Popular Music" is the first publication to ponder together the experiences of prominent Brazilian popular musical artists, from the late sixties and younger generations alike, who defied hegemonic and rigid gender identities while promoting the establishment of sexual ambivalence. Braga-Pinto develops this theme from a cultural-studies perspective, adding concepts from queer and gender theories in his analysis of those performances. The author points out that the instability of gender presentations in Brazilian popular music reveals the performative and provisional nature of gender and sexual identity categories. Braga-Pinto also tries to think beyond the stage and extract social meaning from these unusual artistic utterances.

Among the artists investigated in this thesis, Chico Buarque is the one about whom exists the widest range of information and scholarly analysis. About Caetano Veloso and other gender or sexually transgressive singers-songwriters the only significant source available is the article by Braga-Pinto. It is thus necessary to show a consistent pattern of artistic expression in multiple artists during the past forty years to verify a trend. In the chapters that follow, we look at Chico Buarque, Caetano Veloso and a series of male and female singer-songwriters and performers to illuminate the particular phenomena and to evaluate their roles in generating gender trouble.

CHAPTER 2 SHIFTING GENDER AND SEXUAL IDENTITY PARADIGMS

In the subversion of traditional gender approaches in popular music, Chico Buarque, the foremost figure of MPB, and Tropicalist leader Caetano Veloso, stand out as the most prominent names. Each artist conveys a distinct kind of gender trouble, while both destabilize the cultural matrix of gender and sexuality. In this regard both singer-songwriters still inspire new generations of artists. The main contributions of Buarque have been the adoption of different points of view vis-à-vis gender, the creation of female poetic personae and thematic paradigm changes. Chico Buarque's adoption of diverse lyrical personae followed directly from the political commitment he assumed in the aftermath of the military coup of 1964. He represented voices of subaltern and socially marginalized groups, and in his most innovative compositions, from 1966 forward, he frequently adopted a woman's point of view to explore new thematic territory. He regularly questioned patriarchal attitudes and expressed a variety of female subjectivities through characters such as the wife, the mother, the lover, the prostitute and the lesbian.

Scholars have debated Buarque's motivation for assuming women's voices, yet there is a consensus on his attention to female oppression as an expression of his overall sympathy for subaltern groups: "Buarque is noted for his creation of female lyric voices ... and of personae drawn from the marginalized sectors of Brazilian society: the socioeconomically disenfranchised, the exploited proletariat, and the inhabitants of the *favelas*" (Perrone, *Masters* 38). However, different hypotheses have been formulated to explain better his poetic motifs and expressive modes. Steven Butterman (84) proposes that Buarque used allegorical representations and the carnivalesque to defy the military regime and society's oppressive attitudes towards marginalized groups; inverting Brazilian society's rigid hierarchies and questioning the status

quo. The songwriter gave space to traditionally excluded sectors and brought their daily lives to the center in a more sophisticated manner than did the second wave of Bossa Nova and *canção de protesto*. His approach to gender is remarkable, and he created female characters like no other before. Maria Helena Sansão Fontes defends the position that in Buarque's work, beyond his social commitment, there is also the unconscious presence of the "Grand Feminine" archetype, which informs his major creative output, marked by "as imagens arquetípicas do feminino que se manifestam em seus aspectos duais, incluindo a figura acolhedora, maternal, sedutora e sua contraparte devoradora, persecutória e aprisionante" (176). From Fontes' point of view, to those archetypes, the artist adds a concrete perspective based on his own personal experiences. The present analysis of Buarque's lyrics intends to show that even though the songwriter was innovative in the depth and breadth of female representation, and in the portrayal of women's subjectivities beyond androcentric stereotypes, his work reflects a social imaginary with ideas of women as powerful and mysterious beings. Buarque's own words confirm this fascination with women:

A mulher é um grande mistério, tenho uma grande curiosidade em relação à mulher, à alma feminina, de como ela pensa, age. Sou um voyeur ... Gosto de ver como elas se movem, raciocinam, reagem. É sempre uma surpresa ... Sou um curioso exatamente por desconhecer, querer saber e entender, e não entender nunca. (qtd. in Faour 148)

The examination of the considerable material produced by Buarque using female voices indicates an extraordinary sophistication in the construction of identities. His songs are marked by "a depth of perception of emotional, psychological, and social phenomena" (Perrone, *Masters* 1) and "his particular use of feminine voice distinguished his uncommon psychological insight" (Perrone, *Seven* 97). In this sense, his artistic creations in the feminine demonstrate that he has an unusual ability to assume women's points of view, and differently from previous generations of male songwriters, he indeed portrays diverse female subjectivities. He complexifies gender

issues in song like no one else. Prior to the analysis of Buarque's compositions, a brief review of representation of female types in Brazilian popular songs in the generations preceding MPB is being offered in order to understand better the singer-songwriter's main contributions in the subversion of gender representations, of androcentric discourses on women and based on established notions of masculinity.

Representations of Women in Mid-Century Brazilian Popular Music

The majority of studies related to gender representation in Brazilian popular music take the samba as the starting point since it represents the first fully articulated manifestation of vocal urban popular music. Richard Parker asserts that the creative environment for samba has been predominantly male dominated, tending to convey androcentric and sexist discourse, to portray women in a negative manner, according to masculine perspectives:

Samba itself ... is created within a fundamentally male space: the popular bars where the predominantly male composers spend their free time, and where women who wish to avoid being labeled as *putas* or *piranhas* are unlikely to venture. Even the language, the poetry of samba is a kind of male discourse, which often focuses on the suffering and injustice imposed, it is claimed, upon men by women. (154)

Manoel Berlinck's article "Sossega leão! Algumas considerações sobre o samba como forma de cultura popular" (1976) was the first academic study that attempted to map the role of women in early urban samba (c. 1920s–c. 1960s). The author found that there were three basic female stereotypes prevailing in this tradition: "a doméstica," "a piranha" and "a onírica." Women characters were stereotypically divided first by their proper ("home-makers") or improper behavior ("sluts"). The third model was an idealized figure ("dreamboat"), the unreachable muse that inspired the songwriter. The first type—"a mulher doméstica"—represented the dedicated housewife, concerned above all with the home and the well-being of the husband. She was the ideal woman for marriage, submissive and passive, but also a strong maternal figure who had the necessary stability for the maintenance of an ordered life. Ruben

Oliveira concludes that “what characterizes this type of woman, besides her self-sacrifice, is her capacity to provide emotional security for men” (“Woman” 95).

Two emblematic characters became the icons for the “domestic” woman: Emília and Amélia. The song “Emília” (1941) composed by Haroldo Lobo and Wilson Batista, illustrated a male ideal of the perfect housewife; the song concludes treating her essentially as a synonym for the category of *woman*:

Eu quero uma mulher
Que saiba lavar e cozinhar
Que, de manhã cedo
Me acorde na hora de trabalhar
.....
Ninguém sabe igual a ela
Preparar o meu café
Não desfazendo das outras
Emília é mulher.... (qtd. in Berlinck 102)

Using these two characters as examples, Maria Célia Paoli claims that the ideal woman was the one who made men’s life easier: “Os primeiros grandes tipos de mulher que se tornaram populares são o oposto da que tem desejos: é aquela que facilita as coisas” (79). The representation of women found in twentieth-century urban popular music was defined by male composers: it naturally addressed men’s needs and did not intend to portray female subjectivity. The level of resignation of the character in “Ai que saudades da Amélia” (1942) by Ataulfo Alves and Mário Lago was so exemplary that she was referred to as a “true woman.” The aspect of emotional security was also emphasized in the line where she addressed the partner in a maternal way (“meu filho”):

.....
Você só pensa em luxo e riqueza
.....
Ai, meu Deus, que saudades da Amélia
.....
Às vezes passava fome ao meu lado

E achava bonito não ter o que comer
E quando me via contrariado, dizia:
“meu filho que se há de fazer?”
Amélia não tinha a menor vaidade
Amélia é que era mulher de verdade. (qtd. in Berlinck 102)

The song became one of the top ten hits of 1942 (Mello and Severiano). It also became part of the repertoire standards. The two songs established “a comparison with other women who cannot be equal to these two mythical figures” (Oliven, “Woman” 95). This kind of representation was typical of the 1940s and reflected men’s needs in order to survive the hard times of World War II: “A prova de que os tempos tinham mudado, e que os homens sabiam afinal avaliar ... a importância de uma boa companheira disposta a enfrentar corajosamente a seu lado as dificuldades da vida” (Tinhorão, “Música” 8). “Se acaso você chegasse” (1938) by Lupicínio Rodrigues and Felisberto Martins summarizes a man’s expectations about the ideal woman for these times—“De dia (me) lava a roupa / De noite (me) beija a boca....” (qtd. in Berlinck 103). She was the one ready to perform the domestic service and to provide physical affection.

According to Paoli these songs reflect the decline from the 1930s on of the romantic lyricism typical of the first three decades of the twentieth-century. Urban development was the main factor that contributed to a more pragmatic perspective on gender relations. As the cities grew and life became more complex, the ideal woman frequently turned out to be the one capable of providing security in a potentially dangerous environment: “A figura da mulher cantada pelo compositor popular é o caminho pelo qual se reflete sobre o amor e ... sobre a possibilidade do lar como um lugar reconhecido de intimidade a partir do qual se pode habitar a cidade moderna” (Paoli 77).

The second stereotype defined by Berlinck was the opposite of the ideal housewife: “a piranha” (“the slut”). As the author analyses, this kind of representation complements masculine needs under the patriarchal system—the necessity of structural organization and the desire to escape it: “a ‘mulher doméstica’ e a ‘mulher piranha’ têm necessariamente que coexistir numa sociedade machista ... Coexistindo, possibilitam a liberdade masculina e o duplo padrão moral da sociedade machista” (Berlinck 111). The “slut” was therefore constructed as the binary opposite to the domestic woman: “à fidelidade se opõe a infidelidade; à submissão se opõe não a igualdade, mas a traição; a pureza se opõe ao pecado” (Berlinck 106). In samba repertoires, the theme of female betrayal was one of the most common, and song texts tended to emphasize men’s loyalty and sincerity, in contrast to women’s dishonesty. “Infidelidade” (1947) by Ataulfo Alves and Américo Seixas offers a typical example: “São falsas na maioria / E quando o homem confia / Em tudo o que a mulher diz / Eis a traição consumada / Uma vida desgraçada....” (qtd. in Berlinck 106). Sometimes the woman would show remorse for her actions, thus giving the man the chance to disdain her, as for example in “Pecadora” by Jair Costa and João da Portela: “Vai pecadora arrependida / Vai tratar da tua vida / ... / Eu quero um amor perfeito / Pra aliviar o meu peito....” (qtd. in Berlinck 107).¹

As pointed out by Paoli, this type of woman was frequently associated with danger in songs that depicted fear, suffering, abandonment, and deception. The most dangerous woman was the one who could even interfere in the songwriter’s work and his artistic creation: “[Ela] faz o poeta perder-se em paixões estéreis, subjugado aos caprichos femininos” (Paoli 83). Lupicínio Rodrigues became known for his insistence on this theme. His songs illustrated what Oliven

¹ Recording information on this composition is scarce. Berlinck makes reference to the 1965 recording by the group Conjunto A voz do morro (*Roda de samba*; VM 1). Singer Elizeth Cardoso also recorded the song in the same year (*Elizeth sobe o morro*; EC 1).

refers to as the other side of the “powerful” woman: “If it is the woman who makes the man, she also has the power to break him and it is here that the danger lies” (“Woman” 96). With “Nervos de aço” (1947) the songwriter started a series of compositions focusing on *dor de corno* (“the pains of the cuckold”): “Você sabe o que é ter um amor / Meu senhor? / Ter loucura por uma mulher / E depois encontrar esse amor / ... / Nos braços de outro qualquer...” (qtd. in Oliven, “Woman” 104). The song “Vingança” (1951) although first recorded by a female singer, Linda Batista, also dealt with the same issues, and the best vengeance imagined by Rodrigues was to throw her back in the streets, thus denying her patriarchal “protection:”

Eu gostei tanto
Tanto quando me contaram
Que lhe encontraram
Chorando e bebendo
Na mesa de um bar
.....
Mas enquanto houver força em meu peito eu não quero mais nada
Só vingança, vingança, vingança aos santos clamar
Você há de rolar como as pedras que rolam na estrada
Sem ter nunca um cantinho de seu pra poder descansar (qtd. in Oliven, “Woman” 105)

Finally in “Nunca” (1952) he dramatically refused to give an offending woman a second chance ever: “Nunca / Nem que o mundo caia sobre mim / Nem se Deus mandar / Nem mesmo assim / As pazes contigo eu farei...” (qtd. in Oliven, “Woman” 106). Several of his songs later became a fertile terrain for female singers to reverse the *machista* discourse by inverting the gender positions.

The third representation, “a mulher onírica,” belonged to the world of imagination. She was the adored and idealized muse, impossible to attain. Berlinck remarks that this female character lacked individuality or any subjective elements. By being inaccessible, she inspired themes such as solitude and endless search, and because she was never a figure in the present, songs in this paradigm tended to take place in a projected future or a nostalgic past. In this group

the author includes the famous “Garota de Ipanema” (1962) because it illustrates a platonic passion. In fact, this representation was the most frequent in the Bossa Nova movement during the late 1950s and 1960s, showing a return to some of the romantic lyricism of the beginning of the century.

Another important element to bear in mind for the analysis of gender representations in urban samba is the character of the Brazilian *malandro* (“rogue, urban hustler, trickster”) and the values associated with living his lifestyle (*malandragem*). Oliven provides a summary of the roots of *malandragem*: “[Esta] se constituiu simultaneamente em estratégia de sobrevivência e concepção de mundo através das quais alguns segmentos das classes subalternas se recusam a aceitar a disciplina e a monotonia associadas ao universo do trabalho assalariado” (“Malandragem” 70). Several samba composers were *malandros*, whose lyrics reflected their values.

Cláudia Matos states that even though *malandros* are still present in samba imagination today, its apex was in the 1930s, a time that she considers “sua fase áurea e mais típica” (62). After that, the typical *malandro* changed in order to adapt to the efforts at social control of the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas (1937–1945), and to the economic difficulties of the 1940s and 1950s. The analysis conducted by Oliven of gender representations from the perspective of *malandragem* led to the stereotypes presented by Berlinck. Prior to the late 1930s, the ideal woman should be able to earn a living for the couple, since the *malandro* still sought to refrain from engaging in a working routine. This kind of woman would be the one to evolve to the model of the “domestic woman” in the following decades, becoming the perfect housewife for the redeemed *malandro* then under pressure to become part of the labor force to survive in the new economic scenario. It is also important to remark that the Vargas regime exercised very

significant control over the country's radio stations, and, highly influenced by Positivism, tried "to eliminate the tendency of the *sambistas* to praise *malandragem*. Thus, on one hand, it encouraged composers to exalt labor and, on the other hand, to abandon eulogies to *malandragem*" (Oliven, "Production" 109). It was in this conjuncture that songs praising the qualities of the ideal housewife, the kind of woman who helped man to adapt to the new structure, were composed.

Her opposite, like Berlinck's "mulher piranha," was an ambivalent figure, a source of pleasure, but also of a danger represented by the potential of betrayal. Oliven describes the domestic woman as belonging to the orderly structure, while the second was the one who addressed the *malandro*'s desire for escaping the monotony of the daily routine. In this sense, there is a convergence with Berlinck's point of view in that they constituted the two sides of the same patriarchal system:

A figura feminina é essencial e ... ambivalente, representando, por um lado, uma fonte potencial de prazer na condição de amante, mas significando também, na mesma condição, a mulher piranha que, ao abandonar o malandro, o transforma em otário. Num pólo oposto, a mulher representa menos o prazer e mais a instituição da família enquanto aparelho ideológico de estado. (Oliven, "Malandragem" 80)

In typical *malandro* songs the female character similar to the "mulher piranha" is both his partner and his antagonist, and the configuration of gender relations are not based on an opposition between men's loyalty and women's dishonesty:

Ao contrário do sujeito do samba lírico-amoroso, que se propõe como essencialmente "sincero", em contraposição maniqueísta à falsidade da mulher, o discurso malandro é basicamente "mentiroso", resultando numa espécie de paridade (a)moral entre o herói e sua parceira/antagonista: a mulher malandra. (Matos 70)

However, because some of the main attributes associated with *malandragem* are *machismo* and manhood, along with cleverness, women's betrayal represents a potential for men to lose their status.

With respect to point of view, in the traditions of popular music up to the late 1960s there was a strict correlation between the gender of a singer and the one expressed in the lyrics. Almost all compositions were created by men using a masculine poetic “I”, but many songs were created in the feminine to be performed by female singers, especially during the boom of the radio singers in the 1940s and 1950s. Nevertheless, songs generally expressed the typical imagery discussed above, and women might have to perform misogynous and *machista* songs. In the 1930s, reflecting *malandro* values, violence against women was a frequent theme; Faour lists an entire page of examples of songs dealing with battery (503). Even female singers such as Carmen Miranda sometimes performed songs with violent content that ended up leading the listener to believe that “they liked it.” Miranda recorded André Filho’s “Mulato de qualidade” (1932), in which the female voice lists the qualities of her lover, among them the beating he gave her: “Vivo feliz, no meu canto sossegada / Tenho amor, tenho carinho, oi / Tenho tudo até pancada / ... / Eu gosto dele porque ele é um mulato de qualidade” (qtd. in Faour 105). Several of these compositions that established a presence on the radio or on record reinforced, or even defended, the existence of double moral standards for men and women. Carmem Costa, for example, performed “Sacode a lapela” (1955), composed by Mirabeau and Jorge Gonçalves: “O homem sacode a lapela / tá tudo bem / A poeira cai / A mulher quando perde a linha / Pode lavar que a mancha não sai” (qtd. in Faour 103). Dirce Batista in Klecius Caldas’ and Armando Cavalcanti’s “A mulher que é mulher” (1954) ratified these values, and stated that a “real woman” should always forgive man’s faults: “A mulher que é mulher / Não quer saber de intriga / ... / Não deixa o lar à toa / A mulher que é mulher / Se o homem errar perdoa” (qtd. in Faour 101). Ângela Maria recorded a song by Cyro Monteiro and Dias da Cruz whose title projected her as man’s property: “Meu dono, meu rei” (1952; Faour 106).

Such attitudes, although prevalent, were not absolutely dominant in mid-century repertoires. There is one especially notable exception: “Errei, sim” (1950) composed by Herivelto Martins and recorded by Dalva de Oliveira. The song is somewhat progressive for its time due to the songwriter’s unusual sympathy for the transgressive female character. Although the woman admitted her infidelity as a mistake and a source of shame for her partner, alluding to a comparison with Mary Magdalene, she blamed the man for her act:

Errei, sim
Manchei o teu nome
Mas foste tu mesmo o culpado
Deixavas-me em casa
Me trocando pela orgia
Faltando sempre com a tua companhia
Lembro-te agora
Que não é só casa e comida
Que prende por toda vida
O coração de uma mulher
As jóias que me davas
Não tinham nenhum valor
Se o mais caro me negavas
Que era todo o teu amor
Mas se existe ainda quem queira me condenar
Que venha logo a primeira pedra atirar (MB 3)²

Eliane Moraes, who extended the period of analysis of female representation from 1964 until 1979, reached similar conclusions to the previous studies of Berlinck and Oliven, proving the resilience of these stereotypes. According to the author, song lyrics tended to portray women with no individuality. They were objectified, homogenized into a “noun” (“mulher no substantivo”): “nem sempre tem contornos definidos, e muitas vezes sua única identidade é seu sexo” (57). In this sense, women came to “exist” through the male gaze and their identities were defined solely by men’s sentiments towards them. Moraes claims that a vast majority of popular songs leads to the dichotomy of the woman as a saint or a prostitute, and belonging to one or

² Codes refer to recordings as listed in the discography included in the Appendix.

another category is determined by whether they inspire love or desire. It is against this backdrop that the MPB generation of Buarque begins to compose.

Chico Buarque: Female Poetic Personae

Chico Buarque—Francisco Buarque de Hollanda (b. 1944)—has a vast list of songs that innovatively deal with gender relations, masculinity and femininity, either from a masculine or a neutral perspective. The present analysis will be limited to the songs that involve gender transgressions as conveyed in the creation and/or performance of female poetic personae. Songs created for dramas and films are examined detached from their original contexts, mainly because such was the typical reception scenario. Moreover, as Charles Perrone states, “Several of the songs Buarque wrote ... are sufficiently unified in themselves to be taken as autonomous lyric texts. The language and allusions of many songs is non-specific enough to allow individual consideration despite dramatic intentions” (*Lyric* 176). Exceptions will be made when the dramatic intentions may help explain lyrical contents and symbolisms or create specific performance utterances.

In “Com açúcar, com afeto” (1966) Buarque inaugurated his creation of female personae. The lyrics depict the efforts and frustration of a housewife who craves the attention of her indifferent husband: “Com açúcar, com afeto, fiz seu doce predileto / Pra você parar em casa, qual o quê / Com seu terno mais bonito, você sai, não acredito...” (CB 6). With this portrayal of a relationship operating under traditional patriarchal values, the songwriter denounces women’s submission to men’s will. The song reveals a passive and resigned woman, restricted to the domestic sphere, whose role was to wait for the husband while he explored the outside world. As Adélia Bezerra de Meneses indicates: “Esse [é o] tipo de mulher, que — de uma perspectiva masculina — fica em casa ‘descansando’ ... Seu campo de ação se estende até onde vão as paredes de sua casa, enquanto o domínio do homem é a rua” (46). Behaving properly as a “good

wife,” she receives him back home with no anger. She shows compassion for the harsh ways the streets have treated the husband and offers nourishment through cooking and affection: “E ao lhe ver assim cansado, maltrapilho e maltratado / Quando for me aborrecer, qual o quê / Logo vou esquentar seu prato, dou um beijo em seu retrato / E abro os braços pra você” (CB 6).

The situation depicted here by Buarque is typical of conventional popular songs and relates to the stereotype of the “domestic woman.” However, as emphasized by Meneses, his change of perspective and the adoption of the female point of view, reflected his solidarity with women. By generating sympathy for the victim of this kind of imbalanced relationship, the song ultimately denounced the oppression under patriarchy. Another gender representation that would become a consistent element in Buarque’s works appeared in this song—the contrast of childish and weak men with strong and powerful women, capable of rescuing them: “Quando a noite enfim lhe cansa, você vem feito criança / Pra chorar o meu perdão...” (CB 6). The song “Joana Francesa” (1973) illustrates this aspect, but adds another dimension to women’s power: they can be both fascinating and fearful, a source of pleasure and fear: “Geme de prazer e de pavor / ... / Vem molhar meu colo / Vou te consolar / Vem, mulato mole...” (CB 14).

In “Sem fantasia” (1967) the songwriter offers a similar approach, and the woman addressed her male lover as a foolish and weak boy:

Vem, meu menino vadio, vem, sem mentir pra você
Vem, mas vem sem fantasia, que da noite pro dia
Você não vai crescer
.....
Vem que eu te quero fraco, vem que eu te quero tolo
Vem que eu te quero todo meu.... (CB 8)

The song evolves into an interesting dialogue in which the male character explains the efforts he made to become a grown up man in order to conquer her. The situation evokes a classic manhood initiation rite, common in fairy tales, in which the desire for the woman implies facing

and defeating the father: “o impele a ir contra o pai, para a conquista da mulher” (Meneses 103). The last lines are a clear allusion to the myth of Oedipus: “Eu quero te mostrar as marcas que ganhei nas lutas contra o rei / Nas discussões com Deus, e agora que cheguei eu quero a recompensa / Eu quero a prenda imensa dos carinhos teus” (CB 8). These three songs exemplify the songwriter’s inspiration for creating female characters that resemble the maternal figure: in the first she desires the husband as a child (“vem feito criança”); in the second, she invites him to “molhar meu colo;” and in the last, she calls him “meu menino.”

In “Sem açúcar” (1975), Buarque returned to the theme of female oppression under patriarchy, and illustrated how women became objects and victims of men’s fleeting desires:

.....
 Dia ímpar tem chocolate, dia par eu vivo de brisa
 Dia útil ele me bate, dia santo ele me alisa
 Longe dele eu tremo de amor, na presença dele me calo
 Eu de dia sou sua flor, eu de noite sou seu cavalo
 A cerveja dele é sagrada, a vontade dele é a mais justa
 A minha paixão é piada, sua risada me assusta.... (CB 8)

The lyrics call attention to women’s passive role in traditional relationships; throughout the song the female narrator does not take any action, merely reacting to the man’s attitudes and wills: “A vida da mulher é reativa às atitudes masculinas ... dependente, exclusivamente, da soberana vontade do macho” (Meneses 51). Showing his commitment to denouncing female frustration, Buarque left a more direct critique for the final lines, in which he exposed her loneliness, the unsatisfied sexual needs, and the lack of communication: “Sua boca é um cadeado e meu corpo é uma fogueira / Enquanto ele dorme pesado eu rolo sozinha na esteira....” (CB 8). The man’s ignorance of her hidden desires is implicit—“Ou nem me desmancha o vestido, ou nem me adivinha os desejos....”—and emphasized in the performance by a final repetition of the last line (“e nem me adivinha os desejos”).

Both “Com açúcar, com afeto” and “Sem açúcar” illustrate how Buarque inverted a typical male perspective on gender relations and called attention to women’s dissatisfaction with the traditional model of relationship. In “Cotidiano” (1971), Buarque presented, from a man’s point of view, how the wife embodied the monotony of the daily routine, supporting the model discussed by Berlinck and Oliven. Nevertheless, instead of praising the model as established in songs like “Emília” and “Ai que saudades da Amélia,” Buarque’s lyrics discover an ambivalence or alternative way to interpret a common situation. Perpetuated to satisfy men’s needs, traditional relationships end up imprisoning them in a monotonous routine. Even though the male narrator of “Cotidiano” expresses a profound unhappiness, he could not imagine a different way of living, especially because it would mean giving up the gains and the security provided by patriarchy: “Todo dia eu só penso em poder parar / Meio-dia eu só penso em dizer não / Depois penso na vida prá levar / E me calo com a boca de feijão....” (CB 9). In both “sugar” songs written from the female perspective, Buarque reiterates this theme, depicting women’s dissatisfaction under the same system. There was also a sense of evolution to be noted in these songs. If in “Com açúcar, com afeto” (1967) Buarque was merely exposing the reality, then later in “Sem açúcar” (1975), he went one step further, openly pointing to women’s frustrations. Composed in the same time period, “Gota d’água” (1975) would finally reflect a sort of female ultimatum—the woman announces that the party may be over and men’s abuses will not be tolerated anymore:

Já lhe dei meu corpo, minha alegria
 Já estaquei meu sangue quando fervia
 Olha a voz que me resta
 Olha a veia que salta
 Olha a gota que falta
 Pro desfecho da festa

 Deixa em paz meu coração
 Que ele é um pote até aqui de mágoa

E qualquer desatenção, faça não
Pode ser a gota d'água (CB 8)

“Tatuagem” (1972), composed in collaboration with Ruy Guerra, offered an ambivalent representation of women. At first glance, the woman seems to be completely submissive to the man and his will, even proposing to become his slave. At the same time, she threatens him with a powerful presence that could not be erased, therefore becoming an integral part of his body, like a tattoo. Playing with ambiguity, it proposes that beneath her feigned subservience, the woman was in fact in control, able to inflict both pleasure and pain:

Quero ficar no teu corpo feito tatuagem
.....
E também pra me perpetuar em tua escrava
Que você pega, esfrega, nega, mas não lava
.....
Quero pesar feito cruz nas tuas costas
Que te retalha em postas mas no fundo gostas
Quero ser a cicatriz risonha e corrosiva
Marcada a frio, ferro e fogo
Em carne viva.... (CB 3)

“Palavra de mulher” (1985) was direct in exposing woman’s power over man’s emotions and in expanding her domain beyond the domestic universe. She could come and go as she wished, claiming back her place in his life whenever she wanted:

.....
Vou chegar
A qualquer hora ao meu lugar
E se uma outra pretendia um dia te roubar
Dispensa essa vadia
.....
Meu amor, eu vou partir
De novo e sempre, feito viciada
Eu vou voltar.... (CB 13)

The song confirms a commonplace of the social imaginary, the competitiveness for men among women, thus reinforcing an important aspect of the patriarchal system. According to Hélène

Cixous, androcentric discourses have undermined solidarity among women, maintaining the ideal conditions for perpetuating men's power and domination over women:

Men have committed the greatest crime against women. Insidiously, violently, they have led them to hate women, to be their own enemies, to mobilize their immense strength against themselves ... They have made for women an antinarcissism [and] have constructed the infamous logic of antilove. (349)

Nevertheless, "Palavra de mulher" also offered an original possibility for transgressing gender norms. Through an innovative role inversion, the woman gained the streets, and could travel the world experimenting with things traditionally perceived as men's prerogative: "Posso até / Sair de bar em bar, falar besteira / E me enganar / Com qualquer um deitar..." (CB 13).

The pain of broken relationships has been one of the most frequent themes in Buarque's compositions, depicted from the perspectives of both male and female. "Atrás da porta" (1972) is an early example of a song from a woman's point of view. The central tone is dramatic, with lyrics reflecting profound despair:

Quando olhaste bem nos olhos meus
E teu olhar era de adeus
Juro que não acreditei
.....
E me arrastei e te arranhei
E me agarrei nos teus cabelos
Nos teus pelos, teu pijama
Nos teus pés ao pé da cama
Sem carinho, sem coberta
No tapete atrás da porta
Reclamei baixinho.... (CB 2)

Feelings of despair involved in separation, of course, are not exclusive to songs written from a woman's point of view, Fontes emphasizes them as a prominent characteristic of Buarque's poetics. "Retrato em branco e preto" (1968; CB 7), "Trocando em miúdos" (1978; CB 5) and "Eu te amo" (1980; CB 14) are just a few examples of compositions that reflected men's profound suffering.

If in “Atrás da porta” the woman was shown in a defeated position, later in “Olhos nos olhos” (1976), Buarque would offer a contrasting image, depicting a woman who had regained her forces and even enjoyed a taste of revenge:

.....
Quis morrer de ciúme, quase enlouqueci
Mas depois, como era de costume, obedeci
.....
Olhos nos olhos
Quero ver o que você faz
Ao sentir que sem você eu passo bem demais
Tantas águas rolaram
Quantos homens me amaram
Bem mais e melhor que você
.....
Quero ver o que você diz
Quero ver como suporta me ver tão feliz.... (CB 10)

As noted by Meneses, “Olhos nos olhos” could be considered a later representation of the same character depicted in “Atrás da porta,” since the woman’s physical movements reflected a continuation of the actions portrayed in the earlier song:

A mulher no início [de “Atrás da porta”] está no mesmo nível que o homem, olhos nos olhos; quando se instaura o adeus, ela começa a baixar ... e vai caindo ... ela está literalmente no chão. Aniquilada ... Mas vamos encontrar essa mesma personagem como protagonista de uma canção posterior, *Olhos nos Olhos*, em que, levantada do chão, ela está de novo no mesmo nível do homem, olhos nos olhos. (95)

The pain of separation reached an extreme in “Pedaço de mim” (1977), and its intensity was compared to losing a body part. The allusion to a mother’s loss of her child enhanced the dramatic content: “Que a saudade é o revés de um parto / A saudade é arrumar o quarto / Do filho que já morreu....” (CB 13). By capturing the sentiments involved in motherhood, Buarque showed his commitment to portraying situations from a female subject position. The fear of separation becomes so intense that there is a projected desire of communion after death: “O apelo final que configura a entrega do ser que não quer ser mutilado e em lugar da separação ...

existe a fusão propiciada pela morte” (Fontes 43): “Leva os olhos meus / Que a saudade é o pior castigo / E eu não quero levar comigo / A mortalha do amor / Adeus” (CB 13).

Another song that offered the female perspective on the pains of a broken relationship was “Bastidores” (1980), in which Buarque depicted dramatic and contrasting feelings, from despair to relief, from sadness to anger. As pointed out by Fontes, the songwriter explored contrasting sides of the same situation, using backstage as a metaphor for “destruction,” and the stage for “construction:” “Dicotomicamente, há a presença da mesma dor que destrói (nos bastidores) e constrói (no palco) ... O poeta enfatiza os paradoxos das situações geradas pela mesma dor” (45). This song reinforces the critical perspective of Buarque when dealing with prototypical situations and the ways by which he moves beyond common sense, adding emotional complexity when depicting female subjectivity:

.....
Chorei, chorei
Até ficar com dó de mim
E me tranquei no camarim
Tomei o calmante, o excitante
E um bocado de gim.... (CB 14)

After an initial desperation, when the crying is followed by ingestion of alcohol and drugs, the woman expresses her anger and resolution to move on, enjoying the pleasure of being the one to control men when performing on the stage. The song thus refers to an archetypical situation—the empowerment of the performer—in which the aspect of seduction is highlighted for her being a woman presenting to a masculine audience:

.....
Amaldiçoei
O dia em que te conheci
Com muitos brilhos me vesti
Depois me pintei, me pintei
Me pintei, me pintei
.....

Não me troquei
Voltei correndo ao nosso lar
Voltei pra me certificar
Que tu nunca mais vais voltar
Vais voltar, vais voltar

.....
Cantei, cantei
Jamais cantei tão lindo assim
E os homens lá pedindo bis
Bêbados e febris
A se rasgar por mim.... (CB 14)

Later in “Anos dourados” (1986) Buarque adopted a different tone from the previous works, and offered a mature woman’s perspective on old love affairs. The tone of desperation of the earlier songs was replaced by nostalgic sentiments and the realization of the impossibility of recovering emotions that belong to the past as memory:

.....
Na fotografia
Estamos felizes
.....
Me vejo a teu lado
Te amo?
Não lembro
Parece dezembro
De um ano dourado
Parece bolero
Te quero, te quero
Dizer que não quero
Teus beijos nunca mais (MB 2)

“Mil perdões” (1983) should be considered a major breakthrough in the typical heterosexual love discourse. Buarque explored women’s transgressive behavior, in an unusual inversion of values, where the man was blamed for the woman’s infidelity, resembling the approach of Herivelto Martins in “Errei, sim.” Nevertheless, unlike that song, the man in “Mil perdões” was not criticized for his lack of attention. Instead it was his obsession with controlling the woman and his jealousy that ended up impelling her to lie:

Te perdôo
 Por fazeres mil perguntas

 Por me amares demais

 Te perdôo por ligares
 Pra todos os lugares
 De onde eu vim

 Por queres me ver
 Aprendendo a mentir (te mentir, te mentir)

 Te perdôo
 Por te trair.... (CB 4)

“Mil perdões” was composed for Braz Chediak’s movie *Perdoa-me por me traíres* (1983), based on Nelson Rodrigues’ controversial play of 1957. Adopting the sarcastic tone of the playwright, Buarque mocks Brazilian society’s bourgeois family values, and the song proposes an overall inversion of common sense ethics: “O avesso da concepção do perdão ... que ironicamente se destina ao traído e não ao traidor” (Fontes 56). Nelson Rodrigues’ plays were consistently characterized by a sharp criticism of traditional family values. His emphasis on clandestine sexually transgressive behaviors practiced by apparently “normal” members of the society, associated with a dark, and sometimes perverse, sense of humor, gave the author a reputation as a “poeta maldito” (Prado, Décio 53). Rodrigues’ plays are known for their insistence on controversial issues; Severino Albuquerque lists among the favored themes: “incest, prostitution, infidelity, false morality, the meaning of obscenity, and chastity as inseparable from depravity” (70). As Rodrigues himself declared: “São obras pestilentas, fétidas, capazes por si sós, de produzir o tifo e a malária na platéia” (qtd. in Prado, Décio 136). In contrast with Buarque’s earlier compositions, the woman in “Mil perdões” is anxious to escape routine and to explore the outside world, while the man was left to wait: “Te perdôo / Quando anseio pelo instante de partir / E rodar exuberante e me perder de ti /... / Te perdôo / Por contares

minhas horas / Nas minhas demoras por aí....” (CB 4). Her response to the lover’s suffering was almost sadistic and she laughed while he cried: “Te perdôo porque choras / Quando eu choro de rir....” (CB 4). Although the female subject is not explicit, the context leads to this portrayal in at least two lines: in “por bateres em mim,” which showed the subject as the victim of physical violence; and in “[eu] anseio ... por rodar exuberante” that alluded to the movement of a provocative skirt or dress.

Buarque has confirmed that he has always refrained from adopting a judgmental attitude towards women, even when dealing with transgressions: “Com um amigo que faça uma coisa terrível, você rompe. Mas a mulher fazendo, você releva um pouco, porque pode haver algum motivo de mulher que talvez você não entenda, alguma coisa por trás” (qtd. in Faour 148). The songwriter provides an opportunity to question the male’s contribution to female behaviors, and more importantly, he suggests the impossibility for men to capture fully the nuances of female subjectivity.

In “Sob medida” (1979), Buarque depicts another woman who has transgressed the norms and plays with the inversion of traditional gender values. Mocking the *machista* popular-music discourses that establish the model of the ideal woman based on resignation and submission, the perfect woman, as defined in this song by the female subject, was the one who matched the man in his “misbehavior:” “Eu sou sua alma gêmea / Sou sua fêmea / Seu par, sua irmã / Eu sou seu incesto / Seu jeito, seu gesto / Sou perfeita porque / Igualzinha a você / Eu não presto....” (SO 5). In his innovative characterization of the perfect woman (indicated in the title meaning “custom/tailor-made”), Buarque alludes to some of the typical attributes of the *malandro* established in the golden age of *samba*—treacherous, vulgar, mischievous, with the necessary abilities to survive in the streets:

.....
 Traíçoeira e vulgar
 Sou sem nome e sem lar
 Sou aquela
 Eu sou filha da rua
 Eu sou cria da sua
 Costela
 Sou bandida
 Sou solta na vida
 E sob medida
 Pros carinhos seus
 Meu amigo
 Se ajeite comigo
 E dê graças a Deus

 Você tem o amor
 Que merece (SO 5)

This woman ties in with what was mentioned by Matos in regards to female characters that match the *malandro*—“a mulher malandra”—the one who antagonizes men for having the same mischievous abilities. Nevertheless, because Buarque adopted the woman’s perspective in a non-judgmental way, instead of demonizing her, the lyrics conveyed an assertion of the female’s right to enjoy the same lifestyle.

“O meu amor” (1978) broke with traditional discourses in a different way, by dealing with explicit erotic content, still unusual for that time. Meneses underlines the bodily criteria:

“Uma disputa entre duas mulheres que amam o mesmo homem as exhibe medindo o grau de envolvimento amoroso pelo critério exclusivo do prazer físico proporcionado pelo amado” (71):

O meu amor tem um jeito manso que é só seu
 De me deixar maluca quando me roça a nuca
 E quase me machuca com a barba malfeita
 E de pousar as coxas entre as minhas coxas
 Quando ele se deita, ai
 O meu amor tem um jeito manso que é só seu
 De me fazer rodeios, de me beijar os seios
 Me beijar o ventre e me deixar em brasa.... (CB 5)

Even though the song again invokes the theme of female competition, it conveys a rupture with traditional gender approaches by openly dealing with women's sexuality from their own perspective. It shows an appropriation of their own bodies and the right to receive sexual pleasure: "Eu sou sua menina, viu? E ele é o meu rapaz / Meu corpo é testemunha do bem que ele me faz...." (CB 5).

"Sentimental" (1985) offered an interesting contrast between masculine and feminine principles: "De um lado as forças de aniquilação e da guerra; de outro um canto feminino reivindicando com urgência seu quinhão de felicidade" (Meneses 54). A superficial reading could simply point to a sexist perspective in which women are associated with sentimentalism, but there is a defiance of oppressive modes associated with men: "E naquilo que uma leitura apressada poderia não vislumbrar senão *alienação*, na realidade pode-se detectar uma *ruptura* com a situação, uma recusa radical à opressão, uma forma de resistência" (Meneses 54). In this sense, the lyrics question ruling the world in accordance with masculine values, the meaningfulness of violence and wars, especially when compared to the individual and urgent needs and hopes of a sixteen-year old girl:

Ah, eu hei de ser
Terei de ser
.....
Que se o mundo acabar
Eu ainda não fui feliz
Atrapalhem os pés
Dos exércitos, dos pelotões
Eu não fui feliz
Desmantelem no cais
Os navios de guerra
Eu ainda não fui feliz
Paralisem no céu
Todos os aviões
É urgente, eu não fui feliz
Tenho dezesseis anos.... (CB 13)

Another innovation introduced by Buarque was the female perspective on motherhood, an infrequent theme, especially among male-authored songs. In “O meu guri” (1981) he “impersonated” a mother whose love and pride for her son made her blind to his criminal life:

.....
Chega suado e veloz do batente
E traz sempre um presente pra me encabular
Tanta corrente de ouro, seu moço
Que haja pescoço pra enfiar
Me trouxe uma bolsa já com tudo dentro
Chave, caderneta, terço e patuá
Um lenço e uma penca de documentos
Pra finalmente eu me identificar, olha aí
Olha aí, aí o meu guri, olha aí... (CB 1)

Adopting his typical sympathy for society’s marginalized individuals, the songwriter denounced the difficulties of a poor single mother: “Já foi nascendo com cara de fome / E eu não tinha nem nome pra lhe dar.” Perrone suggests that Buarque used irony as a tool for social criticism: “The limited perspective of the fictive voice generates a strong dramatic irony” (*Masters* 39). Through the mother’s expressions of admiration, “the narrator unwittingly denounces the adversity of life in shantytowns and discloses the narrowness of her own perspective” (Perrone, *Masters* 40). On the other hand, it could be argued that Buarque, from his socially privileged position, characterizes the subaltern subject as helpless, naïve and ignorant. Yet, it does not diminish his importance in bringing these individuals and their problems to the center, giving space to the representation of the “silenced subaltern.” As noted by Gayatri Spivak (*The Spivak Reader*), because the subaltern’s attempts to self-represent are not understood within the institutional conditions of representation, they can only be heard through the elite. In this sense, Buarque played an important role at this time in “translating” their speeches, even if biased by his privileged point of view.

Two passages in this song are especially relevant to demonstrate Buarque’s sensitivity and his interest in female subjectivity when depicting the emotional bond between mother and son. In the first—“Como fui levando, não sei lhe explicar / Fui assim levando ele a me levar....” (CB 1)—he explores the boy’s double role as the target and the source of the woman’s protection. In the second—“Eu consolo ele, ele me consola / Boto ele no colo pra ele me ninar....” (CB 1)—he shows the reciprocal nourishment of mother and son. As Fontes points out, these lines also denounce the social abandonment of both, “nivelando-os pela carência afetiva e social” (106).

In “Uma canção desnaturada” (1979) Buarque captured the ambivalent emotions involved in the relationship between mother and daughter:

Por que cresceste, curuminha
 Assim depressa e estabanada?

 Se fosse permitido
 Eu revertia o tempo

 Te recolher pra sempre
 À escuridão do ventre, curuminha
 De onde não deverias
 Nunca ter saído.... (CB 13)

Contrary to the previous song, the word *desnaturada* in the title alludes to an opposition in typical views on motherhood: the Portuguese word conveys a double meaning, literally the “unnatural;” figuratively, “inhumane” or “perverse.” Realizing the impossibility of reversing time and having her child back in the womb, the mother’s frustration and her sense of loss turned into anger: “E eu te negar meu colo / ... / Ignorar teu choro ... / Deixar-te arder em febre, curuminha / ... / Quebrar tua boneca, curuminha / ... / Tornar azeite o leite / ... / No chão que engatinhaste, salpicar / Mil cacos de vidro....” (CB 13). Both Fontes and Meneses argue that the songwriter’s intention was to propose a troubling question about patriarchal society’s values

associated with motherhood and to portray the ambiguous sentiments involved with it. The emotional gains of having a child may be accompanied by the realization of the missed opportunities as a woman: “A constatação do crescimento da filha para o mundo traz à mãe a consciência da vida que não viveu, daí o dilaceramento e a certeza tardia do equívoco com que direcionou seus cuidados” (Fontes 104). In this sense, Buarque dealt with a delicate topic proposing to deconstruct one of society’s main myths about women and offering a more complex perspective on female subjectivities. The song was originally created for the play *Ópera do Malandro* (1978), which itself was inspired by both Bertold Brecht’s *The Threepenny Opera* (1928) and John Gay’s *Beggar’s Opera* (1728). The lyrics satisfied the production’s overall objective to criticize and defy Brazilian bourgeois society’s values. Without taking the dramatic text into consideration, attention can be drawn to the songwriter’s decision to evoke problematic sentiments within the mother/daughter relationship. None of his several compositions that deal with motherhood within a mother/son context alludes to such ambivalent feelings. Another relevant aspect to be noted is the portrayal of a subjective competition between mother and daughter, again invoking the stereotype of rivalry among women. In the first stanza, the girl’s transition from childhood is figuratively indicated by the fact that she is wearing her mother’s dress: “Saíste maquilada / Dentro do meu vestido....” (CB 13). In this sense, the mother’s realization of her daughter’s adulthood is accompanied by negative fantasies about being replaced as a woman.

Buarque also depicted several prostitutes or women whose behavior traditional society would consider transgressive. In such songs, he once more reflects his sympathy for marginalized groups, and his lyrics became a tool to expose society’s hypocritical values. In “Ana de Amsterdam” (1972) a prostitute narrates her life story, first introducing herself in an

intentionally impersonal way. Instead of a family name, she only mentions her given name followed by the places where she belongs and her trade activities: “Sou Ana do dique e das docas / Da compra, da venda, da troca de pernas / Dos braços, das bocas, do lixo, dos bichos, das fichas...” (CB 3). Ana later reveals her youthful hopes—“Eu cruzei um oceano / Na esperança de casar...” (CB 3); and the irreversible loss of these hopes—“Arrisquei muita braçada / Na esperança de outro mar / Hoje sou carta marcada / Hoje sou jogo de azar...” (CB 3). Meneses notes that the cynical approach to the violence of her reality was intermingled with fragments of dreams, indicating a profound sadness about the turns her life has taken: “Entremeando essa auto-identificação brutal, jactando-se numa mistura de franqueza e cinismo, entram retalhos de um projeto pessoal de vida, fiapos dos sonhos e esperanças da moça” (75).

Although the song above deals with prostitution in a typical manner, as a social ill, Buarque brought a different perspective to the issue in other compositions. In “A História de Lilly Braun” (1985), composed with Edu Lobo, the possibility of being “rescued” from prostitution turns into a nightmare. At first, the character exhibits the common ideal of finding her “prince charming:” “Como num romance / O homem de meus sonhos / Me apareceu no dancing / ... / Como no cinema / Me mandava às vezes / Uma rosa e um poema...” (CB 11). The man’s proposal, however, instead of representing the “happily ever after,” means the loss of romance: “Disse ele que agora / Só me amava como esposa / Não como star / Me amassou as rosas / Me queimou as fotos / Me beijou no altar...” (CB 11). In the end, the “protection” of the patriarchal system represents the impossibility of ever finding happiness: “Nunca mais romance / Nunca mais cinema / ... / Uma rosa nunca / Nunca mais feliz” (CB 11). “Tango de Nancy” (1985), also composed in collaboration with Edu Lobo, ends up in a more optimistic way as the woman expresses her decision to take back control over her life:

Quem sou eu para falar de amor
Se de tanto me entregar nunca fui minha

.....
Homens, eu nem fiz a soma
De quantos rolaram no meu camarim

.....
Eles gozando depressa
E cheirando a gim
Eles querendo na hora
Por dentro, por fora
Por cima e por trás
Juro por Deus, de pés juntos
Que nunca mais (CB 11)

“Folhetim” (1979) depicts an ambiguous woman that could be understood as a prostitute, a gold digger or simply a *malandra*. Yet, one notes the absence of moral judgments and even mockery of men’s need to reassure manhood, which is conveyed through the woman’s fake submission. The character makes evident the use of artifices to manipulate men to her own benefit, first by making them believe in their superiority and then by emphasizing their masculinity: “E eu te farei as vontades / Direi meias verdades / Sempre à meia luz / E te farei, vaidoso, supor / Que és o maior e que me possuis....” (CB 13). In the following stanza, she reveals her control over the situation and the ways in which she strategically used him: “Mas na manhã seguinte / Não conta até vinte / Te afasta de mim / Pois já não vales nada / És página virada / Descartada do meu folhetim....” (CB 13). Different from the previous songs, in this one there was not an obvious commitment to denouncing social ills or in placing women as victims of the system. The character is ambiguous, since she was not depicted as a typical prostitute, and some of her exchanges were not based on straightforward commercial trade: “Se acaso me quiseres / Sou dessas mulheres / Que só dizem sim / Por uma coisa à toa / Uma noitada boa / Um cinema, um botequim....” (CB 13). On the other hand, she did not deny taking advantage of these sexual encounters, even if only through the acceptance of inexpensive gifts: “E, se tiveres

renda / Aceito uma prenda / Qualquer coisa assim / Como uma pedra falsa / Um sonho de valsa /
Ou um corte de cetim....” (CB 13).³ This song offers an example of the creation of more
complex identities that do not easily fit into stereotypes.

Lesbianism was also one of Buarque’s themes in relation to female transgressions. In
“Bárbara” (1972) there occurs a proposition for a sexual encounter with another woman, subtly
suggested only by the feminine plural in “nós duas” (“the two of us”):

.....
Vamos ceder enfim à tentação
Das nossas bocas cruas
E mergulhar no poço escuro de nós duas
Vamos viver agonizando uma paixão vadia
Maravilhosa e transbordante, feito uma hemorragia.... (CB 3)

The song was released at the most repressive time of the military dictatorship in Brazil and was a
target for censorship. This helps to explain the usage of such a subtle approach. In a 1972
recording in which Buarque performed an intriguing duet with Caetano Veloso, the line
mentioned above that made clear the gender of the two subjects, was muffled by studio-effect
applause to satisfy the censors (CB 2). Despite the need to obscure the lesbian theme, Buarque
incorporated a series of metaphors of the female body and sexuality, such as in the invitation to
“dive into our dark wells.” In addition to the homoerotic content, the comparison of their passion
with a “wonderful and overflowing hemorrhage” defies patriarchal discourses by touching on the
taboo of a woman’s menstrual cycle, and by reversing the traditional negative ideas with which it
tended to be associated. This song was later recorded with its original lyrics by several different
artists, including Maria Bethânia, Gal Costa, Simone, Ângela Rô Rô, and even Buarque himself.

³ “Sonho de valsa” is a traditional Brazilian brand of chocolate candies, popular and inexpensive, largely sold by the
unit.

Although “Mar e lua” (1980) was not written from a female perspective, taking the form of a narrative in a neutral third person, this song should be included in this analysis for its transgressive nature. The title refers to two women involved in a lesbian relationship, and even though the sea (“mar”) in Portuguese is a masculine word, along with the moon, they constitute relevant feminine symbols associated with birth, motherhood and fertility:

Amaram o amor urgente
As bocas salgadas pela maresia
.....
Amaram o amor serenado
Das noturnas praias
Levantavam as saias
E se enluaravam de felicidade
.....
Todo mundo conta
Que uma andava tonta
Grávida de lua
E outra andava nua
Ávida de mar.... (CB 15)

As Buarque’s best critic points out, the lyrics were constructed to suggest a powerful mutual attraction:

O poema se constrói ... na polarização – e posterior inter-relação do MAR e da LUA. A lua, inequivocamente feminina ... o mar, masculino enquanto gênero gramatical [é] em sua figuração simbólica poderosamente feminino [já que] as águas são maternas ... Mas se nas suas águas poderosas o mar sofre a atração da lua, ele por sua vez a reflete. E esse mar feminino fica “grávid(a) de lua”. E a lua, “ávida de mar”. (Meneses 83)

The song also has a measure of social criticism regarding prejudices against homosexuality. In a city with no space for romance (it was distant from the ocean and had no moonlight), they lived a passion portrayed by the songwriter as “o amor urgente”, “o amor serenado”, and finally, “o amor proibido.” Social exclusion is obvious in sentences that refer to gossips (“todo mundo fala”) and to the population’s reaction to their love: “E foram ficando marcadas / ouvindo risadas....” (CB 15).

Another song that was not created in the feminine but should be cited as an example of Buarque's support of individuals marginalized because of their gender or sexuality is "Geni e o zepelim" (1977). Composed for the play *Ópera do malandro*, the song was the theme for the transgendered character Genivaldo, known as Geni. The lyrics are structured around the opposition between good and evil, with an ironic inversion of traditional values, where Geni's goodness is exemplified in her transgressive behavior:

De tudo que é nego torto
Do mangue e do cais do porto
Ela já foi namorada
O seu corpo é dos errantes
Dos cegos, dos retirantes
É de quem não tem mais nada
Dá-se assim desde menina
Na garagem, na cantina
Atrás do tanque, no mato
É a rainha dos detentos
Das loucas, dos lazarentos
Dos moleques do internato
E também vai amiúde
Com os velinhos sem saúde
E as viúvas sem porvir
Ela é um poço de bondade.... (CB 13)

On the other hand, the population's evil is conveyed in their prejudices against her. The song also pointed to society's hypocrisy: Geni was included or excluded depending on her usefulness for the citizens. Before realizing that their future relied on her agreeing to have sex with the leader of the invasion, people scorned her: "Joga pedra na Geni / ... / Ela é feita pra apanhar / Ela é boa de cuspir / Ela dá pra qualquer um / Maldita Geni...." (CB 13). When begging for her to save them, from "maldita" she turned into "bendita:" "Você pode nos salvar / Você vai nos redimir / Você dá pra qualquer um / Bendita Geni...." (CB 13). In contrast to the regular citizens' dual moral standards, Geni proved to be true to her values expressed in her rejection of the powerful man:

.....
O guerreiro tão vistoso
Tão temido e poderoso
Era dela, prisioneiro
Acontece que a donzela
- e isso era segredo dela
Também tinha seus caprichos
E a deitar com homem tão nobre
Tão cheirando a brilho e a cobre
Preferia amar com os bichos

A cidade em romaria
Foi beijar a sua mão
O prefeito de joelhos
O bispo de olhos vermelhos
E o banqueiro com um milhão.... (CB 13)

After agreeing to attend to the demands of the population and having saved the city, spared by the intruders, Geni again becomes useless and the insults start anew, even more intensely with the additional line: “Joga bosta na Geni.” As Albuquerque remarks, the song was a commentary on the common violence against transgendered individuals. More importantly, it called attention to society’s ambivalence towards transgression: “This allegorical comment on the extremes of inclusion and exclusion that transgendered people encounter in Brazil also points to shifts in transgression’s registers, that is, the relative status and changing limits of ‘transgressiveness’” (106).

Buarque also subverted the established, strict correlation in popular music between the gender of the singer and the poetic “I” on stage. The influential songwriter not only composes songs from a woman’s point of view, he performs them from a female perspective as well. Since the late 1960s he has recorded and performed some of his own compositions retaining the female point of view, and at least twice along side with Caetano Veloso, he formed an intriguing feminine duet: in “Bárbara” and later, “Anos dourados.” Nevertheless, his publicly transgendered

artistic voice has always been accepted as a kind of poetic license that has not interfered with the audience's perception of his own conventional identity:

His heterosexual image is seldom questioned. Because he has constantly displayed conventional signs of a heterosexual marriage and a "masculine" lifestyle (he likes to play soccer, for example), the content of his songs hardly affects the way in which his personal life is perceived. (Braga-Pinto 193)

Creating diverse personae has been a consistent element of Buarque's work, and women are just some of the characters he has impersonated. In an interview given in 1979 he stressed character creation in itself: "Trata-se unicamente de encarnar personagens" (qtd. in Faour 148). The fact that many of his songs were composed for theater or film also ratifies a limit between reality and fiction. However, the songwriter has definitively contributed to the questioning of received notions of gender.

The audience's reaction to his new approach toward masculinity and to the consistent inclusion of female subjectivity, as well as to the solidarity with women expressed in his work, has certainly been positive. Early in his career, Buarque was adored by female fans, and he became a sex symbol and a cultural hero: "A sensualidade desconcertante da mulher e seus desejos mais secretos passaram também a permear suas letras, transformando o compositor num símbolo sexual, num mito e no guru musical de 9 entre 10 mulheres brasileiras de classe média ou alta e intelectual" (Faour 207). In reality, Buarque has never seemed to be invested in affirming his manhood or his sexual preferences (and this has probably made him even more attractive to his fans). In the previously cited interview given in 1979, responding to the journalist's insistence on a rational explanation for his female personae, Buarque said humorously: "Escreve aí que eu sou bicha" (qtd. in Faour 148).

If on one hand Buarque has been comfortable with performing female characters, he has also expressed his embarrassment about adopting typical *macho* attitudes. In a video recording of

Geraldo Pereira's "Sem compromisso" in 1978, Buarque made a caricature of the possessive and violent man who threatened the woman for disrespecting him by dancing with another man.⁴ It is worth noting that soon after, the songwriter would create a response to this song, "Deixe a menina" (1980) in which he criticized a man's behavior and asked him to let the girl have some fun in peace: "Não sei se é pra ficar exultante / Meu querido rapaz / Mas aqui ninguém / O agüenta mais / São três horas, o samba tá quente / Deixe a morena contente / Deixe a menina sambar em paz...." (CB 14).

Taking the song "Anos dourados" as an example, there are two contrasting live recordings that prove the originality of Chico Buarque and Caetano Veloso with respect to gender approach. During the first performance in 1990, a duet between Buarque and Antônio Carlos Jobim, Buarque comfortably smiles and articulates the feminine: "pareço tão linda." Jobim kindly corrects him from the piano: "tão lindo." Later, in a tribute concert for Jobim (1995), Veloso greets Buarque with a tender kiss and they perform the song as a pair of female voices.⁵

The innovations brought by Buarque concerning common misogynous and stereotypical portrayals of women were later followed by other songwriters. Singer-songwriter Gonzaguinha—Luis Gonzaga do Nascimento Júnior (1945-1991)—released a number of songs in which he depicted complex female characters, and in some he adopted a woman's point of view. In "Explode Coração" (1978) and "Infinito Desejo" (1979), both recorded by Maria Bethânia (MB 1; MB 6), he openly explored the themes of female pleasure and sexual desire. "Eu apenas queria que você soubesse" (1981), which Gonzaguinha recorded himself, sings of the

⁴ Dvd recording: Buarque, Chico. *Chico Buarque especial: Anos dourados* (vol. 4).

⁵ *Ibidem*.

pride in being a woman: “Que esta menina hoje é uma mulher / E que esta mulher é uma menina / Que colheu seu fruto / ... / Eu apenas queria dizer a todo mundo que me gosta / Que hoje eu me gosto muito mais....” (GJ 2). He composed and recorded “Mulher, e daí?” (1980) again expressing pride and proposing liberation from men’s control (GJ 1). As declared by Bethânia, these late 1970s compositions made a significant difference in the musical representation of women: “A partir daí as mulheres passaram a ser muito bem representadas na música popular, com muita naturalidade e firmeza” (qtd. in Faour 217).

Another lyricist known for adopting female perspective and confronting patriarchal discourse is Vitor Martins. He wrote the text for “Mudança dos ventos,” music by Ivan Lins— Ivan Guimarães Lins (b. 1945)—, for singer Nana Caymmi, depicting an older woman who had a love affair with a younger man: “Ah! Vem cá meu menino / Pinta e borda comigo / Me revista, me excita / Me deixa mais bonita / ... / Me tira uns vinte anos / Deixa eu causar inveja....” (NC 1). Simone recorded two other relevant compositions by Lins and Martins. The first and most memorable, “Começar de novo” (1979), portrays a woman rejoicing her separation from her husband, enjoying her freedom and the chance to start a new life: “Vai valer a pena ter amanhecido / Ter me rebelado, ter me debatido / ... / Sem as tuas garras sempre tão seguras / Sem o teu fantasma / ... / Sem o teu domínio / Sem tuas esporas....” (SO 5). “Atrevida” (1980) is another celebratory song about women’s independence and the possibility of taking sexual initiative (SO 6). These are just a few examples that illustrate how the musical community followed the lead provided by Buarque in terms of shifting the paradigm with respect to gender. The key role played by his contemporary Caetano Veloso and the Tropicália movement in broadening the scope for the themes of gender and sexuality will be discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusions: The representation of women in urban popular music of Brazil over the past seventy years could be divided in two periods: before and after Chico Buarque. The influential songwriter contested the tendency of male composers to portray women in stereotypical, superficial and misogynous ways. Adopting on numerous occasions an unusual female point of view, Buarque's lyrics from the late 1960s on reflected his solidarity with women and consistently questioned gender paradigms, even "writing back" to traditional *machista* songs. His lyrics frequently empowered female characters or inverted typical male-centered discourses by "demonizing" men instead or revealing frustrations behind conservative relationships under patriarchy. Buarque expanded gender thematic scope and depicted complex female subjectivities like no other songwriter. His psychological insight into women's emotions may be exemplified in his sensitive portrayal of motherhood, capturing nuances of mother/son and mother/daughter relationships. When writing about commonly-experienced situations, such as failed relationships, Buarque proved his poetic sophistication by going beyond the superficial and adding multifaceted perspectives. After a first phase when his compositions were more invested in denouncing women's oppression, from 1975 on, many of his songs evolved to show possibilities for females to liberate themselves and to gain control over their own lives. In his range of female characters there are transgressive women—prostitutes, lesbians and adulteresses—whom he depicted in a non-prejudicial way, often to defy society's strict (and double) moral standards. Even a male transvestite gained space among Buarque's characters and served the purpose of denouncing social marginalization and hypocritical values.

Some of Buarque's female characters still carried typical Western ideologemes about women, such as the idealization of females as powerful and mysterious creatures, nurturing figures for infantilized men, or the notion of competition for men among women. Nevertheless,

his role in opening up space for female themes and in challenging the male-centered canon remains uncontested. Buarque's artistic creations not only inspired new generations of male composers, they also stimulated female songwriters to enter into a traditionally masculine arena. Because Buarque also performed many of his compositions preserving the feminine voice, along with his sensitivity for female matters and his dissociation from established codes of manhood, he projected a new model of masculinity to be followed by others. All these innovations came about in changing times. With the gradual decrease in social control by the military dictatorship, and the process of re-democratization (1978 ff.), the rise of feminist and social-rights movements, and a more progressive social and political environment, there emerged a favorable context for original gender approaches to be developed in the last part of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 3 DEFYING MASCULINITY: A DIFFERENT KIND OF MAN

Following the lead of Chico Buarque in the creation of a new discourse on gender in popular music and seeking to incorporate new ideas developed by the counterculture, young Brazilian singers and songwriters continued to question established notions of masculinity and femininity. Tropicalists Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, as well as singer Ney Matogrosso, played a major role in proposing new models of masculinity from the 1970s on. Their main gender-related objectives, pursued through different approaches in songwriting and performance, were to defy the conventional binary opposition male-female and to challenge heteronormativity by projecting androgynous poetic and/or stage personae.

Caetano Veloso: Gender Ambiguity and Sexually Ambivalent Stage Personae

The musical movement known as Tropicália or tropicalismo emerged in 1967 with Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil at the fore. While blurring lines between supposedly opposing musical camps—one nationalistic and committed, the other internationally-oriented and (supposedly) alienated—this avant-garde movement within MPB was marked by an overall strategy to challenge cultural values. Christopher Dunn illustrates the relevance of Tropicália in defying hegemonic discourses: “At the time when the opponents of the military regime were raising questions about intellectual authority, racial privilege, gender identity, and sexual orientation, the tropicalist movement was a key point of reference” (181). With sexually ambiguous performances, and “songs that expressed ... homosociability that intervened directly in debates concerning sexuality in Brazil” (Dunn 181), the movement’s leading artists played major roles in challenging traditional notions of gender through art. In his memoirs, Veloso explains the centrality of homosexuality in the movement’s overall objective to expand individual freedom and to question society’s values: “A causa da superação da hipocrisia sexual

não podia deixar de ocupar posição privilegiada para mim entre os temas da onda libertária dos anos 60. E a instância da homossexualidade não pode deixar de desempenhar aí um papel central” (*Verdade* 475).

Caetano Veloso—Caetano Emanuel Vianna Telles Veloso (b. 1942)—brought to Brazilian popular music the very idea of a sexually ambivalent stage persona, and he should be recognized as the artist responsible for queering the MPB scenario. Since 1968, he has consistently assumed a public image that blurs fixed gender identities and resists labeling, and his superstar status has guaranteed considerable attention to his ideas. Moreover, distinct from Chico Buarque, his artistic persona frequently extrapolates the stage to his personal life. Upon returning from his exile in London in 1972, Veloso shocked Brazilian audiences with his most experimental (and worst selling) album *Araçá azul* (CV 1), where he printed the ambiguous words “um disco para entendidos” (“a record for people in the know”). The artist has confirmed his intention to generate controversy: “Mandeï estampar na parte interior da capa dupla a frase ‘UM DISCO PARA ENTENDIDOS’, jogando com a dubiedade do termo *entendido*, que também designava o que hoje se chama de ‘gay’” (*Verdade* 486). At this point, he started to explore ambiguity through visual elements: “Although the recordings make no explicit references to sexuality, the album cover photo of Veloso’s scrawny and pale body in front of a mirror suggests gender and sexual ambiguity” (Dunn 172).

Veloso’s stay in London and contact with burgeoning rock culture inspired him to create his sexually ambiguous artistic persona. On different occasions he has expressed his admiration for Mick Jagger’s stage performance (“uma paixão artística”; qtd. in Lucchesi and Dieguez 313), and he held a special interest in the use Jagger made of his body and its effect on young crowds. Sheila Whiteley states that Jagger projects an “essential androgyny” (“Little” 75) and an

identity that affirms bisexuality. According to this critic, although his material conveyed a mostly heterosexual content, Jagger's image was informed by both male and female sexuality:

The songs may imply a heterosexual mode of address. There is generally an emphasis on the penis as the absolute insignia of maleness, but live performances disrupt any notion of "normative" masculinity. Rather, they involve a self-presentation which is ... both masculine and feminine ... Jagger promised fantasy gratification to both the heterosexual and the homosexual. ("Little" 67)

The homoerotic appeal and the ambivalent sexuality of Jagger's persona were pointed out by Veloso as a positive example of the kind of subversion typical of the late 1960s:

No final dos anos 60 era considerado mais progressista dificultar a definição do que dizer-se homossexual: Mick Jagger sobre o palco negava a pertinência daquilo que hoje se chama outing, pois sugeria a liberação do potencial homoerótico latente em todos e em cada um. (*Verdade* 479)

Veloso does not deny his own latent homosexual desires—"Sei que nem a mulher nem o homem são, em princípio, antieróticos para mim" (*Verdade* 476)—and César Braga-Pinto suggests that he was personally touched by Jagger's homoeroticism: "When a reporter asked him [Veloso] if he was homosexual, he simply responded that he would not kick Mick Jagger out of his bed" (189). It can be argued that Veloso was being sarcastic in his response to the journalist by quoting this famous line of the musical *Hair* (1968).

Whether the statement is true or just one more of the rumors surrounding Veloso's unconventional identity, the artistic inspiration is undeniable. Veloso made use of iconography similar to that of Jagger's stage persona in order to suggest female sexuality, such as the veiled face the British rock star had on the front cover of the album *Goat's Head Soup* (1973; RR 1).¹ Even though Veloso believes that a significant portion of these artistic utterances later ended up being assimilated within hegemonic discourses and translated into reiterations of

¹ Veloso can be seen using a veil to cover his face in the booklet of the recording *Caetano: Série grandes nomes*. (CV 6).

heteronormativity, he still believes in the potentially subversive power of identities that defy labeling: “As sugestões de androginia, poliformismo, indefinição, que coloriam a atmosfera da música popular pós-Beatles ... seguem sendo uma ameaça à estabilidade das convenções que sustentam muitos atos opressivos” (*Verdade* 478).

Although Jagger’s innovation was highly influential in opening up space for sexual ambivalence and for the defiance of existing gender norms, the similarities to Veloso are limited. The British singer’s image and his songs revealed “an obsession with dominance, power and aggressive sexuality” (Whiteley, “Little” 73). Even when projecting female sexuality, Jagger expressed it in terms of power and pleasure. On the other hand, Veloso’s work is not marked by maleness per se or aggressive sexuality. On the contrary, the artist has always insisted that on a personal level, he has identified primarily with female gender and conventionally associated attributes. Veloso believes that his “femininity” (“minha considerável feminilidade”; *Verdade* 195) is a result of his intense socialization with women since childhood: “Eu tenho uma identificação feminina. Quando eu nasci, já havia 15 mulheres morando na minha casa. Eu cresci assim, cercado de muitas mulheres. É natural que haja uma identificação” (qtd. in Lucchesi and Dieguez 348).

In terms of national icons, Veloso explored the image of Carmen Miranda, who in his opinion, epitomized Brazilian camp and fulfilled the Tropicalist objective of questioning the performance of national and gender identities:

Ela [Carmen Miranda] exercia sobre alguns brasileiros o mesmo fascínio que vinha exercendo sobre tantos estrangeiros ... com sua imagem *camp* ... O aspecto travesti da sua imagem ... importava muito para o tropicalismo, uma vez que tanto o submundo urbano noturno quanto as trocas clandestinas de sexo, por um lado, e, por outro, tanto a homossexualidade enquanto dimensão existencial quanto a bissexualidade na forma de mito do andrógino eram temas tropicalistas. (*Verdade* 269)

Veloso created and impersonated the character “A filha da Chiquita Bacana” both as a tribute to Carmen Miranda and as a parody of her act. An unprecedented drag performance of *The Brazilian Bombshell* by Veloso generated the debates he intended: “Caetano provocou furor quando ... na década de 1970, subiu aos palcos brasileiros de bustiê e batom nos lábios, requebrando com os trejeitos *campy* de Carmen Miranda” (Trevisan, *Devassos* 286). The performance offered Veloso an opportunity to call attention to the issue of authenticity and its relationship to homosexuality: “Oferecendo o modelo ideal do conflito entre autenticidade e dissimulação ... a homossexualidade provou ser o ponto crucial da questão referente à liberdade do indivíduo” (*Verdade* 475). As expressed in the above quotes, Veloso was preoccupied with defying heteronormativity in its multiple dimensions: in the notion of authenticity, in the rigid concepts and boundaries of femininity and masculinity, in the dichotomy of male and female gender, and in the exclusivity of heterosexuality. Strict definitions of gender and sexuality did not resonate with Veloso’s beliefs: “Não aceito totalmente a divisão dos sexos. Não acho legal uma pessoa ser só homem ou só mulher, tenho tendência para uma coisa assim mais difusa ... a heterossexualidade mesclada de homossexualidade e vice-versa” (qtd. in Lucchesi and Dieguez 350). In this sense, drag served as a means to contest the notion of heterosexuality as “the original” and to reveal its “phantasmatic” nature. According to Judith Butler, drag brings into relief the constructive nature of gender identities and points to the ways by which such categories are created and solidified through the compulsory repetition of performative acts:

Drag constitutes the mundane way in which genders are appropriated, theatricalized, worn, and done; it implies that all gendering is a kind of impersonation and approximation ... There is no original or primary gender that drag imitates, but gender is a kind of imitation for which there is no original; in fact, it is a kind of imitation that produces the very notion of the original as an effect and consequence of the imitation itself. (“Imitation” 313)

In the mid seventies, Veloso also introduced homosociability in his concerts by exhibiting physical affection towards men: “Ainda mais provocador em seus shows posteriores— verdadeiros festivais de desmunhecação—, Caetano costumava beijar insistentemente a boca de cada um de seus músicos ... diante do público que urrava de delírio” (Trevisan, *Devassos* 286).

In later works, Veloso would continue to explore unconventional gender and sexuality not only through visual signs, but also through sound and lyrics. From the late 1970s on, some of Veloso’s compositions explored androgyny, same-sex desire, unconventional gender and sexual identities. In “Menino do Rio” (1979) he made a tribute to the sensuality of the surfer boys of Rio de Janeiro. The softness of the tune, a romantic ballad, fits with the affective dimension:

.....
Adoro ver-te
Menino vadio
Tensão flutuante do Rio
.....
Pois quando eu te vejo eu desejo o teu desejo
Menino do Rio
Calor que provoca arrepio
Toma esta canção como um beijo (CV 7)

Sexual desire is implied in words such as “tensão” (so close to *tesão*), “calor” and “arrepio,” and the affection is expressed through a final kiss dedicated to the male “muse.” The line that explicitly talks about desire is kept ambiguous as we are not clearly informed of what or who is the object of his desire: “because when I see you I desire your desire.” However, the performance emphasizes the boy as the songwriter’s target through pauses that end up splitting the sentence into three parts (“pois quando eu te vejo / eu desejo / (o) teu desejo”). The last part, “teu desejo,” then stands alone and sounds almost like *te desejo*.

“Ele me deu um beijo na boca” (1982) is a long quasi-recitative song. It does not deal outright with sexual themes; it refers instead to the possibility of physical affection between men

in a non-eroticized encounter. The kiss works as a metaphor for mental connection: “Era um momento sem medo e sem desejo / Ele me deu um beijo na boca / E eu correspondi àquele beijo” (CV 7). In “Leãozinho” (1977), Veloso alludes to an attraction between androgynous figures, not clearly identified as male or female, as they form a pair of loving lions. The lyrics depict the love between equals and they also contain a narcissistic reference since the astrological sign of Veloso himself is Leo: “Um filhote de leão raio da manhã / Arrastando meu olhar como um imã / ... / Gosto de ver ao sol leãozinho / De te ver entrar no mar / Tua pele tua luz tua juba / Gosto de ficar ao sol leãozinho / De molhar minha juba / De estar perto de você e entrar numa” (CV 2). In 1986 the artist recorded “Totalmente demais,” by Arnaldo Brandão, Robério Rafael and Tavinho Paes, expressing desire for a sexually ambiguous woman: “Linda como um neném / Que sexo tem? / ... / Namora sempre com gay / Que nexo faz / Tão sexy gay....” (CV 11).

“Vaca Profana,” first recorded by Gal Costa in 1984 (GC 6) and later performed by Veloso in 1986, at first reveals a rejection of “straight” people: “Dona das divinas tetas / Derrama o leite bom na minha cara / E o leite mau na cara dos caretas....” (CV 11). It is worth noting that the word *careta* has a double meaning here: regularly used to refer to “square” people or ideas, in homosexual argot it means non-gay individuals. As the song progresses, there is a proposal to overcome the resentments of the past: “Caretas de Paris e New York / Sem mágoas, estamos aí / ... / Dona das divinas tetas / Quero teu leite todo em minha alma / Nada de leite mau para os caretas....” (CV 11). Towards the end, there is a suggestion of a denial of dichotomous identities, constructed as “pure” and stable, and the narrator declares living what could be sometimes called a conventional life: “Mas eu também sei ser careta / De perto, ninguém é normal / Às vezes, segue em linha reta / A vida, que é ‘meu bem, meu mal....” (CV 11). Veloso plays with common-sense notions by inverting the meaning of the saying *de perto, ninguém é*

normal, and suggests that his “abnormality” resides in eventually following social conventions. In ordinary contexts this saying is used to point out that any person may hold eccentric secrets—taking a closer look, nobody can be really classified as “normal.” For Veloso’s persona in this tune, his “eccentricity” is defined by the opposite: he sometimes lives a “normal” life.

“Eu sou neguinha?” (1987) is another long discursive tune, in which the character adopts a contemplative attitude and describes what he sees, developing a kind of existentialist monologue. Veloso dealt with topics central to his critique of social discrimination in Brazil: race, gender, sexuality and sexual orientation. The word *neguinha* which literally translates as “little black woman” is often used in Salvador da Bahia, the capital of Veloso’s state of origin, as a term of endearment and as slang for effeminate gay man. The interrogation of the title is open to different interpretations in this song. In a broader sense, it illustrates the issue of representing marginalized identities—queer and black—within hegemonic discourses: “Eu era um enigma, uma interrogação / ... / Tava por acaso ali, não era nada / Bunda de mulata, muque de peão...” (CV 3). By stating “I was nothing” Veloso alludes to the “abject” identities that cannot exist within what is culturally intelligible: “The construction of gender operates through *exclusionary* means, such that the human is not only produced over and against the inhuman, but through a set of foreclosures, radical erasures, that are strictly speaking, refused the possibility of cultural articulation” (Butler, *Bodies* 8). The character identity dilemma is presented by his transgendered body: a black female butt (“bunda de mulata”), and a worker’s muscular arm (“muque de peão”).

The exclusion of queer identities is also used as a metaphor for a wider questioning of Brazil’s subaltern position, frequently based on racial determinism. The song affirms:

“Totalmente terceiro sexo totalmente terceiro mundo....” (CV 3). Veloso refers to an impasse

that calls for self-definition and the impossibility of translating unusual identities within existing signifying modes. He also points to a violent exclusion along the way:

.....
Eu não decifrava, eu não conseguia
.....
Mas via outras coisas: via o moço forte
E a mulher macia dentro da escuridão
Via o que é visível, via o que não via
.....
E que o mesmo signo que eu tento ler e ser
É apenas um possível ou impossível
Em mim em mim em mil em mil em mil
E a pergunta vinha: / - Eu sou neguinha?... (CV 3)

The lyrics allude to the endless multiplication of signs and to the overflow of “thousands” of possibilities: “E que o mesmo signo que eu tenho ler e ser / É apenas um possível ou impossível em mim ... em mil....” (CV 3). However, as pointed out by Jacques Derrida in regards to language as system, the moment of closure, be it through writing or speaking, finds a “necessarily restricted passageway” (9). In this sense, language implies violence, an epistemic violence, for every concept gains meaning through an exclusionary process. The insufficiency of language is reiterated in the lyrics of Veloso’s song via play with a popular saying—*uma luz no fim do túnel*—commonly used to imply hope for a positive outcome in a difficult situation and for solving a complicated matter. In Veloso’s distorted version of this saying, there is no light at the end of the tunnel, but a dead-end: “Cruz no fim do túnel, becos sem saída....” (CV 3). The limits of logocentrism are also expressed through the reference to some of renowned Portuguese author Fernando Pessoa’s (1888–1935) motifs. The poet is known for his conceits and philosophical paradoxes. Veloso’s song illustrates how the efforts of representation within existing systems lead to inevitable mistakes: “O que a poesia e a profecia não vêem/ Mas vêem ... / É o que parecia / Que as coisas conversam coisas surpreendentes / Fatalmente erram, acham

solução....” (CV 3). A similar approach was adopted by Pessoa in this short poem: “O espelho reflete certo / Não erra porque não pensa / Pensar é essencialmente errar / Errar é essencialmente estar cego e surdo” (179). Veloso, “the literary pop composer” (Perrone, *Masters* 83), is recognized by the use of intertextuality and the incorporation of literary ideas in his lyrics, and at least three other songs were inspired by and/or alluded to greatest modern Portuguese poet—“Os Argonautas” (1969), “Peter Gast” (1983), and “Língua” (1984).

The question “Eu sou neguinha?” alludes therefore to a broader problem about an identity that cannot be translated in a way that is culturally comprehensible. According to Butler those are the kind of identities that are denied existence (*Gender* 24). It could also be argued that there is a personal reflection of Veloso’s own issues of identity implied in the reference to the 1970s, a time when he began to experiment with gender bending: “Eu me perguntava: era um gesto hippie....” (CV 3). According to an interview given by Veloso in 1993, throughout his life he has experienced sexual and gender ambiguity:

A possibilidade da experiência sexual diversificada – inclusive quanto ao sexo do parceiro –, o reconhecimento de sua legitimidade para mim e para os outros, sempre esteve na base da organização da minha vida pessoal. E, o que quer que hoje se diga, de mau sobre as indefinições de gênero que vieram no bojo das propostas de transformação surgidas na segunda metade dos anos 60, toda a solidez da respeitabilidade que construí em minhas relações com meus pais, meus filhos e minhas mulheres sempre inclui claramente esse complicador. (qtd. in Lucchesi and Dieguez 356)

In contrast to Buarque, Veloso is not known for the creation of female voices, yet this does not diminish the complexity with which women are portrayed in his songs:

A mulher na obra do baiano Caetano Veloso está longe de ser “plana” ... Como em Chico Buarque, há uma complexidade no tratamento do feminino ... Em Caetano Veloso, a problematização nas relações talvez esteja mais na natureza do eu-masculino que dialoga com as personagens femininas. (Fontes 170)

Still, there are at least three examples of songs written from a woman’s point of view, and they are consistent in their criticism of patriarchy. “Esse cara” (1972), a slow ballad, first recorded by

Maria Bethânia, adopts a similar approach to Buarque's early phase—that of “Com açúcar, com afeto” and “Sem açúcar”—and denounces women's subjection to men's volition. The male character is an ambivalent figure who, through his childish yet seductive eyes, ends up “consuming” the woman and “stealing” her hopes. The song begins: “Ah, que esse cara tem me consumido / A mim e a tudo que eu quis / Com seus olhinhos infantis / Como os olhos de um bandido....” (MB 4). The power of men over women becomes clear in the conclusion: “Ele está na minha vida porque quer / Eu estou pra o que der e vier / Ele chega ao anoitecer / Quando vem a madrugada ele some / Ele é quem quer / Ele é o homem / Eu sou apenas uma mulher” (MB 4). Among others, Ivo Lucchesi and Gilda Dieguez (91-92) note that feminist discourse in Brazil in the 1970s was still relatively taboo, and the above song created controversy in a still predominantly conservative society. According to the critics “Esse cara” was part of the Tropicalist movement's overall objective of subverting social values: “A canção reaviva um dos aspectos do movimento tropicalista: a transformação dos costumes, as mudanças comportamentais, que subliminarmente conduziam à reflexão sobre as relações de poder em todos os níveis” (92). In this sense, the song could also be viewed as a metaphor for a broader defiance of oppression under a repressive dictatorship. Later, the song became a means by which to convey a different kind of gender trouble through its performance by male artists, such as Cazuzza in 1989 (CZ 1), and Veloso himself in 1999 (CV 9), thus instilling homosexual meanings. The stage interpretation and recording by pop rock singer Cazuzza—Agenor de Miranda Araújo Neto (1958–1990)—were especially meaningful, as he had publicly admitted being gay and to having contracted HIV. By asserting that the man's seductive eyes had been “consuming him and all his hopes,” Cazuzza turned the male character's power into something

even more perverse, dangerous, deadly. The recording was made when Cazuza was extremely debilitated from his disease, and he died of AIDS shortly thereafter.

With regards to feminist discourse, Veloso proclaimed the changing of the times in the carnival tune “A filha da Chiquita Bacana” (1977), as the character celebrates her participation in the international feminist movement: “Eu sou a filha da Chiquita bacana /... / Entrei para ‘Women’s Liberation Front’” (CV 5). “Dom de iludir,” first recorded by Gal Costa in 1982 (GC 5), offers a response to the *machista* discourse of Noel Rosa’s “Pra que mentir?”² Rosa—Noel de Medeiros Rosa (1910–1937)—is considered by many to be the top Brazilian songwriter of all times. In his short but prolific career, he composed around 250 songs, many of them memorable sambas heading of the repertoire standards. In “Pra que mentir?” the songwriter portrayed the typical deceptive woman who stands in opposition to a sincere man, and the song reproaches her behavior: “Pra que mentir / Se tu ainda não tens / Esse dom de saber iludir?” (AA 1). Veloso’s character, in contrast, after making a self-affirmation of her female identity, refuses to be judged and criticized by men: “Não me venha falar da malícia de toda mulher / Cada um sabe a dor e a delícia de ser o que é / Não me olhe como se a polícia andasse atrás de mim...” (GC 5). Later, a series of short enunciations denounce men’s notion of superiority and their exclusive rights, even the most basic one of simply being: “Você sabe explicar / Você sabe entender tudo bem / Você está / Você é / Você faz / Você quer / Você tem...” (GC 5). The last two lines constitute a direct response to Rosa’s song and the man’s “truth” is inverted to mean hypocrisy, which leaves the woman no alternative but “to lie:” “Você diz a verdade e a verdade é o seu dom de iludir / Como pode querer que a mulher vá viver sem mentir” (GC 5). Veloso confirmed the design of this song as contestation and the contrast between these two discourses by performing the songs in

² According to *Dicionário Cravo Albin da Música Popular Brasileira*, the song composed by Noel Rosa and Vadico was first recorded in 1938 by Sílvio Caldas: *Pra que mentir / Cessa tudo* (Victor 78, 1938).

sequence in the 1986 concert *Totalmente demais* (CV 11), for which there is a recording under the same title.

Veloso has often been pushed to assume a homosexual or bisexual identity because of his appeal to gay audiences who have seen in him a vehicle by which to increase visibility and to question prejudicial attitudes. His insistence on ambiguity has also been problematic for the general audience who cannot easily absorb his denaturalization of the heterosexual matrix—what may comprise what Butler points out as “certain illusions of continuity between sex, gender, and desire” (“Imitation” 317). This lack of definition may help explain the constant rumors about his sexuality. As Braga-Pinto points out, “Caetano still refrains from even provisionally situating himself in relation to any particular name. Identity categories sometimes appear as something foreign, fixed, artificial, and, not surprisingly, associated with (North) American identities” (200). “Americanos” (1992), another long discursive song, illustrates Caetano’s criticism of foreign dichotomous identity constructions: “para os americanos branco é branco, preto é preto / ... / bicha é bicha e macho é macho / mulher é mulher e dinheiro é dinheiro...” (CV 8). For Veloso such categories operate as artificial constructions that counteract possibilities for individual expression: “Por que haveria de me definir? Isso não resolve nada. Quando você não se define, não se rotula, é muito mais fácil se desvencilhar das verdades ou mentiras” (qtd. in Lucchesi and Dieguez 349). In this sense, his thought confirms Butler’s—if queer is to remain a site for defying the reduction of the subject, it must continue to be unstable and contingent: “Although the political discourses that mobilize identity categories tend to cultivate identifications in the service of a political goal, it may be that the persistence of *disidentification* is equally crucial to the rearticulation of democratic contestation” (*Bodies* 4). Yet, this does not mean that Veloso, like Butler, is not aware of the political risks implied by the lack of

definitions. In the same song “Americanos,” the artist contrasts the dangers posed by the secretive way Brazilian society operates (“Enquanto aqui em embaixo a indefinição é o regime / E dançamos com uma graça cujo segredo / Nem eu mesmo sei / Entre a delícia e a desgraça / Entre o monstruoso e o sublime....”; CV 7), with North-Americans gains in terms of civil rights (“Concedem-se, conquistam-se direitos....”; CV 7).

Even though Veloso’s ambivalent identity may prove to be a source of anxiety to society, he insists that on an inner level, personal categorization has never been clear to him: “A dubiedade que já intrigava os garotos no ginásio e que eu próprio tematizei em minha figura pública a partir dos anos 60 expressa conteúdos profundos relativos tanto à natureza dos meus desejos quanto à escolha de papéis” (Veloso, *Verdade* 475). The case of Veloso illustrates one of Eve Sedgwick’s “axioms,” by showing that there is no obvious model that may explain how individuals perceive their own sexuality: “Some people, homo-, hetero-, and bisexual, experience their sexuality as deeply embedded in a matrix of gender meanings and gender differentials. Others of each sexuality do not” (26). In an interview given in 1984, Veloso questioned the existence of any materiality that could help explain sexuality, and any attempt to self-categorize implied to him an imprisonment:

Eu não quero ser condenado a nada, nem a ser homem, nem a nada ... Eu quero saber em que lugar misterioso está escondido o segredo da definição sexual. Se não é na anatomia, se não é no comportamento, e em nenhuma das aparências, onde é? (qtd. in Lucchesi and Dieguez 351)

Therefore, for Veloso, sexual definition is an unsolvable mystery that finds no explanation in any apparent sign. Butler asserts that sexuality itself cannot be explained or deduced by any other existing term: “There are no direct casual lines between sex, gender, gender presentation, sexual practice, fantasy and sexuality. None of those terms captures or determines the rest” (“Imitation” 315). Veloso’s articulation of his own indeterminacy subverts any notion that an inner core

identity exists or that physical sex may determine one's gender or sexuality. His decision to refrain from adopting a fixed identity is a result of finally coming to terms with this impossibility, and the self-allowance not to be part of any established classification, according to what he stated in his memoir in 1997:

Poderia dizer, a esta altura da vida, que me defini como heterossexual. Mas que nada. De todo modo, não há por que obstinar-se na busca de uma nitidez na orientação sexual se ela não se apresenta como evidência espontânea. O que importa é ter os caminhos para o sexo rico e intenso abertos dentro de si. (*Verdade* 478)

The contribution of Veloso in the contestation of heteronormativity and the questioning of traditional gender values is remarkable. As James Green reminds us, along with the overall impact the *tropicalistas* had in Brazilian society, they also opened up space for other artists to go even further in the subversion of hegemonic discourses:

Singers such as Caetano Veloso, Maria Bethânia, and Gal Costa ... projected unabashed sensuality in their performances and were rumored to have had homosexual affairs. All of these developments helped to create a climate favorable to the questioning of traditional notions of gender. In the early 1970s, the unisex images that Caetano Veloso and others had popularized in 1968 were taken much further by other artists, the most notable being the group Dzi Croquettes, and the singer Ney Matogrosso. (256)

Ney Matogrosso: a Master of Cross-Dressing and Masquerades

The use of stage personae to question heterosexism gained full expression in the work of Ney Matogrosso—Ney de Souza Pereira (b. 1941). He mocked heterosexual and homophobic discourses through gay and drag performances, first as the vocalist for the group Secos e Molhados in the early 1970s, and later in his solo career. Matogrosso was a pioneer when he spoke openly about his homosexuality in 1978, and his case has attracted notable academic attention. The singer's stage personae were hybrids of androgynous aesthetic trends, both internationally—more evident at that time in the works of David Bowie and Alice Cooper—and nationally, as first developed by Caetano Veloso, and later expressed by the theatrical group Dzi

Croquettes.³ His personae became more complex through their use of native Brazilian motifs. Paying homage to his state of origin, the singer adopted his grandfather's surname, Matogrosso. His choice for this artistic name pointed to a consistent element in his projected image: references to the region's exuberant fauna and flora, and to the legacy of indigenous people, portrayed in the way he dressed, as well as in songs that alluded to native Brazilian legends and mythology. In this sense, much of Matogrosso's artistic image followed the path opened by the Tropicalists: the re-stylization of international pop aesthetics of the 1960s and 1970s through a creative hybridization with local references, mainly related to Brazil's multiple tribal and ethnic heritages and to the tropical landscape. The singer frequently declared his admiration for Caetano Veloso and admits taking him as a model for artistic contestation of accepted behaviors:

Quando eu vi o Caetano Veloso ... com aquele cabelo enorme e cacheado, todo vestido de cor-de-rosa num show ... Eu, aquele garoto ... cheio de sonhos na década de 60... Aquela imagem me provocou uma coisa que eu não sei te dizer o que era, mas disse pra mim mesmo: "Se eu fosse artista, eu queria ser alguma coisa assim, provocar nas pessoas o que ele me provocou". Eu não queria ser o Caetano Veloso. Prestava muita atenção nele e no Tropicalismo ... Para mim era uma questão comportamental. (qtd. in Fonteles 157)

Matogrosso expanded the possibilities opened up by the Tropicalists in terms of creating gender trouble. The artist became a master of cross-dressing and his unusual drag performances stimulated debates on established notions of masculinity and femininity, as well as on the privileges of heteronormativity. The artist again credits Veloso for making it possible to depict male sexuality on stage: "Nada disso me teria sido permitido se não existisse antes o Caetano, que abriu o caminho para eu já chegar escancarando e transbordando sexualidade. Sou

³ According to both Green and Trevisan, the group Dzi Croquettes of the 1970s made performances intended to create gender trouble. Inspired by the San Francisco group The Cockettes, the Brazilian artists explored parodic gender performances, defying both heterosexual and homosexual behavior norms: "Os Dzi Croquettes colocaram nos palcos brasileiros uma ambiguidade de virulência inédita entre nós ... Homens de bigode e barba apresentavam-se com vestes femininas e cílios postiços ... sutiãs em peitos peludos ... nem homens nem mulheres (ou exageradamente homens e mulheres"; Trevisan, *Devassos* 288).

eternamente grato ao Caetano por ele ter possibilitado minha manifestação artística nessa encarnação” (qtd. in Vaz 105). Matogrosso’s creative combination of Brazilian iconography with emerging androgynous aesthetics ultimately contests the perception of homosexuality as “unnatural” and illustrates the kind of drag performance Butler qualifies germanely: “Drag is subversive to the extent that it reflects on the imitative structure by which hegemonic gender is itself produced and disputes heterosexuality’s claim on naturalness and originality” (*Bodies* 125).

Matogrosso’s first successful hit, performed with the band Secos e Molhados, was “O vira” (João Ricardo-Luli, 1973). Half-naked, wearing only feather ornaments, the singer explored double entendres that alluded to the strangeness of “the other” who does not conform to established identity categories: “Vira, vira homem, vira, vira / Vira, vira lobisomem” (SM 1). The song is an ironic statement about Portuguese heritage and the ways by which this legacy was locally assimilated and translated. *Vira*, a traditional folk music style in Portugal, is here performed by Matogrosso in a provocative, “effeminate” way of dancing, while native Brazilian elements were included both in the lyrics and in his looks. The verb *virar* ‘to turn’ describes the original folk expression: the music is danced in small jumps turning the body into different directions. However, *virar* also means “to become” or “to turn into” something, and in Matogrosso’s performance it could be understood as a transvestite act:

Bailam corujas e pirilampos
Entre os sacis e as fadas
E lá no fundo azul na noite da floresta
A lua iluminou
A dança, a roda e a festa
Vira, vira, vira homem, vira, vira
Vira, vira lobisomem, vira, vira... (SS 1)

The forest thus became a metaphor for the gay urban scene, a place where, in the darkness of the night, the unexpected could take place. The werewolf is a vehicle of the figurative:

O lobisomem, no caso, referia-se ironicamente a esses anônimos habitantes da grande cidade, que após a meia-noite deixam seu cansativo papel de abóboras para se transformar em atrevidas cinderelas; nas boates gueis, esse sentido ficou evidente: a canção se tornou quase um debochado hino dos homossexuais de então. (Trevisan, *Devassos* 289)

In this song and others, Matogrosso's voice has been an essential element in conveying gender trouble, and he fully explored its uniqueness. This element, along with provocative and eccentric dressing, heavy make-up and sensual hip dancing, helped Matogrosso become a master of masquerade: "Ora de rosto maquiadíssimo, peito nu e longas saias, ora cheio de penas, com chifres enormes na cabeça e minúsculo tapa-sexo, ele se notabilizou pelo rebolado frenético e pela voz de contralto [sic]" (Trevisan, *Devassos* 289). As João Silvério Trevisan remarks, Matogrosso's "feminine" voice, wrongly perceived by some as a falsetto, is in fact a rare case of a true counter-tenor voice, and the singer sometimes uses falsetto to achieve even higher notes. Before joining a choral group, Matogrosso had an emotional complex about his voice, which he perceived negatively. The choral conductor finally helped him understand the value of his rare voice: "[Eu] achava que era um defeito. E nesse coral, um dia, o maestro parou o ensaio para me dizer que eu tinha uma voz rara, que aquilo era uma voz que, antigamente, castravam as crianças para terem. Era um registro raríssimo de um homem ter" (qtd. in Fonteles 88). Only after this episode did Matogrosso gain confidence and start to take full advantage of something that was a source of shame in his childhood:

Eu tive uma garantia ... Existia naquilo uma qualidade que podia até não ser considerada assim pelas outras pessoas, mas ... já havia o respaldo de uma pessoa idônea – o maestro ... que me tirou um problema. Pois quando eu era criança, falava fininho e as pessoas pegavam no meu pé. O que foi um motivo de zombaria quando eu era criança passou a ser motivo de orgulho. (qtd. in Fonteles 89)

In his performances, Matogrosso takes advantage of his high-pitched voice, which he contrasts purposefully with the exhibition of male physical attributes—muscular body and hairy

chest— to create sexually ambiguous personae. In the beginning of his career Matogrosso shocked audiences and provoked debates and discussion about terminology. Brazilian journalists were unsure how to classify him and others followed the leads:

The media finally settled on the term ‘androgyny.’ Dzi Croquettes played with these journalistic inventions by responding: ‘Deep down [the terms] are the same things: a travesti is a bicha from the lower classes; now an androgynous person is the son of someone in the military.’” (Green 258)

The sarcastic response from Dzi Croquettes played with issues of social class in relation to homosexuality. Because Matogrosso was the son of a military man, the media would not dare to call him by the same names used to refer to lower-class gay men. Matogrosso himself believed that the press was refraining from calling him names, but later, after understanding the meaning of the term *androgynous*, he used the term to help him classify his own artistic development:

Em algumas publicações, eu sentia nítido que eles queriam mesmo era me chamar de veado, mas como não tinham coragem optavam pelo andrógino ... Acabou virando uma palavra da moda. Aliás, a primeira vez que eu li, não sabia o que ela queria dizer ... Quando descobri o significado, percebi que a imprensa havia descoberto talvez a única palavra para definir, sob um certo aspecto, o que eu buscava com o meu trabalho. (qtd. in Vaz 104)

In 1978, Matogrosso put an end to the controversy by declaring his homosexuality to journalists Vânia Toledo and Nelson Motta. The article was published in *Interview*, under the title “Ney fala sem make-up:”

Eu me exponho dessa maneira, inclusive me arriscando a tomar um tiro na testa porque de repente um machão não gosta de veado... Pra mim isso é uma missão, acabar com essa coisa de que homossexual é uma coisa triste, sofrida, que tem que ficar se escondendo. (qtd. in Green and Polito 150)

In a period of still somewhat severe repression by the military dictatorship, Matogrosso risked being persecuted. In fact, government agents investigated the publication in order to determine whether the article offended “morality and propriety.” Although the singer occasionally received hostile treatment from some crowds in his concerts in the late 1970s, he insisted on pushing

society's limits and became a successful mainstream artist. Even heterosexual audiences became captivated by Matogrosso's audacious performances:

His shows ... also attracted a large number of open-minded heterosexuals who were intrigued by the singer's falsetto voice and his shows' daring originality. A master of ambiguity, Ney brought to his performances a theatricality seldom seen before in Brazilian music halls ... to create a striking celebration of androgyny. (Albuquerque 34)

One of Matogrosso's goals was to challenge the notion of homosexuality as something melancholic. In this sense, he frequently made use of humor, mostly with a sarcastic tone. In some of his performances he made ironic references to discourses of national representation and cultural identity that relied on Brazil's tropical landscapes and abundant flora and fauna. He explored the motif in an innovative way, questioning the perceptions of homosexuality as "unnatural," as well as mocking the notion of Brazilians as highly sexualized people. His careful selection of repertoire included the comic songs "Folia no matagal" (1981) and "'O rei das selvas'" (1984), both composed by Eduardo Dusek and Luis Caldas Góes. Matogrosso's theatricality gained its full expression even in the studio recordings by the inclusion of dramatic elements such as dialogues between different characters and special sound effects. The co-songwriter, Eduardo Gabor Dusek (b. 1958), a multi-talented artist (singer, composer, pianist, musical director, actor and thespian) is known for his frequently provocative sense of humor—um "estilo satírico e bem-humorado" (*Dicionário Cravo Albin*). "Folia no matagal," a typical *marchinha* (a fundamental genre of Rio carnival), portrays nature as voluptuously erotic. The moon, for example, is characterized as a cynical woman who takes pleasure in having oral sex with the sea: "O mar passa saborosamente a língua na areia / Que bem debochada, cínica que é / Permite deleitada esses abusos do mar..." (NM 7). As heard in Chico Buarque's song "Mar e lua," although the grammatical gender of the *sea*, in Portuguese is masculine, it belongs to feminine symbolism, like the moon, therefore the pair *mar-lua* may be read as a lesbian couple.

In “Folia no matagal” homosexuality resides more directly in sex acts between different kinds of trees, some masculine, some feminine. Lesbianism is implied in an act between palm trees (*palmeiras*), while coconut trees (*coqueiros*) symbolize gay men: “Palmeiras se abraçam fortemente / Suspiram, dão gemidos, soltam ais / Um coqueirinho pergunta docemente / A outro coqueiro que o olha sonhador: / - Você me amará eternamente?...” (NM 7). Male homosexuality is implied through the use of the adverb “docemente” (“sweetly”) to describe the coconut tree’s “effeminate” tone of voice, as well as by the diminutive (“coqueirinho”) which suggests “delicacy.” This song explores one of the contradictions Butler observes in relation to homosexuality: “Paradoxically, homosexuality is almost always conceived within the homophobic signifying economy as *both* uncivilized and unnatural” (*Gender* 168). The performed lyrics question prejudices against same-sex relationships by literally inviting the audience to observe how homosexuality happens in the natural world: “Olha a natureza se amando ao léu...” (NM 7). The use of the informal imperative (“olha”) works here as a command to pay closer attention and for rethinking preconceived notions about the natural and the unnatural.

Another artist who appeared in the same period as Matogrosso, and who also recorded “Folia no matagal” was Maria Alcina. Her case illustrates the conservative scenario in which both defied established gender categories by making evident their performative nature. In the early 1970s, Maria Alcina explored drag in a very unusual manner, and Rodrigo Faour considers her and Matogrosso the most sexually provocative artists of this period:

Apareceram dois artistas malditos para os padrões estabelecidos. A primeira delas, surgiu em 72. Maria Alcina — que até hoje muita gente pensa que é travesti ... apresentava uma postura incomum para uma mulher: voz grossa e ao mesmo tempo um jeito meio gay, espalhafatoso, com muita fantasia e rebolados ... Foi censurada por comportamento. (384)

Maria Alcina created a stage persona that resembled a drag queen, exaggerating the “female act” to the point of puzzling the audiences about her “real” sex, and most believed she was a cross-dressed man. The Brazilian artist illustrates what would happen later to Scottish singer Annie Lennox in the 1980s, when she also explored cross-dressing to question gender identities: “MTV initially assumed her [Lennox] to be a male transvestite. The metamorphosis from woman to man, as Lennox pulled off her wig to reveal her cropped hair, was too convincing and she was forced to provide documentation to prove her true identity” (Whiteley, *Women* 129). Maria Alcina performances were so extravagant that the government’s censors banned her from television, radio stations and live concerts, alleging that she violated the law protecting moral and family values. Interestingly, Maria Alcina’s repertoire did not contain any elements that could be perceived as politically subversive, and bottom line, her “crime” was to disobey the rules for performing gender. Her case illustrates society’s need to control gender as a way of preserving heteronormativity: “Under conditions of heterosexuality, policing gender is used sometimes as a way to securing heterosexuality” (Butler, *Gender* xii).

Making a similar satirical reference to sexuality and nature, Matogrosso recorded “‘Tarzan’ ... ‘O rei das selvas’” (1984), using the legendary character of fiction and film as a means to mock manhood and masculinity. Tarzan is portrayed as a gay icon who makes his crowd of “homosexual jungle creatures” go crazy: “E então aparece o astro moreno / Suas coxas suando / Igual ao sereno / Dá o seu uivo / Dos grandes macacos / E os bichos loucos / Caem todos de quatro....” (NM 4). The lyrics are replete with double entendres that imply male homosexuality. The words “os bichos loucos,” for example, literally “the crazy animals,” derive from a common, often pejorative, expression for an effeminate man: *bicha louca*. The animals, who “get down on their hands and knees” (“caem de quatro”), in a superficial reading may be

just amazed by Tarzan's figure, one of the possible meanings of this expression. On the other hand, this physical position hints at anal intercourse. The allusion to the phallus is illustrated by the "snakes" ("cobras"), a common symbol of male genitalia: "Mais de mil cobras criadas / Gritam: 'Quero ele pra mim!'" (NM 4).

The examples above were composed as intentional provocations of which Matogrosso took advantage in his theatrical performance. Nevertheless, the singer did not rely only on songs created with this objective in mind. He also creatively appropriated diverse repertoires to convey gender trouble. Ednardo's "Pavão misterioso" (1974), based on a fantastic folkloric chap-book narrative (*folheto de cordel*), gained a whole new meaning through Matogrosso's performance (1993). The peacock because of the colorful feathers which it proudly exhibits to seduce its mate, is used in Brazil, as elsewhere, as a symbol of vanity, to describe people who enjoy showing off or have exaggerated and extravagant looks. In this sense, it fits Matogrosso's objective of conveying double meaning, implying cross-dressing and alluding to gay men: "Pavão misterioso, pássaro formoso, tudo é mistério / nesse teu voar...." (NM 1). The adjective "formoso" further emphasizes a delicate type of beauty, and the "mystery" suggests hidden identities. This song reinforces some of the symbols Matogrosso had explored in "O vira" offering a parallel between the mysteries of the forests with its inhabitants and the urban gay scene. It is worth noting that by picking animal themes, Matogrosso ends up emphasizing the sexual connotations of his work. Brazilians frequently use animal names in relation to sexuality, especially in references to gay men (*a bicha, o veado*), male or female genitalia (*a aranha, a cobra, o pinto, o peru*), slutty women (*a galinha, a piranha*), promiscuity (*galinhagem*), or even as a collective of people with unusual looks or behavior (*uma fauna*).⁴

⁴ References to these words can be found in Glauco Mattoso's *Dicionário de palavras e correlatos* and Aurélio Buarque de Holanda Ferreira's *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa*.

Since his childhood, Matogrosso was fascinated by the mysteries of the forests and felt a profound identification with nature: “A minha total integração com a natureza é o que veio de Mato Grosso, o lugar onde nasci ... Me embrenhava dentro de uma floresta com mata bem fechada ... e comecei a observar os ciclos da natureza” (qtd. in Fonteles 165). The most traumatic experience of his childhood was witnessing a hunt, he was shocked by the violence he witnessed against animals with which he used to share his time. In his adulthood he engaged in ecological campaigns and made investments to protect nature. It could be argued that Matogrosso shares with nature the experience of otherness, and that he sympathizes with those excluded from the “civilized” world, thus projecting some of his own sentiments related to violence and marginalization. The interest of Matogrosso in Brazilian legends and myths is related to his own family experiences and the stories he was told: “histórias mágicas e fantásticas na infância e na adolescência de Ney ... Além da figura lendária do bisavô [existia a] pessoa do avô” (Vaz 200). His first artistic inspiration for exploring the themes of nature in an exotic and erotic manner came from performer Elvira Pagã⁵:

Foi com a mãe ... a uma estação de rádio e deu de cara com Elvira Pagã, linda e quase nua, coberta apenas com umas peles de onça e umas miçangas. “Pirei com aquela mulher, que parecia ter saído do meio da mata. Aquilo era tudo que eu carregava na minha cabeça, como símbolos da floresta, e sintonizou com um lado meu exótico. Nunca mais esqueci aquela imagem e, de certo modo, a reproduzi muitos anos depois.” (Vaz 109)

The paradigmatic view of Brazil as a highly sexualized tropical paradise, contained in numerous discovery narratives, was also taken by Matogrosso as an opportunity to explore the links between nature and homosexuality. The Portuguese conquistadors frequently expressed their amazement at the licentious customs they encountered among indigenous people: “When

⁵ Elvira Pagã (Elvira Cozzolino, 1920–2003) was a singer, actress and vedette. One of her major hits, “A rainha da mata,” explains Matogrosso’s interest in her performances involving exotic natural ornaments. She became notorious as a performer in theatrical shows (*teatro de revista*), and was considered one of the most beautiful women of her time, from the 1940s until the early 1960s (*Dicionário Cravo Albin*).

Brazil's discoverer, Pedro Álvares Cabral, and his Portuguese squadron made port in Brazil in 1500, its members were awed before the beauty of the country and fertility of its land, but also aghast at the nudity and laxity of its native inhabitants sexual practices" (Trevisan, "Tivira" 3). Colonial writings on the practice of sodomy among natives were central for establishing the image of Brazil as a "land of sin:"

Nothing was more shocking to the Christians of the time than the practice of the 'pecado nefando' [nefarious sin], 'sodomia' [sodomy] or 'sujidade' [filthiness], the names given to sexual acts between males that, according to the chaste historian Abelardo Romero "grassava há séculos entre os brasis como uma doença contagiosa." (Trevisan, "Tivira" 4)

As Trevisan remarks the old accounts of homosexual practices among natives were later confirmed by prestigious contemporary anthropologists, such as Gilberto Freyre, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Darcy Ribeiro, and Florestan Fernandes, among others. The lush natural environment and tropical climate were frequently blamed, along with the looseness of the natives' customs, for the seduction of the Portuguese settlers. In the words of historian Paulo Prado: "O ardor dos temperamentos, a amoralidade dos costumes e toda a contínua tumescência da natureza virgem era um convite à vida solta em que tudo era permitido" (159). Historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda published an entire volume dedicated to the analysis of paradigm views of Brazil as a tropical paradise (*Visão do paraíso*, 1958).

Matogrosso developed this theme in his performance of Chico Buarque's and Ruy Guerra's "Não existe pecado ao sul do equador" (1978). The title refers to the colonial proverb "'infra equinoxialem nihil peccari' below the Equator, there is no sinner" (Trevisan, "Tivira" 7). The lyrics mock this kind of stereotypical image and invite Brazilians to enjoy fully the erotic pleasures they cannot avoid, for they are part of their "nature." In this context, everything is permitted and all sins should then be forgiven: "Não existe pecado do lado de baixo / Do Equador / Vamos fazer um pecado, rasgado / Suado a todo vapor...." (NM 5). The words

“suado” (“sweaty”) and “vapor” (“steam”) hint at climate-based determinist theories that describe Brazilians’ licensed sexuality as a consequence of the tropical weather. The lyrics also play with references to food, and eating is used as a metaphor for sex: “Vem comer / me jantar / ... / Vem me usa, me abusa, lambusa...” (NM 5). The focus on ethnic, spicy foods—“Sarapatel, caruru, tucupi, tacacá...” (NM 5)—plays a double role, implying both the climatic heat and racial stereotypes. Allusion to inter-racial relationships is also clear since the first female character is referred to as a “cafusa” (a term created to designate the offspring of black and indigenous people). The seduction of the Europeans and consequent miscegenation appear in the last section of the song when another woman is presented as Dutch (“holandesa”). The inclusion of the Dutch instead of the Portuguese may relate to Chico Buarque’s own ancestry, which is represented by his family name—de Hollanda.⁶ There is a specific historical account from the seventeenth century by French traveler Pierre Moreau about the licentious habits of Pernambuco’s inhabitants at the time of the Dutch colonization (Trevisan, “Tivira” 7).

Shortly after declaring his coming out, Matogrosso recorded Joyce’s composition “Ardente” (1979), which affirmed his sexual orientation, first by mentioning his openness for any kind of love: “Aprecio qualquer paixão...” (NM 12). Gay sex appears in a metaphorical reference to penetration: “Meu corpo é que nem farol / Indicando que pode entrar...” (NM 12). The song also portrays the narrator as having an “effeminate” disposition (“singelo”), looking for a partner with the same qualities, someone like him, who is not afraid of living his homosexuality: “Procuro alguém tão singelo como eu / Que não se esconda das coisas naturais / ... / Pois, afinal, os elementos são todos iguais...” (NM 12). References to God claim the natural

⁶ The Dutch invaded the Northeast region of Brazil in the first quarter of seventeenth century. They controlled the state of Pernambuco for 24 years before finally being expelled in 1654. These rebellion movements are considered by some historians to be the first expressions of Brazilian nationalism because the main battles were led and fought by local armies, composed of whites, Africans and indigenous people. This explains the unique blend of ethnicities that exist in some parts of the Northeast including those with Dutch heritage.

condition of homosexuality. Matogrosso, who has always emphasized his empathy with nature, understands it as a manifestation of the God he believes in: “Sempre tive uma relação profunda com a natureza, derivada de uma total identificação ... Nunca tive uma religião, no sentido tradicional da palavra, mas sempre vi na natureza uma manifestação de Deus, da qual nós fazemos parte” (qtd. in Vaz 214). The character then exhibits pride in being the way he is, even if called “crazy” by society:

.....
A natureza quer apenas lhe fazer aproveitar
E mostrando que eu sou ardente como você
Sou demente, mas quem não é?
.....

Sonhador desses sonhos meus
Amoroso e fatal demais
Louco e solto, graças a Deus
Quero arder sempre mais (NM 12)

It is worth noting the social critique behind the words “demente” and “louco” due to the fact that homosexuality in Brazil was frequently classified as a mental disorder until the 1960s. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, many gay men remained imprisoned in psychiatric institutions for years because of their “sexual deviance,” and some even endured routine shock treatments. As pointed out by James Green and Ronald Polito, there was an alliance between jurists, criminologists and doctors to control unwanted behaviors, and even families made use of the medical apparatus to isolate gay members: “Procuravam ... causas ... hereditárias, psicanalíticas, biotipológicas ou endocrinológicas. É extensa a aproximação entre médicos e o aparato jurídico-policia, cabendo à polícia capturar homossexuais considerados delinquentes e entregá-los a pesquisadores do campo da medicina para ‘estudos’” (21). Homosexuals could be either sent to jail or to hospitals, depending on the “diagnosis.” This case illustrates the mobilization of systems Michel Foucault describes in *Discipline and Punish*

(1977) as the “disciplinary institutions” organized to control society. Repression of homosexuals increased in the years of the Vargas regime (1930–1945), and eugenic theories were used to justify the need to eliminate such deviant behavior:

The positivist tradition in Brazil, which emphasized applying science to further social progress while at the same time maintaining an orderly society, supported the state’s intervention in solving social ills ... This philosophy ... legitimized the role of physicians, jurists, and criminologists. [It] also served as a backdrop to debates about race, eugenics, gender roles, the place of women in Brazilian society, and the causes of homosexual degeneration. (Green 109)

Matogrosso insisted on exploring this theme and in 1986 he recorded “Balada do louco” composed by Arnaldo Batista: “Dizem que sou louco por pensar assim / Se eu sou muito louco por eu ser feliz / Mais louco é quem me diz / E não é feliz /... / Eu juro que é melhor / Não ser o normal / Se eu posso pensar que Deus sou eu....” (NM 3).

“Ardente” is one of the rare cases of this kind of gender-role inversion where a female composer created a song to be performed by a male singer. Joyce wrote the song at Matogrosso’s special request, and as the songwriter affirms, it intentionally depicted his sexual orientation:

“Gay mesmo foi uma música que fiz por encomenda pro Ney ... Me senti um pouco como aqueles caras que compõe ‘como mulher’, com fala feminina, fiquei com medo que soasse falso ... Mas o Ney aprovou, então acho que a tentativa deu certo” (qtd. in Faour 411). This was not the only time that Joyce composed a song about masculinity or instigated debates about male homosexuality. In “Diga aí, companheiro” (1983) the female songwriter describes a woman’s conversation with her husband as she tries to understand how to read his increasing “femininity:” “Você me pede o batom e eu empresto / Empresto a sombra pra passar nos cílios / Você tem que me dizer, amor / O que é que eu vou dizer aos nossos filhos?...” (JC 1). Joyce explains that the lyrics did not deal with homosexuality, but rather, they were an ironic note on the 1980s trend for

men to display a “fake gay” attitude, inspired in the behavior model established by Caetano

Veloso:

Ao contrário do que parece, o sujeito em questão não é gay ... É uma brincadeira com uma personagem muito comum no início dos anos 80 no Rio de Janeiro, o falso gay — aquele cara de tanguinha, postura meio feminina, falando igual ao Caetano, fita no cabelo, e na hora H, casado e pai de família. Tudo “só atitude”. (qtd. in Faour 411)

Another innovative approach Matogrosso adopted in regards to gender and sexuality was a kind of double parody in which he mocked all sorts of performativities, be they controlled by heterosexual or homosexual codes. In “Homem com H” (Antônio Barros, 1981) the singer played with *macho* discourses by contrasting his drag figure with a vocal performance in which he would force a lower-pitched tone to state his “masculinity:” “Porque eu sou é homem / Sou homem com H...” (NM 7). In this kind of utterance, Matogrosso takes full advantage of what Butler would call the subversive potential of parodic gender repetitions by implying a “failure to repeat, a de-formity ... that exposes the phantasmatic effect abiding identity as a politically tenuous construction” (*Gender* 179). As the author reminds us, although parodic repetitions originate from models established by hegemonic culture, they denaturalize those models for being replicated out of context and for failing to mimic “the original.” The song, in the northeastern *fornó* style, depicts a male character who, to his mother’s delight, exhibits all the attributes expected of a “real macho:”

.....
Quando eu estava pra nascer
De vez em quando eu ouvia
Eu ouvia a mãe dizer
Ai meu Deus como eu queria
Que essa cabra fosse homem
Cabra macho pra danar
Ah! Mamãe aqui estou eu
Mamãe aqui estou eu
Sou homem com H
E como sou.... (NM 7)

According to Faour, the song generated controversy among tradition-conscious *farró* artists and it didn't take long for them to react to Matogrosso's parody of the common northeastern figure of *cabra macho* ("tough guy"). One year later, Genival Lacerda recorded "'H' sem homem" (Cecílio and Rubelito, 1982). Although unsuccessful, it represented the *machista* and homophobic attitudes that prevailed within this musical tradition. Lacerda's song questions Matogrosso's manhood and even threatens him with physical violence if one day he moves to the north region: "Tem um sujeito por aí / Dizendo pra todo mundo que é homem com H / Que já virou até lobisomem / Mas tem gente que afirma que esse h não é de homem / E se for morar no Norte pode crer que o couro come" (qtd. in Faour 402).

"Calúnias (Telma eu não sou gay)" (Leo Jaime-Leandro-Selvagem Big Abreu, 1983) portrays a man's comic appeal to convince the woman with whom he is involved of his (current) heterosexuality: "Telma eu não sou gay / o que falam de mim são calúnias / meu bem eu parei...." (NM 11). The song is considered by its authors as a parody of "Tell me once again" by B. Anderson. Created to tease closeted homosexuals, when performed by Matogrosso, it gained a whole new meaning. The contrast between his sexually ambiguous costume persona and the lyrics serves to invert what could be translated in a heterosexual context as a homophobic making fun of gay men. The performance by an openly gay artist questions society's notions about homosexuality as a matter of "personal choice." While the character declares having abandoned his old "lifestyle"—"Eu deixei aquela vida de lado / E não sou mais um transviado...."(NM 11)—Matogrosso's gestures are delivering exactly the opposite message. The words also mock heterosexual gender norms, and "traditional" codes are referred to as "modern:" "Vamos ser um casal moderno / Você de bobs e eu de terno...." (NM 11). The lyrics point to the unspoken social agreements that control the performance of gender under

heteronormativity, while also playing with the stereotypes associated with gay men through a reference to cross-dressing: “Não é meu esse baby-doll...” (NM 11). Matogrosso always emphasized that despite including elements considered feminine in his performances, he does not identify himself as a transvestite precisely because he rejects prototypical femininity—“exaggerated female act:” “Não vou ficar atacando [certas mulheres], assim como não vou sair por aí matando travesti, só porque os dois têm um lado em comum que eu detesto: essa coisa excessiva de mulher. Que a mulher não precisa ter” (qtd. In Vaz 184). Confirming his repudiation of established gender codes, he also criticizes the need for men to exhibit typical signs of manhood:

Porque se tem gente babaca nesse mundo é homem ... que não pode ter sensibilidade e precisa desnecessariamente ser um troglodita, numa atitude machista e preconceituosa. No fundo, a raça humana ainda está muito atrasada, deixando de ver o essencial e vivendo na superfície de uma bobagem. (qtd. in Vaz 184)

In contrast, he proposes to deconstruct radical and stable notions about being a woman, a man or a gay person. The sarcastic songs above illustrate how Matogrosso avoids becoming an avatar for any given category: “By exposing the limits of closeted identity, Ney Matogrosso can thus affirm his own homosexuality without essentializing it. In other words, he discloses his homosexuality by representing it always under erasure, or as a (mock) heterosexuality” (Bragapinto 193). Indeed, Matogrosso has expanded his rejection of identities when taken as a way to “label” people: “Em primeiro lugar, acho uma grande bobagem a necessidade que a sociedade tem de colocar rótulos nas pessoas: bissexual, heterossexual ou homossexual. Tudo é apenas sexualidade” (qtd. in Vaz 181).

Presenting “Por debaixo dos panos” (Ceceu, 1982), Matogrosso again evoked “closetedness” and portrayed a critique of the secretive ways Brazilian society operates: “O que a gente faz / É por debaixo dos panos / Pra ninguém saber / É debaixo dos panos / Que a gente esconde

tudo / E não se fica mudo / E tudo quer fazer....” (NM 6). Even though the main idea behind the lyrics was to denounce widespread corruption, the performance by Matogrosso conveyed an additional message about hidden sexualities and identities. The song text points to Roberto da Matta’s concept of Brazil as a society in which double moral and behavioral standards prevail informed by the dialectics between public conduct (“rua”) and private life (“casa”) (70). A similar dichotomy is represented in Sedgwick’s definition of the closet dynamics, where the performance of silence contrasts with existing common knowledge, and “same-sex desire is still structured by its distinctive public/private status, as the *open secret*” (22). The song thus illustrates the unspoken social contracts that operate in Brazil with respect to moral codes and which end up making those codes somewhat more elastic: deviant behaviors may even be acceptable, if they are kept in secret and do not openly confront norms of society.

Matogrosso’s repertoire selection was often guided by ambiguities in song titles. Some alluded to prohibitions and secret identities: “Pecado,” “Amor proibido,” “Segredo,” “Por debaixo dos panos,” “Não existe pecado ao sul do Equador” and “As aparências enganam.” Others suggested an “effeminate” nature or female identity: “Balada da arrasada,” “Belíssima,” “Boneca cobiçada,” “Fé menino,” “Fruta boa” and “Maria escandalosa.” A number of titles could be understood as queer—“Balada do louco,” “Desfigurado,” “Exagerado,” “Sujeito estranho,” “Metamorfose ambulante”—while others simply suggest a distinct kind of man or way of loving: “Jeito de amar,” “Seu tipo,” “Mesmo que seja eu,” “Faço de tudo” and “Por que a gente é assim?”. Some of these suggestive titles gave names to Matogrosso’s albums: *Pecado* (1977), *Seu tipo* (1979), *Sujeito estranho* (1980) and *As aparências enganam* (1993).

Early in his career, Matogrosso suggested that his intentions were to become the “chameleon” of Brazilian popular music and to exercise an ability to impersonate ambiguous

characters similar to that of David Bowie in 1972 with his Ziggy Stardust.⁷ The recording of Raul Seixas' "Metamorfose ambulante" (1977) suggested Matogrosso's rejection of fixed identities and ideas: "Eu prefiro ser / Essa metamorfose ambulante / Do que ter aquela velha opinião formada sobre tudo...." (NM 9). The words "Eu sou um ator...." (NM 9) imply the construction of stage personae. As the artist explained, more than singing about distinct kinds of people, he treated concerts' performances of songs as acting and impersonating different characters: "Cada um formou um arquétipo diferente. E é uma energia tão diferente que eu tenho de me adequar para cantar aquele repertório ... Eu tenho que exercitar o meu aparelho físico para aquele personagem, para aquelas palavras, para aqueles conceitos" (qtd. in Fonteles 230).

Matogrosso's ever-changing identity has been reflected in his looks and the examination of his album covers shows that he became a master of masquerade. The heavy make-up and sexually ambivalent image of his early albums would later give way to the impersonation of typical heterosexual men. Dressed in a suit for the photo album of *Pescador de Pérolas* (1986), he recorded only classics by traditional male composers, such as Ary Barroso and Herivelto Martins. He posed covered with *balangandãs* ("trinkets") for *Batuque* (2001), an album entirely dedicated to Carmen Miranda. For the following record, Matogrosso dressed as an ordinary middle-class man in a tribute to a venerable samba composer—*Ney Matogrosso interpreta Cartola* (2002). Interestingly, Matogrosso did not perceive his "male" performances as acting, but instead as a difficult career shift when he decided to depict himself without a mask: "Fui coerente o tempo todo; até quando rompi com essa forma de expressão, com o show 'Pescador de Pérolas', que era o contrário de tudo isso. Era eu vestido de terno, cantando. Era só a voz que

⁷ The word *chameleon* has been frequently used to describe David Bowie ever-changing masquerades: "The cliché about David Bowie says he's a musical chameleon, adapting himself according to fashion and trends" ("David Bowie"). See also "Bowie, David" in *Britannica Online*. In 1979 the artist released the album *Bowie! Chameleon*.

importava” (qtd. in Fonteles 159). Nevertheless, he was still performing gender and his choice of conventional male dress to perform such classics of MPB ultimately reveals the constructive nature of identities. It could also be argued that considering his past ambiguous projected identity, Matogrosso was creating even more trouble by posing as a man in a “male drag.” As the artist comments, the stage became a place for personal catharsis in which he could deal with the existence of multiple identities: “Sempre temi a loucura ... Eu acho que a arte me fez ultrapassar esse temor ... A arte me provocou várias catarses, que me permitiram ver a mim mesmo e entender que eu não era um esquizofrênico. Durante muito tempo, pensei que eu fosse dois” (qtd. in Fonteles 229).

Matogrosso’s case evokes the analysis conducted by Georges-Claude Guilbert on the personae created by Madonna. The author compares the North-American pop star to David Bowie vis-à-vis their ever-changing masquerades. Both can be compared to Matogrosso’s work and raise similar questions to the ones made by Jean Baudrillard about Madonna’s projected identities:

[She] has a fantastic identity, an authenticity that can resist anything, or she has none at all. [Maybe] she plays with that absence of identity ... or maybe she has at the same time a solid nucleus and the possibility to dislocate, in every sense. (qtd. in Guilbert 111)

Matogrosso’s “sincere” statement about removing the mask to perform a conventional man could be understood as one more disguising gesture, equivalent to the ones performed by Madonna: “[She] regularly pretends to pretend to her public that she is taking off the mask and showing her true face, when all she is doing is moving from one disguise to the next” (Guilbert 112). By constantly intriguing the audience, both the international pop star and Matogrosso have maintained the interest of their fans. They both could also be considered as having a gift pointed out by Baudrillard: the ability to “incarnate all the possibilities of difference or sexual deviance”

(qtd. in Guilbert 112). Matogrosso cannot be compared, however, to David Bowie or Madonna in terms of their status as commodities or their capacity to generate trendy transnational aesthetics. Nevertheless, the Brazilian artist has been using similar artistic artifices to maintain his successful career for more than thirty years.

Matogrosso's contribution to the expansion of society's limits on gender norms and to acceptance of same-sex desire is undeniable: "While [his] stage persona did not meet with universal acceptance, his audacious behavior was one of an array of cultural manifestations that helped expand toleration for homosexuality" (Green 260). As Green emphasizes, the artist offered a new model for homosexual men by publicly discussing his sexual orientation and by questioning stereotypes of gay men. His insistence on affirming his subjectivity as essentially masculine brought into question fantasies about male homosexuality as a failed copy of femininity: "Minha energia é essencialmente masculina, e jamais pretendi emitir alguma energia feminina; gosto de ser masculino, e apesar das brincadeiras sexuais, nunca fui para a cama com um homem me sentindo uma mulher" (qtd. in Vaz 187). Matogrosso's intention was neither to copy, nor to reject the feminine, but instead, to embrace what was considered women's exclusivity on certain modes of expression, especially regarding sexuality:

Acrescentei a isso tudo uma carga de sexualidade explícita, que um homem não podia exercitar. Aquilo que eu explicitamente mostrava era permitido apenas às mulheres. Homem não podia ter sexualidade ... Eu vim com o feminino também, embora fosse homem gostando de ser homem. Em nenhum momento eu quis ser mulher. (qtd. in Fonteles 158)

As Green concludes, Matogrosso changed "conceptions of appropriate masculine behavior in Brazil in the early 1970s" (258), and "projected a new androgynous sexuality that appealed as much to women as it did to homosexual men" (259). In this sense, the artist mobilized desires in

both sexes, which in his opinion was exactly because he was a homosexual man, and therefore not afraid of exploring sexuality in different and more pleasurable ways.

Gilberto Gil: Mythical and Poetical Androgyny

Following the path opened by Chico Buarque and Caetano Veloso with regards to embracing the feminine, other male artists such as Gilberto Gil also found room to question gender stereotypes, writing and/or recording songs in which they expressed a “feminine soul” and a distinct kind of masculinity. Co-founder of the Tropicalist movement along with Veloso, Gilberto Passos Gil Moreira (b. 1942), wrote a number of songs where he clearly opposes given notions of manhood. According to Perrone, Gil’s “fascination with androgynous self-integration as a poetic theme and as a concept of self” (*Masters* 111) is reflected in songs that adopt a Jungian anima/animus complementary view of masculinity and femininity, such as in “Super-homem—A Canção” (1979):

Um dia
Vivi a ilusão de que ser homem bastaria
Que o mundo masculino tudo me daria
.....
Que nada!
Minha porção mulher
que até então se resguardara
É a porção melhor
que trago em mim agora.... (GG 2)

While this kind of essentialist approach, pointing to the woman as “the best part of me,” could today be subject to feminist critique, it played an important role at the time of the songs’ release because it questioned strict gender constructions. Through the sarcastic reference to *Superman-The Movie* Gil defied the idealization of men as heroes, the superiority of male attributes, and the notion of masculinity based on power and strength: “Allusions to the comic-book and film hero are ironic, for the lyric challenges the idea that physical strength is the essence of masculinity. True superiority—the psychic, spiritual union of anima and animus—is vested in a divine and

historical dimension” (Perrone, *Masters* 111). Self-integration is also approached by using Seasonal archetypes—male as Summer, female as Spring—and women are then associated with the principle of life: “O poeta sustenta a masculinidade (verão) como consequência da vivência do feminino (primavera), sendo esse último a razão de ser do masculino ... Ao consagrar o feminino, Gilberto Gil reafirma a masculinidade, resgatando-lhe a essência hermafrodita” (Fontes 174). In this sense, Gil places women as the reason for men’s existence and by evoking the mother, reinforces aspects such as fertility and the origins of life: “Quem dera / Pudesse todo homem compreender, oh, mãe, quem dera / Ser o verão o apogeu da primavera / E só por ela ser....” (GG 2). The song also became a major point of reference for the gay community by challenging pejorative views of effeminate men. Gil argues that this was not his intention and explains that his suggestion of androgyny was meant to question the male-female dichotomy:

Muita gente confunde essa música como uma apologia ao homossexualismo, e ela é o contrário ... É sem dúvida uma insinuação de androginia ... masculino e feminino como duas qualidades essenciais ao ser humano ... A idéia central é de que ... todo homem é mulher (e toda mulher é homem). (*Todas* 225)

In the 1978 song “Fé menino” (which translates as “faith boy” and may be a homophone of feminine, *feminino*), Gil incorporates ambivalent sentences that allude to the possibility of bisexuality and androgyny: “Bela menina, minha sina, cada vez / Belo menino, meu destino, cada vez mais....” (NM 1). The suggestion of bisexuality was further heightened by the fact that the song was never recorded by Gil himself, but instead by Ney Matogrosso, who at this time was already openly gay. In turn, Gil’s “Pai e mãe” (1975) focuses on overcoming the prejudices against physical affection between men: “Eu passei muito tempo / aprendendo a beijar outros homens / como beijo meu pai....” (GG 3). The lyrics address the narrator’s mother and contain an appeal for her to intercede on his behalf: “Meu pai, como vai? / Diga a ele que não se aborreça comigo....” (GG 3). In the subsequent lines, the lyrics provide the father an explanation

for the son's public exhibition of affection towards other men. They challenge the father-son relationship as the only socially acceptable site for men to exhibit emotions perceived as "feminine." Male friends, as well as the father, can contain both "masculine's" strength and protection, along with "feminine's" nourishment and comfort:

.....
Quando me vir beijar outro homem qualquer
Diga a ele que eu quando beijo um amigo
Estou certo de ser alguém como ele é
Alguém com sua força pra me proteger
Alguém com seu carinho pra me confortar
Alguém com olhos e coração bem abertos
Para me compreender.... (GG 3)

As Perrone notes "the father-son relationship becomes an emblem for authenticity of interpersonal contact" (*Masters* 111), an aspect confirmed by Gil: "Uma confissão de afeto profundo pelos pais, colocando todos os homens queridos como sendo um prolongamento do pai e de todas as mulheres amadas como um prolongamento da mãe" (*Todas* 170).

In "Logunedé" (1979) Gil again treats the son as a product of the parents who carries the qualities of both. In this homage to his own Afro-Brazilian oricha, Gil emphasizes the androgynous nature of this entity, who is associated with the mother's (*Oxum*) tenderness and the father's (*Oxóssi*) skillfulness as a hunter and fisherman: "É de Logunedé a doçura / Filho de Oxum, Logunedé / Mimo de Oxum, Logunedé – edé, edé / Tanta ternura / ... / Sabido, puxou aos pais / Astúcia de caçador / Paciência de pescador..." (GG 2). The lyrics comprise a tribute to the parents similar to that conveyed in "Pai e mãe", but they also contain an added element of potential bisexuality as represented in the African mythology: "Seu caráter [é] bissexual [e] na referência a Oxum e Oxossi, seus pais [são] igualmente homenageados" (Gil, *Todas* 227). This song reflects Gil's gradual and consistent distance from the symbols of Christianity and Western discourses, and the affinity he maintains with his African ancestry and with systems of belief less

androcentric and sexist. Antônio Risério notes the coincidence of mythological androgyny with Gil's oricha and its relationship with the counterculture ideas he supported:

É pela via mística que vamos esclarecer ainda o fundamento do “androgynismo” ... de Gil ... na tradição mitológica do Andrógino, fazendo-o coincidir ... com teses caras às vanguardas político-existenciais contemporâneas. Gil reivindica ... a superação filosófica dos contrários, em direção à totalidade simbólica da potência dos sexos ... Curioso é que Gil, no Camdomblé, é “filho” de Logunedé, Orixá seis meses homem ... seis meses mulher. (269)

Earlier, “Tradição” (1973) suggests the possibility that men can notice other men and confronts the prejudices surrounding the act of pointing out another man's beauty:

.....
Menino que eu era e veja que eu já reparava
Numa garota do Barbalho
Reparava tanto que acabei já reparando
No rapaz que ela namorava
Reparei que o rapaz era muito inteligente
.....
E diferente pelo tipo
.....
Sempre rindo e sempre cantando
Sempre lindo.... (GG 2)

Gil explains that the song had no homosexual suggestion, but rather illustrates his aspiration for social inclusion, since the young man he depicted in the song had access to everything that was considered desirable at this time, even imported North American jeans: “De camisa aberta e certa calça americana / Arranjada de contrabando....” (GG 2). In this sense, both the boy and the girl were objects of his desire, but for different reasons: “Ela [era] meu objeto de desejo sexual. E ele, meu objeto do desejo cultural” (Gil, *Todas* 145). Despite his original intention, Gil's lyrics leave room for doubts, and like “Super-homem,” the song offered an opportunity for homosexual identification: the shift of his attention to the woman's boyfriend could be interpreted as sexual attraction.

“O Veado” (1983) has remained the artist’s most controversial song due to the fact that its title refers to an often pejorative slang term for homosexual men. Literally meaning “the deer,” the word is used as an equivalent for “fag”:

O fator estimulante da canção foi a minha fantasia infantil com o animal – bonito e demasiadamente arisco, difícil de ser caçado, fugidio, ágil, lépido ... associado à visão do estereótipo do homossexual assumido, a bicha-louca ... como um modo de dar ao tórax e à bunda ... uma proeminência que ... não teriam. (Gil, *Todas* 268)

There is a parallel between the delicate moves of the animal and the female qualities of homosexuals: “O veado / Como é lindo / Escapulindo pulando / ... / Evaporante / Eva pirante....” (GG 1). As the songwriter reminds us, at this time artists like him were being perceived as homosexuals because of their adoption of androgynous aesthetics, which often included the use of female ornaments. Gil explains that he personally engaged, along with other artists of his generation, in a defiance of heteronormativity in order to expand individual freedom, fighting the historical persecution and social intolerance of homosexuals. Gil does not personally identify himself as gay, but claims the need to incorporate “gayness” in his life:

“Necessidade que eu sentia de aproximação e compreensão da homossexualidade ... Não sou homossexual (poderia ser, mas não sou), não foi algo necessário na minha vida; mas da veadagem eu faço questão” (*Todas* 268). It is his belief that artistic creation itself requires the embracing of “gay aesthetics:” “Se você é artista tem que aprender a ser veado. É o meu caso: eu sou aprendiz” (*Todas* 268). The lyrics evoke the image of Greta Garbo as a symbol of androgyny and camp: “O veado / Greta Garbo / Garbo, a palavra mais justa / ... / Garbo esplendor de uma dama / Das camélias....” (GG 1). His identification with camp shows his appreciation for the baroque, an aspect frequently reflected in his speech and writing:

Uma elaboração que tem a ver com a veadagem ... com a costura, o bordado, o brocado, o barroco ... as palavras brotam como volúpia ... E com garbo – de Greta Garbo, ela

mesma uma figura andrógina, uma das grandes deusas da veedagem planetária. (Gil, *Todas* 268)

Gil had already made a reference to this kind of “gay aesthetics” earlier in 1979. The song “Realce” encourages the use of more glitter and appreciates the beauty of velvet colors: “Quanto mais purpurina melhor / Realce, realce / ... / Com a cor do veludo / Com amor, com tudo / De real teor de beleza...” (GG 2). It is worth noting that this song was released simultaneously with the disco boom in Brazil, propelled by the extraordinary success of Gilberto Braga’s soap opera, *Dancin’ Days* (1978–1979). The television drama itself contained references that could be captured by gay audiences, such as the inclusion in the soundtrack of the Village People hit “Macho Man.” Gilberto Braga is himself openly homosexual, and has been one of *telenovelas* scriptwriters to push for the inclusion of gay themes and characters in the so-called prime-time soap operas, televised by Rede Globo, Brazil’s dominant network.

Gil along with his Tropicalist fellows helped to question established notions of masculinity, embracing so-called feminine attributes, showing affection towards other men and projecting an androgynous figure. The singer-songwriter created a model to be followed by younger artists. In the 1980s pop singer Pepeu Gomes—Pedro Aníbal de Oliveira (b. 1952)—made use of similar articulations in “Masculino e feminino” (1983), created in collaboration with Baby Consuelo (his wife at the time), and Didi Gomes. The song proclaimed men as the creation of a dual-sex God, resembling Gil’s approach to “cosmic” androgyny: “Ser um homem feminino / Não fere o meu lado masculino / Se Deus é menino e menina / Sou o masculino e o feminino...” (PG 1). At this time androgynous aesthetics gained attention, and other male artists, such as the pop-rock singer Lulu Santos—Luís Maurício Pragana dos Santos (b. 1953)—explored gender bending. Santos can be seen on the front cover of his compact *Gosto de batom* (1980; LS 1) using red lipstick. More than a decade later, in the song “Mulher eu sei” (1995),

Chico César—Francisco César Gonçalves (b. 1964)—declares that a past female existence explains his understanding of women’s feelings: “Eu sei como pisar no coração de uma mulher / já fui mulher eu sei....” (CC1). Although personally identified as a heterosexual man, the influential Gil has represented a positive voice regarding bisexuality and homosexuality as viable forms of sexuality worthy of respect, and he has supported gay-rights movements.

Conclusions: Tropicalist leaders Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, along with singer Ney Matogrosso, represented a major paradigm shift in regards to notions of masculinity. Veloso projected an identity that consistently resisted labeling. His artistic persona has often been associated with his personal identity, and at all levels, Veloso has insisted on gender and sexuality ambivalence. The artist calls attention to the potential imprisonment represented by strict categories. He invites challenges to society’s need to classify individuals, which may reinforce dichotomous constructions and the lines that separate normative and marginal identities. Gil proposed blurring feminine and masculine categories, projecting a mythical androgyny, which embraces the possibility for men to portray female attributes. In turn, Ney Matogrosso offers an example of radical confrontation of established ideas of gender and sexuality. His drag performances projected a sexuality seldom seen in the mainstream Brazilian artistic scene. Because he never gave up display of his male physical attributes, the artist revealed the performative nature of identities. By creating parodies of *machista* and homophobic discourses, as well as of closeted homosexuals, the openly gay Matogrosso took full advantage of the subversive potential of unusual gender performances.

This generation as a whole opened up space for the articulation of non-normative gender and sexual identities within Brazilian popular music:

Seus expoentes criaram algo como uma teia de vasos comunicantes, com contemporâneos e antecessores ligados a uma expressão cultural homo, para compor um ruído subterrâneo

que começa em Caetano Veloso, prossegue com Ney Matogrosso e vai tomando corpo até se tornar um grito ... na voz de Cazuza. (Trevisan, *Devassos* 319)

Reference is made here to artists not included in discussion above, such as rock singer-songwriter Cazuza, who expanded the proposals of earlier generations. Both Cazuza and fellow rock luminary Renato Russo—Renato Manfredini Júnior (1960–1996)—should be noted for discussing their homosexuality and for calling attention to AIDS, as they were both infected and perished due to HIV. Singer Cássia Eller—Cássia Rejane Eller (1962–2001)—mentioned by both Trevisan and Albuquerque as one of the few females to explore visual gender bending, also gained popularity in the late 1980s. Eller made public her lesbianism and her stable relationship with a woman. After her early death in 2001, her spouse became the first notorious case of a lesbian to obtain legal guardianship of the partner's son.

Despite all these gains, clear limits remain. Although Veloso has suggested that adopting a fixed identity may replicate categorization and constitute a denial of complex subjectivities, it may also undermine the possibility of appropriation of such categories as political tools. The lack of personal commitment may induce the perception of such non-normative identities as restricted to artistic expressions, acceptable only on stage, which ends up serving as a metaphor for the carnival. Cross-dressing and gender bending can be understood as an artistic license, where the “extraordinary” is temporarily allowed, reinforcing then what is the “ordinary.” Even Ney Matogrosso, who had a bold attitude in the 1970s by making public his homosexuality, has constantly refrained from becoming a gay icon or an activist.

Trevisan believes that the verifiable conservative backlash in customs of the late 1980s and the 1990s was attributable to the AIDS endemic and to the initial negative perception of the disease as a gay male “plague;” this perception helps to explain artists' efforts to distance themselves from homosexual or bisexual identification. The author exemplifies some of the

malicious campaigns that took place during this time, such as bumper stickers in São Paulo saying “Extermine um Paulo Ricardo hoje para evitar um Ney Matogrosso amanhã”, or the media “terrorism:” “A maldosa e sensacionalista manchete na capa da revista *Amiga*, em agosto de 1990: a AIDS de Ney Matogrosso, Caetano Veloso e Milton Nascimento” (Devassos 318). In this sense, even though these artists have carved out a space for identification of non-heterosexual audience, this success did not translate in the same proportion into open social debates or the strengthening of political movements.

CHAPTER 4 DEFYING FEMININITY: A DIFFERENT KIND OF WOMAN

During the 1970s the participation of women increased in the domain of songwriting, previously almost exclusively male. In the late 1970s and early 1980s women songwriters would find an arena to challenge patriarchy and to probe diverse subjectivities, not necessarily constructed in relation to men or to their roles as romantic partners. Female singers also contributed for the defiance of prototypical ideas about women. They appropriated male composers' repertoire in order to question the androcentric popular music canon through gender-role inversions, sarcastic performance of misogynous lyrics, or the maintenance of the masculine point of view, thus suggesting lesbianism.

As seen in Chapter Two, female roles in popular music tended to be limited almost exclusively to performance of songs composed by men, most of them stereotypical and *machista*. Many female singers enjoyed the status of superstars, including Carmen Miranda, Emilinha Borba, Dalva de Oliveira and Ângela Maria, among many others, especially in the era of radio. As in the traditions of the medieval troubadours, it was common for men to write lyrics adopting women's perspective, although differently from *cantigas de amigo*, contemporary songwriters would have their works performed by female artists.¹ This practice undoubtedly contributed to the reinforcement of the social imaginary with respect to patriarchy and gender values. Ana Paula Ferreira, in her analysis of the Portuguese medieval troubadours' tradition, suggests the pervasive effects of male-centered speech in the creation of supposedly female identities:

Cantigas d'amigo constitute an ideologically invested, male appropriation of female voice that functioned to support the status quo by confirming women's dependence on the sexual love of men. The image of a desiring female subject could thus have

¹ *Cantigas de amigo* are Galician-Portuguese medieval troubadour songs written and performed by men adopting a female perspective.

contributed to keep real women from imposing their own alternative voices not only as “writing”, but first and foremost as “speaking” subjects. (37)

In contemporary songs the fact that women assumed the role of singers to perform male-authored lyrics can, therefore, be considered even more prejudicial because it enhances verisimilitude and illusion of “truthfulness” behind such lyrics. As Frances Aparicio suggests, the restriction of Latinas in popular music to the role of vocalists ends up reinforcing the exclusivity of male discourse and inhibiting the articulation of female subjectivity:

The fact that Latinas have historically achieved more prominence as vocalist than in other music roles suggests a process of containment in their professional development and opportunities. Women singers are allowed to perform as long as they sing the words of others and ... in some cases, they play to desires and fantasies of a male audience. (173)

Both José Ramos Tinhorão and Charles Perrone point out that only in the late 1970s did women songwriters gain a more relevant role in MPB. Prior to these years, only few notable examples can be found, mainly Maysa Matarazzo and Dolores Duran in the 1950s. As discussed in the previous chapters, Chico Buarque and Caetano Veloso played major roles in broadening thematic scope in the portrayal of female experience and in questioning stereotypical gender notions. Increased general interest in women’s perspectives in MPB, in addition to the influence of international civil-rights and women’s-liberation movements, helped to create opportunities for a new generation of female music-makers. The slow decrease in censorship by the military dictatorship which would lead to the re-establishment of democracy in 1985 also created a positive scenario for social movements in general. It was in this context that such songwriters as Joyce—Joyce Silveira Moreno (b. 1948)—, Ana Terra—Ana Maria Terra Borba Caymmi (b. 1950), Fátima Guedes (b. 1958) and Ângela Rô Rô—Ângela Maria Diniz Gonçalves (b. 1949)— authored and performed songs that defined new profiles, as they dealt with themes such as motherhood, domestic violence, and lesbianism. It is important to consider the relevance of the

creation of a body of women-authored lyrics for the articulation of more diverse female subjectivities:

Women singers have been inverting the object of men's discursive terrorism as an initial strategy of resistance against misogyny and patriarchy. Nonetheless, this recourse fails to elucidate or to articulate a discourse that illuminates the multiple modes of constituting female subjectivity ... It leaves no aperture for new and radical ways ... for blurring those rigid [gender] boundaries and for discussion of not only gender roles but also multiple forms of sexuality and sexual orientation. (Aparicio 167)

Examination of Brazilian popular music proves to be different in some ways from Aparicio's analysis. Female singers have indeed explored the maintaining of the masculine poetic "I" as a means to convey more radical gender trouble. Since the late 1960s, they have also counted on repertoire composed by Chico Buarque, which depicted non-normative sexuality. Yet the critic has a valid point concerning the importance of women songwriters for a full and more diverse articulation of female subjectivity.

Following the artistic lead of Chico Buarque, prominent female vocalists of his generation, such as Maria Bethânia—Maria Bethânia Vianna Telles Veloso (b. 1946)—and Gal Costa—Maria da Graça Costa Penna Burgos (b. 1945)—both participants in the *Tropicália* movement, achieved acceptance of alternative utterances, notably the performative maintenance of the masculine poetic "I" of original compositions. Traditional gender approaches in popular music correlate the gender of the singer to the poetic "I," and for the most part, the composer expresses his own sexual identity. Prior to the 1960s, when interpreting a song originally composed by a masculine voice, female singers used to adapt the lyrics, even with the eventual sacrifice of the rhymes. This was a frequent situation as songwriters were almost all men. The practice of gender adjustment is still the accepted standard in mainstream international popular music, and when recording for another market Brazilian artists have tended to confirm to this convention. Recordings of the 1962 hit "The Girl from Ipanema" (Tom Jobim and Vinicius de

Moraes; English lyrics by Norman Gimbel) offer good examples of adaptations made for international audiences. In the United States both Ella Fitzgerald and Crystal Waters changed the object of desire and recorded “The Boy from Ipanema.” On the other hand, Brazilian singer Astrud Gilberto kept the original song title, but modified the speaking subject, who became a third person who assumed the neutral position of a narrator.² The first female vocalist to record a song preserving the masculine point of view was Aracy de Almeida in the 1950s, whose interpretation of Noel Rosa’s “Pra que mentir?” shocked the audience and was surrounded by “rumors [that she] was a lesbian” (Braga-Pinto 188). Although César Braga-Pinto locates the scandal involving Almeida in the 1950s, she had been recording Noel Rosa’s repertoire preserving the masculine point of view since the late 1930s and she was actually the composer’s favorite singer (*Dicionário Cravo Albin*).

In both Gal Costa’s and Maria Bethânia’s repertoires, there are numerous romantic songs whose lyrics address another woman. The two vocalists, who are two of the most prolific and successful interpreters of MPB, recorded many songs dedicated to the muses of Bossa Nova. Their recordings of older compositions by Lupicínio Rodrigues, Herivelto Martins, Ary Barroso, and Adoniran Barbosa, for example, articulated new meanings to traditional sexist discourses, and could be taken as ironic commentaries. “Nega Manhosa” (1957) by Herivelto Martins illustrates the *machista* content conveyed in most of those male-authored songs, in which the character demands the woman take care of domestic service: “Levanta nega manhosa / deixa de ser preguiçosa / ... / prepara minha marmita....” (GC 3). Aparicio defends the position that the appropriation of male compositions is one of the strategies female singers have been using to

² In the original lyrics the poetic voice is established as first person singular by the conjugation of the verb “estar” and the gender by the masculine form of the adjective: “Por que estou tão sozinho?” (“Why am I so lonely?”). In the English version the singer becomes an outsider, a neutral witness to the romantic situation: “He watches her so sadly / How can he tell her he loves her?” (SJ 1).

give new meanings to misogynous lyrics. The author illustrates the point with a sarcastic performance of “La tirana” by Cuban singer La Lupe: “The song begins by underlining the perspective that informs these social constructs via an irony masterfully uttered in the sarcastic smirks that La Lupe interjects at precise instances” (179). Gal Costa also recorded earlier songs that were innovative for their time (1950s) and broke with this kind of normative discourse, such as “Teco-Teco” (1988).³ In the lyrics the woman states growing up as a different kind of girl who took pleasure in playing with boys’ games:

Teco, teco, teco, teco, teco
Na bola de gude era o meu viver
Quando criança no meio da garotada
Com a sacola do lado
Só jogava pra valer
Não fazia roupa de boneca nem tão pouco convivia
Com as garotas do meu bairro que era natural
Subia em postes, soltava papagaio
Até meus quatorze anos era esse meu mal.... (GC 4)

Moreover, songs like the sensuous “Tigresa” (1977) composed by Caetano Veloso, became in the voice of Gal Costa the expression of homoerotic desire by explicit sexual reference. In this specific case other binary constructions are inverted, including racial values, blackness is compared to gold, and goodness is represented as evil and cruel: “Uma tigresa de unhas negras e íris cor de mel / Uma mulher, uma beleza que me aconteceu / Esfregando sua pele de ouro marrom do seu corpo contra o meu / Me falou que o mal é bom e o bem cruel....” (GC 1). Exploring similar thematic territory, Costa recorded Luiz Melodia’s composition “Pérola Negra” (1971) which also alludes to lesbianism and to black beauty: “Tente me amar pois estou te amando / ... / Tente entender tudo mais sobre o sexo / Peça meu livro / Querendo te empresto / ... / Pérola negra te amo, te amo....” (GC 2). Gal Costa played such a major role in the 1970s in

³ “Teco-teco” composed by Pereira da Costa and Milton Villela was first recorded in 1950 by Ademilde Fonseca (AF 1)—Ademilde Fonseca Delfim (b. 1921)—one of the radio divas (*Dicionário Cravo Albin*).

opening up space to female homoeroticism that she became a lesbian icon: “Apontada como ‘ícone lésbico’ de sua adolescência pela ex-cantora e ativista homossexual Vange Leonel, graças ao seu papel vanguardista em termos de atitude cênica, musical e verbal durante a década de 70, aberto inclusive a todas as formas de amor” (Faour 191). Confirming the singer’s interest in exploring the theme of same-sex desire, in 1981 she recorded Chico Buarque’s controversial “Bárbara” in a duet with Simone (SO 1), replicating the dialogue between the two women original to the play *Calabar* (1972), and giving it its full lesbian meaning.

In the early years of Tropicália, Maria Bethânia would make an intriguing pair with her brother Caetano, as they explored their physical resemblance to blur established visual signs of “real” sex and gender identities. More than once they have posed side by side, wearing similar clothing and long hair, questioning the authenticity of gender representations and adopting androgyny as a central motif, as reflected on the cover of the 1978 *Maria Bethânia e Caetano Veloso ao vivo* (MB 5). She and her fellow female vocalist were the first women artists to replicate in the late 1970s the same-sex on-stage kiss inaugurated by Caetano: “As já famosas cantoras de música popular, Maria Bethânia e Gal Costa, deixaram-se fotografar, ao final de um *show*, dando-se um terno beijo na boca — o que, de certo modo, veio quebrar o gelo entre as mulheres” (Trevisan, *Devassos* 287). Later in 2001, when celebrating 35 years of career with the show *Maricotinha* in Rio de Janeiro, Maria Bethânia kissed younger singer-songwriter Adriana Calcanhoto on the lips, so grabbing the media’s attention that the incident appeared on the first page of the city’s best selling newspaper, *O Globo* (Faour 428).

As for song lyrics, Maria Bethânia has become the main interpreter of her brother’s compositions, and she always maintains the female subject as the object of desire. In 1993, the singer recorded *As canções que você fez pra mim* (MB 2), an album wholly dedicated to Erasmo

and Roberto Carlos' romantic songs.⁴ In most of the songs on this album, she maintained the male-female utterance, especially in the ones where gender modification would imply loss of the rhymes, such as in “Detalhes,” “Fera ferida,” and “Seu corpo.”

The practice of performing as written would open up further possibilities in later female generations. At present (2007) not only is it perfectly “natural” for women to preserve the masculine “I,” several singers have adopted this mode as a political tool to defy misogyny. In the 1980s artists such as Marina Lima, Sandra de Sá, Simone and Ana Carolina alluded to lesbianism and subverted hegemonic discourses through the provocative performance of traditional *machista* songs. In “Mesmo que seja eu” (1984), composed by Erasmo and Roberto Carlos, Marina Lima—Marina Correia Lima (b. 1955)—proposed being the man a woman “needs:” “Você precisa de um homem pra chamar de seu / mesmo que este homem seja eu....” (ML 1). At this time, she also experimented with gender bending through visual elements: “Brincando com a inversão, Marina, já nos anos 1980, chegou a apresentar-se de cabelos curtos, terno e gravata, fazendo o tipo de um rapazinho atrevido, enquanto cantava” (Trevisan, *Devassos* 287). Songwriter Erasmo Carlos was surprised to realize that his song had become an important reference for some lesbian groups: “Fiquei sabendo que esta música virou o hino das sapatas ... Só me dei conta disso quando fui ao presídio do Carandiru fazer um show para a ala feminina e as detentas todas a cantaram em massa, era o hino delas” (qtd. in Faour 415).

Marina Lima's repertoire has several songs alluding to lesbianism and bisexuality, such as “Difícil” (1986), with text by her brother Antônio Cícero: “Ela é bela / Por que não com ela?....” (ML 4). “Não estou bem certa” (1991), version of “Sign your name” (Terence D'Arby)

⁴ Roberto Carlos is considered the major icon of Brazilian romantic pop music, and has been the national best selling artist for decades.

created in collaboration with Pedro Pimentel, offers two possible readings—the dilemma of a bisexual woman or the search for “masculine” attributes in female lovers:

.....
Penso na menina e fico atenta aos braços do rapaz
Vai ver que eu quero alguém diferente
.....
Será que você será a dama que me completa
Será que você será o homem não estou bem certa
.....
Procurar Ricardos em Solanges nunca me fez mal.... (ML 2)

The artist also recorded Gilberto Gil’s “Corações a mil” (1980), which explores bisexuality and confronts conventional monogamous relationships: “Minhas ambições são dez / Dez corações de uma vez / Pra eu poder me apaixonar / ... / Toda gente fina, toda perna grossa / Todo gato, toda gata, toda coisa linda que passar....” (ML 3).

Tim Maia’s “Vale tudo” (1982), generally perceived as an anti-gay song, when performed by Sandra de Sá—Sandra Christina Frederico de Sá (b. 1955)—in 1983, gained new meanings due to the singer’s open lesbianism: “Vale tudo / Só não vale dançar homem com homem / e nem mulher com mulher....” (SS 4). Rodrigo Faour asserts that Tim Maia’s intention was probably ambiguous, even though the audience perceived his original recording as a negative message about homosexuality. In an exclusive interview given to the journalist in 1997, Maia declared his belief in bisexuality as a natural characteristic of human beings: “Todo ser humano é bissexual e ele só não assume isso. Todo ser humano pensa na morte e na sua bissexualidade a toda hora” (qtd. in Faour 409). Nevertheless, the irony implied in the song’s last line—“Atenção! Cuidado com a nova ordem! / Liberou geral! Agora vale tudo!”(SS 4)—only became a liberating commentary when performed by Sandra de Sá, who, differently than Tim Maia, was not identified as heterosexual. This reinforces Judith Butler’s point that parodies of

heterosexist discourses only gain full subversive power when they take place in non-heterosexual context.

In the beginning of her career, Sandra de Sá composed “Bandeira” (1980), in collaboration with Faffy Siqueira, in which she suggested gaining enough courage to flirt openly with another woman: “Essa menina um dia ainda acaba comigo / Mas ainda perco a minha e faço a cabeça dela / ... / Um dia desses / Me chego na careta / E dou bandeira...” (SS 1). Since then, Sandra de Sá has turned into an icon for gays and lesbians especially for her openness in stating her homosexuality. Lesbianism was also suggested in her recording of “Eu amo você” (Cassiano-Rochael, 1998), where she preserved the female love object: “eu amo você, menina...” (SS 2). The title of the album in which this song was included already suggested gender trouble for the inflection to the masculine: *Eu sempre fui sincero, você sabe muito bem* (SS 2). Sandra de Sá included in her repertoire the aggressive “Picadinho de macho” (1995), by Tavito and Aldir Blanc, which defied traditional images of virility and proposed a violent castration of the Brazilian *macho*:

Vamos deixar esses caras de quatro
Mostrar que esses ratos não passam de patos
.....
Vamos dizer que são bichas, brochas
.....
Que a meta é se vingar
Malhar o Judas
Vou lá capar o macho
Sangue e salada no almoço e jantar
.....
Vamos armar picadinho de macho.... (SS 3)

The song became a hit after being included in the soundtrack of a soap opera broadcast by the country’s largest television network Rede Globo.

Nevertheless, Sandra de Sá own composition “Demônio colorido” (1980) was somewhat ambiguous regarding women’s imagery. The lyrics relive the common theme of the *femme fatale* who breaks everyone’s heart: “Mas eu vou lhe guardar com a força de uma camisa / me despir do pavor / lhe chamar de amiga / 24 horas por dia / tentando o meu juízo / foi unanimamente eleita / meu demônio colorido...” (SS 1). Even though alluding to an unusual context of lesbianism, the song replicated traditional heterosexual discourse, making use of words that reinforced the stereotypical vision of women as dangerous creatures, who can be compared to the devil.

Sandra de Sá is also a relevant case for illustrating the limits imposed by the music industry, the efforts made to restrain subversive attitudes and to contain them on stage, as “mere” performative acts. Taking the artist as an example, Braga-Pinto hypothesizes about the acceptable limits of unconventional sexuality:

The case of Sandra de Sá may prove that in fact there is somewhat of a limit between the public display of sexuality in and outside someone’s work. Whereas sexual ambivalences are acceptable in songs, they are not always tolerated in the artist’s “real life.” (203)

According to the author, after announcing her homosexuality (in her words, “a woman who loves women”) in an interview given to the gay magazine *Sui Generis*, the singer was actually reprimanded by her recording company (WEA). Severino Albuquerque, in his analysis of cross-dressing in Brazilian mainstream entertainment, adds that there are stricter limits on women’s transgressive performances: “What has been so far permissible is a certain measure of gender bending—teasing instances of gender play involving mostly popular entertainers and singers” (23). In this sense, there is a suggestion that society is less tolerant in relation to women that disobey gender and sexuality norms.

Another example that illustrates the replication of heterosexist discourse in a lesbian context is Simone’s—Simone Bittencourt de Oliveira (b. 1949)—recording of “Mulheres”

(Toninho Geraes, 1997). The composition became famous in the very masculine voice of *sambista* Martinho da Vila as a celebration of male sexual conquests. The lyrics explored a full list of the different kinds of women the narrator had seduced (or possessed, as the verb *ter* literally translates, “to have”): “Já tive mulheres do tipo atrevida / Do tipo acanhada do tipo vivida / Casada carente, solteira feliz / Já tive donzela e até meretriz / Mulheres cabeça e desequilibradas / Mulheres confusas de guerra e de paz....” (SO 2). The derogatory words, exposed in a series of prejudicial binary representations of women, including the typical saint-prostitute dichotomy, may have been rearticulated in Simone’s voice due to the allusion of lesbianism. Yet, the lack of any obvious stance of parody in her recording invites questioning and postulating a possible reinforcement of misogynous discourse. Also problematic are Simone’s recordings of two songs that made reference to women as “property” and implied the use of violence against the ones who “misbehave.” In the beginning of her career in the 1970s she performed “Se essa mulher fosse minha” (Geraldo Gomes-Haroldo Torres, 1946): “Se essa mulher fosse minha / Eu tirava do samba já, já! / Dava uma surra nela / Que ela gritava: –chega!” (qtd. in Faour 106). Later in 2002, she recorded the already mentioned classic by Geraldo Pereira, “Sem compromisso:” “Você só dança com ele e diz que é sem compromisso / É bom acabar com isso / Não sou nenhum pai João / Quem trouxe você fui eu, não faça papel de louca / Pra não haver bate-boca dentro do salão....” (SO 4). This song was performed by Simone in a duet with samba-singer Zeca Pagodinho as a parody of the original lyrics: they replaced the threat of verbal violence (“bate-boca”) by physical aggression: “se não te arrebento a boca dentro do salão....” (SO 4). Although their intention is obviously to mock *machista* discourses, it is hard to determine if they achieve this objective or if they end up reinforcing conventional ideas. Because the performance lacks a sign of more explicit subversion, it could be argued that

Simone, instead of questioning, is adopting, as a lesbian character, the same misogynous male attitudes. As Aparicio points out (173), for full re-articulation to take place there must be an instance of parody or discourse appropriation by gender role inversion, for example. This is what Cuban singer Celia Cruz did when she recorded a version of the Brazilian hit “Você abusou” (“Usted abusó”), in which she assumed the role of the speaking subject and denounced the abuses of her male lover.

More confrontational was Simone’s recording of “Água na boca” (1985), by Tunai and Abel Silva, one of the several songs in which she addressed a female lover: “Por ela eu vivo nessa aflição / Por ela dispara meu coração....” (SO 3). The singer added a provocative last line, absent in the original lyrics, making explicit the sexual connotation: “Por ela eu vivo com esse tesão” (SO 3).

In the works of some successful younger female songwriters, such as Adriana Calcanhoto and Ana Carolina, there is a tendency to prefer the adoption of a neutral gender for both the subject position and the love object addressed. The absence of clear gender markers could hardly be considered something unintentional and should not be disregarded. As in all romance languages, in Portuguese this implies deliberate avoidance since nouns and adjectives are inflected for gender, masculine or feminine. The alternative is to replace nouns like *man* and *woman* by neutral terms, such as *pessoa* ‘person’ or *amor* ‘love’, in order to refrain from gendering other words.

This option is not exclusive to Brazilian popular music. Aparicio notes the frequent use of this scheme by female songwriters from other Latin American countries. As the critic observes, the only concrete element in this semiotic openness is the presence of the singer herself, and performance becomes central in the analysis of meanings conveyed by the lyrics:

Women-authored boleros [show] a larger degree of gender “aperture” (ambiguity) than in men’s texts ... What is significant is the centrality of the singer’s sexual identity and of the act of singing through which the text is gendered with his/her voice and body. The presence of the audience, the listener or receptor, in this semiotic triangle further complicates fixing gender values on to these texts. (138)

Still, as previously discussed, in Brazilian popular music the physical presence of the singer does not necessarily mean adopting a woman’s perspective. Because female artists have tended since the late 1960s to preserve original lyrics despite of the gender, creating a license for the performance of male personae, I would argue that the centrality of the singer’s sexual identity in the semiotic process is dislocated to the listener. It is only through reception that the text is firmly gendered, and audiences with distinct sexual orientations may find space to articulate their own subjectivities. Moreover, as Aparicio suggests, “listening, like consumption, is not merely a passive behavior, an ideological consent, but rather constitutes a potential instance for rewriting culture” (123).

Singer-songwriter Adriana Calcanhoto—Adriana Calcanhoto (b. 1965)—also explored gender ambiguity through visual elements in the album *A fábrica do poema* (1994). The booklet contains an ID format photo (3x4) in which a moustache and a beard were later drawn with a pen on the singer’s face (AC 1). Because of the artist’s short hair, this artifice questions conventional readings of drag: the notion of an existing “true” sex hidden behind a “false” gender representation. It is also troubling due to its revelation of the performative nature of gender through the production of an obviously distorted copy of masculinity.

For the 2002 album *Cantada*, Adriana Calcanhoto recorded two complementary songs by Péricles Cavalcanti in an intriguing sequence: “Sou sua” and “Intimidade (sou seu).” Playing with the cacophony of exhaustive repetition of the “s” words, both songs end up with the same conclusion that reiterates the titles—“I am yours,” inflected in one for a male subject, in the other,

for a female. In the first, the artist offers a list of female prototypes she may represent to her lover: “Sou sua Amélia / Sou sua Ofélia / ... / Sou sua chita / Sua criptonita / Sou sua Lois...” (AC 2). Some of the references are explicit in mocking traditional women’s representations, such as Amélia and Ofélia, both submissive and idealized characters portrayed in Brazilian *machista* songs of the 1940s. The new song is also satirical by proposing to assume Hollywood or comic-book female characters, such as Superman’s Lois Lane, or even the chimpanzee Chita of Tarzan. In the second song, through a parallel inversion, she proposes to represent alternative male identities to her lover, some odd like Tarzan and Frankenstein; some romantic like Romeo; or perverse, like Hitler: “Eu sou seu Hitler / Seu Peter Pan / Seu João Batista / Seu Tarzan / ... / Seu Frankenstein / ... / Sou seu Romeu / Seu labirinto / Eu sou seu Teseu...” (AC 2). On the same disc, her composition “A mulher barbada” questions bizarre otherness by speculating on the subjectivity of a bearded woman circus character: “Com o que será que sonha a mulher barbada? / ... / O que será que, hein? / O que será que tem a perder a mulher barbada?...” (AC 2).

Ana Carolina—Ana Carolina Souza (b. 1974)—has stretched the possibilities of lyrical gender inversions. In the late 1990s, she adopted an unusual masculine poetic “I” in both composition and performance. The artist refers to her album *Ana Rita Joana Iracema Carolina* (2001) as a tribute to Chico Buarque, and the names included in its title are some of the female characters created by him. In the liner notes, she states her intention of replicating his poetic approach by exploring multiple female subjectivities. While Chico composed several songs adopting a female point of view, in this album and subsequent ones, many of Ana Carolina’s compositions do the reverse with the creation of male personae, and the portrayal of themes typically perceived as belonging to the masculine universe. “Implicante” (2001) illustrates this kind of utterance, where there is a rhythmical and vocal reiteration of an aggressive content.

Adopting an *embolada* style, a folk-song form usually played by men, Ana Carolina beats the *pandeiro* strongly, alluding to a challenge to fight: “Hoje eu levantei com sono, com vontade de brigar / Eu tô manero pra bater pra revidar provocação / ... / Vê se não enche, não me encosta / Tô bravo que nem leão....” (AS 2).⁵ The song “Vox Populi” (2003) on her third album has a similar approach, and again beating strongly the *pandeiro*, Ana Carolina presents herself as associated with a series of marginalized male identities—street thugs, petty criminals and troublemakers: “arruaceiro, barraqueiro, batuqueiro, parceiro, maloqueiro, macumbeiro, funkeiro” (AS 4).

In her analysis of Janis Joplin, Sheila Whiteley discusses the forces that impel the female artist to adopt a “masculine” attitude:

Joplin was confronted by the problems inherent in a musical style which took on the blues tradition of sexual affirmation and sexist conservatism, but which harnessed it to a performance style which valued hardness, virtuosity and control. Her solution was both confrontational and conforming: lead with arrogance, project toughness and be “one of the boys.” (*Women* 57)

This assessment may help explain Ana Carolina’s adoption of male personae, which can be considered both “confrontational and conforming” because it reinforces men’s authority in certain thematic territories. Journalist Marcelo Zorzaneli questioned the songwriter about the contradiction in claiming the strong influence of Chico Buarque’s poetics in her works: while he is known for his sensitivity in depicting women’s emotions, she reflects “virility” in her own compositions. Ana Carolina confirmed adopting a “masculine” perspective in these songs, using

⁵ Gerard Béhague defines *embolada* as “a musical-poetic form often associated with northern dances such as the *cocos*, [which] alternates a fixed refrain with stanzas (sometimes improvised). It consists of a recitative-like melody ... The text, often comic and satirical, stresses onomatopoeia and alliteration which, with a fast tempo, enhance the rhythm of the song ... The *embolada* is also frequently associated with other contexts ... such as the *desafio*.” When it takes the form of *desafio*, literally a ‘challenge,’ singers compete in their ability to improvise and text improvisation becomes central, while the melody is subordinate.

one of her latest works, “Eu comi a Madonna” (2006), composed in collaboration with Mano Melo, Totonho Villeroy and Alvin L., as an example. The lyrics project a male identity and include a suggestion of an erect penis (“nervo rígido”):

Me esquenta com o vapor da boca
E a fenda mela
Imprensando minha coxa
Na coxa que é dela
Dobra os joelhos e implora
O meu líquido
Me quer, me quer, me quer e quer ver
Meu nervo rígido
.....
E me pediu que lhe batesse, lhe arrombasse, lhe chamasse
De cafona, marafona, bandidona
.....
Me apertou, me provocou e perguntou:
Quem é tua dona?... (AS 3)

The artist believes that her masculine personae address contemporary women’s desire for a more direct approach to sexuality, rather than for traditional romantic poetry:

Sim é tudo muito viril ... Nessa hora eu sou o cara. É completamente masculino ... Eu quero ficar com pecha de tarado. Eu adoro ... O compositor homem dá uma volta desnecessária. Dizem que as mulheres gostam de poesia ... Elas não gostam tanto assim, não (risos). (qtd. in Zorzanelli)

Even though in this statement Ana Carolina defends an approach against conventional romantic style, her compositions also include a number in the so-called *pop romântico* style, some that present a clear intertext with MPB classics, replicating typical heterosexual situations. In the rhythm of *samba bossa*, “Vestido Estampado” (2003) depicts a man’s broken heart during the carnival festivities. The lyrics have no specific gender markers, but the loved one’s “flower dress” indicates being a woman: “Seu vestido estampado, dei a quem pudesse servir...” (AS 4). Moreover, the allusion to a prototypical theme of popular music, leads the listener to “normalize” the gender roles. Nevertheless, the possibility for a lesbian relationship is kept open by the

physical presence of the female singer and by the adoption of the masculine only in the plural form (“como velhos desconhecidos”), which in the romance languages is the common grammatical structure for the expression of generic ideas: “Como velhos desconhecidos se você não me escuta / Eu não vou te chamar....” (AS 4). The song “Trancado” (1999) offers an unusual kind of gender trouble since both the narrator and the loved one are referred to as male and the singer herself is female. Although for the most part the subjects are only referred to as “I” and “you,” in the last strophe Ana Carolina introduces a complex situation in which both are inflected in the masculine: “Será que eu tô trancado aqui dentro? / será que você tá trancado lá fora?....” (AS 1).

Gender ambiguity has been a consistent element of Ana Carolina’s projected image, and it has also been visually explored. The back cover of *Ana Rita Joana Iracema Carolina* portrays a manicurist’s box full of beauty products, which contrasts with the toughness implied in other pictures on the lyric sheet: close ups of the singer’s fist punching her other hand, and of her arms dressed in a leather jacket. Although she claimed that this record was produced in “a moment of extreme femininity” (qtd. in Neves), neither the lyrics, nor the images, conform to what is perceived as being typically “feminine.” Her approach to “femininity” indicates a concern with delivering a feminist message, an invitation for women to be liberated from the domestic universe and from traditional role in patriarchal society: “Uso há cinco anos um anel que, na verdade, são braçadeiras de fogão ... Costumo dizer que a mulher tem que sair do fogão, botar o anel no dedo e ir em frente” (qtd. in Neves).

Inaugurating a more provocative phase in relation to sexuality, the release of the album *Estampado* (2003) was marked by a controversial concert in which Ana Carolina performed the *machista* song “Eu gosto de mulher,” first recorded in 1987 by the band Ultraje a Rigor (UR 1):

.....
Você sabe que eu adoro um peito
Peito pra dar de mamar
E peito só pra enfeitar

.....
Mulher faz bem pra vista
Tanto faz se ela é machista ou se é feminista

.....
Se eu fico sem mulher eu fico até doente
Mulher que lava roupa, mulher que guia carro
Mulher que tira a roupa, mulher pra tirar sarro.... (*Letras de músicas*)

According to Faour, this song was composed by Roger Moreira as an ironic response to the gay community that accused him of homophobia. In August 1985 the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* published an interview with the band, in which one of its members declared “A AIDS veio pra acabar com a viadagem,” while another one complemented, “Viado devia ser camicase” (qtd. in Trevisan, *Devassos* 445). The group leader, Roger Moreira, denies being the author of such statements, and claims that the song was initially offered to a female artist—singer Gal Costa—who never recorded it. Almost twenty years later, it became a major hit in Ana Carolina’s voice: “Essa música virou um hino, é obrigatória nos meus shows,” declared the artist to the newspaper *O Globo* (qtd. in Faour 427).

Despite Ana Carolina’s intention to generate controversy by recording a song with implicit reference to same-sex desire, the singer’s reaction to its success can be considered somewhat ambivalent. At that time, responding to the media attention that was being focused on her personal sexual orientation, she publicly assumed a bisexual identity, which gained enough relevance to be put on the cover of Brazil’s most popular weekly magazine, *Veja*. Questioned about the controversy, the songwriter declared that she was surprised by the fact that some lesbian artists still refrain from assuming their sexual orientation:

Comecei a perceber que haviam muitas cantoras gays que não gostavam de falar sobre isso, tinham verdadeira aversão – quase brigavam com os repórteres quando alguém

insinuava algo ... A gente tá no ano 2006, e as pessoas ainda acham que isso é um tipo de coragem ... Eu acho isso tudo tão antigo. (qtd. in Zorzanelli)

The artist later affirmed being “contra essa postura de levantar bandeiras para defender o homossexualismo, pois fica parecendo doença ... Posso até estar saindo com uma mulher, mas se eu me apaixonar por um homem e decidir casar com ele na igreja, de véu e grinalda, ninguém vai impedir” (qtd. in Faour 435). Besides insisting on statements that mark “the lesbian singers” as “the others,” in a distant third-person reference, she repeatedly showed deep concern with emphasizing her bisexuality. As pointed out by Faour, even though her attitude may represent a liberating form of self-representation that defies labeling, she ended up provoking an angry reaction from gay activists. Having had a major opportunity to stimulate an open debate on homosexuality after being on the cover of the best-selling Brazilian magazine, she refrained from adopting a more clear position and from becoming a spokesperson for important social issues, which was resented by activist groups.

At that time, Ana Carolina’s look underwent a major transformation as reflected on the album *Estampado* front cover. The previous image of the tough, pop-rock rebel, was replaced with a more femme look (make up, jewelry, and high heels), thus preserving ambiguity as a central motif (in a very “Caetano way”). It is interesting to note that the “feminine” dressing was adopted only for the album cover: in live performances of *Estampado* the artist preserved gender neutral clothing, and photographs of the singer with similar looks to that cover (in a dress, skirt or high-heels) are hard to find. Bearing in mind the case of Sandra de Sá, and both Alburquerque’s and Braga-Pinto’s comments on the stricter limits for the acceptance of female gender transgressions, one can legitimately ask if there was any influence from her recording label to sustain an ambiguous identity. In her analysis of Cuban singer-songwriter Albita Rodríguez, Aparicio refers to the forces of containment exerted by the cultural industry to

impose limits to the explicit articulation of lesbian identities. For this reason, in Albita's lyrics references to same-sex desire are kept implicit: "[Albita's] songs reveal the necessary compromises and containments that popular musicians have to make in order to be 'acceptable' by larger audiences" (243).

Months after the media controversy, still uncomfortable with what she classified as a "unilateral" portrayal of her identity, Ana Carolina released a new song "Homens e mulheres," to "counterbalance" the effects of the previous recording: "Homens vestindo sobretudo / Mulheres melhor sem sutiã / ... / Homens de amar tão de repente / Mulheres de amar pra sempre / ... / Eu gosto de homens e de mulheres / E você o que prefere?..." (AS 3). A close listening of the song lyric reveals that it in fact betrays her objective of portraying a "balanced" sexual orientation identity, even though it does refer to bisexuality: while men are to be admired wearing an overcoat and to be loved occasionally; women are better without bras and to be loved forever. Ana Carolina's overall preoccupation with distancing herself from a lesbian identity, and with visually projecting a more "feminine" image, may be related to what Butler points out as "the fear of losing gender:" "Some of the terror and anxiety that some people suffer in 'becoming gay,' the fear of losing one's place in gender or of not knowing who one will be if one sleeps with someone of the ostensibly 'same' gender" (*Gender* xi). On the other hand, the author reminds us of the risks in denying the possibility of bisexuality, advocating a sort of "purification" of homosexuality, which ends up replicating binary constructions by opposing gay to straight (*Gender* 154).

Also provocative was the recording of "O beat da beata" (2003), composed and performed in a duet with Seu Jorge:

.....
Tem beata, tem sapata, tem frei pegando gay
Tem puta loirinha e tem mulata, paraíba surdo e japonês
Na boate, o bate-estaca, preconceito não tem vez
Vale tudo, é tudo certo, porque a razão é do freguês
.....
A preta alisou, pôs silicone, amanhã vai querer botar caralha
E todo mundo vai no beat, seja qual for a sua praia.... (AS 4)

Dealing with a series of negative stereotypes, the song presents the discotheque as a space free of prejudices, where even unexpected transgendered identities may appear: the black woman who had silicon implants, and may someday wish to have penis prosthesis.

Singer-songwriter Ângela Rô Rô comprises a different case that invites questioning of the accepted limits of gender bending and of the ways by which society deals with outspoken homosexual artists. Rô Rô has been considered the most openly lesbian artist of mainstream MPB. She defied society's prejudices early in the 1980s and talked about her sexual orientation to the magazine *IstoÉ* in 1981: "O problema é que sou mulher e homossexual" (qtd. in Trevisan, *Devassos* 323). The artist landed on the newspapers' front pages on several occasions for allegedly committing violent acts against different female lovers. As she declared in distinct interviews, those were hard times in her life, when she faced problems related to drug dependency and alcoholism. Nevertheless, the artist resents being demonized by the media. Even though her love affairs were involved in turmoil, she believes this did not justify stereotyping her as a violent person: "Bati e apanhei muito, também. Mas não sou essa mulher violenta que dizem por aí. Já bebi muito" (qtd. in Mesquita and Guimarães). Faour confirms the media's prejudice, offering the headline of one important magazine to illustrate the point:

[Ângela Rô Rô] foi a única a realmente causar rebuliço ao ir parar nas manchetes dos jornais em abril de 1981, quando terminou um conturbado romance com a também talentosa Zizi Possi – com direito a muito preconceito da imprensa. Uma prestigiada revista, por exemplo, tascou o título "Virilidade" para falar da confusão. (396)

By using the word “virility” to refer to the situation, the media ended-up labeling Rô Rô as a “masculine woman,” thus reinforcing common sense notion of lesbians, especially butch, as a failed attempt to replicate men. As Butler emphasizes, in a context of heteronormativity, those who “fail” to perform gender appropriately are perceived as “bad copies” of an idealized “original” (“Imitation” 310), leading to the “homophobic charge that queens and butches and femmes are imitation of the heterosexual real” (“Imitation” 313).

As described in the biography published on the website *CliqueMusic*, Rô Rô ended up being treated as “uma artista maldita,” and would serve as a consolidation of society’s myths on the “evil lesbian” cliché. The media’s emphasis on her so-called “masculine” attitudes reveals the kind of gender prejudice that Butler differentiates from sexual discrimination: “Gay people ... may be discriminated against ... because they fail to ‘appear’ in accordance with accepted gender norms” (*Gender* xiii). In the heat of the gossip involving the break-up with singer Zizi Possi, Rô Rô released an album resembling a newspaper front page with the provocative title *Escândalo* (1981), in which she recorded the song of the same name composed by Caetano Veloso, raising the issue of social prejudice:

.....
Todas as coisas lindas dessa vida eu sempre soube amar
Não quero quebrar os bares como um vândalo
Você que traz o escândalo irmã luz
.....
Dou gargalhada, dou dentada na maçã da luxúria, pra quê?
Se ninguém tem dó, ninguém entende nada
O grande escândalo sou eu
Aqui só (AR 4)

From the same album, her compositions “Fraca e abusada”—with the lines “Nem preciso rogar praga de madrinha / Pra saber que brevemente estará mal e sozinha....” (AR 4)—and “Coitadinha, bem feito!” (AR 4) both address a former female lover using derogatory words and

claiming revenge. In later works, the artist would continue to adopt failed relationships as a theme, in most of them making use of a bitter sense of humor. In “Fila de ex-mulher” (created in collaboration with Ricardo Mac Cort, in 2000) she complained about her numerous annoying ex-lovers:

Tem fila de ex-mulé batendo em mim, ai
.....
Tem fila de ex-mulé me apurrinhando
.....
Dizendo que por minha causa a vida é uma luta
Que a vida de puta não é fácil não
.....
E eu me aprimorando na arte de driblar
Tanta mulher junta, querendo se vingar (AR 1)

With “Blues do arranco” (AR 4), Rô Rô transgressed female songwriters’ accepted boundaries for the development of sexual themes: “Deu uma de cafajeste numa trepada, confessando com todas as letras: ‘Sem a mínima vergonha / Ponho a fronha no teu rosto / E vou me amar’ – versos que nenhuma outra mulher na MPB teria coragem de escrever, nem que fosse mera provocação” (Faour 463).

The major innovation in Rô Rô’s compositions was the adoption of a female-female utterance, such as in “A vida é mesmo assim” (1984): “Você feliz longe de mim / Passeia toda emperiquitada / Alheia a que eu fique abandonada....” (AR 3). The reception for the unusual approach was positive as reflected in the success of the 1979 song “Tola foi você” (AR 2) which became one of her major hits. In “Gata, moleque, ninfa” (1984) Rô Rô dealt with gender ambiguity and queer identities, depicting a female lover who presents both butch and femme attributes: “Gata nova não pára, me arranhou a cara / E me sujou o chão / Moleque atrevidinho me deu um sorrisinho / E me deixou na mão....” (AR 3). In “Cheirando a amor” (1979) she

explored the theme of social prejudice, and made reference to people who, for this reason, prefer to stay “locked” in the closet:

Já pus de lado o tormento
De um mundo atento a não perdoar
Amantes sem fingimento
Delirantes formas de amar
.....
Trancada com medo da rua
Se isso é pecado me puna
A culpa de amar livre e nua
Que preconceito barato.... (AR 2)

The case of Rô Rô points to the secretive ways of Brazilian society in dealing with transgression. As previously discussed with respect to Ney Matogrosso, all sorts of “scandal,” whether unusual sexuality or the infringement of the “morality and propriety,” should be kept “por debaixo dos panos.”

Conclusions: From the 1970s on, different generations of women singers and songwriters have challenged the androcentric canon of Brazilian popular music. Prominent vocalists, such as Tropicalists Maria Bethânia and Gal Costa, and later Simone, Marina Lima and Sandra de Sá, have adopted strategies to interrogate traditional gender values, as well as to combat misogyny and the exclusivity of heterosexuality. In the role of songwriters, women created space for the full articulation of female subjectivity and developed songs that dealt with themes not necessarily related to their position as romantic partners for men. A first wave of female songwriters appeared in the late 1970s and early 1980s—most notably Joyce, Ana Terra, Fátima Guedes and Ângela Rô Rô, instituting models for future colleagues. Since then, younger artists, such Adriana Calcanhoto and Ana Carolina, have stretched the possibilities for transgressing gender norms, creating male personae and projecting bisexuality or lesbianism.

At the time of this writing (2007) it is perfectly acceptable for female to adopt men's perspective, be it through performance or composition. In fact, it is hard to find examples of female vocalists who have never recorded songs preserving the masculine "I" of original compositions. It can be argued that the repetition of this performative mode ended up being assimilated by hegemonic culture and naturalized, losing some of the subversive power it had in past. Moreover, because it is not possible to identify clearly an instance of parody in the recordings of some *machista* or sexist lyrics, their role as insubordination acts is questionable. Preserving the masculine point of view has been converted into an artistic license, which does not necessarily translate into a significant expansion of social acceptance of non-heterosexual identities. Being understood as the impersonation of characters, with no unambiguous signs of critique or deviance, the artifices fail as a full tool of contestation. When the singer projects the identity of a lesbian lover delivering misogynous discourse it may even reinforce some of the same paradigms established by heteronormativity.

Nevertheless, the contributions of those unusual utterances have helped to expand thematic boundaries, to question the meaning of "femininity" and to establish new models of what is to be a woman. There is no doubt that their works have played a part in expanding society's limits with regards to non-normative gender and sexuality. They offered a space for the articulation and the identification of non-heterosexual audiences. Still, with respect to broader effect in social dynamics, the result of their efforts can be considered somewhat limited. Artists who have openly spoken about their lesbianism (Ângela Rô Rô and Sandra de Sá notably) have faced prejudice from the media and been restricted by the cultural industry. Others have opted not to disclose their sexual orientation or as in the case of Ana Carolina, have shown a level of discomfort with being pointed to as lesbian icons. Both Braga-Pinto and Albuquerque remark

upon the stricter limits for female gender and sexuality transgression, and their innovations have tended to be contained as stage performative acts. All these aspects have inhibited the formation of a strong body of sexual politics. To a certain degree, the new gender and sexuality articulations have been taken as a carnivalesque expression, in which role inversions and empowerment of marginalized identities have a transient effect.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

The late 1960s and 1970s were years of vibrant creativity in Brazilian popular music. Influenced by national developments and international counterculture, youth began to challenge established social and cultural values. The most important event was the 1964 military coup, leading to a dictatorship in Brazil that would last for twenty-one years. Many young artists were committed to struggle against a double source of oppression: restrictive moral traditions of Brazilian society and the control exerted by the authoritarian regime. At this time an exceptionally creative new generation of music-makers arose, headed by Chico Buarque and Caetano Veloso.

With specific respect to gender issues, through the practice of cross-dressed poetics and the invention of ambiguous stage personae, the generation of Buarque and Veloso defied patriarchal values, female submission, masculine and feminine standards, and the exclusivity of heterosexuality. In 1966 Buarque started to adopt female poetic personae, which shifted the typical representation of women in popular music. As depicted by previous generations of male composers, female characters were, in a stereotypical ways, dichotomously constructed as “home-makers” or “sluts.” If they escaped one of the type castings, women might then be idealized muses who had no real attributes. Buarque portrayed alternative female subjectivities, and by taking their position, the songwriter projected a discourse of solidarity. He complexified gender themes; and writing back to the androcentric canon, he changed typical notions about transgressive women, showing them in a non-prejudicial manner and denouncing society’s hypocritical values. The songwriter consistently pointed to the failure of relationships under the patriarchal system, exposing mutual unhappiness, with an emphasis on female oppression. Because Buarque also assumed the female point of view to perform, he subverted the strict

correlation between the gender projected in the lyrics and the singer's. In this sense, more than expanding the thematic scope for female subjectivities, he also questioned notions of manhood, proposing a new model of man that appealed to the crowds that made of him a sex-symbol for decades. Nevertheless, Buarque's lyrics still reflected some aspects of the Western imaginary on women, sometimes reinforcing ideas about female manipulation, seduction, nourishment, and competition for men. The generations to follow Buarque would then propose more radical ruptures with gender constructions.

Following his artistic lead and the overall intention of *Tropicália* to break with established values, Veloso incorporated international androgynous aesthetics and went further in defying values of gender and sexuality, queering the MPB scenario. He blurred the lines between feminine and masculine, and throughout his career consistently refused to accept labeling. Veloso projected homoeroticism in his stage and lyrical personae, and in more controversial compositions he questioned the status of "abject" identities that cannot be represented within the cultural matrix. Challenging heteronormativity in its multiple dimensions, Veloso created gender trouble by exposing the lack of necessary connections between sex, gender, sexuality and sexual orientation. In the twenty-first century, Veloso declared that even though the transnational phase of artistic androgyny had come to an end, he still believed in the subversive potential of non-normative gender representations and in identity categories as a form of imprisonment that denies the subject. Tropicalist co-leader Gilberto Gil projected a mythical androgyny through performed lyrics that proposed the fusion of masculine and feminine principles. He and Veloso have consistently confronted the exclusivity and privileges of heterosexuality. Even though the three artists mentioned above have been mainly identified as heterosexuals, they proposed new

gender standards and modes of relationship, and more importantly, they carved out space for the articulation of non-normative gender and sexuality.

Ney Matogrosso has been more radical in his approach. He became a master of cross-dressing and masquerades. Throughout his successful career, the singer created multiple stage personae that questioned gender performativity and revealed its imitative nature. Parodying manhood and homophobic discourses, and exhibiting both male and female attributes, Matogrosso's creations were intentional “failed” copies that ultimately denounced the notion of normative heterosexuality as the original. The artist’s adoption of motifs of Brazilian nature defied the idea of homosexuality as unnatural. Declaring himself to be gay in the late 1970s Matogrosso also challenged stereotypes related to homosexual men. In this sense, he mocked typical perceptions of effeminate men and made fun of closeted homosexuals.

Female artists, on the other hand, have appropriated misogynous songs, and by maintaining the original masculine “I,” offered possibilities for lesbian readings. Throughout the past three decades, popular music has also become a space for women songwriters to break with androcentrism and to broaden female thematic scope. In the generation of Tropicalists Maria Bethânia and Gal Costa, it became perfectly natural for women to perform retaining the masculine voice. Mainstream artists such as Simone, Sandra de Sá and Marina Lima also alluded to lesbianism and bisexuality by performing male-authored songs. Singer-songwriter Ângela Rô Rô spoke about her lesbianism early in her career and created numerous songs addressing female lovers. Younger generations would stretch the possibilities of cross-dressed poetics. Adriana Calcanhoto played with drag in one of her album photo covers and recorded songs that projected both masculine and feminine identities. Singer-songwriter Ana Carolina has frequently adopted

an unusual male perspective both to write and to perform. She has defied accepted notions of femininity by exploring what she calls a “virile” approach in some of her compositions.

Having verified the practice of cross-dressed poetics over the past four decades, one should also consider artistic activity within a broader social perspective. Bearing in mind Judith Butler’s insistence that not every drag or parodic performance is necessarily subversive, a first aspect that should be taken into account is the repetition of these artistic artifices in mass-mediated vehicles, which may end up naturalizing the concepts it initially intended to denaturalize:

Just as metaphors lose their metaphoricity as they congeal through time into concepts, so subversive performances always run the risk of becoming deadening clichés through their repetition, and most importantly, through their repetition within commodity culture where “subversion” carries market value. (*Gender* xxi)

With regards to the subversive effects of such sexually ambiguous performances, it is also important to consider the ways in which artists deal with public and personal boundaries. When artists’ public performances have generated rumors of personal homosexuality, most have chosen to insist on privacy or ambiguity. Thus it should not be assumed that recent social gains and increased visibility for homosexuals in Brazil have been strongly influenced by discussions brought up by celebrities’ “coming out” stories. César Braga-Pinto summarizes the ways by which most artists have dealt with questions pertaining to personal sexuality:

Transgendered voices have been present in Brazilian music for many decades ... And rumor has never ceased to circulate concerning the homosexuality of the most important figures who have subsequently entered the Brazilian popular music scene ... Most of these artists have consistently refused to open the door to their closets, but have kept their windows open. (189)

The secretive way in which most artists have chosen to react with regards to their personal sexual orientation, especially in light of the incessant rumors circulating in the general public, resembles the mechanics of the “open secret” as conceptualized by Sedgwick, and is typical of

“closetedness.” As Eve Sedgwick proposes, society’s choice for silence/silencing belongs to powerful dynamics put in place to “enforce discursive power” through a pretense of ignorance (*Epistemology of the Closet*). In this sense, Brazilian society has tended to deal with unconventional sexuality as the “unspeakable.” Artists who broke with the silence and talked about their homosexuality, such as Ângela Rô Rô and Sandra de Sá, suffered prejudice from the media or were contained by the cultural industry. Ana Carolina after declaring her bisexuality has invested in attempts to distance herself from lesbianism and to emphasize her heterosexual experiences. Ney Matogrosso who had maintained a bold attitude discussing his homosexuality in the late 1970s has refrained from engaging in gay political activism.

General theories of the development of Brazilian society may also help to put gender issues in music into perspective, and to bring into relief the limited effects of such artistic innovations. Such aspects are emphasized by Severino Albuquerque in explaining why stage transgression in Brazil should always be “tentative” (*Tentative Transgressions: Homosexuality, AIDS, and the Theater in Brazil*.) A basic denial of social inequalities reinforces the tendency to push back the matter of sexuality to the private, individual level, comprising a force of resistance to the formation of a body of sexual politics and undermining claims for specific policies. The case of racial relations offers a relevant example of how the nation has chosen to cope with “otherness” and with social discrepancies. The concept of “ethnic democracy” introduced by Gilberto Freyre in *Casa-grande e senzala* (1933) gives rise to myths of racial and social democracy, the vision of Brazil as a harmonious melting pot where there is a peaceful acceptance of minorities. In the first English edition (*The Masters and the Slaves*, 1945), Freyre emphasized his optimistic view of the Brazilian future and the ways by which society was being shaped: “Our social history ... is undergoing a process whose direction is that of a broad

democratization. A democratization of interhuman relationships” (xiv); “a society that is democratic in its ethnic, social, and cultural composition” (xv). Extrapolations on those statements, loaded with generalizations such as “a certain fondness that the Brazilian has for honoring differences” (xv), would lead to a mystified view of Brazilian social dynamics.

Common misinterpretations of Sergio Buarque de Holanda’s idea of *cordialidade* (“cordiality”) also reinforce rejection of open confrontation and conflicts in Brazilian society. His definition of the key term (*Raízes do Brasil*, 1936) has tended to be associated with a lack of violent urges, avoidance of confrontations, and a peaceful disposition. In fact, Buarque de Holanda’s notion of cordiality included all emotions (affective positions related to the heart), including “unkind” ones. His governing idea was that Brazilians felt anxiety about impersonal relationships, replicating in the social and political sphere the intimate character of family life and projecting emotions into the public spaces. For Buarque de Holanda, such an attitude was in reality, a way for traditional aristocratic families in Brazil to perpetuate their privileges, dismissing the hierarchies of public institutions and the supposed neutrality of a liberal state. In this sense, the “cordial man” became another Brazilian myth equivocally drawn from the works of Buarque de Holanda, who was in fact calling the attention to the highly hierarchical nature of the society.

In terms of limits of cross-dressed performances, another relevant aspect is their carnivalesque nature, whereby transgressions of social norms end up confined to the category of the “exceptional.” According to Mikhail Bakhtin (*Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, 1929), artistic carnivalization incorporates several aspects of the rituals of carnival, including eccentricity, role inversions, and violations of generally accepted behaviors. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, approaching the carnivalesque in literature, consider the politics involved in

the rituals of carnival that also permeate artistic representations. These authors emphasize that, in contrast to Bakhtin's utopian vision of carnival as a locus for society's hierarchical inversions: "[p]olitically thoughtful commentators wonder, like [Terry] Eagleton, whether the 'licensed release' of carnival is not simply a form of social control of the low by the high and ... serves the interests of that very official culture which it apparently opposes" (13). From this perspective, that which could be considered subversive in seasonal festivities is in fact a reinforcement of traditional social practices. Carnival existing as a licensed and limited space for transgressions functions as a catharsis for the socially disempowered and further represses potential for insurgence.

Brazilian society, as conceptualized by anthropologist Roberto da Matta, is carnivalizing in nature (*Carnavais, malandros e heróis: para uma sociologia do dilema brasileiro*, 1979). Da Matta argues that every society has its own "extraordinary" locus where the world of ordinary life, through rites such as the carnival, provides a space to envision an alternative way of living. Social life embodies the ambivalences symbolized in the rituals of carnival, as well as the double moral and behavioral standards that separate public conduct (*rua*) from private life (*casa*), a similar dichotomy proposed by Sedgwick in regards to the closet's dynamics. Da Matta's approach to the carnival is drawn from Bakhtin's theory and shares some of his utopian vision about its subversive potential. For Da Matta, carnival temporarily suspends all class lines and is a privileged locus of inversion that allows counter-hegemonic discourses. By adopting this optimistic view of the carnival, Da Matta is relativizing one of the critical points of his approach, the fact that the festivity is an exceptional space with a clear time limit and that the general understanding is that once it is over, society must return to its traditional dynamics. Even though carnival carries a potential to expose and reveal society's open wounds, and to suspend the need

of “social masks,” its real power in producing any long-term change is highly questionable. Another political nuance that Albuquerque notes is the carnival’s “uncritical populism ... which is of particular consequence to issues of marginality and inversion” (14). According to Stallybrass and White “carnival often violently abuses and demonizes *weaker*, not stronger social groups ... in a process of *displaced abjection*” (19). It can be added that carnival also presents a clear contrast of what is acceptable in daily life and what is exceptional, thus reinforcing hegemonic discourses. In this regard, artistic cross-dressing may serve to ratify dominant acceptable behaviors, and the stage could be then understood as a metaphor for the carnival festivities, where the extravagant is temporarily allowed.

The existence of unconventional cultural expressions of gender and sexuality in popular music contrasts with at-large views in Brazilian society of sexual ambiguity and homosexuality. Even with all its advances, the popular-music scenario itself is still one of pervasive heterosexist attitudes. Moreover, if attitudes and awareness have been affected by music, society’s continuing prejudices against gays, lesbians and transgendered individuals translates into a lack of consistent public policies. Brazil shows a shockingly ambivalent reality in relation to homosexuality: it simultaneously holds records for the world’s largest gay pride parade and for violent crimes against homosexuals (Luiz Mott, “The Gay Movement and Human Rights in Brazil.”) Although relevant civil and human rights gains have been obtained in the past two decades, they have been implemented mostly through jurisprudence, not legislation, and then through individual state laws, not national. At the federal level, James Green stresses that the action of conservative coalitions have been blocking legislative proposal for same-sex domestic partnerships for the past twelve years (*Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil*). The inclusion of an amendment to the Constitution concerning anti-

discrimination of sexual orientation has also been constantly postponed. Green summarizes some of Brazil's cultural paradigms and social ambivalences, establishing their link to the theme of homosexuality:

The contradictory images of permissive Carnival festivities and murderous brutality are startling ... Just as the pervasive myth that Brazil is a racial democracy obfuscates deep-seated patterns of racism and discrimination, so too the notion that "there is no sin below the equator" obscures widespread cultural anxiety about same-sex activity. (5)

The value of the contributions of select artistic performances in MPB is, again, undeniable. Since the late 1960s, some prominent Brazilian singers-songwriters have used the mainstream scenario of popular music to identify and to defy heterosexism, homophobia, misogyny, and gender stereotypes. MPB became a space where artists and their audiences could publicly experience as never before gender transgressions. Moreover, they have played a role in opening possibilities for articulation of more fluid definitions of self. Nevertheless, exhaustive repetition within commodity culture and social dynamics pose a limit to the subversive potential of such artistic utterances. The analysis of this topic has shown how problematic, still, are the traditional ways Brazilian society deals with the boundaries of public and private spheres. The fact that those defiant experiences occur in a select, carnivalized public space means that they do not necessarily translate into acceptance of personal gender transgressions or into sexual politics, and the preference in Brazil continues to be to keep unconventional sexuality as the "unspeakable."

APPENDIX
DISCOGRAPHY

Ademilde Fonseca - AF

1. *Brasileirinho/Teco-teco*. Continental 78, 1950.

Adriana Calcanhoto - AC

1. *A fábrica do poema*. Sony Music, 1994.
2. *Cantada*. BMG Brasil, 2002.

Ana Carolina - AS

1. *Ana Carolina*. BMG Brasil, 1999.
2. *Ana Rita Joana Iracema Carolina*. BMG Brasil, 2001.
3. *Dois quartos*. Sony BMG, 2006.
4. *Estampado*. BMG Brasil, 2003.

Ângela Rô Rô - AR

1. *Acertei no milênio*. Jam Music, 2000.
2. *Ângela RoRo*. Polydor, 1979.
3. *A vida é mesmo assim*. Polydor, 1984.
4. *Escândalo*. Polydor, 1981.
5. *Só nos resta viver*. Polydor, 1980.

Aracy de Almeida - AA

1. *Pra que mentir/Silêncio de um minuto*. Continental 78, 1951.
2. *Eu sei sofrer/O maior castigo que eu te dou*. Victor 78, 1937.

Caetano Veloso - CV

1. *Araçá azul*. Phonogram, 1972.
2. *Bicho*. Polygram, 1977.
3. *Caetano*. Polygram, 1987.
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5. *Caetano... muitos carnavais...* Polygram, 1977.
6. *Caetano: Série grandes nomes*. Polygram, 1994.
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9. *Cores, nomes*. Polygram, 1982.
10. *Prenda minha*. Polygram, 1999.
11. *Totalmente demais, ao vivo*. Polygram, 1986.

Cazuza - CZ

1. *Burguesia*. Polygram, 1989.

Chico Buarque - CB

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2. *Caetano e Chico – juntos e ao vivo*. Polygram, 1972.
3. *Calabar, o elogio da traição*. Phonogram, 1973.

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10. *Meus caros amigos*. Phonogram, 1976.
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13. *Ópera do Malandro*. Polygram, 1979.
14. *Uma palavra*. BMG Ariola, 1995.
15. *Vida*. Polygram, 1980.

Chico César - CC

1. *Aos vivos*. Velas, 1995.

Conjunto A voz do morro - VM

1. *Roda de samba*. Musidisc, 1965.

David Bowie - DB

1. *Bowie! Chameleon*. Starcall Records (New Zealand), 1979.
2. *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars*. RCA, 1972.

Elizeth Cardoso - EC

1. *Elizeth sobe o morro*. Copacabana, 1965.

Gal Costa - GC

1. *Caras e bocas*. Universal. 1977.
2. *Fa-tal Gal a todo vapor*. Phonogram, 1971.
3. *Gal: Série grandes nomes*. Polygram, 1994.
4. *Meu nome é Gal: o melhor de Gal Costa*. Polygram, 1988.
5. *Minha voz*. Polygram, 1982.
6. *Profana*. RCA Victor, 1984.

Genival Lacerda - GL

1. *Genival Lacerda*. Copacabana, 1982.

Gilberto Gil - GG

1. *Extra*. Warner Music, 1983.
2. *Realce*. Warner Music, 1979.
3. *Refazenda*. Warner Music, 1975.

Gonzaguinha - GJ

1. *De volta ao começo*. EMI-Odeon, 1980.

2. *Geral*. EMI-Odeon, 1987.

Joyce - JC

1. *Tardes cariocas*. Polygram, 1983.

Lulu Santos - LS

1. *Gosto de batom*. Polygram, 1980.

Maria Bethânia - MB

1. *Álibi*. Polygram, 1978.
2. *As canções que você fez pra mim*. Polygram, 1993.
3. *Dezembros*. RCA Victor, 1986.
4. *Drama - Anjo Exterminado*. Phonogram, 1972.
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6. *Mel*. Polygram, 1979.

Marina Lima - ML

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2. *Marina Lima*. EMI-Odeon, 1991.
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4. *Todas*. Polygram, 1986.

Nana Caymmi - NC

1. *Mudança dos ventos*. EMI-Odeon, 1980.

Ney Matogrosso - NM

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9. *Pecado*. Continental, 1977.
10. *Pescador de pérolas*. CBS, 1986.
11. *Pois é*. Polygram, 1983.
12. *Seu tipo*. Warner Music, 1979
13. *Sujeito estranho*. Warner Music, 1980.
14. *Vivo*. Polygram, 2000

Pepeu Gomes - PG

1. *Masculino e feminino*. CBS, 1983.

Sandra de Sá - SS

1. *Demônio colorido*. RGE, 1980.

2. *Eu sempre fui sincero, você sabe muito bem*. Warner, 1998.
3. *Olhos coloridos*. Som Livre, 1995.
4. *Vale tudo*. RGE, 1983.

Secos e Molhados - SM

1. *Secos e Molhados*. Continental, 1973.

Silvio Caldas - SC

1. *Pra que mentir/Cessa tudo*. Victor 78, 1938.

Simone - SO

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3. *Cristal*. CBS, 1985.
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Ultraje a Rigor - UR

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Luciana Monteiro was born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on January 9, 1967. She graduated from Colégio Andrews' High School in 1984, and she attended the Pontifícia Universidade Católica of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), where she received a B.A. in social communications in 1990. She made a career in corporate business as a Brand Manager and Market Research Specialist from 1990 until 2003. She received a post-baccalaureate in marketing also from PUC-Rio in 1994. She entered the Graduate School at the University of Florida-Gainesville in 2004, where she taught Portuguese in the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures from 2004 until 2007. There she received a certificate for Outstanding Academic Achievement from the Center for International Students and was the recipient of Grinter fellowships and book scholarships. She was awarded the Master of Arts in Latin American studies with a concentration in Brazil/Portuguese and Spanish America/Spanish in August of 2007. She was admitted to Tulane University in August of 2007 to begin work on the PhD in Spanish and Portuguese.