

HEITOR VILLA-LOBOS AND GETÚLIO VARGAS:  
CONSTRUCTING THE “NEW BRAZILIAN NATION” THROUGH A NATIONALISTIC  
SYSTEM OF MUSIC EDUCATION

By

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To my parents for their constant and unconditional support – without them I never would have gotten where I am now

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	4
LIST OF TABLES.....	7
LIST OF FIGURES.....	8
LIST OF OBJECTS .....	10
LIST OF EXAMPLES .....	11
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	12
ABSTRACT .....	13
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION .....	16
Materials and Methods.....	29
Materials.....	29
Methodologies .....	32
Overview.....	34
2 THE BEGINNINGS OF ORPHEONIC CHANT IN BRAZIL: MUSIC EDUCATION IN THE COMPLEX CONTEXT OF THE first REPUBLIC.....	39
The “Old” Brazil: A Social, Political, and Economic Panorama of the First Republic.....	45
Education: the Integral Formation of Children and Elevation of the Cultural Level of the Country .....	50
Music Education before Villa-Lobos: Prolegomenon and the Origins of a Method .	56
Music Educators.....	58
Repertories.....	61
Orpheonic Groups: Socialization and Artistic Development of Children .....	64
Villa-Lobos and the Brazilian Modernists: the Search for Brazilian Identity .....	68
Brazil in the 1930s: an Arid Soil for Brazilian Music.....	72
Villa-Lobos’s Viewpoint.....	78
Reversing the Situation: Music Education and the Artistic Excursion Villa-Lobos...	80
The Artistic Excursion and Villa-Lobos’s Music .....	83
The Significance of the Artistic Excursion.....	86
Final Considerations .....	89
3 HEITOR VILLA-LOBOS AND GETÚLIO VARGAS: INDOCTRINATING CHILDREN THROUGH MUSIC EDUCATION.....	91

Vargas's Ideology and Education: Structuring the Imagined Community .....	103
Vargas and the Homogenization of His Ideology: Constructing the Imagined Community .....	110
Vargas and Villa-Lobos: Imagining Communities, Indexing Minds .....	113
Program of Music Education: Indexing Brasilidade and Constructing the Imagined Community through Music .....	121
Orpheonic Chant and the Senses of Patriotism, Discipline, and Civic Duty: Indoctrinating the Imagined Community .....	125
Educational and Administrative Institutions of Music Education: Planning Out and Administering the Imagined Community .....	129
Final Considerations .....	134
<b>4 REACHING OUT TO THE BRAZILIAN FAMILY: THE SYSTEM OF MUSIC EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL.....</b>	<b>143</b>
The Teacher's Orpheon .....	151
European Music: Raising the Artistic Level in Brazil and Instilling Pride in the Population .....	154
The Teacher's Orpheon and Brazilian Music: Raising Brazilians' Awareness of Their Cultural Heritage .....	157
Teacher's Orpheon and the Education of the Masses.....	162
Orchestral Music and Music Education.....	173
The Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro .....	173
Orchestra Villa-Lobos.....	177
Final Considerations .....	180
<b>5 ORPHEONIC CONCENTRATIONS: POLITICAL PROPAGANDA AND THE MATERIALIZATION OF THE IMAGINED COMMUNITY.....</b>	<b>192</b>
The Beginning of a Tradition.....	196
Orpheonic Concentrations of Independence Day: the Materialization of the Imagined Community.....	200
A Real Community of Children and Adults.....	203
Organization and Discipline .....	207
The Logistics of Hora da Independência .....	207
Bands and the Sense of Discipline in the Orpheonic Concentrations.....	214
The Music Programs and Vargas's Ideologies: a Real Community Imagines the Nation .....	216
The Emotional Effect of Orpheonic Concentrations: Crystallizing the Real Community .....	218
Final Considerations .....	220
<b>6 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>LIST OF REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>239</b>
<b>BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....</b>	<b>251</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>page</u>
3-1	Number of Secondary Schools and Registered Children in Brazil between 1932 and 1945.....	136

## LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>page</u>
2-1	João Gomes Junior's <i>manossolfa</i> signs ..... 90
3-1	Getúlio Vargas: Amigo das crianças, cover page..... 137
3-2	Vargas and school children from <i>A Juventude no Estado Novo</i> ..... 138
3-3	Villa-Lobos demonstrating the <i>manossolfa</i> sign that stands for mi2 ..... 141
3-4	Villa-Lobos using the <i>manossolfa</i> in the 1940s..... 142
4-1	Teacher's Orpheon (picture from a 1935 concert program)..... 181
4-2	"Missa Solemnis program" from 1933 In Teacher's Orpheon's Five Concerts form 1933 ..... 182
4-3	Cover page of 2 Great Historical Concerts of Brazilian Music (2 Grandes Concertos Históricos de Música Brasileira) ..... 183
4-4	Teacher's Orpheon's concert program from 28 April 1935.. ..... 184
4-5	Theatro Municipal: Concertos Symphonicos Culturaes, Temporada Official, 1935, Programma do 6º Concerto ..... 185
4-6	Cover page of the Concerto Sinfônico em Comemoração do 2º Aniversário do Estado Novo (Symphonic Concert in Commemoration of the 2nd Anniversary of the New State) ..... 186
4-7	First page of the original petition that created the Orchestra Villa-Lobos.. ..... 187
4-8	Programmas da Orchestra Villa-Lobos..... 188
4-9	Cover page of Orchestra Villa-Lobos's concert programs ..... 189
5-1	Exhortação Cívica Villa-Lobos (Civic Exhortation Villa-Lobos) of 24 May 1931. .... 223
5-2	Logistics and organization of children and general public on the Orpheonic Concentration of 7 September 1939..... 224
5-3	Ticket invite for the Orpheonic Concentration of 7 July 1935 ..... 225
5-4	Progression of bands in the Orpheonic Concentration of 7 September 1939... 226

- 5-5 Orpheonic Concentration of Brazil's Independence Day that took place in São Januário in 7 September 1942 and gathered 25,000 students..... 227
- 5-6 Fifteen thousand students in uniform holding little flags in the Orpheonic Concentration that took place in 7 September 1943 at the soccer stadium São Januário ..... 227

## LIST OF OBJECTS

<u>Object</u>	<u>page</u>
4-1 Villa-Lobos conducting the Teacher's Orpheon on J.S.Bach Choral 148 .....	167
4-2 Teacher's Orpheon Singing Boas Vindas from <i>Canções de Cordialidade</i> .....	168
5-1 Villa-Lobos conducting an Orpheonic Concentration on the Independence Day and followed by an Indigenous Ballet.....	200

## LIST OF EXAMPLES

<u>Example</u>	<u>page</u>
3-1 Score of “Soldadinhos” .....	139
4-1 Score of “As Costureiras” .....	190

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPDOC-FGV	Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação da Faculdade Getúlio Vargas
D.I.P.	Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda
MVL	Museu Villa-Lobos
SEMA	Secretaria de Educação Musical e Artística
WWII	World War II

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In Brazil from 1932 to 1945, Heitor Villa-Lobos, considered the most important Brazilian composer of all time, participated in the authoritarian regime of Getúlio Vargas as music educator and as what could be construed as an indoctrinator of the regime’s ideologies. Villa-Lobos implemented a program of music education in public schools that sought to promote discipline among children while socializing them in the school environment and educating them about aspects of the ethnic and sociocultural formation of Brazilian people and the “spirit” of Brazilian people, the so-called *brasiliidade* (Brazilian-ness). Villa-Lobos had sketched his program of music education in the 1920s with ostensibly pure educational intentions, but Vargas appropriated Villa-Lobos’s program and used it as a tool to homogenize the government’s nationalistic ideologies among children (and consequently their families).

Villa-Lobos’s method of music education was Orpheonic Chant, which Guillaume Louis Bocquillon Wilhem elaborated in France in the 1820s and João Gomes Júnior implemented in Brazil in 1912. When Villa-Lobos became the director of music education of Vargas’s regime, Orpheonic Chant was used throughout the state of São

Paulo, where Gomes Júnior implemented it. Despite Villa-Lobos adoption of the methodologies of Orpheonic Chant that music educators had established before him, he imposed much stronger nationalistic and patriotic orientations in his pedagogical approaches and increasingly aligned the directives of his Orpheonic Chant with the nationalistic and patriotic politics of the government.

Villa-Lobos worked mostly in the city of Rio de Janeiro (then the capital of Brazil), where Vargas made Orpheonic Chant mandatory in 1931. In 1932 Villa-Lobos organized the Teacher's Orpheon (*Orpheão de Professores*), a group of 250 teachers of Orpheonic Chant who performed concerts with civic, artistic, and patriotic purposes; and in 1933, musicians in Rio who sympathized with Villa-Lobos's quest for music education organized the *Orquestra Villa-Lobos* and chose Villa-Lobos as its conductor. Like the Teacher's Orpheon, the *Orquestra Villa-Lobos* also performed concerts with nationalistic, patriotic, and educational purposes. Additionally, Villa-Lobos regularly conducted the Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro in concerts of nationalistic and patriotic content.

Consequently, Villa-Lobos was accused of collaborating with the authoritarian government and of disseminating Vargas's ideologies through music. Despite admitting art in general could be used as a tool for political propaganda, he regularly said he had no personal interest in the regime, asserting that all he sought was to instill discipline and love for music. While scholars have mostly speculated whether Villa-Lobos used Vargas to promote his career or Vargas used Villa-Lobos to disseminate the government's ideologies, they tend to overlook the indoctrinating aspects of music education. My research demonstrates that regardless of his personal intentions, through

Orpheonic Chant, Villa-Lobos consciously instilled Vargas's nationalistic and patriotic ideologies in the minds of children. Through the Teacher's Orpheon, the Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro, and the *Orquestra Villa-Lobos*, Villa-Lobos sought to extend this education to adults as well. In this sense, he created a complex system of music education that reached out to the population of Rio de Janeiro as a whole, and worked to create a national program of music education.

Through analysis of extensive archival materials, most of which remain unpublished and had not been previously examined, I reevaluate the directives of Villa-Lobos's system of music education and argue that he became an important agent of indoctrination for the government of Vargas irrespective of his personal political ideology. Drawing on the concept of "indexicality" from Thomas Turino's theory of music semiotics and Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities," I demonstrate that, through music, Villa-Lobos imbued nationalistic and patriotic values and a sense of discipline and civic duty in people's identities, forming a community that imagined itself united through these shared ideals.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In 1987, the now extinct Brazilian broadcast company TV Manchete produced the documentary *O Índio de Casaca*<sup>1</sup> about composer Heitor Villa-Lobos (5 May 1887 – 17 November 1959). While the documentary covers Villa-Lobos's life as a whole, it focuses particularly on aspects of his personal life and on his role as a Brazilian composer, such as his musical nationalism and its importance for Brazilian music. This examination of Villa-Lobos's life and music was appropriate because, through mixing local musical elements with European compositional techniques in ways unprecedented in Brazil, he forged a musical language that synthesized the diverse ethnic elements in the formation of Brazilian culture; the result was a musical aesthetics appreciated both locally and internationally.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, as Gerard Béhague has recognized, Villa-Lobos was “the single most significant creative figure in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Brazilian art music.”<sup>3</sup> In many respects, his music also contributed to the search for what was termed *brasilidade* (Brazilian-ness),<sup>4</sup> the “spirit” of Brazilian people, which had occupied the minds of intellectuals

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<sup>1</sup> Roberto Feith, director, *O índio de casaca* (Rio de Janeiro: Manchete Vídeo, 1987). TV Manchete ceased its operations in 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, because his music featured a unique blend of local and cosmopolitan musical features, Villa-Lobos achieved success in Paris, where he lived on two occasions in the 1920s. Despite the initial resistance to his musical language in Brazil, he eventually became the most successful art music composer in that country as well.

<sup>3</sup> Gerard Béhague, “Villa-Lobos, Heitor,” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/29373> (accessed February 9, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Although the term *brasilidade* has been used extensively in the literature that investigates issues related to the formation of a Brazilian identity and, in general, refers to the “spirit” of Brazilian people, meaning the elements that make Brazilians unique, it poses several conceptual difficulties. João Guimarães Rosa, who belonged to the Brazilian Modernism and is considered one of the greatest Brazilian writers of all time, expressed this difficulty: “Yes, it is certainly a difficult and complex subject. It is clear that ‘brasilidade’ exists. It exists as the rough stone of our souls, of our thoughts, of our dignity, of our books, and of all that involves our way of life. But what is it? Many people have struggled over this subject.” (João Guimarães Rosa quoted in Stephen T. Walden, “Grande Sertão: Veredas: De dragão a

since about the 1870s and culminated in Brazilian Modernism (c. 1920 to c. 1940), one of the most important multi-genre artistic movements in Brazil.

The documentary also deals with other less-investigated (though no less important) aspects of Villa-Lobos's life, including his involvement as music educator with the nationalistic First Government of Getúlio Vargas in Brazil from 1932 to 1945.<sup>5</sup> The video illustrates some important aspects of the *Canto Orfeônico*, (Orpheonic Chant)<sup>6</sup> the method of music education based on choral singing that Villa-Lobos implemented first in the schools of the city of Rio de Janeiro (then the capital of Brazil) and later throughout Brazil. As the documentary shows, the clearest political content of Villa-Lobos's music education can be observed in civic-artistic events called (Orpheonic Concentrations) *Concentrações Orfeônicas*, where thousands of school children gathered in soccer

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brasilidade," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 33, no. 1 [Summer, 1996], 137). According to Walden, Rosa suggested that, just like "saudade" (a Portuguese word that is untranslatable to any language) it is impossible to explain what *brasilidade* means. (See Walden, "Grande Sertão: Veredas," 137). I use the term *brasilidade* as it is usually understood in the literature: referring to the "spirit" of Brazilian people and the socio-cultural practices connected to it.

<sup>5</sup> Vargas was a member of the Liberal Alliance (*Aliança Liberal*), a political party that demanded the improvement of the educational system and more social inclusion. With the support of many in the military, the Liberal Alliance took power through a coup d'état in October 1930 (known as the Revolution of October), which ended the period called First Republic or Old Republic (1889-1930). Vargas was named provisional president in November 1930 and became the official president in 1934. His regime became increasingly authoritarian and unfolded into a dictatorship in 1937 with the establishment of the so-called New State (*Estado Novo*), which lasted until 1945, when Vargas was deposed by a military coalition. However, he was democratically elected in 1951 and ruled the country until 1954, when he committed suicide. The two different periods when Vargas ruled the country are known as First Government and Second Government. See Boris Fausto, *História do Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Orpheonic Chant originated in France in the early 1820s with Guillaume Louis Bocquillon Wilhem. His primary objective was to institute music education in primary schools, but about 15 years later, Wilhem also applied his method of teaching to a choral society, which eventually grew and became the national institute of music known as L'Orphéon, which drew its name from the Greek myth of Orpheus. Although Villa-Lobos did not elaborate Orpheonic Chant nor implant it in Brazil, he expanded its application to a much larger group of people and reinforced its nationalistic orientation.

stadiums or other public spaces to sing nationalist and patriotic hymns.<sup>7</sup> Adults also attended these events as members of the audience. The documentary shows footage of a massive Concentration that occurred as part of the Independence Day celebrations (7 September),<sup>8</sup> which constituted a colossal gathering of people expressing strong patriotic sentiments. Villa-Lobos conducted thousands of school children and hundreds of orchestra and band musicians in a program filled with patriotic music. The demonstration of Orpheonic Chant was among the highlights of the event.

Vargas used these celebrations to convey nationalistic and patriotic messages to the nation. In this specific Concentration, he gave an address in which he called on Brazilians to unite their hearts and pledge to fight and sacrifice themselves for a great, united, and strong Brazil built on social justice.<sup>9</sup> Villa-Lobos's patriotic music and Vargas's addresses to the nation created an emotional environment, spreading the image of a united people singing patriotic and nationalistic music, people who would ostensibly be in favor of this ideal nation and regime. The music in these events occupied a special function: it celebrated and conflated the image of Vargas's ideal nation and regime.

The successful realization of such colossal patriotic events required children to follow strict and quasi-military discipline, which they had learned in the weekly practice

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<sup>7</sup> The numbers displayed in the Official Programs of Hour of Independence (*Hora da Independência*) about some Orpheonic Concentrations reveal the magnitude of these events. The Concentrations held in the Independence Day, for instance, gathered thousands of school students (40,000 in the Concentration of 1940) and thousands of band musicians, as well as thousands of adults who attended the demonstrations.

<sup>8</sup> The documentary does not provide the year of this event. I collected the complete, original footage in the Museu Villa-Lobos for the excerpt that was used in the documentary, which also does not disclose the year of the event.

<sup>9</sup> Radio narrator paraphrasing Getúlio Vargas in "Concentração Orfeônica na Esplanada do Castelo," in *Programas da Agência Nacional*, video footage collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos* (Archival number: DVD 28). Unless stated otherwise, all translations in this dissertation are mine.

of Orpheonic Chant (among other school practices). In his interview in TV Manchete's documentary, Homero Dornelas, who worked as a teacher of Orpheonic Chant in the 1930s, recounted a story that shows how much Villa-Lobos endorsed discipline in Orpheonic Chant. Dornelas recalled that a couple days before an Orpheonic Concentration was to be held in the soccer stadium São Januário in Rio de Janeiro, Villa-Lobos went to the school where Dornelas worked to check on the children participating in the Concentration. That day, Dornelas had emphatically asked children to be quiet and to sit in complete silence before Villa-Lobos arrived. Dornelas demanded they be disciplined to the point that if a bug approached them, they should not move to blow it away. When Villa-Lobos arrived and saw such disciplined children, who, in Dornelas's account, looked like statues, he said they were doing a good job and did not need to sing for him that day. Villa-Lobos's only request was that they behave the same way in São Januário during the Orpheonic Concentration.<sup>10</sup>

This episode reveals that discipline was among the most important values Villa-Lobos demanded of school children. This elevated sense of discipline, along with the patriotic and nationalistic values in the practice of Orpheonic Chant, infused into school children elements of Vargas's plans for nationalistic education. Because of its constant message of nationalistic values, the weekly practice of Orpheonic Chant in schools held a greater political significance for Vargas than the Orpheonic Concentrations themselves, despite the propagandistic functions these concentrations conveyed to the population. Indeed, in Villa-Lobos's educational program, Orpheonic Chant consisted of teaching choral music to children and aimed to educate them musically, and also to

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<sup>10</sup> Homero Dornelas in *O Índio de Casaca*.

educate them socially, with a sense of discipline and patriotism. It also sought to raise awareness of the ethnic and cultural formation of the Brazilian people. Although Villa-Lobos adopted methodologies, repertoires, and educational principles established by music educators before him<sup>11</sup> he imposed much stronger nationalistic and patriotic orientations onto his Orpheonic Chant.

Thus, although Villa-Lobos's first intention was to raise children's cultural awareness, his Orpheonic Chant held in its very essence important elements that disseminated and inculcated the nationalistic ideology of Vargas. He was instrumental in indoctrinating children with the nationalistic ideology of Vargas. Given its formative nature, Education can be used as a means of political formation. In the opening paragraph of his seminal book *Ideology and Curriculum*, Michael W. Apple, affirms the power of education for ideological formation: "I argued strongly that education was not a neutral enterprise, that by the very nature of the institution, the educator was involved, whether he or she was conscious of it or not, in a political act."<sup>12</sup> Apple continued:

In broad outline, the approach I find most fruitful seeks to 'explicate the manifest and latent or coded reflections of modes of material production, ideological values, class relations and structures of social power—racial and sexual as well as politico-economic—on the state of consciousness of people in a precise historical or socio-economic situation.' That's quite a lot for one sentence, I know. But the underlying problematic is rather complicated. It seeks to portray the concrete ways in which prevalent (and I

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<sup>11</sup> Music educator João Gomes Júnior brought Orpheonic Chant to Brazil (more specifically, to the state of São Paulo) in 1912. (See "Gomes Júnior, João," *Enciclopédia da música brasileira popular, erudita e folclórica* [São Paulo: Art Editora e Publifolha, 1998], 336). Even before Villa-Lobos, Orpheonic Chant consisted of a choral program that covered not only children's music education but also their education for social life. Among others, like some music educators of the First Republic, Villa-Lobos used Orpheonic Chant to socialize children in the school environment all the while raising their level of cultural awareness and teaching them music.

<sup>12</sup> Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3rd ed. (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 1. See also Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 2000).

would add, alienating) structural arrangements—the basic ways institutions, people, and modes of production, distribution, and consumption are organized and controlled—dominate cultural life. This includes such day-to-day practices as schools and the teaching and curricula found within them.<sup>13</sup>

In this passage, Apple describes several important aspects of education and their role in people's (ideological) formation, as well as their interactions with broader aspects of people's life as members of a society. All these aspects of education, in which Apple deemed the educator to have a crucial (political) role, take on a whole new level of significance when educators impose values and indoctrinate children. The essential difference between education and indoctrination is the freedom of choice of the first and the imposition of ideas of the second. Education guides students in their learning, providing them with tools that will enable them to make choices. Indoctrination, on the other hand, imposes values and ideas and leaves little room for questioning and creative thinking.

Villa-Lobos sketched his ideas for music education with ostensibly purely educational intentions before Vargas took power in 1930. He most likely followed the educational models from music educators before him, although he never acknowledged borrowing from his predecessors. But Vargas appropriated Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant and used it as an instrument to homogenize the government's nationalistic ideology among children and, by extension, their families. Vargas preached the idea of a homogeneous Brazilian society founded on patriotism and considered the entire population important to the process of building the *Nova Nação Brasileira* (New Brazilian Nation). Elaborated on principles of nationalism, patriotism, discipline, civic

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<sup>13</sup> Apple, *Ideology*, 3.

duty, and collective cooperation, Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant was the perfect tool to disseminate Vargas's ideology, especially after the regime developed into the dictatorship of the New State (*Estado Novo*) in 1937.<sup>14</sup> Thus, Villa-Lobos's approach to Orpheonic Chant interested Vargas's nationalistic regime.

In contrast to the systems of music education that preceded his own, Villa-Lobos's program imposed nationalism, patriotism, and a sense of discipline and civic duty upon children, raising these principles to the status of moral values. Although Villa-Lobos denied any political inclination, he articulated aspects of his Orpheonic Chant according to Vargas's ideologies. Further, he never protested Vargas using it to disseminate the government's political ideology to make propaganda for the regime. On the contrary, throughout the term of his activities as music educator, Villa-Lobos increasingly aligned his discourse with that of Vargas, expounding on the role of Orpheonic Chant in the formation of individual and collective identities whose principles were founded in nationalism and patriotism.

Villa-Lobos gave several interviews and wrote extensively about the social and musical aspects of his Orpheonic Chant. During the time he served as music educator, he wrote three important essays that explained pedagogies and purposes of Orpheonic Chant. He wrote the first two essays, "O programa do ensino de música" (The program of music education)<sup>15</sup> and "O ensino popular da música no Brasil" (The popular teaching

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<sup>14</sup> The slogan of Vargas's government was to renew Brazil by including the masses in the social, political, and economical panorama of Brazilian society; hence, his dictatorship was named *Estado Novo*.

<sup>15</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, "Programa do ensino de música" (Secretaria Geral da Educação e Cultura, Rio de Janeiro-D.F., 1937).

of music in Brazil)<sup>16</sup> in 1937, the same year Vargas instituted the dictatorship of Estado Novo. In these essays, Villa-Lobos systematically presented the various musical, cultural, patriotic, and social aspects of Orpheonic Chant.<sup>17</sup> He emphasized its nationalistic and patriotic messages as well as its socializing character. In the third essay, “A música nacionalista no governo Getúlio Vargas,” (Nationalist music in the Getúlio Vargas government, 1942)<sup>18</sup> Villa-Lobos took a nationalistic tone that clearly emulated that of Vargas’s political speeches, which reveals his intrinsic engagement with Vargas’s nationalistic ideologies. These three essays were published during a critical political moment in Brazil, and likely represented a strategy that Villa-Lobos adopted in order to continue receiving Vargas’s support after the coup.

In many respects, by associating himself closely with the regime, Villa-Lobos exercised the role of an indoctrinator, especially because he stood by the values he was disseminating, even if his initial goal was not necessarily to support Vargas’s political ideology. Tasos Kazepides presents important ideas about the nature of indoctrination, affirming that an indoctrinator is someone who truly believes in the values he instills. In order to clarify different roles of individuals, Kazepides makes a distinction between an indoctrinator and a propagandist:

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<sup>16</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “O ensino popular da música no Brasil: O ensino da música e do canto orfeônico nas escolas” (Rio de Janeiro: Oficina Gráfica da Secretaria Geral de Educação e Cultura, 1937).

<sup>17</sup> Both “O programa do ensino de música” and “O ensino popular da música no Brasil” have an instructional character and contain mostly technical aspects of the teaching method for Orpheonic Chant, criteria for selecting the low and high voices among children, preparatory exercises for singing, as well as the main objectives of Orpheonic Chant, among others. “A música nacionalista no governo Getúlio Vargas,” on the other hand, does not have the same instructional purpose of elucidating specifics about the orpheonic method per se. This essay consists most of Villa-Lobos’s thoughts on music education in general and its purpose and importance for society. In this essay, Villa-Lobos adopts an evident political tone.

<sup>18</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “A Música nacionalista no governo Getúlio Vargas” (Rio de Janeiro: D.I.P - Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda).

The indoctrinator *qua* indoctrinator is not a deliberate manipulator either of information and evidence or of students. He is not the insidious deceiver of young persons who misrepresents the world to them. The typical indoctrinator believes the doctrines he is inculcating are true, that they give meaning to life and so on. In his teaching he provides some evidence, reasons and justifications—it is another matter that they are based on sectarian doctrinal grounds. Indoctrinators, then, are not necessarily propagandists, and neither propagandists necessarily indoctrinators—although they usually are.<sup>19</sup>

These ideas help to clarify Villa-Lobos's role in inculcating values and beliefs onto children, first and foremost, to serve his own nationalistic purposes. However, because his words, actions, and values in disseminating Orpheonic Chant were in line with the regime and he knew it, he cannot be exempted from having actively contributed to the dissemination and inculcation of ideologies connected with Vargas. In that sense, he *also* became a propagandist.

While scholars have concentrated on whether Villa-Lobos used Vargas to promote his career or Vargas used Villa-Lobos to disseminate the government's ideologies, they tend to overlook several aspects of Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant that reveal its power for indoctrination, including key elements that shed light on the nature of Villa-Lobos's moral commitment with Vargas's nationalistic ideologies. Thomas Garcia addressed the political nature of the Orpheonic Chant and Villa-Lobos's commitment with Vargas.<sup>20</sup>

Although Garcia's critical approach reveals important aspects of the alignment of Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant with Vargas's directives, his research does not disclose how

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<sup>19</sup> Tasos Kazepides, "Programmatic Definitions in Education: The Case of Indoctrination," in *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue canadienne de l'éducation* vol. 14, 3 (Summer, 1989), 392; See also Elmer John Thiessen, "Initiation, Indoctrination, and Education," in the *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue canadienne de l'éducation* vol. 10, 3 (Summer, 1985), 229-49.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas C. Garcia, "Music and the Brazilian Estado Novo: Getúlio Vargas, Heitor Villa-Lobos and a National Music Education System," in *Music and Dictatorship in Europe and Latin America*, Roberto Illiano and Massimiliano Sala, org. (Lucca: Publications of the Centro Studi Opera Ominia Boccherini, 2009), 613-40.

Orpheonic Chant accessed children's minds, inculcating nationalistic and patriotic feelings, and indoctrinating them in the ideologies of the regime; nor does it provide tools through which we can evaluate Villa-Lobos's moral commitment to Vargas.

Likewise, both the Brazilian and international scholarship on Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant present critical methodological problems. Renowned authors such as Brazilians Vasco Mariz, José Ramos Tinhorão, Lauro Machado Coelho, along with Englishman Simon Wright and American David Appleby, tend to focus their investigations on the inconclusive discussion that speculates whether Villa-Lobos used Vargas to promote his career and music or Vargas used Villa-Lobos to disseminate the socio-cultural ideology of the government. These authors discuss only the personal interests of the musician and politician, ignoring the most important practical consequences of Orpheonic Chant, such as its essential role in shaping the identity of Brazilian children. They tend to overlook the actual political outcomes of Villa-Lobos's actions as a music educator in constructing an ideal image of Brazil that was closely aligned to the ideologies disseminated by the government of Vargas. Only Gerard Béhague, in his seminal book on the composer, points out that Villa-Lobos concomitantly spread the ideology of Vargas's regime while attempting to raise the cultural level of Brazilians.<sup>21</sup> However, Béhague did not analyze the problems raised in his book, especially the broad consequences of Villa-Lobos's attempt to homogenize the government ideologies among the population through Orpheonic Chant.

Furthermore, despite researchers have taken a broad range of approaches to Villa-Lobos's system of music education in the recent Brazilian production, they have

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<sup>21</sup> Gerard Béhague, *Villa-Lobos: In Search for Brazil's Musical Soul* (Austin: University of Texas, 1994), 23-24.

not investigated all branches of Villa-Lobos's system of music education in depth nor examined its essential importance in shaping people's individual and collective identities in Vargas's nationalistic ideology. Ednardo M. Gonzaga do Monti, for example, focuses on Villa-Lobos's program as an element of "social representation" (according to Moscovici's Theory of Social Representations) used by Vargas to give political direction to the common sense of the population. Monti's approach does not reveal, therefore, how music education indoctrinated children and their families in the government ideology.<sup>22</sup> Mirelle F. Borges takes another direction: She aims to "recover the thought of Villa-Lobos as educator and analyze the relationship between state and intellectuals from 1932 to 1945 using the concepts and methods offered by the History of Ideas and History of Renewed Politics."<sup>23</sup> However, Borges does not discuss the fundamentals of music education for structuring the nation. Anália Cherñavsky discusses the "relations between the artist and the state during the 15 years that marked the Vargas government,"<sup>24</sup> and her greatest merit lies in the detailed analysis and exposition of the directives of the program of music education. Finally, Renato B. Mazzeu proposes to "situate Villa-Lobos in the social, cultural, political, artistic and ideological contexts of the period [1920-1945] and present the main approaches and the main distancing between ideas, actions, in the projects of the composer and of other groups of the time."<sup>25</sup> His

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<sup>22</sup> Ednardo M. Gonzaga do Monti, "Canto orfeônico: Villa-Lobos e as representações sociais da Era Vargas" (master's thesis, Universidade Católica de Petrópolis, 2009), 9.

<sup>23</sup> Mirelle Ferreira Borges, "Heitor Villa-Lobos, o músico educador" (masters' thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2009), 2.

<sup>24</sup> Anália Cherñavsky, "Um maestro no gabinete: Música e política nos tempos de Villa-Lobos" (master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2003), 3.

<sup>25</sup> Renato B. Mazzeu, "Heitor Villa-Lobos: questão nacional e cultura brasileira"(master's thesis, Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2002),VII.

work mostly contextualizes Villa-Lobos's work in relation to the activities of other intellectuals of the time.

The literature has also not investigated (and most have not even mentioned) Villa-Lobos's promotion of concerts with civic, artistic, and educational purposes in the city of Rio de Janeiro during Vargas's First Government. Although these concerts did not play as central a role in Villa-Lobos's music education as the practice of Orpheonic Chant in schools did, they reached out to the society as a whole and complemented the role of Orpheonic Chant. To extend his educational mission to broader society, Villa-Lobos organized the Teacher's Orpheon (*Orpheão de Professores*), a group of 250 teachers of Orpheonic Chant. In a demonstration of solidarity with Villa-Lobos, important Brazilian musicians founded the *Orquestra Villa-Lobos*, which, despite its short existence, performed several important concerts in Rio. Additionally, Villa-Lobos conducted the Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro in several concerts with educational purposes. The repertoire of these groups included European art music, Brazilian art music, Brazilian music of popular and folk traditions, and Amerindian music, creating more awareness of art music in general as well as of the diversity of Brazilian musical genres and styles.

Villa-Lobos believed that through music education in schools and pedagogical concerts of Brazilian music he could contribute to the establishment of an "authentic" Brazilian musical and cultural identity. While the Teacher's Orpheon's and orchestral concerts had educational value they also helped disseminate Vargas's ideologies, promoting patriotism and nationalism. Additionally, in concerts designed particularly for the masses, the print concert programs themselves warned people to remain silent

during the performance, which instilled discipline and educated the masses about the expected behavior for art music concerts. Through these concerts and the Orpheonic Chant in schools, Villa-Lobos essentially created a system of music education that reached out to the society as a whole. In this sense, the system of music education contributed to disseminating and inculcating what I denominate “common identifiers of *brasildade*,” the icons, values, socio-cultural practices, and feelings toward Brazil through which people could identify with one another, and in this sense, create a similar image of the nation.

My study, while complementing the existing scholarship, takes a step further and reevaluates Villa-Lobos’s entire system of music education and its crucial role in the formation of people’s individual and collective identities during Vargas’s government. To this end, my study reexamined the directives of Villa-Lobos’s Orpheonic Chant and the educational concerts Villa-Lobos promoted in Rio de Janeiro, to clarify their practical cultural, social, and political consequences for Brazilian society. More specifically, I demonstrate that from 1932 to 1945, music education fulfilled diverse functions in Brazilian society under three distinct, but overlapping categories: (1) Culturally, it promoted music as a necessary cultural activity for society, thus heightening the level of artistic appreciation of the Brazilian people; (2) socially, it envisaged the formation of a large community of people who, regardless of their ethnicities and social classes, believed in being part of a homogeneous group; and (3) politically, it surrepetitiously conveyed the nationalist ideologies of the regime.

I demonstrate that, despite Villa-Lobos’s genuine educational intentions, he also imbued socio-cultural values in the personalities of children that would in turn extend to

their families. Further, I elaborate on Villa-Lobos's intimate relationship with Vargas's social policy, hence his active contribution to the formation of nationalistic and patriotic socio-cultural pillars of the New Brazilian Nation. Thus, my study demonstrates, for the first time in the literature, how the idiosyncratic system of musical language served as a tool to form individuals who cultivated Brazilian music as an essential aspect of their personalities and a tool for instilling nationalism, patriotism, and a sense of discipline, collective collaboration, and civic duty in the backbone of their identities. As I argue, regardless of his political ideology, Villa-Lobos *became* an important agent of indoctrination for the government of Vargas.

## **Materials and Methods**

### **Materials**

I collected important unpublished and unexamined archival material from several Brazilian institutions, including the Museu Villa-Lobos (MVL) and Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação da Faculdade Getúlio Vargas (CPDOC-FGV),<sup>26</sup> both in Rio de Janeiro. These materials include several concert programs (including the print program itself, copies of texts addressed to the audience, and illustrative figures on some cover pages), telegrams, and letters showing ideological aspects of Villa-Lobos's system of music education.

At the Museum Villa-Lobos, I collected the following materials: 1) Official programs of several Orpheonic Concentrations organized in 1931, 1932, 1935, and 1939-1944, showing the strong patriotic and nationalistic nature of these events. The programs of 1939-1944 indicate the hymns and songs school children were scheduled to perform, list participant schools and numbers of students in them, and give the names of

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<sup>26</sup> Center for Research and Documentation of the Getúlio Vargas College.

teachers who helped organize the events, as well as their roles during and after the Concentrations. These programs were thus an important source for my research; 2) Concert programs of the Teacher's Orpheon, Orchestra Villa-Lobos, and Orchestra of the Municipal Theater of Rio de Janeiro. Their repertoires, written messages, and in some cases, cover pages reveal their civic, artistic, and educational content; 3) Leaflets with nationalistic appeal making propaganda of the Orpheonic Concentrations; 4) Official annual reports the Secretaria de Educação Musical e Artística (SEMA) produced with statistics of Orpheonic Chant in Rio de Janeiro, including schools that implemented the method, number of teachers, perceived deficiencies in both teachers' and students' musical skills, and positive outcomes of Orpheonic Chant to musical and social aspects of children's music education; 5) Videos with testimonials by important musicians and people connected with Villa-Lobos, which provide insights into the outcome of Orpheonic Chant and Orpheonic Concentrations; 6) Film and photographs of some Orpheonic Concentrations, revealing the colossal and emotional atmosphere of these patriotic events; 7) Newspaper articles and interviews in which Villa-Lobos and other personalities write and speak about music education.

At the CPDOC-FGV, I collected the following: 1) A report about the participation of Villa-Lobos and his staff in the Prague Educational Congress of 1936, showing that his teaching method was received enthusiastically by educators of other nationalities for its effectiveness; 2) Texts about education (general and musical) by Gustavo Capanema (the most important Minister of Education during Vargas's regime), showing how much the music education program was ideologically aligned with Vargas's overall plans for

the nationalistic education of Brazilians; 3) Telegrams of *interventores*<sup>27</sup> from several states showing their support of Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant; 4) Recordings of radio programs broadcasted on some Brazilian Independence Days during the Vargas government, showing the nationalist atmosphere that prevailed on those days; 5) Official government documents with statistics about the expansion of secondary education during Vargas's First Government, showing that an ever-growing number of children was exposed to Vargas's nationalistic ideologies disseminated through education.

Among the printed primary source materials, the most important in my research are 1) three essays of Villa-Lobos on music education (cited above); 2) the didactic materials for Orpheonic Chant itself, consisting of two volumes called *Canto Orfeônico*, containing hymns and songs on various themes (folk, patriotic, and civic duty, making reference to Brazilian socio-cultural heritage, among others), the first volume of *Guia Prático* (Practical Guide), which contains 137 Brazilian folk songs, and the two volumes of *Solfejos* (Solfejes), of which many exercises are based on Brazilian folk melodies; 3) The publications of the *Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda* (DIP)<sup>28</sup> and speeches of Vargas, which altogether disclose the educational and social directives of Vargas's government.

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<sup>27</sup> Once Vargas took power, the State had full control over all states' political decisions through the system of interventionism. Through this system, the central government replaced governors who did not agree with Vargas's new politics with *interventores* named by him. Interventionism guaranteed the central government's full control over local politics and decisions, revealing Vargas and his party's authoritarian mindset from the beginning of his government. See Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 333.

<sup>28</sup> Department of Press and Propaganda.

## Methodologies

In critically assessing the information contained in the material above, I used concepts of nation and nationalism that Benedict Anderson formulated in his book, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*<sup>29</sup> as well as aspects of musical semiotics that Thomas Turino theorized in his article “Signs of Imagination, Identity and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music.”<sup>30</sup> From Anderson, I used the concept of “imagined community,” which consists of the premise that “members of even the smallest nations will never know their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”<sup>31</sup> From this idea, I demonstrate that Vargas aimed at homogenizing the population through “common identifiers of *brasilidade*,” to form a community that imagined itself united through values disseminated as inherently national.

In this context, I use the concept of nationalism to refer to the ideology the government and intellectuals disseminated and inculcated to construct the nation. This ideology included such elements as ideas, symbols, and feelings used to create common grounds (or identifiers) among people, which allowed for the formation of the imagined community. Because I many times pair the terms nationalism and patriotism, it is important to make a distinction between them: nationalism is an umbrella-term that may include patriotism, but I use patriotism only to refer to people’s love and devotion

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<sup>29</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2003). Historians acknowledge Anderson’s theory of nation-ness and nationalism as the most effective one on the subject. Anderson’s theory provides the methodological foundation for the elaboration of concepts of nation-ness and nationalism that I propose herein.

<sup>30</sup> Thomas Turino, “Signs of Imagination, Identity and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music,” *Ethnomusicology* 43, no.2 (Spring/Summer, 1999), 227.

<sup>31</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

for the fatherland. Nationalist intellectuals may include references to patriotism in their nationalistic discourses, but the reader must be aware that, despite their close relationship, the two terms refer to different concepts.

From Turino's theory, I focus on music's property of "indexicality," meaning that music can "index" (attach) itself with extra musical ideas, feelings, images, and so forth. Turino explains that, different from words, music is non-semantic, meaning it does not have aprioristic meaning. In Turino's theory, "indexicality" is the process through which music acquires meaning in the minds of the listener when it happens in co-occurrence with "real" events of an individual's life. In the minds of these individuals, music can "index" several extra-musical meanings due to this co-occurrence with aspects of the individual's life. These meanings can vary from person to person. But music can also form collectives if people experience music under the same circumstances: these people may easily index in their minds the same (or similar) meanings to the same music and, therefore, be bonded together by this music and its meanings. Through Turino's formulations, I explain that through the musical elements (rhythm, melody, and harmony) associated with the lyrics of the hymns and songs and through the socializing aspects of musical practice in groups, Orpheonic Chant in schools and educational concerts promoted the formation of group and personal identities all over Brazil. Through music of nationalist character disseminated in the schools and concerts, along with Villa-Lobos's and Orpheonic Chant teachers' exhortations about the patriotic and nationalistic aspects of those pieces, people experienced several similar aspects of Vargas's nationalism and, in that way, could "imagine" themselves as a homogenous

community of what I call “national beings,” meaning people whose identities were formed in the nationalistic ideology.

### Overview

In Chapter 2, I examine aspects of music education in Brazil before Villa-Lobos implemented his Orpheonic Chant in schools of Rio de Janeiro. I demonstrate that several methodologies and educational approaches of Villa-Lobos’s Orpheonic Chant had been developed and applied by music educators before him. Scholars tend to isolate Villa-Lobos’s Orpheonic Chant from the existing music education of his time and this gap can create several problems and misunderstandings. First, while Villa-Lobos helped disseminate strict patriotism and nationalism, he also elaborated his plans for music education before Vargas took power. As did many other music educators before him, he wanted to elevate the cultural level of the people and to promote awareness about art music, with emphasis on Brazilian art music. His first intentions, as part of his nationalistic project,<sup>32</sup> were indeed educational and even though he ended up indoctrinating children when imposing aspects of his Orpheonic Chant, he did so to educate them musically and contribute to the formation of individuals with an elevated sense of cultural awareness.

Because most of the literature about Villa-Lobos’s Orpheonic Chant rarely tackles the evolution of music education before Villa-Lobos, the reader might assume Villa-Lobos alone was responsible for elaborating all methodologies and educational

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<sup>32</sup> In several nationalist composers’ projects of edifying the nation, the education of the population was an important element. This education could happen through schooling, lectures, and concerts. Thus, Villa-Lobos’s educational project, which included all three of these educational elements, did fulfill a broad role in disseminating his nationalistic ideologies. For a discussion of the role of education in Wagner’s, Semtana’s, and Grieg’s agendas, see Benjamin Curtis, *Music Makes the Nation: Nationalist Composers and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008).

approaches to Orpheonic Chant, which is not the case. Villa-Lobos adopted most of his methods and educational philosophies from his predecessors. Music education was in line with general tenets of education during the First Republic, when some intellectuals and educators advocated that the masses should have access to education, which would elevate the cultural level of the country to promote its progress. Educators drew their approaches from European methodologies and philosophies, markedly those of Swiss Johann Heinrich Pestolazzi (1746-1827) and his German student Friedrich Wilhelm August Fröbel (1782-1852), both of whom believed that education should contribute to the “Integral formation of individuals,” in which music played an important part. Additionally, music educator Fabiano Lozano (1886-1965) had already organized large choirs with educational functions, and figures such as Mário de Andrade (1893-1945), one of the most important Brazilian intellectuals of all time, had already spoken about the potential of choral organizations for socialization before Villa-Lobos even started working for Vargas. The major difference between Villa-Lobos and the music educators before him was that he imposed stronger nationalistic and patriotic values on children—essentially indoctrinating them—while his antecessors used music as a simple tool for education (although patriotism and nationalism were part of their educational agenda as well).

I also demonstrate that at the time of Vargas’s coup d’état, Villa-Lobos’s career in Brazil was not developing because the elites were fond of traditional European music, and the uneducated masses did not have the social access or intellectual knowledge to cultivate art music. In becoming the official director of SEMA, Villa-Lobos promoted the elevation of the cultural level of Brazilian people and also served his personal interests:

Since he became the highest musical authority of the country, Villa-Lobos used his power to perform and to advertise his own music.

In Chapter 3, I evaluate the ways the directives and practical effects of Villa-Lobos's program of music education matched Vargas's educational and social politics. Chapter 3 shows for the first time in the literature, the mechanisms through which the repertoires and pedagogies of Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant imbued in children strict nationalistic ideologies that matched those of Vargas's educational and social policies. My study shows that Villa-Lobos consciously contributed to the formation of an imagined community of national beings who were willing to sacrifice their personal will for the well-being of the community. Chapter 3 provides a definitive answer about the nature of Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant and his moral commitment with the nationalistic government of Vargas, and also discloses several aspects about the role of music in creating affective references in people's minds. Additionally, my study provides a model for evaluating the interactions between music and politics, which could be useful in investigating other cases of musicians' participation in political regimes.

Chapter 4 investigates important aspects of Villa-Lobos's music education never examined in the literature, namely the Teachers' Orpheon, the Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro, and the Orchestra Villa-Lobos. As I argue, through these music groups, Villa-Lobos extended to the society as a whole the same nationalistic and patriotic principles he instilled in the minds of school children through Orpheonic Chant. Chapter 4 examines the concert programs and Villa-Lobos's publications (pamphlets, notes on concert programs, and excerpts of his essays) directed to Brazilian families and labor workers, and clarifies these concerts' educational and political functions. While the

musical programs and the exhortations that Villa-Lobos and members of the Teachers' Orpheon delivered to the audience conveyed notions of patriotism, the concerts also had great educational value. Several concert programs educated the population about Brazilian cultural heritage and diverse music traditions (traditional, popular, and artistic) while presenting important musical works of Western civilization, including the Brazilian premiere of several important works such as Palestrina's *Pope Marcellus Mass* and Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*. Furthermore, several concerts of the Teacher's Orpheon were organized for factory workers and gave them an opportunity to experience diverse genres and styles of choral music that they did not have the chance to experience in their daily lives up to that point.

In Chapter 5, I argue that the grandiose Orpheonic Concentrations were marked by a strong patriotic atmosphere and also incorporated the idea of social inclusion of different ethnicities and social classes the government proposed. I argue that, in this way, the Orpheonic Concentrations can be understood as a microcosm of the values and social behaviors Vargas promoted in the nation. Furthermore, through their grandiose and emotional environment, these civic-artistic events crystallized in the minds of children and adults the image of a nation homogenized through nationalistic values. At these events, people experienced the ideologies of the nation together and became *conscious* of their union through the same patriotic "identifiers of *brasildade*," disseminated and inculcated through Orpheonic Chant in schools and educational concerts. Thus, as I suggest, through the emotional "Brazilian" experience that the masses shared in the Orpheonic Concentrations, the once "imagined community" was materialized as a "real community."

In Chapter 6, I trace similarities between the situations that concern Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant and his relationship with Vargas's regime and the involvement of Richard Strauss and Carl Orff with the politics of Nazi Germany, as well as the nature of their moral commitment to the political regimes. Chapter 6 shows that despite the particularities of each case, in general, to evaluate the nature of composers' moral involvement with political regimes is a difficult task. Several elements play important roles in this evaluation, such as composers' personal goals, the reasons for their association with political regimes, and the way the State appropriated music to disseminate political ideologies and sometimes demand in various ways (including coercion and threats to composers and their relatives) that composers follow the State's precepts. I also propose tools to formulate an analytical model to examine Villa-Lobos's moral commitment to Vargas. This model can be adapted and used to analyze the relationship that other composers established with political regimes.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE BEGINNINGS OF ORPHEONIC CHANT IN BRAZIL: MUSIC EDUCATION IN THE COMPLEX CONTEXT OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

When Heitor Villa-Lobos was born, in 1887, Brazil was going through profound changes in society, politics, and culture. He was born about two years and eight months before the signing of the Proclamation of the Brazilian Republic (on 15 November, 1889) by Brazilian military.<sup>1</sup> The Republic ended the Imperial Period of Brazil that started after the Proclamation of Independence from Portugal on 7 September 1822 and was the political culmination of several changes occurring in the Brazilian society. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Positivism became an important chain of thought among intellectuals and part of the military, which realized the country would only progress if major changes occurred in its social and political foundations. The abolition of slavery (on 13 May, 1888)<sup>2</sup> for instance, resulted from political actions led by Positivist Brazilian thinkers.

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<sup>1</sup> A military uprising led by Marshall Deodoro da Fonseca established the Federative Presidential Republic of Brazil on 15 November, 1889, ending the Constitutional Parliamentary Monarchy that existed during the Empire. Fonseca became provisional president and Marshall Floriano Peixoto, his vice president. Despite ideological differences between the military who supported Fonseca and the ones who supported Peixoto, both groups were opposed to liberalism and in favor of a strong centralized government that could change the path of the country. The group that supported Fonseca consisted of old military who did not attend military school and, according to Boris Fausto, did not have an elaborate vision of the Republic; their major concern was that the Army had a more important role now than it did earlier in the Empire. The second group consisted of younger military who had attended military school and were fond of Positivist ideas. See Boris Fausto, *História do Brasil*, (São Paulo: Edusp, 2006), 246. For a thorough discussion of the ideologies of the period, see Thomas Skidmore, "The Historiography of Brazil, 1889-1964, Part I" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 55, no. 4 (Nov. 1975), 716-48.

<sup>2</sup> Before abolition, there was a great number of free blacks. There were three different ways slaves could get their freedom before abolition: 1) After the *Lei do Ventre Livre* from 1871 (Law of the Free Birth), all children born of black slaves were automatically free. They could remain under the tutelage of their mother's owners or be delivered to government authorities. In practice, however, most of them remained on the farm with their parents and were still treated like slaves. 2) They could buy their freedom or have someone buy their freedom for them (an abolitionist or sympathizer, for instance). 3) Their owners could spontaneously choose to set them free. After abolition, the government did not take the black population under its wing. Despite the government granting blacks emancipation, politicians did not work fast toward providing them with opportunities for social mobility, and the black population was still marginalized. Most former slaves left the farms they had worked and tried to live in the cities. But there was still much prejudice and few work opportunities for blacks, resulting in misery, crimes, and deaths (See Fausto,

The military and civilian intellectual Republicans strived for a better country and, upon the Proclamation of the Republic, inscribed the motto *Ordem e Progresso* (Order and Progress), two important principles of Positivism, in the Brazilian flag itself. The politics of the Empire did not promote social inclusion of the masses and hence did not invest in public education, which resulted in high levels of illiteracy<sup>3</sup> and misery. Republicans fought to change this situation. According to Boris Fausto, for the military and intellectual Republicans, progress meant “modernization of society through the expansion of technical knowledge, industrial growth, and expansion of means of communication.”<sup>4</sup> Republicans wanted to elevate the material, intellectual, and moral conditions of the country and promoted structural changes in society. Along with the complex political process that unfolded throughout the so-called First Republic, these changes ultimately led to Vargas’s coup d’état in 1930, when the Second Republic (1930-1937) started.

Villa-Lobos grew up in this environment, forming his identity and artistic ideologies according to the realities this changing society posed. Like several other intellectuals and artists of his time, he aimed to elevate the cultural level of the people and to create fertile ground in which art music, especially Brazilian, could flourish. At that time, most of the population did not have enough instruction to appreciate art music or did not have

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*História do Brasil*, 217-227). However, despite social prejudice, in the cultural realms, musicians started establishing a more open dialogue with the culture of Blacks, which is clear in their incorporation of syncopé in European dance forms such as the Polka and the Schottische. This “hybridization” of styles and genres resulted, for instance, in the establishment of the urban popular genre *Choro*, of which Villa-Lobos was fond. See José Miguel Wisnik, “Machado maxixe: O caso Pestana” in *Sem receitas: Ensaios e canções* (São Paulo: Publifolha, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> In 1872, for instance, the first general data about education produced in Brazil revealed that 99% of the slave population was illiterate (after abolition of slavery, their education became the State’s responsibility) and among the free population 80% were illiterate. Data collected in Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 237.

<sup>4</sup> Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 246.

access to it, and the conservative elites preferred European music. Villa-Lobos always championed Brazilian music and, like other intellectuals of the First Republic, he worked toward changing this distressing cultural reality. In addition to working as a composer toward forging “authentic” Brazilian music, music that reflected the culture of his people, Villa-Lobos’s elaboration of a program of music education in the 1920s also offered compelling evidence of such enterprise. Through music education, Villa-Lobos aimed to elevate the cultural level of the masses and disseminate Brazilian art music and art music in general.

Educating the masses and elevating their cultural level also meant a personal gain for Villa-Lobos, because he would be preparing the population to appreciate Brazilian art music, including his own. At that time, except for the appreciation and recognition of some avant-garde intellectuals, artists, and friends, Villa-Lobos’s music was not well received in Brazil, which left him in a difficult financial situation. Through a program of music education, he could fulfill the pursuits of several generations of intellectuals and also achieve financial and professional stability for the first time in his life. Events of Villa-Lobos’s life in 1930 and 1931 show his frustration with the reception of his music in Brazil as well as his work to elevate the cultural level of the people to change that situation. At that time, he had just returned from a 3-year stay in Paris and realized how much the low intellectual level of the country, along with the conservatism of the elites, hindered the evolution of Brazilian music and his own success. But by that time, frustration was soon to give way to a prosperous period in his life: the government embraced his system of music education and Villa-Lobos’s career went through a major shift, as he became the most important musical authority in the country.

It is necessary to investigate in depth the political implications of Villa-Lobos's career as music educator, though historically scholars have isolated some events from their broader social contexts, inevitably conveying a unilateral (if not biased) viewpoint about the role of Villa-Lobos's program of music education. Although a solid program of music education was established in some states, especially the state of São Paulo, long before Villa-Lobos proposed his Orpheonic Chant, the existing scholarship does not discuss Villa-Lobos's music education in that context. The lack of proper contextualization of Villa-Lobos the educator, and of his educational approaches, contributes to perpetuating the myth that Villa-Lobos was solely responsible for developing the approaches and methodologies of the music education program he implemented under Vargas. But, in fact, Villa-Lobos adopted several of his educational methodologies from music educators who flourished in the First Republic. In one of the few articles about music education in the First Republic, Vera Lúcia Gomes Jardim subtly criticized this myth: "Curiously, much later these ideas [about music education] would be announced as vanguards of the specialized teaching of music."<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, although several important events of Villa-Lobos's life in 1930 and 1931 led to his participation in the regime and defined the paths of his subsequent career, none of the literature investigates in depth Villa-Lobos's life at that time and how his personal distresses led him to work for Vargas; nor does the existing literature examine Villa-Lobos's first musical and educational activities under political sponsorship.

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<sup>5</sup> Vera Lúcia Gomes Jardim, "Institucionalização da profissão docente—O professor de música e a educação pública." *Revista da Abem* no. 21 (March 2009), 18.

Flávio Oliveira recently wrote an important article about the principles of music education in the First Republic and music's political function,<sup>6</sup> and provides a good point of departure to investigate how music education fulfilled different political programs in different historical moments. However, Oliveira does not fully elaborate on the consequences of these principles for music education under Vargas (these were not his goals), nor does he provide a thorough examination of the similarities and differences of Orpheonic Chant in the First Republic and Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant.

As I argue, it is necessary to understand that Villa-Lobos's engagement with politics was the result of a particular historical moment, in which the Vargas government fulfilled several aspirations of politicians and intellectuals of the First Republic. With respect to the transition between First and Second Republics and the historical continuity between the two periods, Brazilian intellectual Antônio Cândido said:

The movement of October was neither a starting point nor a first and mechanic cause, because these things do not exist in history. But it was a catalyst axis: an axis around which Brazilian culture somewhat orbited, catalyzing scattered elements to organize them in a new configuration. In this sense, it was not a historical mark, of the kind that makes one luridly feel that there was something that came "before," which is different from what followed "after." This happened, largely, because [the movement of October] generated a movement of cultural unification, projecting nationally facts that were previously enclosed in the regional scope. To this integrating aspect, it is necessary to consider another one equally important: the establishment of conditions to fulfill, disseminate, and "normalize" a series of aspirations, innovations, and feelings aroused in the 1920s, which had been sowing great and innumerable changes.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Flávio Oliveira, "Orpheonic Chant and the Construction of Childhood in Brazilian Elementary Education," in Idelber Avelar and Christopher Dunn, eds., *Brazilian Popular Music and Citizenship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 45-63.

<sup>7</sup> Antônio Cândido, "A revolução de 1930 e a cultura," *Novos Estudos Cebrap* 2 no. 4 (April 1984), 27. In the original: "O movimento de outubro não foi um começo absoluto nem uma causa primeira e mecânica, porque na história não há dessas coisas. Mas foi um eixo e um catalisador: um eixo em torno do qual girou de certo modo a cultura brasileira, catalisando elementos dispersos para dispô-los numa configuração nova. Neste sentido foi um marco histórico, daqueles que fazem sentir vivamente que

As Cândido observed, several important ideas during the First Republic continued to be furthered after Vargas took power. In fact, those aspirations for change created the right political and social conditions for Vargas to take the power in 1930. It is thus necessary to understand what these aspirations are and how Villa-Lobos and his Orpheonic Chant fit this political process of broad social and cultural transformations.

By examining the political process that unfolded during Villa-Lobos's youth, we will understand the political ideologies of the period, and comprehend the major political forces that operated at that time and how they shaped the overall physiognomy of Brazilian society. These political elements had an important impact on the educational and cultural pursuits of the First Republic, many of which were carried on to the period of Vargas's government. Furthermore, we will be able to understand how this political and social panorama led to Vargas's coup. This knowledge will reveal how the principles that Villa-Lobos instilled through Orpheonic Chant naturally reflected the aspirations of Vargas and his party, and helped change the political and social make-up of society, establishing new paradigms in Brazil. In providing thorough political, social, educational, and cultural contexts, as well as revealing Villa-Lobos's personal interest in implementing a program of music education in schools, this chapter demonstrates that Villa-Lobos was a product of the environment in which he grew and lived, absorbing the ideas in fashion, adapting them to new realities, and striving for his own survival.

My intent is not to undermine Villa-Lobos's accomplishments as music educator, nor the importance of his Orpheonic Chant in Brazil. Rather, I demonstrate that he must

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houve um "antes" diferente de um "depois". Em grande parte porque gerou um movimento de unificação cultural, projetando na escala da nação fatos que antes ocorriam no âmbito das regiões. A este aspecto integrador é preciso juntar outro, igualmente importante: o surgimento de condições para realizar, difundir e "normalizar" uma série de aspirações, inovações, pressentimentos gerados no decênio de 1920, que tinha sido uma sementeira de grandes e inúmeras mudanças.

be understood as a musician who advocated for an educational ideology whose principles had already been settled before him, but with more emphasis on its nationalistic and patriotic aspects. He also shed light on the importance of music education for society, particularly in creating socio-cultural awareness in the population. In addition, while he was fulfilling an important educational quest, long pursued by the Brazilian intelligentsia, he also promoted his career and the nationalistic government.

### **The “Old” Brazil: A Social, Political, and Economic Panorama of the First Republic**

Despite the military Republicans’ desire to modernize the entire country through education and reduction of poverty, complex political circumstances in 1898, many of which are beyond the scope of this work, led the Republic to unfold into a political system in which the *Partido Republicano Paulista*—PRP (from the state of São Paulo) and the *Partido Republicano Mineiro*—PRM (from the state of Minas Gerais), controlled the national politics but promoted the development of their own states over others. These parties represented the interests of the rural oligarchies of the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, respectively, and the period in which they remained in power is popularly called *República do café-com-leite* (the Republic of coffee and milk),<sup>8</sup> referring to São Paulo’s coffee and Minas’s dairy products, which guaranteed their

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<sup>8</sup> Throughout the Old Republic, exportation of São Paulo’s coffee was the backbone of Brazilian economy, and Minas was the most important producer of dairy products. Although economic activities during the Old Republic were predominantly agricultural, the percentages of industry workers grew enormously. According to the census of 1920, 69.7% of the active population worked in agriculture, 13.8% in industry, and the remaining 16.5% in services. Despite the huge difference in the percentage of agricultural and industrial workers, the number of industrial workers almost doubled since 1872, when the census computed that about 7% of the active population worked in industry. But as Fausto observed, by that time any small workshop was considered an industry (data reproduced from Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 281-82).

economic power and lasted until Vargas's *coup d'état* in 1930.<sup>9</sup> About this political system, Bradford Burns says, "Nomination and endorsement of presidential candidates remained in the hands of either the incumbent president or an informal congressional caucus. A lack of institutionalized procedures was but one of the many disadvantages the system evinced. As the system functioned in practice, federalism became regionalism and national interests were sacrificed to regional ones."<sup>10</sup> Because the oligarchies' politics of development were mostly local, the plans of the military to develop the country as a whole were not fulfilled during the 32 years PRP and PRM alternated in power.

Through the Republic, Brazil became a democracy, with elections held every four years. However, after 1898, PRP and PRM sealed a political agreement, establishing that for each new election the current president should indicate a successor from the other party. Because of the political power of these parties, other parties in the country did not stand a chance against them in the elections. At that time, voting was not mandatory and as Burns observes,

Gender, age and literacy voting requirements renfranchised a minority: adult literate males. It happened that, since the president was chosen by direct vote of those few male literates, and since the economically powerful states tended to be those with the largest populations and the best educational systems, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and Rio Grande do Sul held distinct command in the presidential elections. By 1910

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<sup>9</sup> The *Partido Republicano Rio-grandense* (PRR), which represented the interests of the oligarchy of Rio Grande do Sul, was also powerful during the Republic but did not elect any candidates during that period. However, despite PRP and PRM control, two candidates from other parties became president: General Hermes da Fonseca—Deodoro da Fonseca's nephew—representing the interests of the south (1910 to 1914); and Epitácio Pessoa (1919 to 1922), who was vice president of Rodrigues Alves, from PRP, and assumed the presidency because Alves did not take his post after he was elected. See Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 268-73.

<sup>10</sup> Bradford Burns, *A History of Brazil*, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 266.

slightly over 50 percent of the electorate resided in those four states, and those voters cast over half of the ballots.<sup>11</sup>

In addition, farm owners of São Paulo and Minas Gerais exercised the so-called *voto de cabresto* (controlled vote), by which they controlled the vote of their literate workers and coerced them to vote for the candidate of the party whose turn in power had arrived. This situation contributed to PRP and PRM alternating in power for a long period.<sup>12</sup>

During the First Republic, Brazil was predominately agricultural, but the oligarchies promoted industrial development in the southeastern Brazil, where the states of Minas, São Paulo, and Rio (including the Federal District) are located; whereas the mideastern, northeastern, and northern states were practically forgotten. Through the flourishing of industrialized areas, new middle and worker classes arose. Nevertheless, these emergent classes were kept marginalized from political participation, because of PRP's and PRM's centralization of power.

In the mid-nineteenth century, there were very few industries in Brazil: most were located in the state of Bahia and processed cotton to produce low quality fabric to be consumed by slaves and the poor. But toward the 1880s and 1890s, the industrial production in south central Brazil exceeded that of Bahia in number and variety of products. Important industrial centers grew in the city of Rio de Janeiro (which held 57% of the industrial capital of the country by 1889) the state of Minas Gerais, and the city of São Paulo. After the abolition of slavery, the Brazilian government began providing incentives to attract immigrants to work on farms, replacing slave workers. Between

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<sup>11</sup> Burns, *A History of Brazil*, 267.

<sup>12</sup> *Paulista* presidents governed for 12 years, and *mineiros* for 11-½ years (Fausto, *História do Brasil*).

1887 and 1930, about 2.74 million immigrants went to Brazil in search of social advancement: most were Italian, followed by Portuguese, Spanish, German, and Japanese. The state of São Paulo, whose economy relied on coffee export, offered the best conditions to immigrants (lodging and tickets for their trip overseas) and received most of them. By 1920, about 52.4% of the immigrants who went to Brazil lived in the state of São Paulo. Industrialization of these cities and states also contributed to the growth of their urban population. The population of the city of São Paulo, for instance, was approximately 64,934 people in 1890, giving the city the fifth largest population in the country behind Salvador, Recife, Belém, and Rio de Janeiro. But by the 1900s, the population in the city had grown exponentially to around 239,820 people and São Paulo jumped to the second largest: only Rio had more people (688,000).<sup>13</sup>

Despite economic advancements and social changes in the larger cities, PRM and PRP still controlled the political power. Both the civil population and the military protested, believing the political system of the oligarchies was hindering the country's progress.<sup>14</sup> The so-called *Tenentismo*, for instance, was a movement of lieutenants who engaged in politics during the 1920s and advocated for development of the country.

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<sup>13</sup> See Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 286-89.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding mass movements the population organized, the most important event in the First Republic was the growth of the small village of *Canudos* in the countryside of Bahia, a state in the northeast virtually forgotten by the ruling oligarchies of the southeast. Antônio Conselheiro, a pilgrim and mixture of spiritual and political guide, settled Canudos in 1893. Conselheiro believed himself an emissary of God, and along with his religious messages, he preached about restoring the Monarchy to end social disparities created by the Republic. His preaching started attracting starving people from the countryside (some of whom were recently freed slaves), who started flocking to the village in search of better conditions. The population grew large, reaching between 20,000 and 30,000 people that year. The social system created in *Canudos*, of collective ownership, along with Conselheiro's preaching about return to Monarchy, posed a danger to the Republic, which sent soldiers to end the community. After four military assaults in 1886 and 1887, Republican soldiers defeated the countrymen and destroyed the whole village in the *Guerra de Canudos* (War of Canudos), which became a mark of the fight against the social disparities of the First Republic. See Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 257-58, and Thomas Skidmore, "The Historiography of Brazil, 1889-1964, Part II," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (Vol. 56, no. 1), 103-104.

They demanded modifications in the State, including improvement of the precarious social conditions of the population, whose levels of illiteracy and misery were enormous.

As Fausto said,

the lieutenants intended to provide the country with a centralized power in order to educate the people and follow a slightly nationalistic political orientation. It was about reconstructing the State to construct the nation. The great evil of the oligarchies—they thought—consisted in the fragmentation of Brazil in its transformation into “twenty feuds” whose masters were chosen by the dominating politics.<sup>15</sup>

According to Fausto, this movement was heir to the *Salvacionistas* (Salvationists), a group of military and civilians formed in the presidency of General Hermes da Fonseca (1910-1914) that wanted to reduce the power of the oligarchies in regions where social disparities were more noticeable (mostly the Northeast) but did not succeed. The lieutenants also strove for changes in the structure of the army, especially the difficulty in rising through the ranks in the military, and their movement also embraced the middle and working classes’ desire to participate more actively in national politics.

In 1929, the growing political and social instability generated by the politics of the oligarchies was aggravated by two events: the crash of the New York stock market, which greatly affected the exportation of Brazilian coffee, and the nomination of PRP candidate Júlio Prestes to run for presidency by the then president Washington Luiz, from the same party. According to the agreement between São Paulo and Minas, a candidate from PRM would take the next turn in the presidency and by nominating a candidate from PRP, Luiz disrupted the agreement and caused negative reaction and

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<sup>15</sup> Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 314. In the original: “No fundo, pretendiam dotar o país de um poder centralizado, com o objetivo de educar o povo e seguir uma política vagamente nacionalista. Tratava-se de reconstruir o Estado para construir a nação, O grande mal das oligarquias—pensavam eles—consistia na fragmentação do Brasil, na sua transformação em ‘vinte feudos’ cujos senhores são escolhidos pela política dominante.”

opposition by PRM. Along with parties from Rio Grande do Sul and Paraíba, PRM organized a new party called Liberal Alliance and promoted the ideals of renewal in politics, receiving support from the military and the populace. The party launched the candidacy of *gaúcho* (from Rio Grande do Sul) Getúlio Dornelles Vargas to the presidency, but despite the popularity of the Liberal Alliance, Júlio Prestes, from PRP, was elected president in the elections of 1929.

Denunciations of fraud followed the elections, increasing the atmosphere of instability. Additionally, motivated by personal reasons, João Dantas, a person connected to the government, assassinated João Pessoa, Vargas's vice-presidential candidate, which would change the paths of the Republic: supported by the military, the opposing states organized an armed rebellion and took the capital at the end of October in the so-called Revolution of October, closing congress and suspending the Republic's Federalist Constitution of 1891. Vargas was nominated provisional president on 3 November 1930, a day Fausto appropriately called "the end of the First Republic and beginning of new times, at that time, still barely defined."<sup>16</sup>

### **Education: the Integral Formation of Children and Elevation of the Cultural Level of the Country**

The establishment of the Republic in 1889 promoted major political, social, and economic changes in the country, such as the implementation of democracy based on political and economic liberalism as well as the end of slavery and the expansion of agricultural and industrial capitalism, among others. These changes affected the very foundations of Brazilian society, and the elites and intellectuals realized that to replace the old structures of the Empire with a new *modus operandi* that promoted progress, it

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<sup>16</sup> Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 325.

was necessary to modernize the country. Intellectuals and a faction of the military wanted to elevate the social, economic, and cultural levels of the country to insert Brazil into the modern international context. To accomplish such goals, they used the most developed nations of the time, such as European countries and the USA, as models.

In the midst of so many structural changes in society, the paths of education became major themes among intellectuals. According to Burns,

The intellectuals awoke fully to the economic, political, and social realities of a changing Brazil. They identified and helped to make Brazil not only conscious of itself but better known abroad. By doing so they contributed at the turn of the century to the wave of nationalism inundating Brazil, a nation confident for the first time in its new republican institutions.<sup>17</sup>

The seed for this awakening to changing Brazilian realities and self-consciousness of its identity had been planted in the 1870s when the Generation of 1870 (*Geração de 1870*) was formed.<sup>18</sup> As musicologist Said Tuma said, at that time there was a pessimistic view of nationality, especially because of its supposedly “ethnic inferiority,” a reading that arose from social Darwinism.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, in his *Cultura Brasileira e Identidade Nacional*, investigating racial theories in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Brazil, Renato Ortiz said, “The

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<sup>17</sup> Burns, *A History of Brazil*, 275.

<sup>18</sup> To this generation belonged such intellectuals as Machado de Assis, a *mulato*, considered to be the greatest Brazilian writer of all time; and writer José de Alencar, whose novel *O Guarani* (1857) narrates the encounter of Peri, a Brazilian Amerindian (bon sauvage) and Ceci (the pure virgin), a Portuguese, representing the birth of the Brazilian nation as a consequence of the union of the virtues of the Brazilian Amerindian (local element) with those of the Portuguese colonizer (cosmopolitan element). Alencar's novel reflects the search for Brazilian identity in the 1850s. He leaves Afro-Brazilians out of his narrative of the “birth” of the Brazilian people. At that time, most Afro-Brazilians were still slaves and considered simple machines of production but not citizens per se; a view that changed toward the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the abolition of slavery in 1888. Thus, references to Afro-Brazilians became ever more common in cultural manifestations toward the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the *mulato* starts representing the mixed nature of Brazilians and becomes an emblematic figure of the Brazilian identity.

<sup>19</sup> Said Tuma, *O nacional e o popular na música de Alexandre Levy: Um projeto de modernidade*, master's thesis, (São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo, 2008), 114. The view of Brazilians' mixed ethnicity shifted in the early 1930s, when, especially after social scientist Gilberto Freyre's 1933 *Casa grande e Senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves*), the mixture of races and cultures started being read as cultural superiority.

problem of race, as it was expounded by the precursors of social sciences in Brazil [Silvio Romero, Nina Rodrigues, and Euclides da Cunha] acquires, in fact, a clear racist outline, but beyond this realization, points to an element that seems to me meaningful and constant in the history of Brazilian culture: the issue of national identity.”<sup>20</sup> The intellectuals of the Generation of 1870 aimed to elevate the cultural and intellectual level of the people and, in that mission, they looked to Europe as their model but also started reflecting on the position of Brazil in the international context and contemplating what it really meant to be Brazilian. According to Mônica Pimenta Velloso, “For the *geração de 1870*, to be modern meant, overall, trying to comprehend the meaning of being Brazilian, which should be measured by scientific standards.”<sup>21</sup>

In the context of the Republic, educational reformists aimed to form free thinkers who could contribute to the progress of the country. Reformists proposed a system of free education accessible to all, to prepare Brazilian people to contribute to the growth of this new society. Positivist intellectuals such as Rui Barbosa (statesman and leading thinker of the time)<sup>22</sup> realized that if people did not have proper instruction, Brazil’s politics and economy would not progress. At that time, intellectuals realized the masses needed access to education and formal instruction to be capable of factory work and

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<sup>20</sup> Renato Ortiz, *Cultura brasileira e identidade nacional*, (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1985), 13. In the original: “A questão racial, tal como foi colocada pelos precursores das Ciências Sociais no Brasil adquire na verdade um contorno claramente racista, mas aponta, para além desta constatação, um elemento que me parece significativo e constante na história da cultura brasileira: a problemática da identidade nacional.”

<sup>21</sup> Mônica Pimenta Velloso In Tuma, *O nacional e o popular*, 4.

<sup>22</sup> Rui Barbosa claimed himself non-positivist, but his actions showed otherwise. He was one of the most important intellectuals to defend the inclusion of science subjects in school curricula.

service work, which demanded knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, among others.

In formulating his ideas about education, Barbosa used European models, especially those of Pestalozzi and Fröbel. Barbosa took two important ideas from these educators that would change the practice of teaching in Brazil: Pestalozzi's intuitive method, through which children's education should move from that which is known from observation and sensorial impressions and experiences (practice) to that which is unknown, such as the principles that regulate what was first experienced (theory); and Fröbel's concept of *Kindergarten*, which suggested education should nourish the integral formation of the individual (for which music was indispensable). As Flávio Oliveira wrote, "In Barbosa's view, only an education that favored the enhancement of the sense from early infancy could contribute to the formation of free, creative individuals fully able to exercise judgement. Barbosa's defense of the intuitive method stemmed from his belief that individuals who were educated according to these principles would be better prepared to perform active roles as citizens of a modern and progressive state."<sup>23</sup> With these points of departure, in 1883, Barbosa wrote the *Reforma do ensino primário e várias instituições complementares da instrução pública*,<sup>24</sup> in which he expounded on the importance of the integral formation of the individual (intellectual and physical) and the importance of this education for the growth and modernization of the nation.

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<sup>23</sup>Oliveira, "Orpheonic Chant and the Construction of Childhood," 46.

<sup>24</sup>Rui Barbosa, *Reforma do ensino primário e várias instituições complementares da instrução pública* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1946-1947). Here, Barbosa is concerned with the formation of the masses and their education for social life. He called for children to grow up accepting naturally social hierarchies, uneven distribution of wealth, division of work among people, and instruction as a way to achieve political and social mobility.

Along with Barbosa, throughout the First Republic, several other intellectuals and educators engaged with reformist educational movements. In the 1920s, when important reforms in education and health started taking place, intellectuals used medical terms to “diagnose” deficiencies in education, using terms such as “social disease” and “social wound” to refer to illiteracy or “intellectual rickets” to allude to the low intellectual level in the country. In the book *História da Educação Social no Brasil (1926-1996)*,<sup>25</sup> Marcos Cezar de Freitas and Mauriliane de Souza Biccás discuss two inquiries of the 1920s that diagnosed some structural problems of Brazilian Education. In 1924, Vicente Licínio Cardoso was responsible for the first of these inquiries, named “Às Margens da História da República,” in which he provided an overview of Republican education. Antonio Carneiro Leão, one of the most important intellectuals of education at that time, contributed to the inquiry and wrote about the deficiencies of the nation in several fields. According to Freitas and Biccás, “His opinion is exemplary of the diagnoses that considered the country to be at the mercy of a Republic of façade, sick in several aspects, especially the intellectual.”<sup>26</sup> Fernando de Azevedo was in charge of the second inquiry about education, sponsored by the prominent newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* in 1926. Azevedo was a sociologist and one of the most important names in the field of education. Freitas and Biccás affirmed that the most important aspect of Azevedo’s inquiry was the call for more participation of the Federal government in organizing public education (of which the states were in charge) as well as collaboration

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<sup>25</sup> Marcos Cezar de Freitas and Mauriliane de Souza Biccás, *História da educação social no Brasil (1926-1996)*, (São Paulo: Cortez, 2009).

<sup>26</sup> Freitas and Biccás, *História da educação*, 42. In the original: “Sua opinião é exemplar dos diagnósticos que consideravam o país à mercê de uma República de fachada, doente em vários aspectos, especialmente no plano intelectual.”

from private sectors. Azevedo also pointed out the importance of secondary schools in forming the middle class, which he considered essential in disseminating ideas and opinions.<sup>27</sup>

Azevedo introduced in Brazil the ideas of Émile Durkheim, who believed humans were inherently egoistic but could be united through shared values and moral attitudes, which Durkheim called “collective consciousness.” Education was fundamental for disseminating these common values and promoting what Durkheim called “social integration” (individuals’ level of attachment to their social group), integrating people into the collectivity, an idea that would be fundamental for the structuring of education under Vargas. Among several important administrative positions he occupied, Azevedo was the General Director of Public Instruction in Rio de Janeiro from 1926 to 1930. In 1932, already under Vargas’s regime, along with several other intellectuals who played important roles during the government of Vargas, he was invited to write the Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education (“Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova”), of which he was the first signatory. These intellectuals diagnosed the lack of organization of the educational system and proposed free and mandatory education for all population, and a homogeneous curriculum. They placed education as the most important matter for reconstruction of the country: even more important than economic issues.<sup>28</sup> As Flávio Oliveira noted, “For Nova Escola, or New School, innovators, art and

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<sup>27</sup> Freitas and Biccás, *História da educação*, 44. Despite these attempts, real changes in education would come only during Vargas’s regime, when the government undertook major educational reforms for the country as a whole. Nevertheless, these inquiries about education show that major changes were deemed necessary in this realm of society as well, revealing another flaw of the administration of the oligarchies

<sup>28</sup> See “Fernando de Azevedo” in *Academia Brasileira de Letras* <http://www.academia.org.br/abl/cgi/cgilua.exe/sys/start.htm?sid=181> (n.d., accessed January 15, 2012).

particularly collective singing should be incorporated into school curricula to open channels of communication between academic and popular cultures.”<sup>29</sup> Oliveira also said art was a way through which people expressed their perceptions of life, and cited Azevedo, who believed “Songs are, for the people, documents of their disgrace and happiness.”<sup>30</sup> According to Oliveira, for Azevedo, “even higher art was born out of people’s souls and should return to them to replenish itself with beauty and emotion.”<sup>31</sup>

### **Music Education before Villa-Lobos: Prolegomenon and the Origins of a Method**

Music education was in line with the precepts of general education. Several years before Villa-Lobos proposed his plans for music education to the Brazilian government, positivist intellectuals, such as Brabosa and Azevedo, believed implementing music education in the school curriculum was necessary because it would contribute to the integral formation of children. The most important aspects of this music education (most of which we will see below) were adopted by Villa-Lobos later, including the socialization of children through choral practice, the use of hymns to instill patriotism and civic values, the initiation in music education through folkloric songs, and the application of the intuitive method in the teaching process. These ideas and approaches music educators used during the First Republic can be traced at least as far back as 1883, when Rui Barbosa proposed implementing music education in the primary school through the *Reforma do Ensino primário e várias instituições complementares da instrução pública*. Most likely, Barbosa took his ideas from Fröbel’s concept of *Kindergarten*, of which Barbosa had made a detailed study. Barbosa’s ideas laid out the

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<sup>29</sup> Oliveira, “Orpheonic Chant and the Construction of Childhood,” 48.

<sup>30</sup> Oliveira, “Orpheonic Chant and the Construction of Childhood,” 48.

<sup>31</sup> Oliveira, “Orpheonic Chant and the Construction of Childhood,” 48.

path of music education for the forthcoming First Republic.<sup>32</sup> In Oliveira's words, "for Barbosa, school singing should lend itself to educating children's musical taste, ears, and voices, making them softer and more in key. It should also promote children's physical, moral, and intellectual improvement. Art, especially school singing, became an important instrument of popular education; it gradually occupied a place at the core of educational practices."<sup>33</sup>

The state of São Paulo was a pioneer in the development of music education in Brazil. After the proclamation of the Republic, important educational reforms took place in that state, starting with decree no. 27 of 12 March 1890, which provided for the reform of the Normal Schools of the state (which by that time were also called Model Schools). In line with the intellectual approaches to general education, which closely followed the approaches of Pestalozzi and Fröbel, this reform established music education as part of the curriculum to contribute to the integral formation of individuals. About Pestalozzi's and Fröbel's approach to music education, Emeritus Reader in Education at the Institute of Education (UK) Charles Plummeridge explained that

Ideas about the importance of musical experience as part of a general education received endorsement from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) and F.W.A. Froebel (1782-1852), all of whom had a strong impact on educational thought and policies. Music, in their schemes of 'child-centred' education, was valued not so much for its

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<sup>32</sup> Despite the importance of Barbosa in implementing and developing of music education in the school curriculum, as early as the 1850s, Abílio Cesar Borges, better known as *Barão de Macahubas*, had already written about the importance of implementing of music in the school curriculum. *Barão de Macahubas* was a physician and important educator of the Brazilian Empire, who created a chain of learning institutions. As a music educator, he was inspired by the methods used by American music educators and advocated the teaching of singing in which practice preceded theory. He believed music was important to "smooth out the habits, touch the hearts, trigger the imagination, and exalt patriotic sentiments," ideas later cultivated by musicians in the First Republic and epitomized by Villa-Lobos. See Barão de Macahubas in the *Relatório sobre a instrução pública da Província da Bahia em 1856*. <http://www.revista.akademie-brasil-europa.org/CM17-03.htm> (accessed January 16 2012).

<sup>33</sup> Oliveira, "Orpheonic Chant and the Construction of Childhood," 47.

possible contribution to moral development, but as a form of experience and self-expression in an education designed to extend children's intellectual potential, imaginative powers and sense of the aesthetic.<sup>34</sup>

Following similar ideas, Brazilian educators and intellectuals believed music education would contribute significantly to develop the senses of students and help them establish connections between their minds and their bodies. Music education followed the tenets of general education and became part of a homogeneous educational program.

Music educators chose choral singing as the practice that best suited the “intuitive method” because of the ease this approach offered in first teaching children to sing before introducing them to the rules of music. Choir practice contributed to the “integral” formation of children as it contributed to development of children’s physical and sensorial capabilities such as their vocal tract, control of breathing, and auditory skills. Only after children had experienced the practical aspects of singing did teachers start introducing the basics of music theory such as reading and writing. Theory allowed for a thorough musical development not possible through singing alone and also translated sensorial experience into a rational process of learning, thus connecting the body to the mind. Furthermore, choir singing socialized children and encouraged collective cooperation among them.

### **Music Educators**

João Gomes Júnior (1868 or 1871-1963)<sup>35</sup> worked as music educator in 1893 in public schools in the state of São Paulo and was one of the leading intellectuals of

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<sup>34</sup> Charles Plummeridge, "Schools," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/43103> (accessed January 17, 2012).

<sup>35</sup> João Gomes Júnior was an opera composer and one of the most important music educators in the First Republic. He was born in Brazil but received part of his music education in the Royal Conservatory of Milan in Italy, where he moved in 1884. He returned to Brazil in 1888 and started his pedagogic career,

music education during the First Republic. He elaborated several methods for teaching music and is considered the first proponent of Orpheonic Chant in Brazil. Among his method books, one of the most important is the *Ensino da música pelo Methodo Analytico* (Music Education through the Analytic Method),<sup>36</sup> which he co-authored with fellow educator Carlos A. Gomes Cardim (1885-1938).<sup>37</sup> The Analytic Method matched several principles of Pestalozzi's and Fröbel's approaches to education, such as moving from the general to the particular, and became the "official" method for music education in Model School Caetano de Campos, where João Gomes Júnior taught for several years and formed orpheonic groups. Application of the Analytic Method to music owes much to Gomes Cardim. After learning about educator Oscar Thompson's (director of the Normal School of São Paulo for several years) application of the Analytic Method in teaching reading, Cardim conjectured that it could be applied to music as well because of the presumed analogy between music and language. In the preface of the book, Cardim established a relationship between language and music learning, and through a scientific approach he discussed how parts of the brain receive and process visual and verbal information.

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teaching in the so-called Model Schools. His pedagogic career flourished at Model School Caetano de Campos, where he taught for several years. See Marcos Antônio Marcondes, ed., "Gomes Júnior, João," in *Enciclopédia da música brasileira popular, erudita e folclórica* (São Paulo: Art Editora e Publifolha, 1998), 336.

<sup>36</sup> Carlos A. Gomes Cardim e João Gomes Júnior, *O ensino da música pelo Methodo Anaytico*, 6th ed. (São Paulo: Typographia Siqueira, 1929). The Analytic Method became known in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe through Guillaume-Louis Wilhem's *Guide de la méthode élémentaire et analytique de musique et de chant, divisé en deux parties* (1821).

<sup>37</sup> Gomes Cardim was one of the most important figures of education in the city of São Paulo in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He was a pedagogy teacher, psychology teacher, and music teacher and occupied distinguished positions in important educational institutions of that city such as Director of the Secondary Normal School of São Paulo and Director of the Dramatic and Musical Conservatory of São Paulo. See Franciele Ruiz Pasquim, "Ramon Roca Dordal (1854-1938) e Carlos Alberto Gomes Cardim (1875-1938) na história da alfabetização no Brasil" <http://www2.marilia.unesp.br/revistas/index.php/ric/article/viewFile/475/380> (accessed January 20, 2012).

Although Villa-Lobos never spoke explicitly about the origins of his ideas, his methodologies and approaches were very similar to those of the Analytic Method. Most likely, he knew about Gomes Júnior's and Gomer Cardim's implementation of the Analytic Method in music education. By the time Villa-Lobos started working for the government, several music educators in the state of São Paulo had been using this method, which was not a novelty in the country anymore. Like Cardim, and other music educators of the First Republic, Villa-Lobos also drew connections between music and language:

Music must be taught, from the beginning, as a living force, in the same way the spoken language is taught. A child is able to fluently use words and intonations, and make phrases in his mother tongue long before he learns the simplest rules of grammar. Therefore, language represents for the child sounds and sentiment, as opposed to an inanimate subject or just some rules on a paper. The same thing must happen with music.<sup>38</sup>

It is striking how Villa-Lobos's words resemble those of other educators before him, such as Fabiano Lozano. Along with Gomes Júnior, Lozano was one of the pioneers of Orpheonic Chant in Brazil. He performed most of his activities, including teaching Orpheonic Chant and organizing professional groups, in the city of Piracicaba, in the countryside of the state of São Paulo. He also helped establish Orpheonic Chant in the Northeast state of Pernambuco, where the local government hired him to direct the

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<sup>38</sup> Villa-Lobos cited in J.I.C (full name not provided in the source), "Villa-Lobos por êle próprio," *in Presença de Villa-Lobos*, vol. 5 (Rio de Janeiro: Mec – Museu Villa-Lobos, 1970), 127. In the original: "Assim, deve-se ensinar a música desde o começo, como uma fôrça viva, do mesmo modo que se aprende a linguagem. Uma criança, normalmente já faz uso fluentemente das palavras, intonações, forma das frases em sua língua maternal, muito antes de chamada a dominar as regras mais simples da gramática. Desta forma, a linguagem vive para a criança como som e sentimento e não como uma coisa sem vida e regras no papel. A mesma coisa deve ser com a música."

teaching of Orpheonic Chant in the public schools.<sup>39</sup> In the preface to the collection of songs *Alegria das Escolas* (1930), for instance, Lozano wrote:

Music, like spoken and written language, must be taught, we believe, like other disciplines, meaning, analytically, or as we say, using the simplest and most rational methods. The simplest and most rational method is to move from the general, which is better known and easier to grasp; and lead the students intuitively to the unknown, letting them induce by themselves the rules and whys, the cause of things.<sup>40</sup>

Villa-Lobos implemented teaching singing through practice, followed by exercises in music theory that gradually increased in difficulty. Although this was a central tenet of the Analytic Method, and Gomes Júnior and Lozano had already described in detail how they gradually introduced theoretic concepts to children after vocal practice, Villa-Lobos conveyed an air of originality to the method by describing the learning process as *Música Som vs. Música Papel*, meaning music learned through practice (sound) vs. music learned through theory (paper). Villa-Lobos also used *manossolfa*, a method of solmization based on the *main musicale* (musical hand) from the French method for teaching singing known as Galin-Paris-Chevét that Gomes Júnior had introduced in Brazil. In Villa-Lobos's music education, *manossolfa* became an indispensable teaching tool (see Gomes Júnior's *manossolfa* signs on Figure 2-1).

## Repertoires

The repertoire Villa-Lobos adopted in his system of music education also reveals his alignment with the philosophies of music education of the First Republic. According

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<sup>39</sup> See Vânia Pajares, *Fabiano Lozano e o início da pedagogia vocal no Brasil*, master's thesis (Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1995).

<sup>40</sup> Fabiano Lozano, *Alegria das escolas*, 139<sup>th</sup> ed. (São Paulo: Ricordi, 1961), 6. In the original: "A música, como linguagem falada e escrita, deve ser ensinada, pensamos, de igual forma que as demais matérias, isto é, analiticamente, ou antes, naturalmente como costumamos dizer, empregando-se os processos mais simples e racionais. O processo mais simples e racional é partir-se do todo mais fácil e conhecido, e encaminhar os alunos, intuitivamente, para o desconhecido, procurando que eles induzam por si as regras e porquês, a razão das coisas."

to Oliveira, in the First Republic “Lyrics were filled with teaching of good habits; good behavior; love for school, work, family, and particularly the nation. As for musical content, school songs usually had simple melodies, composed in comfortable textures and regular rhythms, so that children could easily learn them. Songs, readings, and plays attempted to develop good habits, good manners, and noble feelings.”<sup>41</sup> Villa-Lobos was heir to this educational tradition and, like music educators before him, adopted repertoires for specific educational purposes. He used European and Brazilian art music to educate the population and to elevate their cultural level; folkloric music and popular traditions to create awareness about Brazilian cultural and ethnic heritages; and marches and hymns to instill patriotism and a sense of civic duty. In different stages of the First Republic, music educators had already used repertoires with similar purposes. At first, they adopted a repertory of hymns, marches, and patriotic songs, which, according to Vera Lúcia Gomes Jardim, “privileged its peculiarity in touching the spirit.”<sup>42</sup> This repertory followed a trend of European countries of the time, where the practice of singing patriotic and nationalistic music was used to preserve cultural heritage and promote national identity.<sup>43</sup> After 1911, however, when new debates about music education led to implementation of the Analytic Method in Brazilian schools, Jardim revealed that educators started developing a repertory specifically for music

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<sup>41</sup> Oliveira, “Orpheonic Chant and the Construction of Childhood,” 49.

<sup>42</sup> Vera Lúcia Gomes Jardim, “Os sons da república—O ensino da música nas escolas públicas de São Paulo na primeira república 1889-1930,” <http://www.anped.org.br/reunioes/27/gt02/t0214.pdf> (accessed January 20, 2012), 8.

<sup>43</sup> During the First Republic, Villa-Lobos himself had composed the patriotic song “Meu País” in 1919 and in 1922, the year of the Centenary of Brazil’s Independence, he composed the march “Brasil Novo,” whose lyric he wrote and signed with the pseudonym *Zé do Povo*.

education that was appropriate for their educational purposes and displayed characteristics of art music.

In addition to patriotic hymns, marches, and educational songs with characteristics of art music, around 1920 educators gradually started incorporating folk songs and songs with typical elements of Brazilian popular and folkloric music (such as rhythms and typical melodic shapes) to the repertory of music education. By that time, there was a general intellectual movement toward valuing Brazilian culture (epitomized by the Brazilian Modernism). Through such repertoire, music educators contributed to this movement by fostering Brazilian-ness in the school environment. As Jardim showed, João Gomes Júnior's "Ao Mar," "O Choro da Jurity," and "Saudade," from the series Orpheon Escolar of 1923, along with João Batista Julião's "Coro dos Pescadores" from 1922, resembled Brazilian *modinhas*, a song form that had become emblematic of Brazilian urban popular music.<sup>44</sup> Jardim also revealed that in the 1920s, music educators started incorporating more rhythmic elements characteristic of Brazilian music (such as syncopes), which led Gomes Júnior to adapt songs from popular traditions for orpheon on the collection of songs *Cantigas da minha Terra* in 1924.<sup>45</sup>

As did music educators of the First Republic, Villa-Lobos advanced the idea that folkloric songs in particular were very important for children's initiation in music because they were already part of the universe of children, thus serving well the precepts of the Analytic Method, moving from what was known to what was unknown. Music educators

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<sup>44</sup> *Modinha* is a diminutive of *Moda*, a genre of lyric and sentimental songs in fashion among the Portuguese aristocracy at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. *Modinha* is a modified version popularized in Brazil according to the lifestyle of that Brazilians. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was sung on the streets with the accompaniment of the guitar. See Marcondes, ed., "Modinha" in *Enciclopédia da música brasileira*, 525.

<sup>45</sup> Jardim, "Os sons da república," 10.

of the First Republic also believed the music characteristics of folk songs contributed to several technical aspects of children's music education. In the preface of the collection of popular and folk songs *Ciranda, Cirandinha*,<sup>46</sup> co-editors Gomes Júnior and Julião affirmed that children's folk songs served for diversion, and also had other functions such as to establish children's voices, develop their sense of rhythm, sharpen their intelligence, increase children's sociability, refine their ears, awaken their artistic taste, and cheer them up.

### **Orpheonic Groups: Socialization and Artistic Development of Children**

Along with the values the repertoires transmitted, the very organization of orpheonic groups in schools and the teaching methods of Orpheonic Chant played an important role in socializing children and developing their sense of collective cooperation and discipline, characteristics Villa-Lobos later deemed essential in his approach to Orpheonic Chant. In the opinion of composer, pianist and critic Felix Otero about Gomes Junior's and Gomes Cardim's *Ensino da Música pelo Methodo Analytico* (printed in the book itself) the *manossolfa* was an essential educational tool because it captured children's attention and united them as a cohesive group. According to Otero, students paid enormous attention to the hands of their teacher "sure that their lack of attention would harm the collective work."<sup>47</sup> His words reveal the importance of *manossolfa* in developing children's discipline and focus, and also make clear that preserving the sense of collectivity was a significant goal of music education.

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<sup>46</sup> João Gomes Júnior and João Batista Julião, eds., *Ciranda cirandinha: Coleção de cantigas populares e brinquedos* (São Paulo: Cia Melhoramentos, 1924), Preface.

<sup>47</sup> Felix Otero in Cardim and Gomes Júnior, *O Ensino da música*, 32.

Fabiano Lozano played an important role in fostering the formation of choral groups in Brazil and was a precursor to Villa-Lobos's activities in that field. In Piracicaba, Lozano worked in several schools, including the Normal School, where he formed the Orpheon Normalist (*Orpheão Normalista*) in 1914. Besides its educational functions, Lozano also wanted to achieve a high artistic level with this group, a task that proved difficult because many students who graduated from the Normal School moved away from Piracicaba. Additionally, because not many male students were attending Normal School anymore—a teaching career was very difficult to attain—the Orpheon Normalist was “destined” to become an all-female group. In view of this situation, Lozano organized the Orpheon Piracicabano (*Orpheão Piracicabano*), formed by current and former students from the Normal School, some of his private students, and other members of society. This group began with 48 members and continued growing throughout the years.

Soon after its formation, Lozano's Orpheon Piracicabano started performing an important cultural role in Piracicaba and became the finest choral group in Brazil, performing concerts in several Brazilian cities, including Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Mário de Andrade, the most important intellectual of that time, who had an important column in the newspaper *Diário Nacional*, was invited to a performance of the Orpheon Piracicabano in Piracicaba in 1928 and was impressed with the technical quality of the group. According to him, the group surpassed the qualities of the two choral groups of the city of São Paulo, one German and one Slavic, whose people are “traditionally skilled in group singing.”<sup>48</sup> Andrade was delightfully surprised with the skills of the

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<sup>48</sup> Mário de Andrade, “Orpheon piracicabano,” *Diário Nacional*, June 15, 1928.

Orpheão Piracicabano because, according to him, Brazilians were individualists and demonstrated little inclination to practice music in groups.<sup>49</sup> Andrade also appreciated the choice of repertoire, which included arrangements for choir of canons of Western music such as Bach's "Air" and Schubert's "Musical Moment" (Andrade did not provide more specific information about the pieces in his review) as well as Brazilian music, whose inclusion in the program Andrade considered worthy of applause.<sup>50</sup>

Andrade's review of the Orpheon Piracicabano attests to the many social and cultural benefits choral groups could contribute to Brazil at that time. Regarding the social aspects, for instance, Andrade subtly criticized Brazilians' individualism as a hindrance to the formation of good choirs, but he ended his review in a hopeful manner, cleverly implying a possible path to the future: "I imagined that Brazilians, up to now, were incapable of organizing a choir worthy of the name. The Orpheon Piracicabano formally debunked my opinion. It is excellent and proves we can have excellent choirs with our own people."<sup>51</sup> Andrade expressed his thoughts regarding the social value of choral groups even more profoundly in his seminal 1928 *Ensaio sobre a música brasileira (Essay on Brazilian Music)*,<sup>52</sup> in which he advocated that composers write choral music because of its social value:

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<sup>49</sup> Andrade, "Orpheon piracicabano," 7.

<sup>50</sup> Andrade, "Orpheon piracicabano," 7.

<sup>51</sup> Andrade, "Orpheon piracicabano," last page of *Diário Nacional*. In the original: "Brasileiro, até agora, andei imaginando que era gente incapaz de organizar um coral digno do nome. O Orpheon Piracicabano desmentiu formalmente a minha opinião. Ele é excelente e prova que podemos ter corais ótimos com elementos bem da gente."

<sup>52</sup> Mário de Andrade, *Ensaio sobre a música brasileira* (Brasília: Livraria Martins Editora, 1972). In the *Essay*, Andrade laid out several ideas about the social function of music in a country in search of its identity. This landmark publication has the tone of a nationalistic manifesto and became a sort of aesthetic manual for Brazilian composers of that and future times.

Our composers should insist on the choral because of the social value it can hold. A country of sloppy people where the concept of Fatherland is almost a chimera, except for the ones who take advantage of it; a country where the most frank movement of progress dehumanizes its men in the vanity of separatism; a country where nationality (the psychological unanimity, uniform and affecting) did not depend, up to now, on its men, who do everything to detract and spoil them; the composer who is able to see a bit beyond the desires of celebrity, has a social function in this country.<sup>53</sup>

Andrade's concert review and words in the *Ensaio* indicate that Lozano and his Orpheon Piracicabano were fulfilling an important role in Brazilian society by promoting the socialization of its members, by serving as a model of collective cooperation for audiences, and by demonstrating that through hard work good choral groups could be organized in Brazil (and even surpass the quality of European choral groups). Furthermore, Lozano and his group were important cultural agents, fostering Brazilian music in a country whose elites were still ashamed of their cultural heritages and whose masses did not have enough instruction even to start reflecting intellectually upon their heritage.<sup>54</sup>

In this light, Villa-Lobos did not innovate music education but continued the traditions implemented before him. His approach to music education, which reflected the same underlying principles of general education, aimed at the "integral" formation of individuals and their inclusion in the process of social and economic building of the

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<sup>53</sup> Andrade, *Ensaio*, 64-65. In the original: "Mas os nossos compositores deviam de insistir no coral por causa do valor social que ele pode ter. País de povo desleixado onde o conceito de Pátria é quasi uma quimera a não ser pros que se aproveitam dela; país onde um movimento mais franco de progresso já desumaniza os seus homens na vaidade dos separatismos; país de que a nacionalidade, a unanimidade psicológica, uniformes e comoventes independeram até agora dos homens dele que tudo fazem pra disvirtua-las e estraga-las; o compositor que saiba ver um bocado alem dos desejos de celebridade, tem uma função social nesse país."

<sup>54</sup> Lozano was an important cultural ambassador who, in addition to having organized the Orpheão Piracicabano, idealized and founded the Orchestra of the Municipal theater of Piracicaba in 1915, which became know as "Orquestra Lozano."

nation. In his nationalistic government, Vargas brought these ideas forward and enhanced them through several educational reforms.

Along with intellectuals, musicians worked to elevate the intellectual level of the people much before Villa-Lobos started preaching about it. Alexandre Levy (1864-1892), one of Brazil's first nationalistic composers, for instance, composed music that searched for *brasilidade* (such as "Tango Brasileiro" for piano). In addition to his attempts to convey *brasilidade* in his music,<sup>55</sup> Levy fought to elevate the taste of the audiences, a task he exercised particularly as a critic for the newspaper *Correio Paulistano*. Tuma said: "as a critic of the *Correio Paulistano*, Figarote [Levy's pseudonym] obsessively insisted on requesting teachers to promote concerts whenever possible. Levy hoped to "elevate the audience's musical taste."<sup>56</sup> Thus, Villa-Lobos's attitude toward educating the masses in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was not an isolated act of heroism, but a reflection of a general educational issue that intellectuals and artists had already identified in several realms of society in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Villa-Lobos and the Brazilian Modernists: the Search for Brazilian Identity**

The ideals of the Generation of 1870 occupied the minds of intellectuals to varying degrees throughout the twentieth century, having had the most important outcomes in Brazilian Modernism, which started in the early 1920s and went through different phases up to the mid 1940s. However, as opposed to the artistic ideals of the Generation of 1870s, who emulated European models, the modernists' philosophy was

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<sup>55</sup> The result of Levy's search for modernity in Brazilian music and incorporation of elements of folk and urban popular music into his compositional tools can be observed, among others, in "Samba" from *Suite Brésilienne*, and in his "Tango Brasileiro." For more information on Levy, see Tuma, *O nacional e o popular*.

<sup>56</sup> Tuma, *O nacional e o popular*, 114.

grounded in the search for *brasilidade* within the country's own history, territory, and cultural heritages. Modernists sought to create an "authentic" Brazilian art, an art that represented socio-cultural aspects of the homeland. They also attempted to raise popular awareness of Brazilian art.

Brazilian artists launched the Modernist Movement through the so-called *Semana de Arte Moderna* in 1922 (Week of Modern Art of 1922), an event that took place at the Municipal Theatre of São Paulo (the event happened in the symbolic year Brazil commemorated the centennial of its Independence from Portugal). The *Semana de 22* (as the Week of Modern Art became known) in reality lasted only 3 days. It included lectures about modern art, presentations of modern poems, and performances of modern music. Participating artists proposed new artistic aesthetics, whose rupture with European ideologies and a movement toward an authentically Brazilian national art provoked a strong negative reaction from the elite audiences. From that point on, modernist artists started to exercise a fundamental role in Brazilian arts, even challenging the *modus operandi* of Brazilian society, which had been firmly rooted in European traditions. To be sure, Brazilian artists never completely abandoned European models. In reality, these artists drew upon European modernist aesthetics, such as Futurism and Dadaism, among others, and applied them to the Brazilian experience, creating a hybrid form of art with nationalistic discourses.

For many artists, a basic goal was *épater le bourgeois* (to shock the bourgeoisie), awakening the elites from their indifference toward Brazilian arts. The most important figures of Brazilian modernism participated in these events, such as poet and musicologist Mário de Andrade, the so-called 'pope of modernism,' poet Oswald de

Andrade (no family relation to Mário), and painters Tarsila do Amaral and Anita Malfati, among others. Although he never fully engaged with the activities of other modernist artists, such as the writing of manifestos or publications of magazines that disseminated the modernist ideology, Villa-Lobos was chosen to represent modern Brazilian music in the *Semana de 22*. Villa-Lobos's compositions were not intended to please the elites, but to musically represent the ideals of *brasilidade*. The organizers of the *Semana de 22* invited Villa-Lobos because, although by that time his music was clearly indebted to modern European techniques, he was working toward incorporating nationalistic references, as his ballets *Amazonas* and *Uirapuru*, both from 1917, clearly demonstrate.

Villa-Lobos's compositions formed the core of the music performed in the three festivals and, along with all the vanguard art presented in the *Semana de 22*, was not well received by the elite audience, fond of European music of the Baroque, Classical, and Romantic Periods.<sup>57</sup> On several occasions Villa-Lobos expressed his discontent toward the conservative attitude of the elites and affirmed that it retarded the development of nationalistic music (and consequently his consecration as a composer in Brazil). In the text "Alma do Brasil" (Soul of Brazil), Villa-Lobos wrote about the "authentic" music elements that contribute to making music national and criticized

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<sup>57</sup> Brazilian pianist and composer Ernani Braga played music by Poulenc and Satie during the first festival's opening lecture given by the writer Graça Aranha, and the famous Brazilian pianist Guiomar Novaes played works by Debussy, E.R Blanchet, and Vallon (the last played as an encore) in the second festival. However, these composers were not as representative for the *Semana* as Villa-Lobos was. Among Villa-Lobos's pieces performed in the *Semana* were his Second Sonata for cello and piano; Second and Third Trios for Strings; Third Quartet; Symbolic Quartet for flute, saxophone, celesta, and harp or piano; pieces for voice and piano such as "Festim Pagão," "Solidão," and "Cascavél;" and pieces for solo piano such as the *Three African Dances* "Farrapos," "Kankukus," and "Kankikis," and "Valsa Mística." See José Miguel Wisnik, *O coro dos contrários: A música em torno da Semana de 22* (São Paulo, Livraria Duas Cidades, 1977).

Brazilian elite's favoring of traditional European music whereas Europeans themselves appreciated Brazilian music:

In Brazil, from the old [Portuguese] court up to the high society of our days, people increasingly appreciate the music and dance of minuets, gavottes, and all variants of these ancient and modern dances of European countries (with or without the outlook of elevated classicism) than our old lundú, the traditional maxixe, the modern samba, or the recent choro. They eloquently worship the achievements of ancient Greece and Rome and ridicule the accomplishments of our primitive people. However, these countries that produced their art from their own nature [meaning the "authentic" musical elements of their nations] applaud with enthusiasm all this original manifestation of our soul, which many of us repel.<sup>58</sup>

What Villa-Lobos noted in this text was a reality of his time: the elites were largely ashamed of the cultural elements that revealed any traits of Amerindian or Afro-Brazilian cultural practices, which were, nonetheless, essential for artists in search of *brasilidade*. By repelling elements of local cultural practices, considered inferior, Brazilian elites wanted to remain closer to Europeans. However, Europeans themselves appreciated those Brazilian local cultural elements. While this seems to be a paradox, Brazilian elites' and Europeans' attitudes were very similar: through European's exoticization and the Brazilian elite's repelling, both groups essentially separated themselves, in their own ways, from what they considered "inferior" cultures.

In a letter to his friend Arthur Iberê de Lemos (later published in the *Jornal do Brasil*), Villa-Lobos recounted that the audience (mostly the elite *paulista*) was extremely unreceptive to the new ideas and art presented at the *Semana de 22*:

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<sup>58</sup>Heitor Villa-Lobos, "Alma do Brasil," 17 (collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos. Document no. HVL 01.01.29, pasta pi/pi de Villa-Lobos). In the original: "No Brasil, desde a antiga corte até a alta sociedade dos nossos dias, apreciam muito mais a música e a dança dos minuetos, das gavotas e de todas as variantes destas danças antigas e modernas dos paízes euripeus (com ou sem a roupagem do elevado classicismo) do que o nosso velho lundú, ou o tradicional maxixe, ou o moderno samba ou o recene choro. No entanto, esses mesmo s paízes que produziram sua arte feita da sua própria natureza, só aplaudem com entusiasmo e espanto, toda esta manifestação original de nossa alma, que muitos de nós escorralamos."

On the first [day of the festival] our friend Graça Aranha gave a raging lecture, knocking down almost completely, all artistic past . . . . As you can imagine, the audience stood up angry. They protested, blasphemed, vomited, groaned, and silenced. When the time for music came, the jokes in the galleries were so interesting, I was almost sure my work had achieved an ideal, such was the intensity of the boos drowning out the applause. On the second [day of the festival] the same thing happened in the musical part as in the literary part: the boos increased.<sup>59</sup>

The passage above shows that in fostering avant-garde art, the *Semana de 22* provoked a reaction from the elites, which was an important goal of the artists. Villa-Lobos was indeed happy his music was received with boos. His search for a musical language that represented the spirit of his people (*brasilidade*) and distinguished itself from the aesthetic of traditional European music was already an essential trait of his artistic personality before 1922. Thus Villa-Lobos's participation in the *Semana de 22* reveals that he shared the ideologies of the artists more engaged with the Modernist Movement itself and his participation was perhaps a natural consequence of his nationalistic leanings.

### **Brazil in the 1930s: an Arid Soil for Brazilian Music**

After his participation in the *Semana de 22*, Villa-Lobos continued to work toward developing “authentic” Brazilian art music and received an artistic boost after his two stays in Paris in the 1920s, residences with the sponsorship of the industrialists Arnaldo and Carlos Guinle. Villa-Lobos's first visit began in 1923 and lasted a little more than a

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<sup>59</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “Villa-Lobos e a Semana de Arte Moderna” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos* vol. III (Rio de Janeiro: MEC, 1969), 105. In the original: “No primeiro [dia de festival], o amigo Graça Aranha fez uma conferência violentíssima, derrubando quase por completo todo o passado artístico . . . . Como deves imaginar, o público levantou-se indignado. Protestou, blasfemou, vomitou gemeu e caiu silencioso. Quando chegou a vez da música, as piadas das galerias foram tão interessantes, que quase tive a certeza de a minha obra atingir um ideal, tais foram as vaias que cobriram os louros. No Segundo [festival] a mesma coisa na parte musical, na parte literária, a vaia aumentou.”

year. The second lasted 3 ½ years, from 1927 to 1930.<sup>60</sup> Because exoticism was a trend in Paris, Villa-Lobos's music, which displayed several local musical elements such as characteristic rhythms and instruments, achieved a recognition it had never had in Brazil. Henry Prunières's review<sup>61</sup> in the *Revue Musicale* of an all-Villa-Lobos concert performed in Paris on December 5, 1927, for instance, displays the "exoticization" and successful impact of Villa-Lobos's music:

It is the first time in Europe that one hears works coming from Latin America that bring with them the wonders of virgin forests, of great plains, of exuberant nature, profuse in dazzling fruits, flowers and birds [. . .] One may have another conception of the art music, but one could not remain indifferent to works of such power and one must recognize with Florent Schmitt that the truly creative afflatus ('soufflé') has passed.

In Paris, Villa-Lobos freed himself from the ignorance of the masses and the conservatism of Brazilian elites and furthered his nationalistic musical language. What Parisians perceived as "exotic" was the settling down of the "authentic" Brazilian musical language Villa-Lobos had been forging.<sup>62</sup>

In the mid-1930, however, Villa-Lobos returned to Brazil to conduct a series of eight concerts in São Paulo under the auspices of symphonic societies such as Sociedade Sinfônica São Paulo and Sociedade de Cultura Artística.<sup>63</sup> He organized programs whose novelty reflected his experience with modern music in Paris and his

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<sup>60</sup> Pianist Arthur Rubinstein was decisive in Villa-Lobos's career. When the famous Polish pianist went to Brazil on a tour in 1918, he got acquainted with Villa-Lobos's music. Rubinstein used his influence to recommend Villa-Lobos for the Guinle brothers and suggested that the industrialists sponsor Villa-Lobos's stay in Paris. In addition, Rubinstein championed Villa-Lobos's piano music overseas.

<sup>61</sup> In Béhague, *Heitor Villa-Lobos*, 19. Among other pieces, "Choros 3" and "Choros 10" were performed in this concert.

<sup>62</sup> The ballets *Amazonas* and *Uirapuru*, for instance, had already been composed when Villa-Lobos went to Europe.

<sup>63</sup> Despite some initiatives to promote symphonic music in São Paulo, the city "suffered" from what Mário de Andrade called "Pianolatria" (idolatry of piano music).

will to broaden the narrow and conservative musical panorama in Brazil. Among others, the programs included Villa-Lobos's symphonic poem *Amazonas*, Honegger's *Pacific 231*, Milhaud's *Saudades do Brasil*, Mozart Camargo Guarnieri's *Curuça: Choro para Orquestra no.5*, and a whole program of compositions by Florent Schmitt, with whom Villa-Lobos had become friends in France. According to Mário de Andrade, who reviewed all concerts for the *Diário Nacional*,<sup>64</sup> the novelty of the programs was of exceptional significance.<sup>65</sup>

For a composer who had just arrived from the center of modern music at the time, it may have seemed natural to present such programs, but Villa-Lobos may have expected too much from the conservative *paulista* concertgoers who were still fond of traditional European music and did not receive the concerts well. As Andrade reported, "never did the *paulista* musical milieu suffer a more amusing malaise than the one awakened by the Villa-Lobos Season . . . . The Florent Schimidt [sic] Festival, which took place yesterday under the auspices of the Sociedade Sinfônica de S. Paulo, was the moment in which this malaise culminated."<sup>66</sup> With his characteristic sarcasm, Andrade considered the Florent Schmitt Festival a mistake, subtly suggesting that while Schmitt had composed some good works, they were not "good" enough to please the conservative *paulista* concertgoers: "Florent Schmitt is one of the most curious, sharp, and captivating personalities of today's music. But as often occurs, Florent Schmitt's

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<sup>64</sup> These reviews were compiled in Mário de Andrade, *Música doce música* (São Paulo: Livraria Martis Editora, 1963).

<sup>65</sup> Mário de Andrade, "Vila Lobos Versus Vila Lobos (I)" In *Música*, 145.

<sup>66</sup> Andrade, "Vila Lobos (IV)," In *Música*, 149-50. In the original: "Nunca o meio musica paulista sofreu um malestar mais divertido que o despertado nele ela temporada Vila Lobos . . . . O festival Florent Schmidt, realizado ontém sob os auspícios da Sociedade Sinfônica de S. Paulo, foi o momento em que culminou o malestar em que estamos."

personality is much more interesting than his music. God forbid me to deny the merit of the one who wrote *Psalm 47* and *Quintet*, but this merit was insufficient for the realization of a Festival Florent Schmitt in a musical milieu of so little music.”<sup>67</sup> Andrade suggests that, although Florent Schmitt was not a major composer he, too, deserved the respect of the narrow-minded *paulista* audiences.

Andrade also attributed the failure of the Florent Schmitt Festival to the audience’s prejudice against Villa-Lobos. Andrade pointed much of the audience left in the middle of the concert because they considered Villa-Lobos “a futuristic musician. Thus, the music he conducts is logically ‘futuristic’ and necessarily incomprehensible.”<sup>68</sup> Andrade said Schmitt’s *La Tragédie de Salomé* (op. 50), performed at the concert, had nothing futuristic, mocking the audience and suggesting it was nothing but unlearned. The critic ended his review by criticizing those who rejoiced in the failure of the festival calling them petty lobworms, and praising the Sociedade de Concertos Sinfônicos for broadening the scope of musical activities in São Paulo.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to the general audience, musicians also displayed a negative attitude toward Villa-Lobos. In his reviews, Andrade addressed this issue and observed that while Villa-Lobos was respected as a conductor in Europe, the same did not happen in Brazil. Andrade said: “In the rehearsal I watched, the ill will of the orchestra (ill will or

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<sup>67</sup> Andrade “Vila Lobos (IV),” In *Música*, 149. In the original: “Florent Schmitt é uma das personalidades mais curiosas, mais nítidas, mais apaixonantes da música viva. Mas, como tantas vezes se dá, a personalidade de Florent Schmitt é muito mais interessante que a música dele. Deus que me livre de negar valor a quem escreveu o Salmo 47 e o Quinteto, porém esse valor era insuficiente pra que num meio de tão pouca música, se realizasse um festival Florent Schmitt.”

<sup>68</sup> Andrade “Vila Lobos (IV),” In *Música*, 150. In the original: “Vila Lobos é considerado um músico ‘futurista’. Logo: música dirigida por ele é logicamente futurista e necessariamente incompreensível.”

<sup>69</sup> Andrade “Vila Lobos (IV),” In *Música*, 150

neglect, which are the same) was obvious.”<sup>70</sup> A fair critic, Andrade did not hesitate to point out Villa-Lobos’s weak conducting technique and deficient diplomatic ability, imperative skills for one who pursues conducting. But for him, the lack of respect of the orchestral musicians was a symptom of the poor, mean, and narrow-minded musical environment of São Paulo and was proof that musicians did not comprehend the importance of Villa-Lobos to Brazil. Through Andrade’s reviews, it is possible to understand Villa-Lobos’s frustration with the poor level of appreciation for art music in São Paulo, the fastest growing city in Brazil and the most modern center of the country.<sup>71</sup> This poor cultural condition of the country, epitomized in the attitude of the *paulista* audiences, was an impediment for Villa-Lobos’s career as composer and conductor in Brazil.

After having experienced the rich and progressive musical environment in Europe, the overall situation of music Villa-Lobos found in Brazil must have been indeed saddening. On the one hand the masses lacked the intellectual instruction to appreciate any kind of art music and, on the other, the elites cultivated traditional European art music and despised Brazilian music manifestations in general. In the essay “A música nacionalista no governo Getúlio Vargas,” Villa-Lobos recalled his thoughts and feelings about the state of intellectual lethargy and indifference of Brazilian people toward art music in 1930:

One cannot wish that an adolescent country, in state of historical formation, present from the very beginning all its ethnic and cultural aspects perfectly united. However, the general panorama of Brazilian music [about] ten years

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<sup>70</sup> Andrade, “Vila Lobos (III),” In *Música*, 148. In the original: “No ensaio a que assisti, a má-vontade da parte da orquestra (má-vontade ou desleixo, o que dá na mesma), era manifesta.”

<sup>71</sup> São Paulo was the fastest growing city in Brazil at that time.

ago was indeed saddening. By that time, back from one of my trips to the Old World, where I was in contact with the great musical venues and where I had the opportunity to study the great orpheonic organizations of various countries, I looked around and realized our distressing reality. With melancholy I felt that the atmosphere was of either indifference or absolute incomprehension for the racial music, this great music that makes the strength of nationalities and represents one of the highest acquisitions of the human spirit. I realized that the malaise of intellectuals and artists was not only fruit of a political and social imbalance—but that it mainly originated from a growing materiality of the masses, disinterested in any type of culture and divorced from the great and true musical art.<sup>72</sup>

Although Villa-Lobos confused the meanings of ethnicity and race,<sup>73</sup> through this excerpt one can understand his frustration. Moreover, he was not respected and recognized even among members of his own professional class. As Andrade affirmed when Villa-Lobos arrived in Brazil for his series of concerts, “We still did not realize clearly what [Villa-Lobos] represents for Brazil . . . he made Brazil a human thing of live

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<sup>72</sup> Villa-Lobos, “A Música nacionalista,” 17. In the original: “Não se pode desejar que um país adolescente, em estado de formação histórica, se apresente, desde logo, com todos os seus aspectos étnicos e culturais perfeitamente unidos. Entretanto, o panorama geral da musica brasileira, há dez anos atrás, era deveras entristecedor. Por essa época, de volta de uma das minhas viagens ao Velho Mundo, onde estive em contacto com os grandes meios musicais e onde tive a oportunidade de estudar as organizações orfeônicas de vários países, volvi o olhar em torno e percebi a desoladora realidade. Senti com melancolia que a atmosfera era de indiferença ou de absoluta incompreensão pela musica racial, por essa grande musica que faz a força das nacionalidades e que representa um das mais altas aquisições do espírito humano. Percebi que o mal-estar dos intelectuais e dos artistas não era apenas o fruto de um desequilíbrio político e social – mas se originava, em grande parte, de uma crescente materialidade das multidões, desinteressada de qualquer especial de cultura e divorciada da grande e verdadeira arte musical.”

<sup>73</sup> We understand the term ethnicity as, in the words of David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, something that “applies to social groups that share a sense of cultural heritage and identity, as opposed to biological descent, although part of this sense of shared identity may well reflect discourses of class and race” (see David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge, 2005, 60). It is not clear what Villa-Lobos might have meant by “ethnic and cultural aspects perfectly united.” By definition, ethnicity implies a union between society and its culture. It would seem more likely that Villa-Lobos referred to the lack of a unified culture of the diverse races (and their miscegenation) that form Brazilian people as well as their resistance to Brazilian music. It seems Villa-Lobos implied that the ethnic aspects of Brazilian people (the “union” of Brazil’s races and culture) were still in development. Second, since race “refers to perceived social differences based on biological essences such as skin, hair and eye color,” (Beard and Gloag, *Musicology*, 150) *música racial* would imply an idea of separation of music in different categories based on social differences, which contradicts the idea of “the great and true musical art,” where Villa-Lobos speaks about *one* great musical art only (my emphasis). Villa-Lobos probably means *música étnica* (ethnic music) instead of *música racial* because ethnic music would convey the idea of music that carries the idiosyncratic ethnic traits of a people, or, in other words, music that amalgamated the diverse racial and cultural aspects of a people.

permanence in the consciousness of thousands of foreigners. He humanizes Brazil overseas.”<sup>74</sup>

### Villa-Lobos’s Viewpoint

While forging and disseminating what he considered authentic Brazilian art music and promoting awareness of Brazilian composers were part of his genuine personal and professional goals, Villa-Lobos was also worried about the reception of his music and his professional future in Brazil. In a letter he wrote to his first wife, pianist Lucília Guimarães Villa-Lobos, at the time of his return to Brazil in 1930, Villa-Lobos’s frustration and anger about the lack of appreciation and respect for him and his work in the musical milieu was evident. Commenting about a festival organized in Rio de Janeiro, Villa-Lobos warned Lucília that neither did he want her to participate nor did he want his music included unless they were both paid the same amount that was customarily paid to foreign musicians:

I really do not want you to take part in any concert without earning at least 200 *milreis* [Brazilian currency at the time] or so. If they want to put on some festival, they should do it on their own, for I will not countenance the use of any of my works in Rio except upon payment of a fee. I am tired of “mockery” and injustices, and for me Rio is already artistically dead. Nothing [. . .] Nothing and Nothing! [. . .] I want to hear no more of concerts in Rio unless they pay us as if we were good foreigners.<sup>75</sup>

As Lisa M. Peppercorn rightly observed, Villa-Lobos’s correspondence at this time shows a “mixture of apprehension and insecurity and strong-willed determination to

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<sup>74</sup> Mário de Andrade, “Villa-Lobos” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos* Volume VIII, 1st. ed. (Rio de Janeiro: MEC-Museu Villa-Lobos, 1969), 121. In the original: “Que Villa-Lobos tenha enfim no Brasil um consagração digna dele é o que desejo. Nós ainda não presenciamos com clareza o que ele representa para o Brasil . . . ele tornou o Brasil uma coisa humana de permanência viva na consciência de milhares de estrangeiros. Ele humaniza o Brasil lá fora.”

<sup>75</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos in *The Villa-Lobos Letters*, org. and transl. by Lisa M. Peppercorn, (London: Toccata Press, 1994), 47 and 49.

achieve recognition as a composer.”<sup>76</sup> This letter demonstrates that, among other things, Villa-Lobos was apprehensive because Brazilians looked up to foreigners as models of cultural achievement, whether in relation to the aesthetics of their cultural practices or the artistry of European artists, which was not necessarily superior to that of Brazilians but fascinated the Brazilian elites. Because being Brazilian also normally meant being Afro-Brazilian, Amerindian, or of mixed ethnicities (still considered inferior by that time) the elites in search of self-affirmation cultivated European art to create a social distinction between them and “the rest” of Brazilians and attributed higher artistic value to traditional European art.

Villa-Lobos also expressed his frustration about the animosity of Brazilian people and poor reception of his music in Brazil in a letter to Arnaldo Guinle from 27 December 1930. Therein, Villa-Lobos complained about the professional problems he faced in his own country: “I can only say I have calluses on my fingers from so much violoncello practice, to raise resources for my subsistence. No one can imagine that today there is nobody more worthy of pity than I, who beg for money to be able to live in his own country. I feel sick and do not receive the just and deserved reward.”<sup>77</sup> He continued, “I will do anything to travel to Europe as soon as possible, because you know well that I must live in another milieu, where I can work with tranquility.”<sup>78</sup> Villa-Lobos may have

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<sup>76</sup> Peppercorn, *The Villa-Lobos Letters*, 43.

<sup>77</sup> Peppercorn, *The Villa-Lobos Letters*, 38. In the original: “O que eu posso dizer, apenas, é que tenho calos nos dedos de tanto me exercitar ao violoncelo, a fim de levantar recursos para minha subsistência. Ninguém imagina que hoje em dia tem alguém mais parecido do que eu com um pobre diabo, que pede esploas e dinheiro para poder viver em ser próprio país. Sinto-me doente e cansado e não recebo a recompensa justa e merecida.”

<sup>78</sup> Peppercorn, *The Villa-Lobos Letters*, 39. In the original: “Farei tudo para poder viajar à Europa tão rápido quanto possível, pois voc6e bem sabe que eu tneho de morar em um outro meio, onde possa trabalhar com tranquilidade.”

exaggerated the sentimentally to gain the sympathy of Guinle once again and to get another sponsorship from the industrialist (which never happened), to return to Europe, but his situation must have been distressing for him to write such a desperate letter. Indeed, the poor reception of Villa-Lobos's concerts in São Paulo in 1930 revealed that he was going to have a rough time in Brazil.

### **Reversing the Situation: Music Education and the Artistic Excursion Villa-Lobos**

After the coup d'état that led Getúlio Vargas to power in 1930, Villa-Lobos's luck was about to change as the government embraced his plans for music education, and soon after that, Villa-Lobos became the most important music authority in the country. Before the coup, Villa-Lobos had presented his plans to implement a program of music education in Brazilian schools to presidential candidate Júlio Prestes, whom, according to Luís Paulo Horta, he had met in the house of Olívia Guedes Penteadó, a member of the intellectual and economic elite of São Paulo.<sup>79</sup> Villa-Lobos wanted to educate children musically, so that they would grow up appreciating Brazilian art music and art music in general. Prestes, who was enthusiastic about Villa-Lobos's plans, won the elections that year but was deposed after the coup, which created much political uncertainty in the country. Villa-Lobos's career was not taking off in Brazil and he planned to go back to Europe, but, to his surprise, the *interventor* of Vargas in São Paulo, Lieutenant João Alberto Lins de Barros, an important figure in the new regime, and an amateur pianist and music enthusiast, became interested in Villa-Lobos's program of music education and proposed to bring the idea to fruition. After Lins de

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<sup>79</sup> Luís Paulo Horta, *Villa-Lobos: Edição de seu centenário* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Alhumbramento, 1986), 72.

Barros's invitation, Villa-Lobos stayed in Brazil and started his "march" for music education.

Villa-Lobos's first step toward musically educating the Brazilian population was to organize the *Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos* (Artistic Excursion Villa-Lobos) that traveled through 54 towns in the countryside of the state of São Paulo from January 1931 to April 1932, playing concerts and lecturing about European and Brazilian art music. Besides Villa-Lobos, who played the cello, some prominent musicians in the excursion included Lucília Guimarães Villa-Lobos, who provided piano accompaniments; Antonieta Rudge and João de Souza Lima; two of the finest Brazilian pianists of all time; singers Nair Duarte Nunes and Anita Gonçalves; and Belgian violinist Maurice Raskin, whom Villa-Lobos had met in Paris.

Anônio Chechim Filho, a piano tuner, also accompanied the group and in 1987, about fifty-six years after the excursion took place, Filho wrote the book *Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos* (that bears the same name as the excursion) where he recounted important facts and anecdotes about the excursion.<sup>80</sup> The book reads as a memoir of his experiences with Villa-Lobos and other great artists. Along with newspaper articles, this is one of the only sources about the enterprise. Despite the lack of scientific rigor and the romantic tone in some passages, Filho offered some important information and

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<sup>80</sup>According to Chechim, neither Souza Lima nor Anita Gonçalves were part of the group that first left on the journey. Some months after the excursion had already departed, they were called to replace Antonieta Rudge (physical exhaustion) and Nair Duarte Nunes (illness), respectively. Antônio Chechim Filho was an important piano tuner of the time and responsible for tuning the pianos of such pianists as Guiomar Novaes, Estelinha Epstein, Dinorah de Carvalho, João Carlos Martins, Joseph Kliass (disciple of Martin Krause who had been a disciple of F. Lizst), and Arthur Rubinstein, when he gave recitals in São Paulo. In contrast to most secondary literature on the subject, Chechim does not mention the participation of Guiomar Novaes in the Excursion. Because he took part in the excursion himself and was the piano tuner of Guiomar Novaes, it seems unlikely he would have forgotten to mention her name if she had participated in the excursion.

insights about the excursion. He named all cities visited, discussed the condition of the venues where the musicians performed, gave facts about the organization of the events, told how authorities and the people received the artists, the conditions of transportation and hotels, and shared anecdotes from the backstage.

The excursion was divided into eight stages, each of which included visits to several towns along the railroads they traveled. After each stage was completed, the group returned to São Paulo to take a train in a different direction. Unlike most reports, Filho said the excursion traveled to more than a hundred cities in the countryside of the state of São Paulo.<sup>81</sup> According to Filho, the excursion was so successful that in 1932 Villa-Lobos was organizing a second enterprise, probably to the states of Paraná or Minas Gerais, but because of the *Intentona Comunista* (Communist Conspiracy)—the Brazilian Communist Party’s attempt to overthrow Getúlio from power—the plans had to be abandoned.<sup>82</sup>

Although Lins de Barros sponsored the excursion, facilitating the transportation of the artists by train and requesting that the municipal governments of all towns the group visited to cover all expenses, this artistic enterprise required much self-sacrifice from all artists involved. As the head of the excursion, Villa-Lobos worked on several fronts, including acting as a diplomat among local authorities, checking every detail of the concerts such as the program and the conditions of the theaters, collecting the

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<sup>81</sup> Most sources report that the excursion traveled to 54 cities in the states of São Paulo, Paraná, and Minas Gerais. However, they do not provide the source for such information. Villa-Lobos himself is not very precise in that regard and only mentioned that the excursion traveled for “more than sixty cities in the countryside of São Paulo.” (Heitor Villa-Lobos, in “SEMA: Relatório geral do serviços realizados de 1932 a 1936,” In *Boletim Latino Americano de Música*, (Ano III, tomo III, abril 1937), 370.

<sup>82</sup> Antonio Chechim Filho, *Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos*, (n/a, 1987), 25.

proceeds in the ticket office after the concerts, lecturing, and playing the cello during the concerts.

The renowned international artists who participated in the excursion usually performed in cinemas, even though several of the towns they visited had theaters. With respect to venue, Filho said,

We rarely had the opportunity to use a theater. Some were very good, with excellent acoustics. Great stages and perfect illumination. The cinemas were constructed exclusively for this purpose; sometimes they were simple sheds. In general, they did not have a stage or, when they did, it was so small that it barely accommodated the baby grand piano. In these cases, we needed to set up a platform to use as a stage.<sup>83</sup>

Despite the length of the excursion and the number of towns visited, the musicians did not have any financial gain. Other than train tickets and hotels, the state and municipal governments did not provide any financial support. Filho was responsible for budgeting the trips and said the excursion only received money from ticket sales, which was barely enough to cover these expenses. According to Filho, sometimes there was even a deficit.<sup>84</sup>

### **The Artistic Excursion and Villa-Lobos's Music**

Despite the sacrifices Villa-Lobos and the other artists had to make, they found strength to continue their journey because they believed they were contributing to the nation and to creating awareness about art music. Although each of them had an important role in the excursion, Villa-Lobos was the only one responsible for the

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<sup>83</sup> Filho, *Excursão*, 63. In the original: "Pouquíssimas vezes tivemos a oportunidade de usar um teatro. Alguns deles muito bons, com excelentes condições de acústica. Ótimos palcos com iluminação perfeita. Os cinemas eram construídos exclusivamente para esses fim. Algumas vezes eram um simples barracão. Em geral, não tinham palco nenhum ou este, era tão minúsculos, que mal cabia nele o piano de cauda. Era então necessário montar um estrado para servir de palco."

<sup>84</sup> Filho, *Excursão*, 61.

educational lectures presented to the audiences before the concerts. Besides educating the masses, Villa-Lobos also disseminated nationalistic music. With respect to these aspects of the excursion, Arnaldo Contier said, “In this excursion, Villa-Lobos used a strategy never tried by another artist involving the issue of modernity: he began a marathon, seeking to promote nationalistic music and the formation of a new public, while embracing the Brazilian people, and thus distancing himself from the burgher elite of the Municipal Theaters of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.”<sup>85</sup>

This was a necessary move through which Villa-Lobos sought to instill interest for art music, especially Brazilian, in the uneducated masses. According to Filho, these audiences were “In general . . . little informed about music.”<sup>86</sup> The lack of music knowledge in some towns was such that they did not know what a musical concert was, and some people even thought the excursion was a theatrical group.<sup>87</sup> In Filho’s account, at these lectures, Villa-Lobos tried to educate the audience about several aspects of the music profession. He spoke much about musical patriotism, conceptualized about what he considered good and bad music, displayed his distaste for foreign popular music, and emphasized the importance of silence during a concert. According to Filho, Villa-Lobos complained that the youth did not dedicate themselves to music because the only thing they could think of was soccer, but he also demonstrated his affection for children and his fondness for school choirs. Additionally, Villa-Lobos talked about the mechanics of musical instruments and their particularities,

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<sup>85</sup> Arnaldo Contier, *Passarinhada do Brasil: Canto orfeônico, educação e getulismo* (Bauru, SP, Brasil: Edusc, 1998), 18.

<sup>86</sup> Filho, *Excursão*, 59.

<sup>87</sup> Filho, *Excursão*, 63.

spoke about aspects of the life of an artist, and “told his difficulties, his suffering and how he had been fighting to make his music accepted and understood.”<sup>88</sup>

Years after the excursion, Villa-Lobos said with an altruistic and almost heroic tone that he did not organize the excursion to advertise his own music or force his artistic orientation on audiences but “to gather soldiers and workers of national art . . . to form a ‘block of granite’ and cry out loud like thunder, in stunning unison: the Brazilian Artistic Independence.”<sup>89</sup> That he promoted Brazilian music through the excursion and throughout his whole life can hardly be questioned, but considering the topics he addressed in the pre-concert lectures, and the Brazilians’ general distaste for his music, it is difficult to believe he did not take advantage of the excursion to promote his own music.

Despite Villa-Lobos’s self-sacrifice to promote Brazilian music and to educate the masses, he indeed took advantage of the enterprise to promote his music and career, as the concert programs demonstrate. In the first concert of the excursion, in the Municipal Theater of Campinas on 20 January 1931, most of the pieces performed were his, and as Filho reported in his book, this program was repeated numerous times throughout the excursion. Along with a few pieces by European composers such as Scarlatti, Chopin, and Prokofiev, those by Villa-Lobos included pieces for cello and piano such as “Pequena Suíte para Violoncelo e Piano,” “Sonhar,” and “O Canto do

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<sup>88</sup> Filho, *Excursão*, 60.

<sup>89</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “A educação artística no civismo” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos* vol. 5 (Rio de Janeiro: MEC-Museu Villa-Lobos, 1970), 82. In the original: “Não fui para fazer reclame da minha obra, nem tampouco obrigar a compreenderem minha orientação artística . . . Fui munido de célebres virtuosos patrícios, proclamar a fôrça de vontade artística brasileira e arregimentar soldados e operários da arte nacional . . . para formar um “bloco de granito” e soltar, como um grito, um estrondoso, um formidável trovão, uníssonos e espantosos, a Independência Artística Brasileira.”

Capadócio” (from *Bachianas Brasileiras* no. 2); compositions for voice and piano such as “Melodias Brasileiras,” “Modinha” from *Serestas*, “Desejos,” “Saudades da Minha Vida,” “Na Paz de Outono;” and “Alegria na Horta” for solo piano.<sup>90</sup> Filho said after the concert in Campinas, Villa-Lobos complained about the audience’s cold reception of his music.<sup>91</sup> Clearly, besides promoting the “independence of Brazilian music” Villa-Lobos was also promoting his own music and was concerned with its reception.

### **The Significance of the Artistic Excursion**

Despite the poor reception of his music in some concerts and the lack of awareness of art music in some towns, Villa-Lobos and his group were, in general, well received by the authorities and the population. Their arrival was a reason for the population to be proud. Members of the Excursion were hosted in the best hotels and honored with fine post-concert receptions. As Filho reported, in the small towns where the group performed it was “doubtless a great event; a day to celebrate. In some towns it was even decreed a local holiday. The predominant subject was the Villa-Lobos Excursion.”<sup>92</sup> A post-concert reception in Botucatú, where the group performed on 14 February 1931, offers a good example of how local authorities honored the musicians. Important personalities of Botucatú were present at the concert and expressed their admiration and thankfulness for the work of Villa-Lobos and his group. According to the local newspaper, City Hall prepared a reception for the musicians in the *Colégio dos*

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<sup>90</sup> Luis Guimarães, *Villa-Lobos visto da platéia e na intimidade (1912/1935)* (Rio de Janeiro: Arte Moderna, s.d.), 177-78.

<sup>91</sup> Filho, *Excursão*, 67.

<sup>92</sup> Filho, *Excursão*, 63. In the original: “Nas cidades do interior do Estado: Sem dúvida um grande acontecimento. Um dia de festa. Em algumas cidades até foi considerado feriado local. O assunto predominante era a excursão Villa-Lobos.”

*Anjos* (School of Angels), in which a performance of the orpheon of schoolchildren was featured. After the orpheon's presentation, Villa-Lobos and Souza Lima received gold medals and were treated to "fine sweets and liquors."<sup>93</sup>

Besides its educational mission, the excursion also carried patriotic significance for the towns visited. In Botucatú, the newspaper announced the arrivees as the *bandeirantes*<sup>94</sup> of musical art, comparing the musicians to the pioneer groups that explored colonial Brazil and expanded the national territory in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, thus conveying a nationalistic aura to the excursion.<sup>95</sup> The newspaper also reported on the patriotic atmosphere Botucatú prepared to receive the musicians, and said city authorities promoted a presentation of the orpheon of schoolgirls, who performed in a ballroom decorated with green, yellow, and blue velvet, the colors of the Brazilian flag. In addition, a second orpheonic group formed by adults and children performed in the Literary Salon of the same school, which, according to the newspaper, was "beautifully decorated: gaudy with a large number of national flags enhancing its civic features."<sup>96</sup> Regarding the performance of the second orpheon, the newspaper reported that poems of civic character were recited between musical numbers, among which the patriotic

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<sup>93</sup>In Guimarães, *Villa-Lobos*, 181.

<sup>94</sup> *Bandeirantes* were groups formed by whites, Amerindians, and mixed races from the state of São Paulo, who traveled in expeditions called *Bandeiras* (literally Flags) in the 17th century. These groups explored Brazil in search of Amerindian slaves and minerals and, as a consequence, expanded the Brazilian territory. In one of the most famous expeditions, *bandeirante* Raposo Tavares and his group traveled 12,000 kilometers between 1648 and 1642. Today, *Bandeirantes* has a positive patriotic connotation, meaning something like "pioneer." See Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 94-99.

<sup>95</sup> In Guimarães, *Villa-Lobos*, 180.

<sup>96</sup> Quoted In Guimarães, *Villa-Lobos*, 180. In the original: "Lindamente ornamentado, aquele recinto apresentava um aspecto garrido, sobrelevando sua feição cívica, pelo grande número de bandeiras nacionais ali dispostas."

hymn “P’ra frente ó Brazil,” by Villa-Lobos, aroused enthusiasm.<sup>97</sup> Thus, the patriotic and civic aspects that became intrinsic to Villa-Lobos’s system of music education were already part of that city’s society, as happened throughout the state of São Paulo and others such as the Northeastern state of Pernambuco, where *paulista* educator Fabiano Lozano had taught choral singing in public schools and implemented Orpheonic Chant in 1930. Patriotism was a natural sentiment in a country that, after the fairly recent Proclamation of the Republic, was striving to establish its identity, and music education contributed to further patriotic sentiment among the population.

The excursion ended on 21 April 1932, with an Orpheonic Concentration, which Villa-Lobos called Exortação Cívica Villa-Lobos (Civic Exhortation Villa-Lobos), in the city of São Paulo, and at which the *interventor* Lins de Barros and the mayor of São Paulo were present. Filho reported that, with great effort, Villa-Lobos organized a choir with some 5,000 voices, most of which were children from primary schools, secondary schools, high schools and normal schools, along with members of the military, clergy, and adults who also contributed to the event. There was no dress rehearsal for the concert, and all children should have been prepared to sing at school by their teachers. Villa-Lobos’s reliance on the local preparation of the children is a strong indication that he knew the teaching of Orpheonic Chant in the schools of São Paulo was efficient. It also shows he knew Orpheonic Chant was well established in São Paulo.

An orchestra with about 200 musicians, and the band of the then Public Force of the State (today Military Police), with about 100 musicians, also participated in the

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<sup>97</sup> Quoted In Guimarães, *Villa-Lobos*, 180. Villa-Lobos composed the hymn “P’ra frente ó Brazil,” which was later incorporated into the collection of songs and hymns, *Canto Orfeônico* volume I, Villa-Lobos used in his program of music education. Throughout the years in which Villa-Lobos was in charge of music education in Brazil, this piece was performed several times in civic events in which orpheons performed.

Concentration.<sup>98</sup> The program revealed its patriotic and civic orientations. According to Filho's recollection of the event, "almost all songs were civic: National Anthem, Hymn to the Flag, Hymn of Independence, "Song of the Soldier," "P'ra Frente Ó Brasil," some cirandas and others."<sup>99</sup> This Concentration was the first of many to happen in the following years under the patronage of Vargas.

### **Final Considerations**

Soon after this Concentration, Villa-Lobos started implementing his program of music education in Rio de Janeiro with the support of the federal government. Vargas realized he could use patriotic and nationalistic directives for music education to promote the ideologies of his regime. Orpheonic Chant aimed at socializing and instilling discipline in children, and imbuing love for the fatherland while helping to elevate children's cultural and intellectual level. Despite Villa-Lobos building his program of music education on the educational approaches already established in the First Republic, he conferred much stronger patriotic and nationalistic orientation to it, and his Orpheonic Chant soon became an important tool of propaganda for the government. Throughout the following years, Villa-Lobos aligned his discourse even more with that of Vargas and his texts about music education offer good evidence for parallels between the government's nationalistic ideologies and the principles of his music education.

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<sup>98</sup> Filho, *Excursão*, 130.

<sup>99</sup> Filho, *Excursão*, 133.

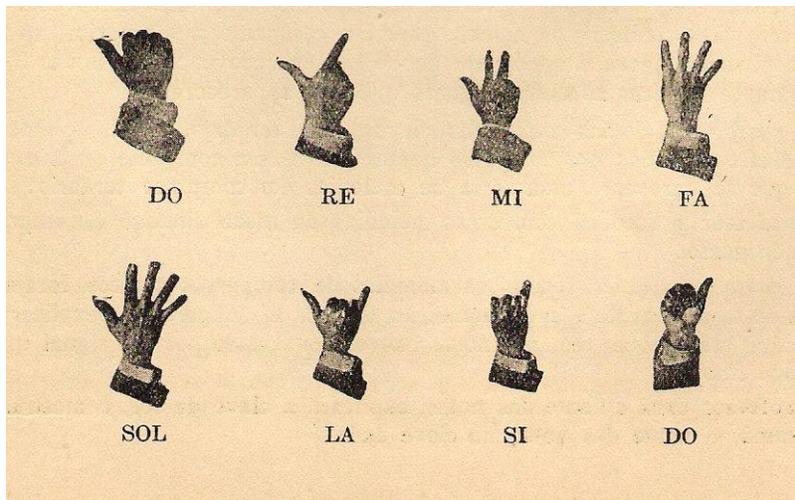


Figure 2-1. João Gomes Junior's *manossolfa* signs. Carlos A. Gomes Cardim e João Gomes Junior, *O ensino da música*, 24.

### CHAPTER 3 HEITOR VILLA-LOBOS AND GETÚLIO VARGAS: INDOCTRINATING CHILDREN THROUGH MUSIC EDUCATION

As Chapter 2 demonstrated, Villa-Lobos was unmistakably a patriot who fought for the development of Brazilian music and fought for respect for the achievements of Brazilian musicians. In line with intellectuals and educators of the First Republic, he realized that the lack of interest in art music in general, and Brazilian music in particular, was related to the poor intellectual and educational formation of Brazilian society. The masses did not listen to art music because of their limited access to “high” cultural practices. And the conservative elites cultivated traditional European music as a way of distinguishing themselves from the lower social classes. But these conservative elites were not necessarily receptive to modern music, even that of Europe. When Villa-Lobos went to São Paulo to conduct a series of concerts in 1930, back from his second sojourn in Paris, he experienced what he understood as a poor artistic environment in which the audience was not receptive to Brazilian music and modern music, especially those reflecting characteristics at the core of his compositional aesthetics. Villa-Lobos realized music education held the key to broadening the cultural horizons of children and preparing them to appreciate art music and proposed a plan to the government, which gave him support.

Vargas realized the importance of music in the formation of children’s personalities, and, following the example of São Paulo and some other states, where Orpheonic Chant was well established, mandated group participation in orpheonic chant in primary schools, secondary schools, and professional schools in the Federal Capital on 18 April 1931, under decree no. 19,890. Anísio Teixeira, the Secretary of Education of Rio, was undertaking educational reform in that city and recalled years later: “From

everything we were trying in the Old Federal District, nothing seemed more important to me than the integration of art into popular education.”<sup>1</sup> To organize this new music education in schools, in 1932, the government created the Superintendence of Music and Artistic Education (SEMA), a branch of the Department of Education of Rio de Janeiro, and Teixeira charged Villa-Lobos with its direction. Villa-Lobos now finally had a stable job and was officially connected to the Brazilian government.

As a music educator, Villa-Lobos’s goal was not to train musicians, but to elevate the cultural and intellectual level of children through music. This education would socialize children through choir practice, and eventually lead to a greater awareness of art music in general, Brazilian art music, and Brazilian culture and history. As director of music education for Rio de Janeiro, Villa-Lobos had the power to effect the changes he deemed necessary to achieve these goals. As he stated in the text “Juventude Americana e Srs. Educadores,” (American youth and Educators):

I believe the major problem of today in disseminating the importance of the art of music on a social level that reflects music’s significance, lies in the energetic, and if possible, mandatory propaganda made under the auspices of the government and of highly intellectualized milieus; instead of schools for artists, [they need to create] educational institutions that guide the aware people to learn with interest and respect and attend artistic events as an indispensable necessity for social life.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anísio Teixeira cited in Heli Menegale, “Villa-Lobos e a educação,” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos*, vol. 4 (Rio de Janeiro: MEC—Museu Villa-Lobos, 1969), 124. In the original: “De tudo que estávamos tentando, no antigo Distrito Federal, nada me parecia mais importante do que essa integração da arte na educação popular.”

<sup>2</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “Juventude americana e srs. educadores” Documento collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos (Document number HVL 01.01.19 pi/pi de Villa-Lobos), 2. In the original: “Julgo que o principal problema de agora para sustentar a importância da arte musical num nível social à altura de seu próprio valor, está na propaganda energética e, si possível, obrigatória sob os auspícios da oficialização governamental, dos meios intelectuais e altamente civilizados, a fim de formarem, em vez de escolas para artistas, instituições educacionais que orientem ao público consciente a saber, com interesse e respeito, assistir as realizações de arte como necessidade imprescindível à vida social.”

As the director of SEMA, Villa-Lobos took advantage of the governmental structure to put this idea in motion, to disseminate and educate about the social value of music and implement a national system of music education. Other Brazilian artists adopted the same goals and sought to project elements of their regional artistic experiences onto the country as a whole. Daryle Williams mentions how artists from Minas Gerais incorporated these ideals, for instance: “Culture managers and clients of the state, the left-leaning modernists from Minas Gerais—Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade, and others—used the authoritarian Estado Novo to transform a regional variant of the modernist movement into a national project.”<sup>3</sup> Although artists took advantage of the State to further their ideologies and aesthetics, Vargas also embraced aspects of regional cultural and social policies and transformed them into elements of national unification. Thus, the relationship between State and artists was symbiotic.

The idea of elevating the cultural and intellectual level of children through music education was in line with the goals of music education from the First Republic, when music educators believed music could contribute to the formation of an integral individual. But under Villa-Lobos’s direction, music education also became a very strict discipline with overt nationalistic goals. Besides educating children about the social value of music, his program of music education demanded strict discipline from children and imposed nationalistic and patriotic values on them. Villa-Lobos was eager to change the realities of the Brazilian cultural environment, and he believed discipline was important in this process. Villa-Lobos added exhortation as an important element of his

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<sup>3</sup> Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime 1930-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 81.

educational approach. Exhortation was part of music classes and Villa-Lobos constantly insisted that teachers exhort the meaning of lyrics of the nationalistic and patriotic musical pieces to children. While the exhortation helped educate children about the history of Brazil and Brazilian heritages, among other important cultural and historic aspects of Brazil, it also instilled nationalism and patriotism in children's minds and conveyed morality to these values. Through the exhortation, Villa-Lobos imposed these values on children and became, more than an educator, an indoctrinator of the nationalistic ideology. Vargas realized Villa-Lobos's program of music education matched the government's political ideologies and could be used as a tool to inculcate nationalistic and patriotic sentiments, so he supported Villa-Lobos in his educational mission. Villa-Lobos implemented his program of music education first in the schools of Rio de Janeiro but he soon sent a request to *interventores* in other states who worked to incorporate Orpheonic Chant into school curricula.

From the very beginning, Villa-Lobos realized his Orpheonic Chant was fulfilling a political function. But he did not resent his role in Vargas's politics; instead, over the years he aligned his discourse ever more with that of Vargas. It is not possible to gauge how much he really cared about politics, or if he used his texts about music education to please Vargas only to gain the president's support, especially after implementation of the dictatorship of the *Estado Novo* in 1937. Given the distressful cultural situation of Brazil, along with the benefits his position in the government granted him, it is likely that Villa-Lobos sought to please Vargas to keep his position in the government to continue educating children and promoting his own music. With respect to this, Gerard Béhague said,

Although one should be accountable for one's own words, to assign the full implications of Villa-Lobos's words to heartfelt beliefs would be tantamount to accepting the most colossal self-contradiction. He was neither a racist nor a hypocrite, neither a Nazi nor a communist sympathizer. He was unmistakably the most unconditional if at times paradoxical advocate of artistic achievements in his country, understanding that the extraordinary artistic capacity of Brazil could not be realized under the prevailing social and educational conditions unless some uncommon efforts could be mounted . . . . With his goals set, Villa-Lobos, a smart opportunist, would not allow his frustrations over the prevailing situation on the Brazilian music education scene to inhibit the fulfillment of his mission.<sup>4</sup>

Despite having worked as music educator for about 14 years, Villa-Lobos rarely spoke about music education after he stopped working for the Brazilian government in 1945. As Simon Wright observed, "Overnight Villa-Lobos became a prolific man of words, but after the overthrow of Vargas in 1945 his musical and political writings abruptly ceased."<sup>5</sup> The situation Wright described offers a strong indication Villa-Lobos was not the political ideologue the eloquent tone of his texts suggests.

While one cannot dismiss what Béhague calls opportunism, and despite Villa-Lobos's ostensibly sincere intentions in educating children, Villa-Lobos still ended up following the government's political orientation, and his approach to Orpheonic Chant was directly connected to the government's nationalistic politics whether or not he was in favor of the government's ideology or cared about politics. Given the ideological content of his Orpheonic Chant, several critics since Villa-Lobos's time have raised the possibility that he was ideologically engaged with political aspects of Vargas's regime, making political propaganda through music education. Villa-Lobos responded to the

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<sup>4</sup> Béhague, *Villa-Lobos*, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Wright, *Villa-Lobos*, 107.

criticism by denying on several occasions that he had any interest in the regime per se.

In a 1954 speech, for example, he defended himself:

They want to knock down a work they cannot. It is not a fight against me or against you: it is against music, against art. I have no interest in any political regime. I have no interest in political directions, and I do not have any [political] ideals. I want discipline and love for art! I want to see a disciplined people. The only thing that I envy in foreigners, the only thing (!), is the education they have and we do not.<sup>6</sup>

In this speech, Villa-Lobos emphasized the cultural and disciplinary aspects of his music education program, trying to excuse himself from political participation in Vargas's regime. He did not address, however, the more political aspects of his program, such as the instilling of patriotism and sense of civic duty, which he himself had stated as goals in his essays about music education. He denied any *personal* interest in the political regime, but his lack of personal interest did not prevent the government from appropriating his program and using it to instill nationalistic feelings in children nor did it stop him from aligning his music education with the regime's nationalistic ideology.

Thomas C. Garcia demonstrated how Villa-Lobos's program of music education was aligned with the politics of Vargas:

Although his plan was dressed in the rhetoric of music education, in reality it was skewed toward the specific goal of advancing a nationalistic and patriotic education with a non-educational goal. He did embrace some of the same principals as Kodaly (singing as the best tool for music education, the necessity of reading music as part of a complete education, using folklore to maintain community, etc.) but without a systematic method.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos *In O índio de casaca*. In the original: "Querem derrubar uma obra que não podem. Não é contra mim nem contra vocês, é contra a música, contra a arte. Eu não tenho interesse . . . em regime nenhum. Eu não tenho nenhum interesse em sentido político e não tenho ideais. Eu quero é disciplina e amor à arte! Eu quero ver o povo disciplinado. Eu tenho inveja do estrangeiro. A única coisa que me inveja no estrangeiro, única (!), é a educação que o estrangeiro têm, que nós não temos."

<sup>7</sup> Garcia, "Music and the Brazilian Estado Novo," 635.

Whatever Villa-Lobos's approach in instilling the regime's ideologies, it did not prevent him from systematically educating children as well. While Villa-Lobos conveyed a much stronger nationalistic and patriotic orientation to music education than his predecessors, he nonetheless adopted several of their educational principles, which were in line with the current educational ideologies of the time. Among other ideas that were part of music education before him, Villa-Lobos sought to raise children's cultural awareness and socialize them through music. Thus, along with its political-ideological aspects, Villa-Lobos's program followed educational precepts that had been set before him and had clear educational goals, both musical and social.

Despite the social and political goals of Orpheonic Chant, Villa-Lobos did have a systematic method of music education, using, among other teaching methods, the *manossolfa*, which music educators had been using since the First Republic. Indeed, such was the efficiency of Villa-Lobos's teaching methods that he impressed the participants in the International Congress of Music Education held in Prague in 1936. With respect to that, in a letter to José Carlos de Macedo Soares, Brazilian State Minister of International Relations, M. de Belford Ramos, Plenipotentiary Minister of Brazil in Prague at the time, said: "The crowded auditorium was visibly impressed and the press recognized that in the field of music education Brazil can serve as a model to European countries."<sup>8</sup> Still, with respect to the efficiency of Villa-Lobos's teaching methods, when asked about the general impression of the participants about his lecture at the congress, Villa-Lobos responded: "The teaching plan of Brazilian music placed

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<sup>8</sup> M. de Belford Ramos, "Legação dos Estados Unidos do Brasil," Prague, April 30 1936. (Document collected in the archives of CPDOC-FGV. Document number GC 3500.00/3). In the original: "O numeroso auditório mostrou-se visivelmente impressionado e a imprensa reconheceu que, em matéria de educação musical, o Brasil pode servir de modelo para os países europeus."

first among the twenty countries that participated in the Congress, as evidenced in the documents of the Minister of Brazil in Prague, of professor Kestemberg, former general supervisor of the teaching of music in Germany and also current director of music education in Prague and principal coordinator of the Congress, and the opinion of the Czech Press.”<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, while Garcia’s passage alludes to the idea that Villa-Lobos drew principles of his music education from Kodaly’s method (and there are similarities between Villa-Lobos’s and Kodaly’s approaches, such as the use of hand solfège, use of folksongs, and the progression of the known to the unknown) Villa-Lobos followed the approaches that Brazilian music educators had established before him, based on French methods of music education. Most likely, the similarities came from the fact that both Villa-Lobos’s and Kodaly’s methods drew on elements from other methods of music education that had similar approaches, not because Villa-Lobos drew directly on Kodaly’s method itself. Additionally, Kodaly’s method as we know it today had still not been fully formulated at that time.<sup>10</sup>

In another passage, Garcia expounded on Villa-Lobos’s moral commitment with the regime and argued: “Whether or not Villa-Lobos did or did not embrace the

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<sup>9</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “Remessa de Documentos e Cópias da Atuação do Maestro H. Villa-Lobos na Europa,” Federal District, June 17 1936. (Document collected in the archives of CPDOC-FGV. Document number GC 3500.00/3-A). In the original: “O plano de ensino de música brasileira foi o primeiro colocado entre os vinte (20) países que tomaram parte no Congresso, conforme atestam documentos do ministro do Brasil em Praga, do professor Kestemberg, antigo orientador geral do ensino de música na Alemanha e também atual diretor de educação musical de Praga e coordenador principal do Congresso, e as opiniões da Imprensa Tcheca.”

<sup>10</sup> Kodaly became interested in children around 1925 and only in 1945 did the Hungarian government implement in the schools the method of music education he formulated. The so-called “Kodaly Method” was elaborated by his followers in the 1950s. See László Eöszé, et al. “Kodály, Zoltán.” In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/15246> (accessed March 1, 2012).

philosophies of the Vargas regime both before and during the Estado Novo seems almost moot. His active participation in the system, and indeed his implicit celebration of this same system, shows that at the very least it did not matter to him.”<sup>11</sup> He continued: “Despite any controversy, the fact is that Villa-Lobos did create a national music education system that had perhaps some pedagogical value, as well a political propaganda outcomes.”<sup>12</sup> Garcia did not dwell on Villa-Lobos’s moral commitment to the regime. The exhortative aspects of Villa-Lobos’s program of music education and its strict nationalistic, patriotic, socializing, and disciplining nature, regardless of his political inclinations and any controversy, made Villa-Lobos an important agent of indoctrination of the government.

In interviews to the newspaper *Valor Econômico*, important Brazilian researchers such as conductor Júlio Medaglia; journalist and seminal writer of Brazilian popular music José Ramos Tinhorão; Brazilian ambassador and scholar Vasco Mariz, who wrote *Villa-Lobos, o Homem e a Obra (Heitor Villa-Lobos: Life and work of the Brazilian composer)*, an early biography of the composer; and journalist and critic Lauro Machado Coelho, expressed their interpretations of Villa-Lobos’s participation in the government of Vargas. Although the interviews only highlight some of their ideas, they show that these critics assess mostly Villa-Lobos’s personal interests, dismissing the outcomes of his actions. Medaglia affirmed: “Villa-Lobos was plainly conscious of the role of music in schools. He realized the importance Vargas gave to culture to achieve his [Vargas’s] goals and, several times, he [Villa-Lobos] sought [Vargas] through the assistance of

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<sup>11</sup> Garcia, “Music and the Brazilian Estado Novo,” 639.

<sup>12</sup> Garcia, “Music and the Brazilian Estado Novo,” 640.

great educator Anísio Teixeira. But he had freedom, worked on a project of technology of music education. He used the force of the dictatorship to teach music to the benefit of the Brazilian people.”<sup>13</sup> Coelho simply states that Villa-Lobos accepted the position in the government because it allowed him to promote his music.<sup>14</sup>

Tinhorão’s case is a little more problematic and displays the difficulty in assessing Villa-Lobos’s moral commitment to Vargas. The journalist (who received Villa-Lobos’s music education in his childhood) wrote the article “Villa-Lobos, o Maestro da Ditadura” (Villa-Lobos, the Maestro of the Dictatorship), published in *Jornal do Brasil* in the 1970s, in which he argued that Villa-Lobos was an ally of the dictatorial government. But due to the complex nature of Villa-Lobos’s character, Tinhorão later re-evaluated his assessment. In the interview to *Valor Econômico*, he reveals that he “regretted having written this article. Of course [Villa-Lobos] was an employee of the dictatorship, and was published by D.I.P. [Department of Press and Propaganda] But I came to the conclusion that Villa-Lobos did not collaborate with the dictatorship: he used it.”<sup>15</sup> Although he does not go further to explain his change of opinion, his words show that in his new assessment, Tinhorão focused on Villa-Lobos’s personal motivations for participating in the political regime. But this approach dismisses the political results of Villa-Lobos’s

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<sup>13</sup> Júlio Medaglia, interviewed by Elizabeth Lorenzotti, *Valor Econômico*, 27 February 2009. In the original: “Villa- Lobos tinha plena consciência do papel da música nas escolas. Ele percebeu a importância que Vargas dava à cultura para alcançar seus objetivos e o procurou várias vezes, com ajuda do grande educador Anísio Teixeira. Mas teve liberdade, trabalhou um projeto de tecnologia do ensino musical. Ele usou a força da ditadura para ensinar música em benefício do povo brasileiro.”

<sup>14</sup> Lauro Machado Coelho, interviewed by Elizabeth Lorenzotti, *Valor Econômico*, February 27, 2009

<sup>15</sup> José Ramos Tinhorão, interviewed by Elizabeth Lorenzotti, *Valor Econômico*, February 27, 2009. In the original: “Eu me arrependi de ter escrito esse artigo. Claro que ele foi um funcionário da ditadura, era publicado pelo DIP [Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda]. Mas cheguei à conclusão de que Villa-Lobos não colaborou com a ditadura, ele a usou”,

Orpheonic Chant, essential to the evaluation of Villa-Lobos's engagement with the political regime.

Likewise, Vasco Mariz exempts Villa-Lobos from the political consequences of his actions. Mariz reported to *Valor Econômico* that he was one of the members of a committee of the Brazilian Music Academy whose mission was to “fill some gaps in [Villa-Lobos's] life, one of which was the true nature of his participation in the dictatorship.”<sup>16</sup> According to Mariz, the committee “spoke with several people related to [Villa-Lobos], and nobody insinuated [that he had] a close relationship with Vargas.”<sup>17</sup> Mariz concludes his report by saying Villa-Lobos and Vargas used one another: Villa-Lobos used the government's institutional apparatus to promote his music, and Vargas used Villa-Lobos for his political propaganda. Mariz also evaluates Villa-Lobos's personal goals and dismisses claims that the mechanisms of Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant inculcated national sentiment in children.

Even Arnaldo Contier in his critical *Passarinhada do Brasil: Canto orfeônico, educação e getulismo* seems to gloss over Villa-Lobos's political commitment compared to the musician's personal goals. With respect to Villa-Lobos's exaltation of the Revolution of October and his projection of possible positive outcomes for the arts in Brazil, Contier said, “Indeed, he admired all revolutionary processes that resulted in the implementation of a strong state, capable of interfering directly in the cultural life, giving support to nationalistic music. In this historical context, conceived as highly favorable, Villa-Lobos wanted to educate the urban masses through music, having received

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<sup>16</sup> Vasco Mariz, interviewed by Elizabeth Lorenzotti, *Valor Econômico*, 27 February 2009.

<sup>17</sup> Mariz, *Valor Econômico*.

support from pedagogues Lourenço Filho and Anísio Teixeira.”<sup>18</sup> Although Contier pointed out Villa-Lobos’s admiration for “strong states” (maybe even authoritarian), the conclusion of his ideas refrains from exploring Villa-Lobos’s political orientation to focus on his personal interest in disseminating nationalistic music and educating the masses.

Although I will not discuss Villa-Lobos’s political ideologies (as the composer did not openly manifest them, and we cannot take at face value his claims that he was not interested in the politics of Vargas government) this chapter re-examines the directives and practical consequences of music education in the government of Vargas and clarifies the indoctrinating role of Villa-Lobos’s program of music education, as well as his moral involvement with the regime, and demonstrates that he consciously indoctrinated school children in the ideology of the government. In analyzing previously unexamined and unpublished government documents, I frame my arguments within Benedict Anderson’s concept of imagined community and Thomas Turino’s concept of indexicality, and demonstrate that Villa-Lobos’s program of music appealed to children’s emotions and contributed to the formation of individual and group identities rooted in the ideals of *brasildade*. Thus, despite the different racial heritages, social status, and cultural practices of the diverse Brazilian population, these children could “imagine” themselves as a united community of Brazilians who should work as a group to promote the growth of the nation.

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<sup>18</sup> Contier, *Passarinhada do Brasil*, 25. In the original: “De fato, ele admirava todos os processos revolucionários que redundassem na instauração de um Estado Forte, capaz de interferir diretamente na vida cultural, dando respaldo à música. Nesse momento histórico, concebido como altamente *favorável*, Villa-Lobos desejava educar as massas urbanas através da música, tendo recebido apoio dos pedagogos Lourenço Filho e Anísio Teixeira.”

## **Vargas's Ideology and Education: Structuring the Imagined Community**

A close examination of Vargas's educational program is important to understand the role of Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant in disseminating the State's nationalistic ideology. From the beginning of his regime, Vargas adopted strong nationalistic politics and tried to articulate a national identity that up to that moment had still not been codified, and geared education toward the "nationalization" of individuals. Creation of the Ministry of Education and Health on 14 November 1930 (about 20 days after he assumed the government) shows his concern with the improvement of Brazilians' education. Toward the late 1930s, he created the Department of Nationalistic Education, which further reinforced the nationalistic aspects of education.

Vargas's ultimate goal was to create a sense of national unity in which all people, regardless of their ethnicity and background, were included in the political and economical construction of the "new Brazilian nation." With respect to intellectual discussion about the social inclusion of Afro-Brazilians, Amerindians, and mixed races (that Vargas proposed in his "all-embracing" social policies) the contribution of social scientist Gilberto Freyre and his seminal *Casa Grande e Senzala (The Masters and the Slaves)* from 1933 was particularly important. As the title suggests, Freyre's reading of the role of miscegenation (especially between Europeans and African and African descents) in the formation of Brazilian society is the main discussion in the book. As Peter Fry put it, Freyre advanced the idea that "'miscegenation' and the mixing of cultures was not Brazil's damnation but rather its salvation."<sup>19</sup> Despite the lack of scientific rigor (or what Fry elegantly called "embellishing his text with considerable

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<sup>19</sup> Peter Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of "Race" in Brazil," *Daedalus* 129, no. 2, *Brazil: The Burden of the Past; The Promise of the Future* (Spring 2000), 89.

poetic license”) Freyre’s book became a reference in Brazil and the rest of the world, in the discussion about the nature of Brazilian ethnic formation. With respect to the impact of the book in interpreting racial issues in Brazilian society, Antonio Cândido said Freyre’s historical reading changed paradigms, “modifying the racist and conventional approach prevailing up to then.”<sup>20</sup> Thomas Skidmore also offers an insightful examination of Freyre’s ideas. As Skidmore observed, Freyre’s book advanced the idea that “African slavery in Brazil was more benign than elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere. . . . Furthermore, the Portuguese, because of their previous close contact with the Moors, were less race conscious. From this argument it naturally follows, in Freyre’s view, that modern Brazilian race relations are more harmonious (thus producing ‘racial democracy’) than elsewhere.”<sup>21</sup>

Although Freyre published *The Masters and the Slaves* during Vargas’s government, he had been developing the ideas for a long time and his book did not seek to advance Vargas’s political ideology per se. However, because Freyre published his book in a moment when the government was disseminating an ideology of social inclusion, the very nature of his ideas provided intellectual support to Vargas’s social policies. As Renato Ortiz affirmed, *The Masters and the Slaves*,

Became an element of national unity. In reworking the issues of Brazilian culture, Gilberto Freyre offered Brazilians an identification card. The ambiguity of the national Being forged by the intellectuals of the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not stand the test of time. Their reading had become incompatible with the process of economic and social development of the country. Remember

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<sup>20</sup> Cândido, “Revolução de 30,” 32. As Cândido mentions, in his discussion of the formation of Brazilian society, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda’s *Raízes do Brasil* (1935) presents a different viewpoint from that of Freyre, and despite its more discrete repercussions, also provides an important historic interpretation of ethnic formation in Brazil.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Skidmore, “Raízes de Gilberto Freyre,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 1 (February 2002), 10-11.

in the 1930s [intellectuals and the government] sought to radically transform the concept of Brazilian men. Characteristics such as “laziness,” “indolence,” considered inherent to the mixed race, were replaced by an ideology of work. Political scientists showed, for instance, how this ideology constituted the touchstone of Estado Novo.”<sup>22</sup>

In his book, Freyre advances the idea of a racial democracy whose emblem was the very mixed nature of Brazilian people, which, in turn, represents the “synthesis” of different races, and therefore, their union. In proposing this “new” model for understanding the issue of race in Brazil in a positive light, Freyre’s ideas corroborated Vargas’s imaginings of a united Brazil.

In the process of creating unity and disseminating the government’s imaginings of a socially and culturally united country, the education of children was very important. The cover page of the book *Getúlio Vargas amigo das crianças* (Getúlio Vargas, friend of children) (Figure 3-1), has a phrase that shows Vargas’s thoughts on the function of children’s education: “It is necessary to shape in the virgin face, which is the soul of children, the soul of the Fatherland itself.”<sup>23</sup> Because education conveyed the same values and ideas to children, Vargas considered it an essential institution in creating socio-cultural unity and identity. In this process, the practice of Orpheonic Chant was very important because it socialized school children, and also instilled in their minds the nationalistic and patriotic values Vargas preached.

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<sup>22</sup> Ortiz, *Cultura Brasileira*, 42. In the original: “Ele se transforma em unicidade nacional. Ao retrabalhar a problemática da cultura brasileira, Gilberto Freyre oferece ao brasileiro uma carteira de identidade. A ambiguidade da identidade do Ser nacional forjada pelos intelectuais do século XIX não podia mais resistir ao tempo. Ela havia se tornado incompatível com o processo de desenvolvimento econômico e social do país. Basta lembrarmos que nos anos 1930 procura-se transformar radicalmente o conceito de homem brasileiro. Qualidades como “preguiça”, “indolência”, consideradas como inerentes à raça mestiça, são substituídas por uma ideologia do trabalho. Os cientistas políticos mostram, por exemplo, como esta ideologia se constituiu na pedra de toque do Estado Novo.”

<sup>23</sup> Getúlio Vargas, *Getúlio Vargas: Amigo das crianças*, cover page, <http://www.cpdoc.fgv.br/comum/htm> (acessado em 27 de Outubro de 2009). In the original: “É preciso plasmar na face virgem, que é a alma da criança, a alma da própria Pátria.”

Vargas's speech of 2 December 1937 shows his thoughts<sup>24</sup> on how education would contribute to strengthening the nation:

We need to act now, against indifference to moral principles, against the habits of the idle and parasitic intellectualism, against the disruptive tendencies infiltrated in various ways in the intelligence of the youth responsible for the future of the Nation; we urgently need to give clear direction, constructive directives, and uniform rules to the educational policies, the most powerful tool to be used in strengthening our moral and economic structures.

For Vargas, education was a pillar on which society should be constructed. In his government, education finally received the attention it deserved: "In the agenda of the new regime, the problem of education had finally received defined directives. Now we can work with decision and tenacity, knowing where we want to go and knowing the objectives that guide us."<sup>25</sup> Among these objectives, one of the most important was doubtless to convey nationalism through education, as his educational reforms demonstrate.

During Vargas's regime, two ministers of education promoted important educational reforms that modernized and nationalized education. Francisco Campos undertook the first reform, the so-called *Reforma Campos* (Reform Campos) in 1931, which democratized access to secondary school (meaning that he implemented secondary education all over Brazil and made it more accessible to people from diverse social classes) and standardized the curriculum in the whole country. It was also the

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<sup>24</sup> Getúlio Vargas, "Discurso" in *Panorama da Educação Nacional: Discursos do Presidente Getúlio Vargas e do Ministro Gustavo Capanema* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1937), 9. In the original: "Precisamos reagir em tempo, contra a indiferença pelos princípios morais contra os hábitos do intelectualismo ocioso e parasitário, contra as tendências desagregadoras, infiltradas pelas mais variadas formas nas inteligências moças, responsáveis pelo futuro da Nação; precisamos, com maior urgência, dar sentido claro, diretrizes construtoras e regras uniformes à política educacional, o mais poderoso instrumento a utilizar no fortalecimento da nossa estrutura moral e econômica."

<sup>25</sup> Vargas, "Discurso," 11.

*Reforma Campos* that made Orpheonic Chant mandatory in the schools of Rio de Janeiro. Campos was engaged with the educational reforms Fernando de Azevedo had proposed, and his reform attempted to extend nationally the philosophies of the “*escola nova*” (new school) of which Azevedo was a central figure.<sup>26</sup> In 1942, Gustavo Capanema implemented the “*Lei Orgânica do Ensino Secundário*” (Organic law of secondary school), popularly known as *Reforma Capanema* (Reform Capanema), which complemented and expanded the principles of the *Reforma Campos* in several aspects and aimed at “nationalizing” children and teenagers and creating a sense of national unity. Through the nationalistic orientation these reforms implemented in education, along with the curriculum standardization all over Brazil, Vargas attempted to homogenize nationalism and patriotism in the formation of school children.

The *Reforma Campos* and *Reforma Capanema* promoted an exponential growth in the number of children registered in secondary schools from 1932 to 1945 (Table 3-1). Thus, with the expansion of education, the government had the opportunity to instill the nationalistic ideology in an ever-growing number of children all over Brazil. About this notable growth of secondary schools and enrollment, the official document of Vargas’s National Department of Education (Table 3-1), affirmed: “It is gratifying to verify that, because of the system adopted [by the Reform Campos], there is practically no city . . . whose children cannot have access to secondary education.”<sup>27</sup> The number of secondary schools and children’s access to them had been one of the major

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<sup>26</sup> See Cândido, “Revolução de 30,” 28.

<sup>27</sup> Document collected in the *Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação da Faculdade Getúlio Vargas* (CPDOC-FGV), *n.a.* Archival number: GC pi Capanema, G. 45.00.0000-A, page 2. In the original: “É animador verificar que, graças ao sistema adotado [pela Reforma Campos], não há praticamente cidade de qualquer importância que não possua o seu ginásio, isto é, cujos filhos não possam pretender ao ensino secundário.”

problems of education in the First Republic, and the educational reforms during Vargas's regime aimed at eradicating this problem.

Vargas used education as an important tool to disseminate his ideology and to form what I call "national beings." In an address to Brazilian teachers on 2 December 1937, Vargas spoke about the way teachers should infuse nationalistic ideology into children's minds:

Speaking to educators, in a time like this, of patriotic communion, I speak to the ones responsible for the *spiritual health* of our youth. The teacher's words transmit knowledge and notions of the world; likewise, through their suggestive emotions, inspired in the most elevated sentiments of the human heart, they awaken in the young souls the heroic impulse and the creative flame for enthusiasm. I call on you to act in the pure and exemplary *sense of civic apostolate*—infusing love for the land, respect for traditions, and unshakable faith in the great destinies of Brazil (the italics are mine).<sup>28</sup>

In this excerpt, Vargas placed a sense of nationalism, patriotism, and civic duty, as priorities of education and exhorted teachers to inculcate these values in children, essentially indoctrinating them in the regime's ideologies. In addition to these values, Vargas also imparted a religious character to education. He used the expression "spiritual health," referring to the emotional state of children, and "sense of civic apostolate," implying that teachers should impart the idea of a religious doctrine to the civic values taught in school. Through this rhetoric Vargas suggested teachers create a "civic doctrine" with a religious aura. The excerpt as a whole transmits the idea that children should be educated to develop an elevated sense of patriotism and citizenship, becoming in essence true "apostles of the fatherland."

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<sup>28</sup> Vargas, "Discurso," 11-12. In the original: "Falando aos mestres, numa hora como esta, de comunhão patriótica, falo aos responsáveis pela saúde espiritual da nossa mocidade. A palavra do professor não transmite apenas conhecimentos e noções do mundo exterior. Atua igualmente pelas sugestões emotivas, inspiradas nos mais elevados sentimentos do coração humano. Desperta nas almas jovens o impulso heróico e a chama dos entusiasmos criadores. Concito-vos, por isso, a utilizá-la no puro e exemplar sentido do apostolado cívico—infundindo o amor à terra, o respeito às tradições e a crença inabalável nos grandes destinos do Brasil."

Religious connotations in the excerpt above reflect the so-called “religious nationalism” Vargas implemented in Brazil, through which he attempted to “sacralize” his ideology by associating the State with the Catholic Church. The “sacred” sanction of the Church would also help the State strengthen ties with Catholics, who comprised the overwhelming majority of the Brazilian population. Through this association, Vargas projected religious values in the fatherland itself, intending to transform it into a religious symbol for which devotion should be expressed through patriotism. Vargas adopted several measures to create this connection with the Church. In addition to using symbolic religious words in his speeches, through decree 19,941 of 30 April 1931, Vargas implemented religious education in primary, secondary, and normal schools and contributed to the dissemination of Catholicism in the country, as well as to instilling religious values in the formation of children. On a more propagandistic level, he promoted *Missas Campais* (Field Masses), celebrated in large open spaces, in which Vargas himself and an authority of the Church spoke to the nation. These events demonstrated the bonds and mutual cooperation between the State and the Church, projecting their union. School children participated in music demonstrations at these masses, integrating nationalistic and patriotic music with religion. To create his “nationalistic doctrine,” in addition to nationalism, patriotism, and the sense of civic duty, Vargas associated the State with the Church at many levels and delivered speeches in which his rhetoric associated terms of strong religious connotations with the fatherland, to convey a religious aura to nationalism and gain the empathy of Catholics.

## Vargas and the Homogenization of His Ideology: Constructing the Imagined Community

To boost his educational “campaign,” Vargas built a powerful propaganda machine that produced educational material to instill patriotism, nationalism, moral values, and a sense of civic duty in children, to make them conscious of their roles in society and their roles in the future of the nation. From the beginning of his government, Vargas created propaganda agencies that controlled media and culture.<sup>29</sup> In 1939, Vargas created the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP), which replaced the Department of Propaganda and Cultural Diffusion, and government’s cultural management assumed a more authoritative character. The DIP’s main functions were to promote nationalism among Brazilians and to censor any cultural and artistic manifestation considered subversive by the government.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to controlling cultural manifestations, the DIP exercised an important function in Vargas’s plans for education, publishing educational material that conveyed the nationalistic ideology to children in the school environment. The book *A juventude no Estado Novo* (Youth in the New State) is a good example of the DIP’s dissemination of Vargas’s ideologies to children. In this book, excerpts of Vargas’s speeches directed to youth were combined with illustrations of children interacting with members of society such as elders, teachers, and Vargas himself, invariably in the colors of the Brazilian

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<sup>29</sup> In 1931, Vargas created the Departamento Oficial de Publicidade, and in 1934, the Departamento de Propaganda e Difusão Cultural (DPDC). After implementing the Estado Novo, DPDC became the Departamento Nacional de Propaganda (DNP), and in 1939 DNP became the DIP. See “Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda (DIP)” In CPDOC-FGV <http://cpdoc.fgv.br/producao/dossies/AEraVargas1/anos37-45/EducacaoCulturaPropaganda/DIP> (accessed January 15, 2011).

<sup>30</sup> See Heloisa Paulo, *Estado Novo e propaganda em Portugal e no Brasil: o SPN/SNI e o DIP*. Coimbra: Livraria Minerva, 1994.

flag. This book (Figure 3-2) helps us better understand the messages Vargas transmitted. Vargas is in the foreground interacting with a schoolgirl in a moment of reciprocal joy. In the background are two other schoolchildren, a boy holding the Brazilian flag and another child, whose facial features are covered by Vargas's body, remaining, therefore, anonymous. Although we can see the girl's and the boy's faces, their individual identities are not revealed, which is essential for them to become representatives of a collective class and not individuals. The girl in the foreground is portrayed as model schoolchild whose appearance reflects the pattern of aesthetics and conduct the government wanted to convey to children's education: she looks happy in her contact with Vargas, her uniform is pristine, and her hair is neat. About the boy, one can infer that he loves his country because he seems proud to carry the Brazilian flag, and his height indicates that he is probably older than the other two children. The anonymity of the child whose face is hidden subtly suggests the existence of a larger community of (anonymous) schoolchildren. Overall, Figure 3-2 conveys the message that there is a large community of patriot boys and girls of different ages that are happy to follow the educational tenets of the government.

In the text that accompanies this image, Vargas transmitted the following message: "Children! Learning to praise the Fatherland at home and at school will bring to your lives all possibilities of success. Your love for Brazil will forcefully lead the country to the highest positions among Nations, fulfilling each Brazilian's desire to transform Brazil into a great nation."<sup>31</sup> In this passage, Vargas emphasized the

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<sup>31</sup> "Vargas e escolares" in *A Juventude no Estado Novo*. <http://www.cpdoc.fgv.br/comum/htm>, (Accessed October 27, 2009). In the original: "Crianças! Aprendendo, no lar e nas escolas, o culto da Pátria, trareis para a vida prática todas as probabilidades de êxito. Só o amor constrói e, amando o Brasil,

importance of children's love for the fatherland and transmitted the idea that patriotism would bring success to their future, subtly imposing this sentiment on them as a condition for their success. Vargas also stressed that children's love for Brazil was so important because it would lead the country to an important position among other nations, fulfilling the desires of every Brazilian to transform Brazil into a great nation. Additionally, Vargas included the large community of schoolchildren in the "social map" of Brazil, conveying the idea that there should be an intrinsic relationship among children, their families, and the school (suggested by the opening sentence of the text) to generate a social cycle in which children learned patriotism at home (hence Vargas also placed an educational responsibility on the parents) and in school to propagate these ideas in their social lives. As a result, this social cycle of education would bring success to children's lives and contribute to the progress of the country.

Vargas's educational materials were important common identifiers of *brasilidade* that he used to try to create a homogeneous community of children and adults who "imagined" themselves united through their social and cultural practices. Invariably these "common identifiers of *brasilidade*" instilled patriotism and nationalism, forming a community of "national beings" willing to subordinate their individualities and make sacrifices for the benefit of the nation. Regarding the sacrifices an "imagined community" of citizens that formed themselves in the nationalistic ideology can make for the nation, Benedict Anderson said: "Regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two

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forçosamente o conduzireis aos mais altos destinos entre as Nações, realizando os desejos de engrandecimento aninhados em cada coração brasileiro."

centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.”<sup>32</sup> When applied to the context of Brazil in the 1930s, Anderson’s formulation helps us understand the important role of education in nation-building. As Vargas’s educational politics reveal, through the homogenization of patriotic and nationalistic values, he tried to create a community of “comrades” who imagined themselves as equals before the nation and before one another, regardless of their social class, ethnicity, and cultural heritage. Through the propaganda machine that produced educational materials disseminating patriotism, nationalism, and good moral values, Vargas aimed to include children in the social panorama of the country and directed their individual interests to those of the nation (or those the State promoted as common interests for the nation). Thus Vargas’s educational politics promoted the anonymous integration of children into the collective mass of an “imagined” nation and valued the wellness of the community over the wellness of the individual.

### **Vargas and Villa-Lobos: Imagining Communities, Indexing Minds**

To disseminate the State’s ideologies and to reinforce them in people’s minds, Vargas used “cultural nationalism,” which promoted nationalism under the guise of culture, thus smoothing out its political and ideological messages.<sup>33</sup> According to Thomas Turino,

*Cultural nationalism* is the semiotic work of using expressive practices and forms to fashion the concrete emblems that stand for and create the ‘nation’, that distinguish one nation from another, and most importantly, that

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<sup>32</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

<sup>33</sup> Since the First Republic, several intellectuals such as Mário de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade, Menotti del Picchia, Cassiano Ricardo, and Sérgio Milliet, among many others, were engaged with political parties. Many of them wrote for important newspapers such as *Diário Nacional*, *O Estado de São Paulo*, and *Correio Paulistano*, and played important political and ideological roles in the regime of the oligarchies. (Sérgio Miceli, *Intelectuais e Classes Dirigentes no Brasil, 1920-1945* [São Paulo: Difel, 1979], 1-13).

serve as the basis for socializing citizens to inculcate national sentiment . . . . Cultural nationalism is not a celebratory or entertainment-oriented frill attached to serious political work; it is one of the essential pillars upon which the entire nationalistic edifice stands.<sup>34</sup>

To propagate his own “cultural nationalism,” Vargas hired intellectuals to work in several fronts of his government, and established a symbiotic relationship with them, in which both parties benefited. While some Brazilian intellectuals working for Vargas managed to maintain some of their professional pursuits separated from the State, in several cases, intellectuals’ connections with the government determined the nature of their activities. In both cases, as Sérgio Miceli said, “material and institutional dependence started to determine the relationships intellectuals maintained with the State, whose subsidies promote initiatives in the area of cultural production, keep intellectuals safe from the oscillations of prestige and market sanctions, and define the volume of gains for both parts.”<sup>35</sup> In addition to Villa-Lobos, these intellectuals included figures such Mário de Andrade, and poets Carlos Drummond de Andrade and Manuel Bandeira, among others. As Daryle Williams said, “Vargas knew that cultural management could be the state’s *negócio oficial* (official business), transacted through a partnership of state institutions, intellectuals, public policy, and the icons of cultural nationalism. Vargas knew this because the regime instituted in November 1930 had made cultural management its official business.”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Thomas Turino, “Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations” *In Latin American Music Review/Revista de Musica Latino Americana* 24, no.2 (2003), 175.

<sup>35</sup> Miceli, *Intelectuais e Classes Dirigentes*, 158. In the original: “De qualquer maneira, instaura-se uma situação de dependência material e institucional que passa a determinar as relações que as clientelas intelectuais mantêm com o poder público cujos subsídios sustentam as iniciativas na área da produção cultural, colocam os intelectuais a salvo das oscilações de prestígio, imunes às sanções de mercado, e definem o volume de ganhos de parte a parte.”

<sup>36</sup> Williams, *Culture Wars*, 51.

Vargas also used popular artistic manifestations to disseminate his cultural nationalism, among which the most important was the urban popular genre *Samba*, whose growth in popularity among diverse social classes and races was transforming it into a symbol of Brazilian identity. Vargas controlled *Samba* through the DIP's strict censorship of *Samba* lyrics that either did not promote the government's ideology or did not exalt aspects of Brazil, the political regime, or Vargas political persona. But as Jairo Severiano noted, more significantly than censoring unwanted lyrics, D.I.P. "suggested" *Samba* composers use themes that exalted the nation and promoted Vargas's nationalism.<sup>37</sup> These *Sambas* were called *Sambas de Exaltação* (Exaltation *Sambas*) and became very popular during Vargas's regime. Through *Samba*, Vargas also transmitted moral values and the virtues of work. One of Vargas's main objectives here was to separate the genre from the figure of *malandro* (rascal), to which *Samba* had been associated since its genesis in the slums. *Malandros* are characteristic figures that in Vargas time lived a bohemian life, composing and playing *sambas*, and they normally did not have stable jobs, living on other people's support (much like *malandros* today). The figure of *malandro* and the idea of work and virtues were basically antithetical. They needed to be dissociated in order to "clean" the image of *Samba*. With respect to this other political function of *Samba*, Severiano said, "Around 1940, believing there were too many *sambas* making apology to *malandragem*, D.I.P. 'advised' composers to adopt themes that exalted work and execrated Bohemia . . . . This 'suggestion' resulted in a

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<sup>37</sup> Jairo Severiano, *Getúlio Vargas e a música popular* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1983), 30.

handful of sambas describing well-behaved characters, some of which former malandros converted into laborers.”<sup>38</sup>

In cultural manifestations of popular and artistic traditions, artists and intellectuals crafted “cultural artifacts” that sought to instill and preserve the nationalistic ideology in people’s minds. In time, the repetition of these “artifacts” disguisedly created “indices” in people’s minds of the values “national beings” should cultivate. Villa-Lobos’s Orpheonic Chant fulfilled an important function in Vargas’s “cultural nationalism” because it mediated between nationalistic education and national culture, creating awareness of popular and artistic traditions. Orpheonic Chant had both an educational and artistic function, propagating a sense of discipline and civic duty within a nationalistic and patriotic framework and preparing children for social life while conveying musical (and thus artistic) knowledge and promoting orpheonic demonstrations for society as a whole. In addition to nationalism and patriotism, Villa-Lobos deemed it necessary that music education convey aesthetic orientation, which could lead children to an artistic life in the future. He believed his Orpheonic Chant suited these goals best because, due to its directives, it would naturally educate children for their social lives. According to the composer, “My Orpheonic Chant should, in fact, be called social education through music.”<sup>39</sup>

Villa-Lobos believed the values disseminated through music education would become part of children’s identities and shape their actions in the future. Indeed, the communicative power of music enables it to create what Thomas Turino called “indices”

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<sup>38</sup> Severiano, *Getúlio Vargas e a música popular*, 30.

<sup>39</sup> Villa-Lobos, “Conceitos” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos* Volume III, 1<sup>a</sup> ed. (Rio de Janeiro: MEC-Museu Villa-Lobos, 1969), 108.

of extra musical values and ideas in people's minds. Different from verbal signs, which are pre-loaded with semantic value and generate a set of codes people need to share to be able to communicate, music constitutes a system of communication whose signs have no pre-established meaning. Because of this non-semantic nature, individuals and communities that experience music concomitantly with extra-musical events in their lives, such as feelings, thoughts, images, and relationships, can naturally (and most times unconsciously) attribute personal meanings to music. These meanings, however, are not intrinsic to the musical language or musical aesthetics themselves. Instead, they are part of the life experience of individuals and are part of collective experiences if people experience the music together as a group.

In his theory of musical semiotics, Thomas Turino theorized on the communicative properties of music and called "indexation" (a term he adopted from Charles Peirce's semiotics) music's power to create "indices" that point to extra-musical meanings into people's minds. According to Turino,

Indices are experienced as "real" because they are rooted, often redundantly, in one's own life experiences and, as memory, become the actual mortar of personal and social identity. When given indices are tied to affective foundations of [one's] personal or communal life—home, family, childhood, a lover, war experiences—they have special potential for creating emotional effects because they are often unreflexively apprehended as "real" or "true" parts of the experiences signified.<sup>40</sup>

According to this perspective, we can understand that individuals can "index" semantic values to musical pieces if the musical object is experienced concurrently with other events of their real lives. And if the same extra-musical ideas are regularly experienced

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<sup>40</sup> Turino, "Signs of Imagination," 229.

concomitantly with the same music, the potential for the creation of “indices” in people’s minds naturally increases.

Villa-Lobos’s hymns, marches, and songs promoted the co-occurrence of the extra-musical sense of nationalism, patriotism, civic duty, discipline, and collective cooperation with the music itself. Teachers exhorted children to learn the meanings of the patriotic and nationalistic lyrics in the Orpheonic practice, facilitating the process of ideological “indexicality.” Because children had weekly Orpheonic practices, these values settled as intrinsic elements of their individual and collective identities. Children who participated in Villa-Lobos’s Orpheonic Chant experienced the same ideology of the nation together through the “indices” that this music generated in their minds, and in this sense could “imagine” themselves as a homogeneous community of “national beings.”

Even though Villa-Lobos did not theorize on the power of music in the formation of children’s identities, he must have been conscious of the idiosyncratic communicative power of music when he said, “No other art can exert as powerful influence in the masses as music. It is capable of touching the less-developed souls, and of dominating irrational animals.”<sup>41</sup> Villa-Lobos was conscious that through the practice of Orpheonic Chant at school, the nationalistic and patriotic values transmitted through the hymns and songs could settle down in the identities of children and become part of their “real life” experience.

Despite trying to exempt himself from the accusations of ideological engagement with the regime, Villa-Lobos was, if not personally engaged with the government’s

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<sup>41</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos cited In Ribeiro, ed., *O Pensamento vivo de Villa-Lobos* (São Paulo: Martin Claret Editores, 1987), n/p.

ideologies, at least aware that music could be used as a tool for political propaganda. In November 1930 (right after Vargas's coup and before Villa-Lobos became the director of SEMA) he gave an interview to the newspaper *O Jornal* in which he spoke about the connections of art to the Revolution of October that led Vargas to power. In this interview, Villa-Lobos recognized that arts in general could be used as efficient tools for political propaganda:

In this moment, we cannot think of anything that is not connected with the revolution [of October]. And, in the case of the Brazilian artistic life, this contact is necessary and direct . . . . I consider art, with regard to its intellectual aspect, the most efficient tool of dissemination, because it is more accessible and more convincing of the mental values of a people. And in this case, art is much more than diplomacy . . . . The [Russian] revolution revealed Russian art to us and many other countries found support in the genius of artists; thus art constituted an element of the revolution."<sup>42</sup>

As the excerpt above demonstrates, Villa-Lobos was conscious that music, like other arts, could be used to promote political ideas. In 1937, when Vargas implemented the dictatorship of the *Estado Novo*, Villa-Lobos did not protest against using his program as a vehicle for Vargas's political ideologies. Instead, Villa-Lobos aligned his discourse even more with that of Vargas, as several passages of "A música nacionalista no governo Getúlio Vargas" demonstrate.

Villa-Lobos's alignment with Vargas is clear from the strict nationalistic and patriotic orientation of his teaching approach and from his quasi-political writings.

Although Orpheonic Chant had existed in Brazil since 1912, Villa-Lobos used it as a

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<sup>42</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, "A arte, poderoso factor revolucionário," in *O Jornal* (interview given in November 8 1930), 2. In the original: "Neste momento, nada se poderá pensar que deixe de ter o seu contacto com a revolução [de Outubro]. E, no caso da vida artística brasileira, esse contacto é essencial e directo . . . . considero a arte, pelo lado intellectual, como de mais eficiente actuação divulgadora, pois é mais acessível bem como mais convincente dos valores mentaes de um povo. E nesse caso a arte é mais, muito mais mesmo, que a diplomacia . . . . Foi a revolução que nos revelou a arte russa e em muitos outros paizes ella amparou-se no gênio dos artistas, constituindo a arte em factor revolucionário."

means of music education, and also to create a sense of an imagined collective unity among children, to infuse discipline, and to inculcate national sentiment in them. Villa-Lobos said besides Orpheonic Chant's indispensable elements for proper musical formation,

The collective chant with its socializing power predisposes individuals to cast off in the necessary moment the egoistic notion of excessive individualism, integrating [people] in the community . . . with its enormous power for cohesion, [collective chant creates] a powerful collective organism, [integrating] the individual in the social patrimony of the fatherland. However, its most important educational aspect is, evidently, the assistance collective chant provides to the moral and civic formation of Brazilian infancy.<sup>43</sup>

This excerpt highlights the idea that, through Orpheonic Chant, Villa-Lobos aimed at contributing to the formation of a society in which the individual would yield to the collectivity. Villa-Lobos spoke about the anonymous contribution of the individual to the construction of the nation, an idea intimately related to the “imagined community” Vargas wanted to create in Brazil. Like Vargas, Villa-Lobos wanted to create a society in which children would imagine themselves as a “mass of comrades,” whose suppression of individual will—hence the anonymity of the individual—was important to preserve the identity of the group. Clearly, the principles Villa-Lobos preached were in line with Vargas's ideologies, although he denied it. Orpheonic Chant promoted nationalism, patriotism, a sense of civic duty and discipline, and also the idea of the sacrifice of the

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<sup>43</sup> Villa-Lobos, “A música nacionalista,” 10. In the original: “O canto coletivo, com o seu poder de socialização, predispõe o indivíduo a perder no momento necessário a noção egoísta da individualidade excessiva, integrando-o na comunidade, valorizando no seu espírito a idéia da necessidade da renúncia e da disciplina ante os imperativos da coletividade social, favorecendo, em suma, essa noção de solidariedade humana, que requer da criatura uma participação mais *anônima* na construção das grandes nacionalidades . . . com o seu enorme poder de coesão, criando um poderoso organismo coletivo, êle integra o indivíduo no patrimônio social da Pátria. Entretanto, o seu mais importante aspecto educativo é, evidentemente, o auxílio que o canto coletivo veio prestar à formação moral e cívica da infância brasileira.”

individual in favor of the group and thus his inclusion as an “anonymous being” in the “mass of the nation.”

### **Program of Music Education: Indexing Brasilidade and Constructing the Imagined Community through Music**

Among the “cultural artifacts” Villa-Lobos produced to index nationalistic and patriotic values into children’s identities, the most important were the collections of hymns, marches, and songs he used in Orpheonic Chant. Chief among these collections are the *Guia Prático* (Practical guide),<sup>44</sup> consisting of 137 Brazilian folk songs; and the two volumes of *Canto Orfeônico* (Orpheonic chant), containing marches, patriotic hymns, and nationalistic songs, amounting to 86 pieces. Among their patriotic hymns and marches, the two volumes of *Canto Orfeônico* also contain pieces meant to evoke the historic and cultural heritages of Brazil. Villa-Lobos included pieces that made reference to Brazilian military “heroes” and other important historical figures and deliberately included allusions to different regions of the country and fundamental ethnicities, Amerindians and Afro-Brazilians, alongside members of the working class, such as the carpenter and blacksmith, reflecting Vargas’s promotion of class and ethnic inclusion.<sup>45</sup> In addition, Volume I contains “Saudação à Getúlio Vargas” (Salutation to Getúlio Vargas), intending solely to demonstrate respect and admiration for Vargas.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Villa-Lobos planned a series of six *Guias Práticos*, but only one was really published for orpheonic singing. There are, however, some eleven volumes for solo piano.

<sup>45</sup> Villa-Lobos also used one very short piece by each of the following European composers: J.P. Rameau, J. Haydn, and W.A. Mozart, for which F. Haroldo (pseudonym of Fabiano Lozano) incorporated lyrics in Portuguese language.

<sup>46</sup> The text of this song says: “Hail Brazil! Hail Getúlio Vargas! Brazil deposits its faith, its hope, and its trust in the future in the chief of the Nation! Hail Brazil! Hail Getúlio Vargas!” In the original: “Viva o Brasil, Viô! Salve Getúlio Vargas! O Brasil deposita sua fé, sua esperança, e sua certeza do futuro no chefe da Nação! Viva o Brasil, Viô! Salve Getúlio Vargas! Viô!” In Heitor Villa-Lobos, *Canto Orfeônico* vol.1, (São Paulo: Irmãos Vitale, 1942), 82-83.

Villa-Lobos used the *Guia Prático*, subtitled *Estudo Folclórico Musical* (Folkloric Musical Study) to initiate children's education through Brazilian folklore, which he believed to be imperative in the formation of children's musical conscience, an idea that educators of the First Republic had already elaborated upon. He explained folklore's function in terms of easy identification with the melodies:

In the case of the teaching [of folklore] through simple listening—which generally initiates the practice of orpheonic chant—the familiarity and identification with the folkloric melody that come imbued with psychological racial characteristics, provide children with a fast assimilation and retention of these melodies, and also gives them a spontaneous pleasure in the repetition of these chants full of ancestral resonances. The habit of collective chant is born there, as a need in children's lives. It is a habit that brings deep roots, immersed in the source of children's lives, and if nurtured with pure and healthy foods, will become one of the foundations of nationality itself. Thus it is necessary to exploit this habit in the good humane and patriotic sense (my italics).<sup>47</sup>

Like Brazilian music educators before him, Villa-Lobos also considered folklore important to create awareness in children about the racial elements of Brazil, or in other words, folklore would “map out” the Brazilian ethnic diversity (and by extension the diverse Brazilian cultural heritages) in the minds of children, creating “indices” of the racial and cultural heritages in Brazil. But Villa-Lobos elaborated more deeply upon this function of folklore and transmitted the idea that through these songs children would connect to an “immemorial past” (“ancestral resonances”) in which the very racial essence of the nation was to be found (what he called “psychological racial characteristics”). Villa-Lobos considered these songs important in initiating collective

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<sup>47</sup> Villa-Lobos, “A música nacionalista,” 36. In the original: “No caso do ensino [do folclore] por simples audição—que geralmente inicia a prática do canto orfeônico—a familiaridade e a identidade com as melodias folclóricas que já vêm impregnadas de características psicológicas raciais, facultam à criança não só uma rápida assimilação e retenção dessas melodias, como lhes causa um prazer espontâneo na repetição desses cantos cheios de *ressonâncias ancestrais*. Nasce aí o hábito do canto coletivo, como uma necessidade na vida infantil. Um hábito que traz as suas raízes profundas imersas nas próprias fontes da vida infantil e que, nutrido de alimentos sadios e puros, passará a constituir um dos alicerces da própria nacionalidade. É preciso, pois, explorar essa hábito, no bom sentido humano e patriótico.”

chant because their supposedly “inherent” national characteristics would help form children whose individual and collective identities were unconsciously founded on what he considered the deepest elements of nationality. Villa-Lobos deemed it necessary to direct these nationalistic characteristics of folklore toward developing patriotism in children.

Along with folk songs, whose nationalistic content is disguised by playful aspects of the melodies and texts, Villa-Lobos also used songs and hymns whose nationalistic and patriotic aspects were more overt. He said, after folk songs “it is the hymns, marches, and patriotic songs learned in the school environment that will awaken [in children] the notions of Fatherland and nationality.”<sup>48</sup> In “A música nacionalista no governo Getúlio Vargas,” he eloquently explained the role of nationalistic and patriotic music in the formation of Brazilian children:

Through singing songs and commemorative hymns to our Country, in celebration of national heroes, the Brazilian child will quickly become instilled with the spirit of *brasilidade* which, in the future, will mark the ideas, actions and thoughts, allowing the child to acquire without doubt an authentic Brazilian musical consciousness. New generations, touched by this renewing and dynamogenic blow, will place above all human interests the *sacred symbol* of the Fatherland (the second italic is mine).<sup>49</sup>

From this passage, we understand that Villa-Lobos knew the power of music to instill (“index”) in children’s identities all the elements that occurred concomitantly with musical practice, such as the collective cooperation necessary in choirs, the figure of

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<sup>48</sup> Villa-Lobos in *Presença de Villa-Lobos: Educação Musical*, vol 13 (Rio de Janeiro: MEC-Museu Villa-Lobos, 1991), 33.

<sup>49</sup> Villa-Lobos, “A música nacionalista,” 12. In the original: “Entoando as canções e os hinos comemorativos da Pátria, na celebração dos heróis nacionais, a infância brasileira vai se *impregnando* aos poucos dêsse espírito de *brasilidade* que no futuro deverá marcar tôdas as suas ações e todos os seus pensamentos, e adquire, sem dúvida, uma consciência musical autenticamente brasileira. E as gerações novas, tocadas por esse sopro renovador e dinamogênico, colocarão acima de todos os interesses humanos o símbolo sagrado da Pátria.”

authority of the teacher, the friendly environment of school, and all the patriotic and nationalistic content of the lyrics. Much like Vargas, Villa-Lobos referred to the fatherland as a “sacred symbol” that should be worshiped through patriotism. As the passage demonstrates, the very nature of Villa-Lobos’s Orpheonic Chant created nationalistic “indices” that reflected Vargas’s ideologies.

In general, the musical atmosphere of these songs matched the content of the lyrics. For instance, Villa-Lobos set songs of civic duty such as “Soldadinhos” (Little soldiers), and patriotic songs such as “Brasil Unido” (United Brazil) and “Meu Paíz” (My country) to martial rhythm; he set songs about Amerindian culture, such as Nozani-ná (a chant from the Pareci Indians) entirely to Amerindian melodies, and included “typical” African musical elements (such as syncopations) in songs with reference to African slaves, such as “Um Canto que Saiu das Senzalas” (A Chant that Came from the Slave Houses).<sup>50</sup> In this sense, children could form in their minds an image of the vastness and diversity of Brazilian history, heritages, and landscapes through the lyrics and music they learned at school.

The march “Soldadinhos” (Example 3-1)<sup>51</sup> provides a good example of this process of ideological indexicality. This piece was composed by Sylvio Salema (teacher of Orpheonic Chant and an important assistant to Villa-Lobos) and arranged by Villa-Lobos for the first volume of *Canto Orfeônico*. Playfully, the text of this song calls the little Brazilian soldiers to devote themselves to the fatherland:

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<sup>50</sup> The first four pieces are part of *Canto Orfeônico* vol. 1, and the fourth is part of vol. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, *Canto Orfeônico* vol. 1, (São Paulo: Irmãos Vitale, 1942), 9-10.

*La! La! La la la la la! . . .Etc.  
Somos soldados pequeninos,  
Fortes na luta do dever,  
Nossas conquistas e destinos  
Vamos a pátria oferecer,  
Marcha soldadinho,  
Contente e feliz,  
E colhe no caminho  
O amor do teu paiz*

*La! La! La la la la la! . . .Etc.  
We are little soldiers  
With a strong sense duty,  
Our conquests and destinies  
We offer to the fatherland  
March, little soldier,  
Content and happy,  
And harvest in your way,  
The love of your country*

In “Soldadinhos,” Villa-Lobos combined strong patriotic elements with elements of innocence typical of childhood. This little march begins with an introduction of eight measures in which the syllable “la” is combined with an ascending arpeggio that emulates a trumpet call and with the vocal effect “Prrr-rá! Prá!” that emulates a ruff on a drum. While the arpeggio and the vocal effect convey a military character to the march, the vocalization of the syllable “la,” commonly associated with children’s games, conveys a naïve atmosphere to the piece, assuaging its military character. Next, the patriotic text of “Soldadinhos” is combined with a simple melody that facilitates the assimilation of the text’s ideas. In the final eight measures, the military character returns with trumpet call in augmented rhythms, which sound like a reminiscence of its more assertive presentation in the initial measures. In a playful manner, “Soldadinhos” indexes in the minds of children a sense of patriotism and civic duty with music of military character, and, as many other pieces used in Orpheonic Chant, it created “indices” of Vargas’s nationalistic ideology in the minds of children.

### **Orpheonic Chant and the Senses of Patriotism, Discipline, and Civic Duty: Indoctrinating the Imagined Community**

In addition to creating “indices” of the values of Vargas’s ideology in children through the musical and textual content of hymns, marches, and songs (as the march “Soldadinhos” reveals), Villa-Lobos had many other educational tools that essentially

imposed the nationalistic ideology on the children. What Villa-Lobos called “Exhortation” in the “Programa do ensino da música” was one of these indoctrinating tools. Villa-Lobos called “Exhortation” one of the most important pedagogical elements of his music education, through which teachers should

Incite the student to love the Fatherland. Explain that orpheonic chant is civic, moral and artistic education through chant; Show the true usefulness of Patriotic Hymns; Explain that the hymns must be sung with patriotism, conviction, enthusiasm, and expression, but mostly without shouting, demonstrating that disciplined singing or declaiming the hymns, represents a *Prayer to Brazil* (the italic is mine).<sup>52</sup>

In the “Exhortation,” which preceded the practice of Orpheonic Chant, teachers explained to children the patriotic content of the school hymns (or “their true usefulness” as Villa-Lobos put it). All the elements Villa-Lobos described as part of the “Exhortations,” such as singing with patriotism and conviction, were not intended to educate children about music (or even to educate children about practical aspects of their social life) but simply to impose on them values connected to the government’s ideology, revealing the indoctrinating nature of Orpheonic Chant. In the excerpt above Villa-Lobos added a religious significance to the musical practice once more as he affirmed that the hymns should be performed with respect, because they were a “Prayer to Brazil.” Thus, he fused prayer, one of the most expressive elements of devotion and faith, with patriotic music, conveying the idea that children (much like members of a religious sect) should be disciplined and should respectfully show their devotion and faith to the “religion of the fatherland” through music.

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<sup>52</sup> Villa-Lobos in “Programa do ensino de música,” 14. In the original: “Incitar o aluno pelo amor à Pátria, à Mocidade Estudiosa, enfim, à nossa Gente. Explicar que o canto orfeônico é a educação do canto, cívica moral e artística. Mostrar a verdadeira utilidade dos Hinos Patrióticos. Explicar que os hinos devem ser cantados com patriotismo, convicção, entusiasmo e expressão—mas principalmente sem gritar, demonstrando que o cantar ou declamar os hinos disciplinadamente, representa uma Prece ao Brasil.”

Another indoctrinating element of Orpheonic Chant that Villa-Lobos described in the “Programa do ensino” was the *Atitude dos Orfeonistas* (Attitude of Students).

According to him,

The correct attitude of the student in an orpheonic chant class facilitates correct breathing and emission of sound. To the correct position of the body it is necessary to ally the most rigorous attention, indispensable to the achievement of good results. Little by little, students will comprehend that discipline is the basis for orpheonic chant, and that a correct and nice attitude, from the individual aesthetic, has an accentuated influence in the aesthetic of the group as a whole.<sup>53</sup>

While proper body posture could result in better musical results, it is evident that Villa-Lobos also wanted visual aspects of the Orpheonic Chant groups to convey a sense of organization and discipline through the immaculate posture of school children. This quasi-military aspect of music education was even more evident in the so-called *Saudação Orfeônica* (Orpheonic Salute). According to Villa-Lobos, “The orpheonic salutation is a symbolic gesture of open hands, positioned at the level of the shoulder or head, as a fast *salutate* that serves to determine the beginning of discipline required from all vocal groups in schools (my italics).”<sup>54</sup> The Orpheonic Salute was used to greet authorities, such as members of the government, high rankings officials of the army, representatives of friendly nations, and symbols of the nation, especially the national flag. Here, the indoctrinating aspect of music education is related to the military doctrine.

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<sup>53</sup> Villa-Lobos, “Programa,” 14-15. In the original: “A atitude correta do orfeonista numa aula de canto orfeônico facilita a boa respiração e emissão do som. À posição do corpo, é necessário aliar-se a mais rigorosa atenção indispensável para a obtenção de um resultado eficiente. Pouco a pouco, os alunos terão compreendido que a disciplina é a base do canto orfeônico, e ainda que uma atitude correta e agradável, fator da estética individual, tem uma influência acentuada na estética do conjunto.”

<sup>54</sup> Villa-Lobos, “Programa,” 14-15. In the original: “A saudação orfeônica é um gesto simbólico de mão aberta, colocada à altura do ombro ou da cabeça, numa *continência* rápida que serve para precisar o início da rigorosa disciplina que requerem todos os conjuntos vocais nas escolas.”

Another important teaching tool of Orpheonic Chant associated with the idea of inculcating discipline in children was the *manossolfa*, the method of solfege with the hands that Villa-Lobos adopted from João Gomes Junior's method (Figures 3-4 and 3-5). The *manossolfa* was an important teaching tool because it made Orpheonic Chant accessible to all children regardless of their musical knowledge. But when Villa-Lobos wrote about the method in the *Programa do Ensino*, he emphasized that the method would naturally discipline children and did not comment about its democratizing function. He said the *manossolfa*:

Must be applied mainly as a preponderant element that will fix students' *attention*, since it requires from the students constant *attention* and observation of the diverse movements of the teacher's hands. With this process, the natural *discipline*, so necessary to the teaching of orpheonic chant, is obtained. Manossolfa is divided into spoken, sung, simple, and developed. The first must be used so the students are able retain the notes' names and in a *disciplined* manner relate them to a determined movement of the teacher's hand. Its end is mainly to accustom students to the *discipline* of the group (my italics).<sup>55</sup>

In the passage above, Villa-Lobos constantly refers to the idea of discipline in *manossolfa*, revealing that this technique suited his program of music education because it was a practical method to teach large crowds, and also because the very nature of *manossolfa* instilled discipline in students. Villa-Lobos used the *manossolfa* because he believed music should be learned intuitively, like language, as did musicians who followed the Analytic Method in the First Republic. The essential idea of *manossolfa* was that without the mediation of music rules and scores, which could delay

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<sup>55</sup> Villa-Lobos, "Programa," 21-22. In the original: "Deve ser dado principalmente como elemento preponderante para fixar a atenção dos alunos, uma vez que requer a constante observação dos movimentos diversos das mãos do professor. Obtém-se com esse processo, a *disciplina natural*, tão necessária ao ensino do canto orfeônico. O manossolfa divide-se em falado, entoado, simples, e desenvolvido. O primeiro deve ser empregado para reter os nomes das notas e nomeá-las disciplinadamente a um determinado movimento da mão do professor. O seu fim é principalmente acostumar os alunos à disciplina do conjunto."

a thorough development of musical creativity, children would be able to fully develop their musicianship. In this sense, music and the message it was conveying would become, like language, an essential part of children's identities, something that grew intuitively in their minds. Thus, it seems Villa-Lobos believed that if children were educated from early ages with nationalistic and patriotic music, the national spirit would be an essential part of their personalities, shaping their future actions.

### **Educational and Administrative Institutions of Music Education: Planning Out and Administering the Imagined Community**

The most important governmental institution that regulated music education in schools was the SEMA. Its functions included supervising and coordinating the new music program in schools and organizing of public concerts. Under the supervision of SEMA, Orpheonic Chant was implemented in several schools in Rio, increasing the demand for teachers of the new discipline. Aiming to meet this demand, Villa-Lobos created several courses in Rio de Janeiro that trained teachers of Orpheonic Chant. In 1932, he first created the Curso de Pedagogia da Música e Canto Orfeônico (Course in Music Pedagogy and Orpheonic Chant), which provided basic training to teachers of primary and secondary schools in Rio. Through public notice and invitation, Villa-Lobos called music specialists to collaborate with him and exchange their knowledge with the schoolteachers. Villa-Lobos's call attracted several illustrious Brazilian musicians who became instructors of Orpheonic Chant methods for the Curso de Pedagogia, such as composer Lorenzo Fernandez, pianist Arnado Estrella, and musicologist Andrade Muricy. The presence of these musicians conferred a professional level to the musical training of schoolteachers.

In 1933, Villa-Lobos implemented the Cursos de Orientação e Aperfeiçoamento do Ensino de Música e Canto Orfeônico (Courses in Orientation and Perfection in Musical Education and Orpheonic Chant) to give a uniform orientation to teachers of Orpheonic Chant. He divided the course into four subcategories: Course of Rhythmic Declamation; Preparatory Course to the Teaching of Orpheonic Chant; Specialization Course in Music and Orpheonic Singing; and Course in Practice of Orpheonic Chant. The first two subcategories were taught from 1933 to 1936 and again in 1939 and were designed for non-music teachers to learn the basics of Orpheonic Chant to teach children from the first, second, and third grades of primary education. The third and fourth subcategories were destined for professionals of music and were designed partly to investigate the social and artistic characteristics of music. In addition, they were intended to promote discussion among teachers regarding the application of the teaching methods and musical programs in the school environment. With the implementation of these courses, Villa-Lobos standardized the formation of teachers of Orpheonic Chant in Rio de Janeiro.

Despite Villa-Lobos's efforts and the government's interest in the ideological "indexicality" promoted through music education, there were several deficiencies in the implementation of music in schools. To "map out" the situation of music education in the schools of Rio de Janeiro, SEMA had reporters visit schools within their assigned districts and write annual reports about several aspects of music education. These reports included the number of teachers of each school evaluated, number of students, musical strengths and deficiencies of students and teachers, number of civic events held in those schools and the overall number of civic events in which the school

participated. In general, these reports pointed out what should be done to make music education more effective for music, discipline, and civic purposes.

Maria Olympia de Moura Reis was a teacher of Orpheonic Chant and one of these SEMA reporters. She visited dozens of schools in Rio several times a year to evaluate the situation of Orpheonic Chant. Most of these reports, Reis highlighted the lack of specialized teachers of the discipline and, consequently, the absence of Orpheonic Chant in some schools. These were the major problems Villa-Lobos faced in implementing music education in Rio. Additionally, Reis reported on problems related to the teaching of music itself. In her 1936 report, for instance, she said SEMA should put more emphasis on teaching applied theory in the fourth and fifth grades. She said, “I believe that especially in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades, certain elementary notions are indispensable, but [they need to be] taught in a practical and easily comprehensible manner. In some schools these elements were totally abandoned; in others, treated with excessive abstraction; and [only] in a few it was done in the manner and dosage appropriate for primary school.”<sup>56</sup>

Although such problems of practical order hindered the perfect execution of Villa-Lobos’s plans, they did not prevent Orpheonic Chant from becoming part of the educational panorama of Rio de Janeiro. As Reis’s reports also reveal, in the schools where Orpheonic Chant was part of children’s education, collective discipline was always achieved. She wrote in 1941, “In the schools where music and Orpheonic Chant

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<sup>56</sup> Maria Olympia de Moura Reis, in her SEMA report from 1936 (document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*, “Pasta SEMA.” Document number 04.05.33), 4. In the original: “Penso que, principalmente nas turmas de 4º e 5º anos, são indispensáveis certas noções elementares, mas ensinadas de modo prático e facilmente compreensível. Em algumas escolas esse ensino foi totalmente abandonado; em outras demasiadamente e abstractamente tratado; em poucas elle foi feito na maneira e na dosagem convenientes à escola primária.”

are taught regularly, collective discipline is patently better than in the schools with no teachers for this subject.”<sup>57</sup> Even schools that did not implement Orpheonic Chant (or did not have enough music teachers to provide regular music orientation) participated in civic-artistic celebrations (Orpheonic Concentrations) in which Orpheonic Chant was the main attraction. In the days just before these celebrations, these schools sought teachers of Orpheonic Chant to teach the patriotic hymns to children. Because most schools started participating regularly in such civic-artistic events, their students also experienced Brazil’s nationalistic ideology through this constant (albeit not weekly) practice of Orpheonic Chant.<sup>58</sup> Thus, regardless of their musical training in Orpheonic Chant, students of these schools were also part of the “imagined community.”

Despite the practical problems he he faced as director of SEMA in Rio de Janeiro, Villa-Lobos worked toward propagating Orpheonic Chant throughout Brazil and generated interest in several states. As he reported,

A request was sent to the interventores and directors of instructional institutions of all Brazilian states in 1933 to embrace the propagation of the teaching of music and formation of orpheonic groups in schools, presenting at the same time an exposition of the necessities and advantages that the collective practice of orpheonic chant, rooted in an uniform didactic orientation could bring to the *national unity*. This appeal was received with interest and sympathy in many states, which worked to make it a reality. Thus, we decided to accept registration of state teachers in specialized

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<sup>57</sup> Maria Olympia de Moura Reis, in her SEMA report from 1941 (document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos* (“Pasta SEMA.” Document number HVL 04.05.39), 3. In the original: “Nas escolas onde o ensino de música e canto orfeônico vem sendo regularmente feito, a disciplina coletiva é, como sempre, notoriamente superior as que não tem recebido professor para esse mister.”

<sup>58</sup> So civic-artistic events featured Orpheonic Chant, Reis personally helped to organize fifteen in 1940 and eight in 1941. (Data collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos* in the SEMA reports from the respective years given above. Document numbers HVL 04.05.38, pages 6 a 8, and HVL 04.05.39, pages 6 e 7).

courses for short training sessions where they could acquire the indispensable basic knowledge (My italics.)<sup>59</sup>

Villa-Lobos's words imply that even though teachers of other states would receive only a basic training in Orpheonic Chant, they too could contribute to the creation of national unity. Indeed, the patriotic and nationalistic nature of music education could "index" the nationalistic ideology into the identities of school children all over Brazil, regardless of the technical music elements teachers conveyed to children.

The growth of the Cursos de Orientação e Aperfeiçoamento do Ensino de Musica e Canto Orfeônico and Villa-Lobos's and the government's will to disseminate Orpheonic Chant throughout Brazil resulted in creation of the Conservatório Nacional de Canto Orfeônico (National Conservatory of Orpheonic Chant) in Rio de Janeiro in 1942, of which Villa-Lobos became the director. According to Villa-Lobos, the role of this institute was "To train teachers for the elementary schools; to elaborate technical directives that will rule the teaching of Orpheonic Chant in Brazil; to promote musicological research of Brazilian music; to record discs of Orpheonic Chant and also patriotic and popular songs that must be sung in the schools of the country."<sup>60</sup> Through this Conservatory, Villa-Lobos sought to guarantee that teachers of Orpheonic Chant from all Brazilian states receive the same musical preparation. He wanted to standardize the teaching of Orpheonic Chant (and thus the ideologies it disseminated)

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<sup>59</sup> Villa-Lobos in *Presença* vol. 13, 32. In the original: "Aos interventores e diretores de instrução de todos os Estados do Brasil foi enviado em 1933 um apelo no sentido de que se interessassem pela propagação do ensino de música nas escolas e pela organização de orfeões escolares, apresentando-se ao mesmo tempo uma exposição das necessidades e vantagens que poderiam advir para uma *unidade nacional*, da prática coletiva do canto orfeônico. Foi esse apelo acolhido com interesse e simpatia em muitos Estados que desde então se preocuparam em torná-lo uma realidade. Assim, resolveu-se aceitar a matrícula de professores estaduais nos cursos especializados, para pequenos estágios onde eles pudessem adquirir os conhecimentos básicos imprescindíveis."

<sup>60</sup> Vasco Mariz, *Mariz Heitor Villa-Lobos: Compositor Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1983, n/p.

all over Brazil. As for the role of teachers trained in this Conservatory, Villa-Lobos said, “students of the Conservatory will be the future specialists in the discipline, thus the noble and delicate mission of educating civically and musically the new generations of Brazil will fall to them, acting as *sentinels* and followers of this authentic movement of musical nationalism”<sup>61</sup> (my italics). Villa-Lobos referred to the teachers as the followers of musical nationalism, but because of the ideological and indoctrinating aspects of Orpheonic Chant, these teachers would also become agents of Vargas’s ideologies, homogenizing nationalism throughout the country and helping create national unity. In this sense, in addition to their role as music educators, these teachers also fulfilled a social and political function that interested the government.

Priorities of the administrative and educational institutions that promoted Orpheonic Chant were not so much the music formation of schoolchildren but mostly the homogenization of educational approaches, education for social life, and the use of music education to help create national unity. By promoting pedagogies framed in nationalistic and patriotic orientations, the administrative structure of SEMA and the educational institutions Villa-Lobos created therefore supported the “imagined community” of children formed through music education and promoted Vargas’s directives for education.

### **Final Considerations**

Music education spread and homogenized *brasilidade*, patriotism, discipline, and civic duty among school children (and their elders by extension) first in Rio de Janeiro

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<sup>61</sup> Villa-Lobos in *Presença* vol.13, 20. In the original: “Os alunos do Conservatório serão os futuros professores especializados da nova disciplina e a eles caberá, portanto, a nobre e delicada missão de educar, cívica e musicalmente, as novas gerações do Brasil, como sentinelas avançadas e continuadoras desse movimento de autêntico nacionalismo musical.”

(where Villa-Lobos's music education was first implemented) and little by little all over Brazil. All of these children were part of a face-to-face community that shared the ideas instilled through music education in their school environment. Through their contact with other children outside school, through media, and especially through the massive Orpheonic Concentrations, these children could realize they were also part of a larger "imagined community" of children from other schools (in their cities, states, or even all over Brazil) that received the same nationalistic music orientation.

Children represented the ideal vessel to propagate the government's nationalistic ideologies within their families, because parents would share their children's enthusiasm for Orpheonic Chant in the spirit of love and family solidarity. Therefore, music education was a clever way for Vargas to "index" in children the ideologies of his regime and also structure Brazilian society as a whole in a foundation of nationalism. Although Simon Wright said: "Despite his undoubtedly fervent patriotism, Villa-Lobos was . . . a non-political animal, more concerned with his own career as composer and conductor than with the rapidly changing ever-volatile matters of Brazilian politics under Vargas,"<sup>62</sup> this chapter demonstrates that Villa-Lobos was indeed completely engaged with Vargas's ideologies and actively disseminated them through his Orpheonic Chant.

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<sup>62</sup> Wright, *Villa-Lobos*, 112.

Table 3-1. Number of Secondary Schools and Registered Children in Brazil between 1932 and 1945 (Source: National Department of Education).

Year	Secondary Schools	Registered Children
1932	291	44,400
1933	310	61,600
1934	365	73,000
1935	422	89,000
1936	455	102,000
1937	530	116,000
1938	591	125,000
1939	624	135,000
1940	658	148,000
1941	690	161,000
1942	727	173,500
1943	763	185,200
1944	798	195,500
1945	826	210,000

CPDOC-FGV document number GC pi Capanema, G. 45.00.0000-A

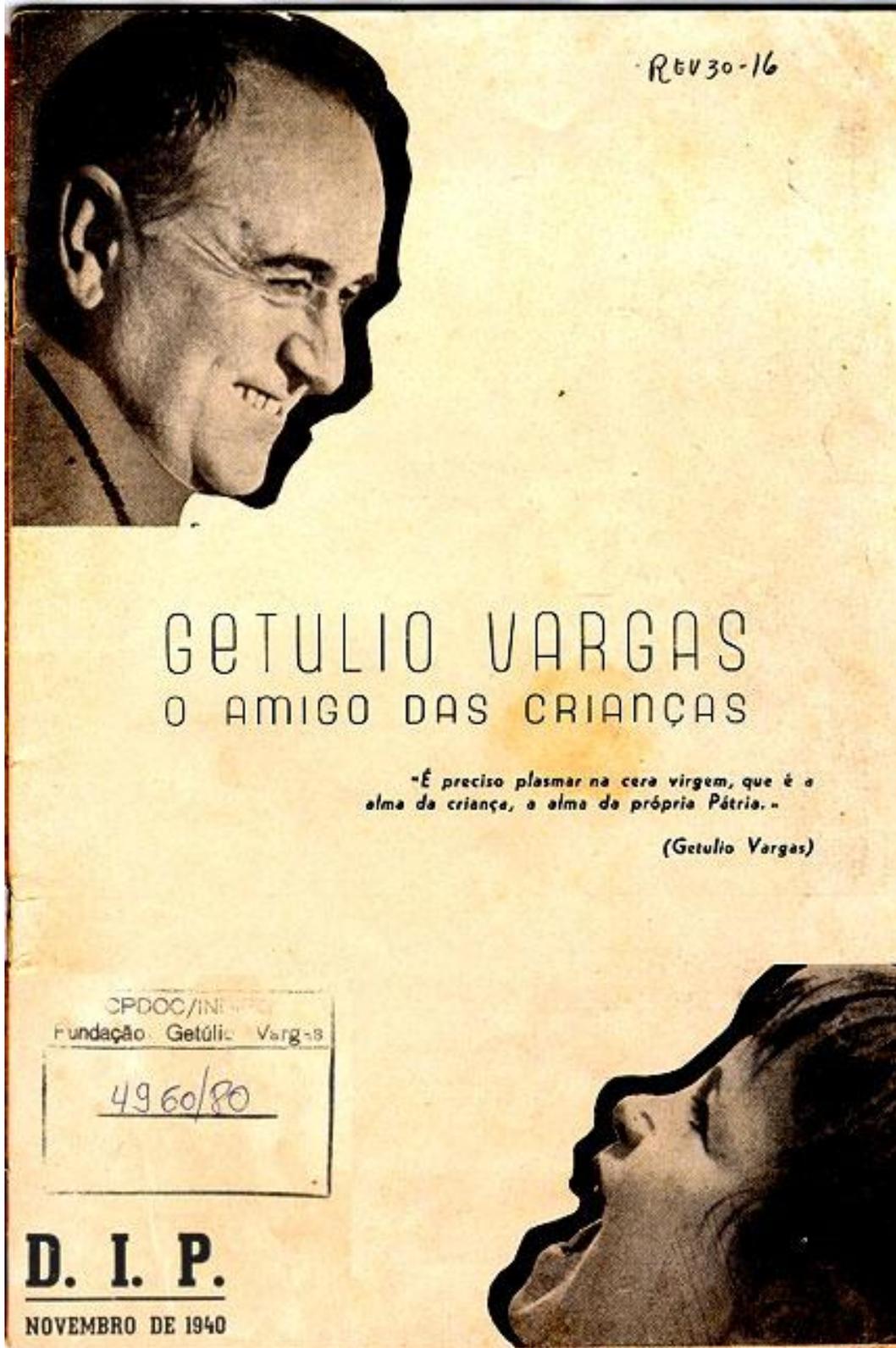


Figure 3-1. Getúlio Vargas: Amigo das crianças, cover page



Figure 3-2. Vargas and school children from *A Juventude no Estado Novo*

# Soldadinhos

Poesia de Narbal Fontes

Canção Escolar

Música de Sylvio Salema  
Arr. de Villa-Lobos

Movimento de Marcha

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The tempo and dynamics are marked 'mf' (mezzo-forte) and 'Movimento de Marcha'. The score consists of four systems of music. The first system (measures 1-4) features a vocal line with lyrics 'La! La! la la la la la!.....' and a piano accompaniment with lyrics 'Prrr - rá! Prá!'. The second system (measures 5-8) continues the vocal line with 'La! La! La! La! la la la la la!.....' and piano accompaniment with 'Prrr - rá! Prá!'. The third system (measures 9-12) is marked 'Como FIM' and changes to a 4/4 time signature. The vocal line lyrics are 'La! So - mos sol - da - dos pe - que - ni - nos, For - tes na lu - ta' and the piano accompaniment lyrics are 'Prrr - rá! Prá!'. The final system (measures 13-16) continues the vocal line with 'do de - ver Nos - sas con - quis - tas e des - ti - nos, Va - mos a pá - tira of - fe - re - cer.' and the piano accompaniment. The score ends with a double bar line.

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Example 3-1. Score of "Soldadinhos." The transcription is mine.

17

Mar - cha sol - da - di - nho, Con - ten - tee fe - liz,..... Co - lhe no ca -

mi - nho O - mor - do teu Pa - iz.....

D.C.  
al

Example 3-1. Continued



Figure 3-3. Villa-Lobos demonstrating the *manossolfa* sign that stands for  $mi^2$ .  
Collected in the archives of the Museu Villa-Lobos (file number 1980-16-013).

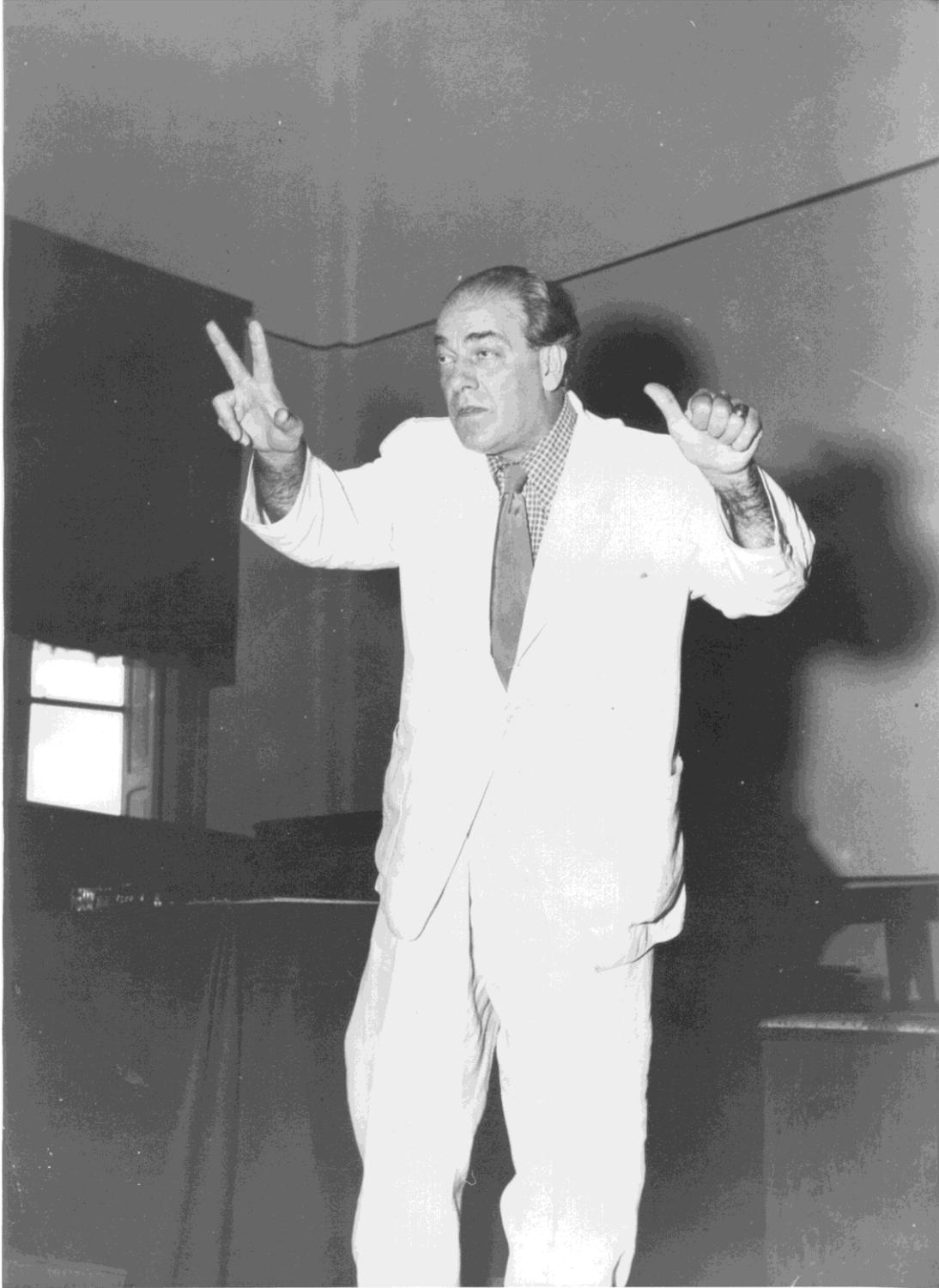


Figure 3-4. Villa-Lobos using the *manossolfa* in the 1940s. Collected in the archives of the Museu Villa-Lobos (file number 1980-16-032).

## CHAPTER 4 REACHING OUT TO THE BRAZILIAN FAMILY: THE SYSTEM OF MUSIC EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

Children played an important role in disseminating the Vargas government's ideology within their families. Vargas promoted the idea of a new and modern country and associated the idea of his government with the youth, who were also blossoming into life and more connected to the ideas of the modern world. Cleverly, Vargas used the image of children to transmit his regime's ideals of prosperity and modernity to their families. This strategy is well illustrated in a radio broadcast during Vargas's regime.<sup>63</sup> In this radio story, four characters, Toninho, a boy; Carlos, his father; Antônio, Toninho's grandfather; and Zé Maria, Toninho's great grandfather, represent four generations of Brazilian men. The story starts with Zé Maria and Antônio talking about how distant they feel from Carlos's world and ideas. Toninho then arrives and says Getúlio Vargas is giving a speech on the radio and Toninho wants both his grandfather and great grandfather to listen to the speech. Zé Maria says he does not like the radio because he is too old to for it.<sup>64</sup> But Toninho asks Zé Maria why he hid himself to listen to radio reports when they were about the emperor (symbolically representing the past of Brazil); Toninhos's challenging attitude angers his great grandfather. Toninho then asks

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<sup>63</sup> Recording collected at CPDOC-FGV (no dates provided).

<sup>64</sup> Radio was inaugurated in Brazil in 1922 and was still considered a new technology during Vargas's regime. Vargas's cultural management valued the radio for its wide coverage and because it didn't rely on literacy. This story also displays Vargas's attempts to attract people to listening to the radio, through which he disseminated his ideologies. Vargas used the radio as an important mass media to spread nationalistic ideas to people all over Brazil. The advantage of the radio over the newspaper is that anyone who had a radio device could understand the message whether they were literate or not. For more information about Vargas's use of radio to disseminate his messages, see Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello, Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), and Luiz André Ferreira de Oliveira, *Getúlio Vargas e o Desenvolvimento do Rádio no País: Um Estudo do Rádio de 1930 a 1945*. Master's Thesis (Rio de Janeiro: CPDOC-FGV, 2006.)

why his grandfather Antônio always goes away from the radio when Getúlio Vargas speaks, and the old man says he does not know the answer. Toninho says according to his father (Carlos), Antônio does not want to “throw in the towel” to the new government, and the old man laughs with approval: “Carlos said that? Intriguing.” When Carlos, an engineer, enters the story, he proudly speaks of the discovery of Brazilian petrol and says his father’s politician friends who did not believe Brazilian oil existed can now see the proof (he shows samples of oil to his family). According to Carlos, this was only possible because of the initiative of Getúlio Vargas. Toward the end of this story, Zé Maria, the oldest man, asks someone to turn on the radio and is supported by his son Antônio. The old men’s attitudes surprise Carlos and his wife (who just appeared to add an interjection of surprise), who thought the oil “illuminated” the old men’s minds. But Zé Maria says even before Carlos showed them that Brazilian oil existed, they had already “taken truth from the well with Toninho’s help.”

This story captures several important aspects of Vargas’s approach to family and shows the family environment as a place where children and their elders exchange ideas about Brazil, Vargas, and his politics. As the story shows, Vargas placed his trust in the Brazilian youth and used the figure of the child as an emissary of the government’s messages. Although discovering Brazilian oil proved to the elders that Vargas was worth their trust, Toninho had already persuaded the two old men to listen to Vargas’s speech. Toninho’s enthusiasm for the president and his program are what led the two old men to listen to the government’s messages.

The story also illustrates Vargas’s use of the radio (inaugurated in Brazil in 1922) to convey his messages to the Brazilian family, disseminating the same nationalistic

values to create a sense of unity among its members. In addition to creating ties among families, these messages also aimed to create a sense of union among radio audiences all over Brazil. The radio was essential to Vargas's "cultural nationalism." Lourival Fontes, director of the Vargas's government's Department of Propaganda in 1936, commented about the importance of the radio to communicate the government's messages in Brazil: "We cannot underestimate the work of propaganda and culture undertaken on the radio . . . it is enough to say that radio reaches where the school and the press do not, to the farthest points of the country, to the understanding of illiterates."<sup>65</sup> After radio's implementation in Brazil, radios were expensive and not everybody could afford to have a radio in their home. At that time, people willing to listen to the radio normally gathered together in public sites (such as plazas) where the government installed speakers. Increasingly people started purchasing their own radios and listening radio in their homes. According to Bryan McCann, radios "grew far less expensive [in the 1930s and 40s]: by the late 1930s, installment plans and used radios sold through newspaper classifieds put them within reach even of working-class families. By 1945, IBOPE (Instituto Brasileiro de Opinião Pública e Estatística), the Brazilian polling organization, estimated that 85 percent of the households in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro—the two most important cities in Brazil—owned radios."<sup>66</sup>

Brian MacCann wrote about the importance of radio for Vargas's political program and how he used it to create bonds among the Brazilian population. According to McCann, when Vargas took power in 1930,

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<sup>65</sup>Lourival Fontes quoted in Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello, Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 19.

<sup>66</sup> McCann, *Hello, Hello, Brazil*, 23.

He recognized the need to embark immediately on strong political and economic reforms in order to stabilize his government. In addition he and his new administrative cohort understood the imperative to reach and inspire a broad population with a message of inclusion and common struggle. Radio seemed the perfect tool for their enterprise: it combined technology and industry, and it harnessed invisible forces in pursuit of triumphant modernity. It was capable of reaching into the private homes of citizens and transforming their lives, placing them in direct contact with their leader. Most important, it offered the hope of linking far-flung territories into a single network of instantaneous communication, and of bridging the gaps of culture and class that divided Brazilians.<sup>67</sup>

Although McCann's research focuses on the importance of radio broadcasting for popular music, his ideas are relevant here. In the above passage McCann highlighted the important role radio played for Vargas (well illustrated in the story of Toninho and his family): first, the fact that radio carried Vargas's messages to people's homes and conveyed the same messages to the whole family; and second, as McCann affirmed, the important role of radio in "bridging gaps" of culture and class in Brazil, and as I suggest, generations as well, as Toninho and his family's story illustrates. Thus, radio was an important element to disseminate Vargas's cultural nationalism and contributed enormously to the formation of Brazil's imagined community.

Indeed, bridging the gaps among different generations of Brazilians was an important goal of Vargas's imaginings of the nation, and his family policies reflect his endeavors. Vargas used children's education and propaganda to structure the Brazilian family in the nationalistic ideology. According to Paulo de Figueiredo, member and president of the Administrative Council of Vargas's regime:<sup>68</sup>

The National State, with man as its *leitmotif*, was committed to taking care of the family, by nature the essential element in men's lives; its sentimental

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<sup>67</sup> McCann, *Hello, Hello, Brazil*, 19.

<sup>68</sup> The Administrative Council replaced the Legislative Assembly during Vargas's dictatorship.

'atmosphere,' its moral and economic foundations are the sources from which they draw their secret and profound forces in forming their personalities . . . . Besides, the family constitutes an important sociological element, because it is in the family . . . that societies are structured . . . . It is through the family that the state gets to men.<sup>69</sup>

As the passage above reveals, Vargas emphasized the role of the family in the formation of individuals to create a strong foundation for the nation. On the importance of the family to the nation, Benedict Anderson said, "The family has traditionally been conceived as the domain of disinterested love and solidarity. So too if historians, diplomats, politicians, and social scientists are quite at ease with the idea of 'national interest,' for most ordinary people of whatever class the whole point of the nation is that it is interest-less. Just for that reason, it can ask for sacrifices."<sup>70</sup> Vargas realized the institution of the family represented this disinterested, natural love, which he could direct toward the growth of nation and to support his government.

Vargas's educational directives and propaganda motivated people's interest-less love for the nation. Through the rhetoric of his speeches, Vargas also conveyed the idea that he was part of the big family of Brazilians and, in this sense, he was among the people and not above them:

I never avoided your companionship, and in uncertain or dangerous times it was in direct contact with you, in the streets and public spaces, that I found stimulus to face the difficulties and keep the conduct I adopted as the one responsible for the future of the Nation. I did not do it to gain easy popularity and electoral suffrage; it was in power and through exercising the functions of governor that I became your friend to better understand the needs of workers and to better realize their aspirations. I always felt and expressed clearly my opinion of you—intellectuals, artists, workmen, tradesmen, bank workers, farm workers—considering *all* of you as valuable humans instead of machines of production; I always held in high esteem your reserves of patriotic energy, moral consistency, and devotion to public affairs to

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<sup>69</sup> Paulo de Figueireido, *Aspectos Ideológicos do Estado Novo*, (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1983),131.

<sup>70</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 144

promote wellness of the Brazilian family and secure work, which creates abundance and perfects our culture (the italic is mine).<sup>71</sup>

Through a populist strategy, clear in this excerpt, Vargas aligned himself with the people, assuaging his authoritarian politics and slyly asking people to sacrifice for the benefit of the nation. Vargas eloquently conferred a noble status on Brazilian workers and said they were vital for the nation and for the wellness of the Brazilian family. Although he considered men more than machines of production, Vargas regarded Brazilians' hard work vital to the growth of the nation. Strategically, Vargas included himself in the community of Brazilians, transmitting the idea that the people and the State (represented by Vargas) were joined together to promote the advancement of the nation. He attempted to create close ties between the State and Brazilian families, to more easily direct their disinterested love toward patriotism and nationalism.

The bonds Villa-Lobos's system of music education created among family members reflected the government's policies. Orpheonic Chant played an important role in Vargas's agenda for the family, because Villa-Lobos encouraged children to share with their families the nationalistic ideas that Orpheonic Chant instilled in the school environment. Villa-Lobos was aware that children could be emissaries of Orpheonic Chant and affirmed: "The orpheonic chant practiced in childhood and propagated by children in their homes will form new generations with a renewed sense of discipline and social habits; men and women who will know how to work singing for their land, and for this land, give their lives singing."<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, SEMA developed questionnaires about Orpheonic Chant in which families were asked to give their impressions of the

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<sup>71</sup> Francisco Galvão, *Diretrizes do Estado Novo* (Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda, 1942), 83.

<sup>72</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, "Brasil," in *Presença de Villa-Lobos*, vol 5, 1<sup>a</sup> ed. (Rio de Janeiro: MEC – Museu Villa-Lobos, 1970), 94.

“influence of the chant in the habits and inclinations [of their children].”<sup>73</sup> According to Villa-Lobos, “This initiative has the twofold purpose of branching out to children’s homes the interest in Orpheonic Chant and investigating, in a sensitive manner, its consequences.”<sup>74</sup> With this system, Villa-Lobos aimed to guarantee families engagement in their children’s music education. In addition, he could check how efficient the Orpheonic Chant was in shaping children’s personalities. In this sense, children became emissaries of the government’s ideology.

Gustavo Capanema, Vargas’s Minister of Education and Health, also emphasized the connection between Orpheonic Chant practiced by the youth with their families and society as a whole. Capanema affirmed, “Through singing, not only do the linkages of the moral unity become stronger in the Brazilian Youth, but singing can also exert a strong civic influence on the families and among the people, which creates enthusiasm, courage, hope, and fidelity.”<sup>75</sup> These passages show that for both Villa-Lobos and the government, Orpheonic Chant played a strategic role in extending the nationalistic ideology disseminated at school to the population as a whole.

Despite the important role of children in disseminating among their families the notion of music’s importance in society, Villa-Lobos realized he needed to speak more directly to the adult population to make sure he got his messages across. He organized the Teacher’s Orpheon, a group of 250 teachers who performed concerts with civic,

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<sup>73</sup> Villa-Lobos, “A música nacionalista,” 53. In the original: “Os questionários enviados às famílias dos alunos, onde são solicitadas as suas impressões sobre a influência do canto nos hábitos e inclinações dos mesmos.

<sup>74</sup> Villa-Lobos, “A música nacionalista,” 53. In the original: “Essa iniciativa tem a dupla finalidade de estender ao próprio lar da criança o interesse pelo canto orfeônico e de apurar de uma maneira sensível as consequências dele decorrentes.”

<sup>75</sup> Gustavo Capanema, *Folheto no. 19 do Conservatório Nacional de Canto Orfeônico*, (Ministério da Educação e Saúde, Serviço de Documentação, 1942), 3.

artistic, and educational functions for the whole population. Additionally, musicians who supported Villa-Lobos's educational quest organized the Orchestra Villa-Lobos in 1933 and chose Villa-Lobos as its conductor. Like the Teacher's Orpheon, this orchestra also had an educational function and performed several important concerts in Rio, and Villa-Lobos also conducted the Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro several times in programs that contributed to his "march" for education. The repertoires of these groups included the premieres of several canons of European art music as well as Brazilian art music, and popular and traditional Brazilian music. His activities with these groups reveal his willingness to musically educate the population as a whole and his alignment with Vargas's social policy toward the family.

Along with Orpheonic Chant in schools, through these groups Villa-Lobos created a complex system of music education that disseminated the same ideologies to children and their families, seeking to create a common musical and ideological ground within Brazilian families. Although the literature does not mention the functions or existence of these musical groups, they are fundamental to understanding how Villa-Lobos's system of music education contributed to structuring Brazilian society as a whole in the nationalistic and patriotic ideology. Because this system as a whole provided similar musical experiences to children and their families, it helped create a social "cycle" in which they could constantly exchange information about music and its messages. Through this cycle, children and adults shared and reinforced the same nationalistic ideology in one another. Through his system of music education, Villa-Lobos helped keep the ideologies of the government fresh and constantly circulating in people's homes. This chapter investigates the Teacher's Orpheon, the Orchestra of the

Municipal Theater of Rio de Janeiro, and the Orchestra Villa-Lobos to illuminate how these musical organizations instilled the government's ideologies in the Brazilian population and educated the adult population of Rio de Janeiro, complementing the role of Orpheonic Chant in schools.

### **The Teacher's Orpheon**

To reach out to the adult population of Rio de Janeiro, Villa-Lobos's first step was to organize the Orfeão de Professores (Teacher's Orpheon), a professional choir established in May 1932 with teachers who attended the Course of Pedagogy of Music and Orpheonic Chant (Figure 4-1). The Teacher's Orpheon was created to perform concerts with civic, artistic, and educational purposes for both the elite and the masses. It quickly became an important educational tool in Villa-Lobos's system of music education, especially during the first years after its implementation. As Villa-Lobos said, "Through this choral society, we started in a practical and efficient way our educational campaign to elevate the Brazilian artistic level."<sup>76</sup> Although Villa-Lobos did not explain what he meant by "practical and efficient," one could get an idea of the Teacher's Orpheon's fast technical progress allied with the group's versatility in singing programs that appealed to both the masses and elites. Indeed, the artistic level of the group evolved so fast that by the end of 1932, the Teacher's Orpheon had already performed several important concerts. In September 1932 (roughly 4 months after its formation), for instance, the group dedicated a concert to Marguerite Long, the great French pianist and teacher, who was visiting Brazil. Long was very impressed with the performance and complimented the group: "In France there is no Orpheon that has achieved such

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<sup>76</sup> Heitore Villa-Lobos, "SEMA: Relatório geral," 376.

progress as quickly as the Teacher's Orpheon, singing with such perfection."<sup>77</sup> The quick establishment of this vocal group in the early years of Vargas's regime, along with the group's varied repertoire, was very important for Villa-Lobos's attempt to elevate people's cultural awareness. Because the Teacher's Orpheon performed several concerts of nationalistic and patriotic music and Villa-Lobos instructed teachers to exhort the meaning of the song's lyrics to the audience, the Teacher's Orpheon also contributed to instilling the nationalist ideology in the minds of the adult population.

The importance of the Teacher's Orpheon for Vargas's regime is evident in the opening words of the so-called "Book of Commitment" that stated the premises on which the group was organized. Roquette Pinto wrote the opening phrase of this book: "I promise with my heart to serve Art with discipline so that Brazil can work through singing."<sup>78</sup> Clearly, perpetuating the ideas of discipline, work, and social inclusion (hallmarks of Vargas's ideologies) was of major importance in the Teacher's Orpheon agenda. All participants of the group signed this book, committing themselves to these purposes. Through the activities of the Teacher's Orpheon, Villa-Lobos extended the

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<sup>77</sup> Marguerite Long in "SEMA: Relatório geral," 377. In the Original: "Na França não existe um orfeão que tenha conseguido tão rapidamente o progresso do Orfeão de Professores, cantando com tanta perfeição."

<sup>78</sup> Roquete Pinto in "SEMA: Relatório geral," 376. In the original: "Prometo de coração servir à Arte, para que o Brasil, possa na disciplina trabalhar cantando." Roquette Pinto, who wrote the opening words of the teacher's Orpheon "Book of Commitment," was an ethnographer, a physician, essayist, anthropologist, and professor. He was part of the so-called *Missão Rondon* (Rondon Mission), named after Brazilian Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the chief of the expedition whose objective was to expand telegraphic lines in the state of Mato Grosso and expand them to other neighbor states. In that trip, in which Pinto got in contact with different Amerindian tribes such as the Parecis and Inhambiquaras, he collected ethnographic material that generated *Rondônia: Antropologia Etnográfica (Rondônia: Ethnographic Anthropology)* in 1917, an important book about anthropology in Brazil. This material includes Amerindian melodies Villa-Lobos incorporated in educational collections of songs of his system of music education (he also used some of these melodies in his own compositions, such as the Pareci melody *Nozani-ná Orekuá* in *Choros* no.3). Pinto was also important in establishing radio broadcastings in Brazil. He persuaded the government to invest in equipment for radio broadcasting, which eventually led to the organization of the *Radio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro* in 1922, of which Pinto became the director.

ideals of his and Vargas's "imagined community" to the population of Rio de Janeiro as a whole.

Besides their artistic function, the Teacher's Orpheon's concerts also provided Villa-Lobos with an opportunity to check the level of discipline of the audiences during concerts of art music. About the performance of his *Oratorio Vidapura*, for instance – in which both the Teacher's Orpheon and school children performed – Villa-Lobos responded in an interview: "My biggest surprise was neither to verify the perfect comprehension of this work by the self-sacrificing Teacher's Orpheon nor the seriousness with which our 3,000 schoolchildren performed a strict and polyphonic piece, but mainly the audience's behavior. Their attention, the absolute silence with which the crowded theater listened to *Vidapura* was the realization of my insistent recommendations and exhortations to the teachers, which they conveyed in the schools."<sup>79</sup> We can infer from the passage that teachers "exhorted" children in schools to practice discipline and be silent during a musical concert and the youngsters then transmitted Villa-Lobos's message to their parents. They extended the messages of school exhortations to their families.

Thus, at the Teacher's Orpheon's artistic-educational concerts, parents experienced great works of art music, and also the same ideology of the nation their children had previously shared with them at home. The Teacher's Orpheon's concerts extended to the adult population of Rio a sense of discipline, nationalism, patriotism,

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<sup>79</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, "Entrevista," in *Presença de Villa-Lobos* vol. 3, 111. In the original: "Minha maior surpresa não foi verificar a compreensão perfeita dessa obra, revelada pelo abnegado Orfeão de Professores, nem tampouco a seriedade com que nossos 3.000 escolares executaram uma peça severa e polifônica, mas foi principalmente o público. A atenção, o silêncio absoluto com que o Teatro superlotado ouviu "Vidapura" foi a realização das minhas insistentes recomendações e exortações aos professores, transmitidas por eles nas escolas."

and the importance of music for society, all of which the Orpheonic Chant instilled in the school environment. Through Orpheonic Chant in schools and the Teacher's Orpheon's regular concerts, Villa-Lobos envisioned that these values would progressively settle as part of society's larger socio-cultural practices, which would contribute to his educational plans while disseminating Vargas's ideologies.

### **European Music: Raising the Artistic Level in Brazil and Instilling Pride in the Population**

The artistic-educational role of the Teacher's Orpheon is evident in the musical repertoire the group performed and in concerts in which the group took part. Chief among these were the first performances in Brazil of both Palestrina's *Pope Marcellus Mass* and Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* in 1933; the premiere of Villa-Lobos's *Oratorio Vidapura* in 1934; the first South American performance of Bach's *Mass in B Minor* in 1935, which commemorated the 250<sup>th</sup> year of Bach's birthday; the South American premiere of Handel's oratorio *Judas Maccabeus* in 1936; and the premiere of Villa-Lobos's *Missa de São Sebastião* in 1937. The cultural achievements of the Teacher's Orpheon were such that even Oscar Guanabarro, a spokesman of conservative audiences and the harshest critic of Villa-Lobos, acknowledged Villa-Lobos's undertakings and the importance of this choral group:

We have already expressed our compliments to this artistic group [the Teacher's Orpheon], which spread discipline and popularized singing more by its interest than any love for the art of choral music. We did nothing more than justly praise maestro Villa-Lobos, who has demonstrated firm will and is obtained what others would have been discouraged to pursue along the way. To sing the *Missa Papae Marcelli*, for instance, counting on a strong choral mass formed by professionals is an easy enterprise . . . But in the mentioned Orpheon what prevails is amateurship . . . . Maestro Villa-Lobos deserves therefore sincere compliments, because we see him more humane now, closer to the great classical masters he previously

repudiated, giving importance only to the bizarre compositions and dissonant music of ultra modern composers.<sup>80</sup>

Although Guanabarro clearly complimented Villa-Lobos more for the choice of repertoire than for the technical skills of the Teacher's Orpheon, he acknowledged the artistic merits of both Villa-Lobos and the Teacher's Orpheon in putting together such a monumental work of Western music. The performance of the *Pope Marcellus Mass* was only possible because of Villa-Lobos's initiative and perseverance and the Teacher's Orpheon's commitment. Along with several other concerts of such artistic importance, the performance of the *Pope Marcellus Mass* represented a major artistic advancement and achievement for Brazil as Guanabarro's words reveal, providing the population with a reason for self-pride.

The performance of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* (Figure 4-2) is another example of how these major concerts of Western art music instilled pride in the population. In a note of the newspaper *Noticiário da Imprensa* (Media Reports) about the forthcoming premiere of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* in 1933, the journalist exalted the event as a memorable date for the nation:

Tomorrow, Holy Wednesday at 9:00 p.m. the portentous *Missa Solemnis*, composed by the genius Beethoven, will take place in the Municipal Theater. [This day] is destined to be recorded in our patriotic sight because it will always remind us of an artistic event that will mark the level of artistic culture in which we, Brazilians, have already arrived. The performance of

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<sup>80</sup> Oscar Guanabarro in *Presença de Villa-Lobos*, Vol. 10, 1st ed. (Rio de Janeiro: MEC-Museu Villa-Lobos, 1977), 165 - 66. Guanabarro was the musical critic of *Jornal do Comércio*, which was founded in 1827 and was one of the most influential newspapers in Rio de Janeiro at that time. In the original: "Já nos externamos elogiosamente sobre essa agremiação artística arrancada com grande tenacidade de elementos esparsos e refratários à disciplina e atraídos mais por qualquer interesse do que pelo amor à arte coral. Nesse ponto nada mais fizemos do que apreciar justicavelmente o maestro Villa-Lobos, que representa uma vontade firme e que vai conseguindo o que outro qualquer desanimaria no meio do caminho. Cantar a Missa do Papa Marcelo, por exemplo, dispendo de uma forte massa coral, composta de profissionais é empresa fácil, porque os ensaios são concorridos . . . Mas ali, no aludido Orfeão, o que predomina é o amadorismo . . . Merece, portanto, francos elogios o maestro Villa-Lobos mesmo porque o vemos agora mais humano, mais aconchegado aos mestres clássicos, repudiados por ele, antigamente, só dava importância às composições bizarras dos dissonantes ultra modernos."

Beethoven's Missa Solemnis by the Teacher's Orpheon [and the] Villa-Lobos Orchestra will undoubtedly be a monumental artistic spectacle of which we will be proud, because the greatest of Beethoven's works, for its difficulty, could not have yet been performed in any country of our continent . . . . The enthusiasm of those who still have faith in the artistic future of our dear fatherland will be indescribable and will perpetuate this spectacle forever in their thoughts.<sup>81</sup>

Although the journalist was only predicting a possible reaction of the audience, his tone conveyed a patriotic aura to the performance of Beethoven's Mass. His note demonstrated that the bettering of the artistic level in Brazil, a country in which "patriotism" was the word in fashion, represented not only an artistic achievement but also a reason for national pride and enthusiasm for the future.

Another major concert that instilled pride in the population was the performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony sung in Portuguese. After this concert, Villa-Lobos proudly complimented the Teacher's Orpheon and made clear the importance of such a concert for the Brazilian musical environment: "This group [Teacher's Orpheon] has contributed to several musical realizations such as the concert conducted by maestro Francisco Braga, in which Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was sung in Portuguese and constituted one of the most serious symphonic realizations undertaken in our country."<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Noticiário da Imprensa – "Missa Solene de Beethoven no Municipal" (article without signature) in *Villa-Lobos Visto da Platéia e na Intimidade*, 199. In the original: "Amanhã, quarta-feira Santa, às 21 horas, sera levada no Teatro Municipal a portentosa obra do genial Beetovem a sua grande Missa Solene [Este dia] estará destinado a ficar gravado na nossa visão patriótica, porque nos fará lembrar um acontecimento de arte que assinalará o grau de cultura artística que nós brasileiros já chegamos. A execução da Missa Solene de Beethoven pelo "Orfeão de Professores" [e a] "Orquestra Villa-Lobos" será sem favor, um monumentall espetáculo de arte que nos dará orgulho, pois a maior obra de Beethoven, devido a sua dificuldade, ainda não pode ser levada em nenhum país do continente . . . . Indescritível será o o entusiasmo daqueles que ainda têm fé no futuro artístico da pátria querida, e eternizarão no pensamento este espetáculo."

<sup>82</sup> Villa-Lobos, "A música nacionalista," 44. In the original: "[O Orfeão de professores] tem sido sempre um precioso colaborador dessa campanha educacional por meio da música. E tem prestado igualmente o seu concurso a vários certames musicais, como por exemplo no concerto sob a regência do maestro Francisco Braga, em que foi levada a nona sinfonia de Beethoven, cantada em português, e que constituiu uma das mais sérias realizações sinfônicas empreendidas até hoje em nosso país."

Besides the inherent musical power of this sublime symphony, its text also conveys an important message, without which the symphony does not fulfill its full meaning.

Through the Portuguese translation, Brazilian audiences could understand (or at least be exposed to) Schiller's message, whose central tenets advocated for men's brotherhood and union,<sup>83</sup> ideas common to both Schiller's text and Vargas's ideologies. Thus, the performance of the *Ninth Symphony* in Brazil was more than a milestone in Brazilian musical achievements: through the performance of Beethoven's Symphony, Villa-Lobos connected the sublime aura of this emblematic composition and its message of brotherhood with the nationalist socio-political realities of Brazil, conferring a sense of "universal historical legitimacy" to Vargas's social politics.

### **The Teacher's Orpheon and Brazilian Music: Raising Brazilians' Awareness of Their Cultural Heritage**

Besides his important activities in elevating the artistic level of music in Brazil, through the Teacher's Orpheon Villa-Lobos also worked toward raising Brazilians' awareness of their own cultural heritage, another central aspect of his system of music education. The *2 Grandes Concertos Históricos de Música Brasileira* (2 Great Historical Concerts of Brazilian Music) that took place in 1934 provide a good instance of such

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<sup>83</sup> English translation of Schiller's text : "Oh friends, not these tones! Rather, let us raise our voices in more pleasing And more joyful sounds! Joy! (Joy!) Joy! (Joy!) Joy, beautiful spark of divinity Daughter of Elysium, We enter, drunk with fire, Into your sanctuary, heavenly (daughter)! Your magic reunites / What custom strictly divided. All men become brothers, Where your gentle wing rests. Whoever has had the great fortune To be a friend's friend, Whoever has won a devoted wife, Join in our jubilation! Indeed, whoever can call even one soul, His own on this earth! And whoever was never able to, must creep / Tearfully away from this band! Joy all creatures drink / At the breasts of nature; All good, all bad / Follow her trail of roses. Kisses she gave us, and wine, A friend, proved in death; Pleasure was given to the worm, And the cherub stands before God. Before God! Glad, as His suns fly / Through Heaven's glorious design, Run, brothers, your path, Joyful, as a hero to victory. Be embraced, millions! This kiss for the whole world! Brothers, above the starry canopy / Must a loving Father dwell. Do you bow down, millions? Do you sense the Creator, world? Seek Him beyond the starry canopy! Beyond the stars must He dwell. The finale repeats the words: Be embraced, you millions! This kiss for the whole world! Brothers, beyond the star-canopy / Must a loving Father dwell. Be embraced, This kiss for the whole world! Joy, beautiful spark of divinity, Daughter of Elysium, Joy, beautiful spark of divinity / Divinity!"

endeavors (Figure 4-3). The purpose of these concerts was clear on the cover of the program, which included the inscription, "For propaganda of national art and public beneficence."<sup>84</sup> For these events, Villa-Lobos chose repertoires that displayed the great variety of genres and styles of Brazilian music. The programs consisted of Amerindian music, music from the colonial period, folk music, music of diverse popular traditions, and music of concert traditions of both the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, among them the works of early Brazilian musical nationalism. In addition, at the first of these two concerts, Villa-Lobos provided a brief written description of each piece's ethnic, regional, and social origins, hoping to educate audiences about these socio-cultural aspects of Brazilian musical practices. Much like Orpheonic Chant in schools, this music and its textual explanations could easily index Brazilian musical genres and styles with ideas related to the unfolding of musical practices in Brazil; the vastness of Brazilian territory; the diversity of Brazilian people, their cultural heritages, and their cultural manifestations.

The first concert was divided into three parts, each with its own subdivisions. Part I was divided into 1) "Indigenous Music," which featured original Amerindian songs such as "Canide loune Sabath" (collected by Jean Lery on 1553)<sup>85</sup> and the songs of the Pareci Indians, "Ena-Mahôcê," "Teirú," and "Nozani-ná;" and 2) "Liturgical Music," featuring Father José Maurício Nunes Garcia's (1767-1803)<sup>86</sup> "Kyrie" from 1785. Part II

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<sup>84</sup> "2 grandes concertos históricos de música brasileira," 1 (Document collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos. No document number).

<sup>85</sup> All piece's explanations in parenthesis are included in the original program.

<sup>86</sup> Father José Maurício Nunes Garcia is considered the most important composer of Brazil's colonial period, which ranges from 1500 to 1822. His music figures among the greatest exponents of the classical musical style in the Americas.

was divided into 1) “Stylized Music Representing two Epochs,” for piano solo, including Brasília Itiberê Cunha’s “Sertaneja” (1869), Luiz Levi’s “Samba” (1890),<sup>87</sup> Frutuoso Viana’s “Dansa dos Negros” (1924), and a Villa-Lobos’s “Ciranda” (1926)<sup>88</sup> (all of which constitute important manifestations of early Brazilian musical nationalism); 2) “Stylized Music Representing two Epochs,” for voice and piano, featuring folk and folk-like pieces such as “Morena-Morena” (anonymous lyrics from Brazilian folklore harmonized by Luciano Gallet), “Versos Escritos na Areia” (Brazilian song composed by Marcello Tupinambá), and “Meu Boi Curumin” (lyrics and melody by A. Ferreira harmonized by Hekel Tavares); and 3) “Stylized and “Ambienced” Music (Original and Precursor),” for piano solo, featuring “Atrevido” (*samba* from the capital) and “Turuna” (*choro* composed by Ernesto Nazareth).<sup>89</sup> The last two pieces, a *samba*<sup>90</sup> and *choro*, are important Brazilian urban popular genres that represented *brasilidade* in popular music.

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<sup>87</sup> The program mistakenly attributed the composition of *Samba* to Luiz Levy. The piece was, in fact, composed by Alexandre Levy (Luiz’s brother) as part of the *Suite Popular Bresilienne*.

<sup>88</sup> Villa-Lobos composed his series of sixteen *Cirandas* for piano in 1926. The program does not provide the number of the *Ciranda* performed in that concert.

<sup>89</sup> Nazareth lived from 1863 to 1934 and is known as one of the best composers of *choro*, a Brazilian urban popular genre in fashion in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. *Choro* is a hybrid popular genre formed by adding syncopation and improvisation to European dances in fashion in Brazil. In the beginnings of the *choro*, the *chorões* (*choro* players) played European genres (mostly dances) that were in fashion in Brazil in the late nineteenth century, such as polkas, waltzes, schottisches, and the Brazilian *modinhas* (a Brazilian transformation of the Portuguese *Moda*, a genre of lyric and sentimental songs with piano accompaniment performed in the Portuguese courts at the end of the eighteenth century. The *Modinha* was a modified version of *Moda*, popularized in Brazil according to Brazilians’ lifestyle. It soon was sung on the streets with guitar accompaniment). *Chorões* regularly met in informal circumstances, normally at night. In that bohemian atmosphere, *choro* musicians began to loosen rigid European forms by adding African rhythms and improvisation. Soon, *choro* became a distinctly Brazilian genre, reflecting the diversity of peoples and influences of the population.

<sup>90</sup> *Samba* was born in the *morros* (literally hills, but the Portuguese word refers to the slums, which in Rio de Janeiro, where the genre was born, are located in hills) through the late 1910s and early 1920s from the musical practices of blacks and *mulatos*, the great majority of slums’ residents. The first piece called *samba* was Ernesto Joaquim Maria dos Santos’s (Donga) “Pelo Telefone,” composed in 1916. By the early 1930s, however, the genre had already been absorbed by the white Brazilian middle-class and was in the process of becoming an emblem of Brazilian identity. See McCann, *Hello, Hello, Brazil*.

Finally, Part III consisted of “Mestizo Music Harmonized and “Ambienced” by Villa-Lobos.” This part included several pieces from diverse folk and popular traditions such as “Papae Curumiassu” (hammock song of the *caboclos*<sup>91</sup> from Pará), “Estrela é Lua Nova” (genre of *macumba*<sup>92</sup> from the past), “Xangô” (genre of *macumba* from the past), No Terreiro de Alibibi (contemporary popular theme), “Jequibau” (Theme *negro-mina*<sup>93</sup> from the state of Minas Gerais), “O Abre Ála” (popular carnival song from 1900), and “Marcha-canção” (contemporary popular genre of ranch).<sup>94</sup> The order of the music in this concert, moving from Amerindian music and music of the colonial period up to modern music, provided a clear picture of the unfolding history of Brazilian music.

The second of the 2 *Great Historical Concert of Brazilian Music* had the following inscription on the program: “European Influences and the Beginning of the Formation of Elevated Typical Music.”<sup>95</sup> By “Elevated Typical Music” Villa-Lobos probably meant concert music with “typical” Brazilian elements.<sup>96</sup> In other words, these concerts

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<sup>91</sup> *Caboclo* is the ethnicity formed by the mixture of Brazilian Amerindian and European.

<sup>92</sup> *Macumba* refers to Afro-Brazilian religious practices of the late nineteenth century.

<sup>93</sup> Villa-Lobos is probably referring to the black miners of Minas Gerais.

<sup>94</sup> “Canide loune Sabath,” “Estrela é lua nova,” “Xangô,” and “Jequibau” are part of *Canto Orfeônico* volume II, and “Nozani-ná” is part of *Canto Orfeônico* volume I. Such songs, as many others the Teacher’s Orpheon sang, were also part of children’s music education.

<sup>95</sup> “2 Grandes Concertos Históricos de Música Brasileira,” 6.

<sup>96</sup> “Elevating” local traditions through “cosmopolitan” musical techniques and aesthetics had been a trend in musical nationalism since the nineteenth century in Europe. European composers such as Bartók, Smetana, and Grieg, among others, elaborated musical aesthetics in which they blended elements of local musical traditions (typical music) with cosmopolitan (international) musical features that could be understood outside of a composer’s national boundaries. The idea was to find the apparently best local traditions and modernize them via cosmopolitan compositional techniques to create the best national art. In turn, this art would serve to represent the nation both locally and internationally given its simultaneously traditional and cosmopolitan character. See Carl Dahlhaus, “Nationalism in music,” In *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, translated by Mary Whittall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

featured Brazilian nationalistic music with aesthetics that reflected a hybridization of European compositional procedures, genres, and forms, with “typical” Brazilian rhythms, melodies, and instruments.<sup>97</sup> This concert was divided into three parts, whose pieces represented different approaches of several Brazilian composers to the search for an “authentic” Brazilian musical language in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Part I featured Alexandre Levy’s “Samba,” Francisco Braga’s “Brazilian Variations,” Lorenzo Fernandes’s “Cortejo e Dansa Guerreira” (from the Indian Poem) and Francisco Mignone’s “Second Brazilian Phantasy for Piano and Orchestra.”<sup>98</sup> Part II featured “Modinha” and “Conversa” from Villa-Lobos’s *Bachianas Brasileiras* (the program does not say from which of the nine *Bachianas* these movements were taken),<sup>99</sup> and Villa-Lobos’s “Momo-Precoce,” fantasy for piano and orchestra on themes taken from his own *Carnaval das Crianças Brasileiras* (Brazilian Children’s Carnival). Like Part I, Part III also featured pieces by several important Brazilian authors, including Glauco Velasquez, Henrique Oswald, Alberto Nepomuceno, Octaviano Gonçalves, Villa-Lobos, and Carlos Gomes. Most music performed on Part III, including

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<sup>97</sup> Villa-Lobos himself adopted such aesthetics in his compositions especially from the 1920s onward as his *Choros* and *Bachianas Brasileiras* demonstrate. As the composer affirmed, “The genuine composer, regardless of his cosmopolitanism, is nothing more than the expression of a people, of an environment,” (Villa-Lobos, “Conceitos” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos* volume III, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., [Rio de Janeiro: MEC – Museu Villa-Lobos, 1969], 107) and elsewhere, “Any people has the right to appreciate and feel their musical art, born from the popular expression, but never judge this art definitively in relation to the universe. The only definitive art of the sounds is that which can be understood by its universal characteristics, despite its specific [local] characteristic.” (Villa-Lobos, “Conceitos sobre Arte,” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos*, volume IV, [Rio de Janeiro: MEC – Museu Villa-Lobos, 1969], 113).

<sup>98</sup> Part I also featured the national anthem Francisco Manoel da Silva composed in 1822 to celebrate Brazil’s Independence. Like many national anthems, this piece became emblematic of patriotism, self-affirmation, and pride.

<sup>99</sup> Although the program does not say from which of the nine *Bachianas Brasileiras* these movements were taken, *Bachianas Brasileiras* no.1 is the only set with a movement named “Modinha” and one named “Conversa.” In 1934, when this concert took place, Villa-Lobos had finished the compositions of only *Bachianas* no.1 and *Bachianas* no. 2, and the last have neither a “Modinha” nor a “Conversa.” Therefore, the piece played in this concert was probably *Bachianas Brasileiras* no. 1.

Velasquez's "A Casa do Coração," Bragas's "Virgens Mortas" and Gomes's "Sinfonia do Salvador Rosa" did not have the same nationalistic orientation as the music performed on Part II. However, these pieces were composed by representative Brazilian composers and show the variety of Brazilian art music.

The "2 Great Historical Concerts of Brazilian Music" helped map out in the minds of Brazilians the diverse cultural and musical richness of their country. Similar concerts featuring Brazilian repertoire served to educate the masses about different Brazilian musical traditions, such as Amerindian music and music of concert traditions of any period, and to inspire the masses and the elites to cultivate Brazilian music. Through these concerts, Villa-Lobos demonstrated how Brazilian music related to and represented Brazilian people, "indexing" the music with the cultural heritages of diverse Brazilian communities. These concerts also played an important role for Vargas's social politics, instilling in the minds of the population of Rio de Janeiro a sense of *brasildade* and establishing a sense of identity among the population as a whole. Children, through their nationalistic music education, and adults through these concerts of Brazilian music, could thus "imagine" their communion and share their nationalism and feelings of pride for the nation regardless of their ethnic and cultural heritage.<sup>100</sup>

### **Teacher's Orpheon and the Education of the Masses**

Among its activities, the Teacher's Orpheon also performed concerts intended to familiarize the uneducated masses with concert music. For these events, the repertoire consisted of well-known pieces of either choral music or Villa-Lobos's transcriptions for

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<sup>100</sup> Although several concerts were directed to the masses and aimed to educate and create identity among the people, residents of slums and Amerindians living in the inlands likely did not attend such events. The concerts, however, were important to disseminate nationalistic values among labor workers (most of which belonged to low social classes) and both the economic and intellectual elites.

chorus of instrumental music. In general, Villa-Lobos transcribed well-known pieces of instrumental art music, which would draw people's attention to choral music, the most important educational genre of his system of music education. Villa-Lobos wanted to "awaken [people's] taste for the genre of choral music, precisely the music needed for the collective discipline of the people."<sup>101</sup> Because of its collective nature, choral music conveyed a spirit of mutual cooperation to the audience, and consequently disseminated principles of Vargas's social politics.

The Teacher's Orpheon sang several educational concerts organized for factory workers, some offering free admission. For these concerts, Villa-Lobos chose musical repertoires that were accessible to the masses. In addition, according to Villa-Lobos, the concerts were preceded by explanations and commentaries about the pieces, their meanings, their composers, and musical instruments in general.<sup>102</sup> One of these concerts took place in João Caetano Theater on 28 April 1935, a Sunday, when all factory workers could attend (Figure 4-4). Villa-Lobos advertised this concert to factory workers by distributing pamphlets that said,

Factory Workers!!! Stop! Rest your bodies! Feed, in a few minutes, your spirit, your soul, on the factory worker's Sunday of music . . . . Fifty minutes of artistic sensations! In the João Caetano Theater there will be neither tickets nor doormen. The doors will be wide open as befits true Temple. The factory worker should come [with the same spirit] as he does to his work, as he lives in his personal life because silence will be kept due to emotion itself. Workers! Come just to experience, [the concert that] the Teacher's Orpheon of the Federal District will offer you.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Villa-Lobos, "SEMA: Relatório geral," 376.

<sup>102</sup> Villa-Lobos, "SEMA: Relatório geral," 377.

<sup>103</sup> Villa-Lobos, "SEMA: Relatório geral," 377. In the original: "Operários!!! Parem! Descansem o corpo! Alimentem em poucos minutos, o seu espírito, a sua alma, no domingo de música dos operarios, no dia 28 proximo, às 17 horas. Cincoenta minutos de sensações artísticas! No Teatro João Caetano não haverá bilhetes nem porteiros. As portas estarão abertas, lado a lado, como um verdadeiro Templo. O

Through these pamphlets Villa-Lobos tried to attract factory workers by conveying an atmosphere of informality to the upcoming concert, as if it were part of factory workers daily lives. He also conveyed a religious idea when he compared the open doors of the theater with a temple, creating the impression that, like in a church, the theater would embrace them all. In addition, Villa-Lobos tried to educate the people about the expected behavior at an art music concert when said the emotional nature of the concert would capture people's attention, which would cause them to naturally keep silent. He was already preparing the uneducated masses for the mood of the concert. Although he clearly said they should feel comfortable, as if they were performing any other activity of their daily lives, they should keep silent as they would in a temple or church. By informing readers that the Teacher's Orpheon was going to sing for factory workers, Villa-Lobos conveyed a sense of pride to people from this work class, placing a responsibility on them to attend to the concert.

Villa-Lobos also made clear that this concert was organized for factory workers through an inscription on the one-page program: "Concert by the 'Teacher's Orpheon' for the Factory Workers, organized by the Superintendence of Musical and Artistic Education of the Federal District (SEMA), under the direction of H. Villa-Lobos."<sup>104</sup> As with most concerts of this nature, this one featured original compositions for choir and some of Villa-Lobos's transcriptions of instrumental pieces for choir. The program featured 1) J.S. Bach's "Prelude no. 22 and Fugue no. 21;" 2) Popular Russian song "O

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operário irá tal como é no seu trabalho, tal como vive na sua intimidade porque o silencio sera mantido pela propria emoção. Trabalhadores! Venham, pois, assistir, ao menos como experiência, o que o Orfeão de Professores do Distrito Federal lhes Oferecerá. Até Domingo!"

<sup>104</sup> In the Concert Program "'Orpheão de professores': Ensaio especial de demonstração de canto orfeônico" (Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. Document number MVL 26.14.136).

Barqueiro de Volga” (The Boatman of Volga); 3) Antolisei’s *O Ferreiro* (The Blacksmith); 4) Schubert’s “Serenade”; 5) Popular Chilean song “Ay-ay-ay;” 6) Schumann’s “Reverie”; 7) Villa-Lobos’s “Canto do Lavrador” (Chant of the Farmer); 8) Rachmaninoff’s “Preludio” (no opus number given); and 9) Villa-Lobos’s “P’ra frente, ó Brasil” (Brazil Onward).<sup>105</sup> The repertoire provided variety intended to capture the audience’s attention. In addition to being tonal, most pieces featured beautiful melodic lines to capture the attention of the musically uneducated masses.

For this program, Villa-Lobos chose well-known pieces of Western music, music of educational character (such as “Chant of the Farmer,” part of *Canto Orfeônico* vol. I, also used for children’s education), and popular music of other nations as well. The educational value of such a varied program lies in the fact that while all pieces are firmly centered on tonal harmony (therefore accessible to the masses) they also created awareness of different musical styles and composers. The choice of pieces for this program was also part of Villa-Lobos’s educational strategy: by mixing popular music with classical music, Villa-Lobos wanted to introduce art music smoothly to the masses. In an interview, Villa-Lobos clarified this strategy. Responding to a journalist about use of LP recordings for music education, Villa-Lobos revealed: “We established a plan of [mixing] popular and elevated music. The first is used only to get the attention of people who otherwise would not listen to pure music, for which the interest would be diminished.”<sup>106</sup> In the concert program of 28 April 1935, this strategy is clear from the

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<sup>105</sup> Concert Program “‘Orpheão de professores’: Ensaio especial de demonstração de canto orfeônico” (Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. Document number MVL 26.14.136).

<sup>106</sup> Villa-Lobos, “Entrevista,” in *Presença* vol. 3, 112. In the original: “Foi estabelecido um plano por meio do confronto entre a música popular e a elevada. A primeira aparece apenas para despertar a atenção do público, que, de outra maneira, não chegaria a ouvir música pura, pela qual o interesse inicial seria diminuído.”

choice of pieces, and also from their order in the program, in which art music and music of popular character are alternated, providing a sequence of varied styles.

The program of *Ensaio Especial de Demonstração de Canto Orpheonico* (Special Rehearsal of Demonstration of Orpheonic Chant) that took place in the João Caetano Theater on 7 September 1932 (Brazil's Independence Day), provides another example of the Teacher's Orpheon's civic-educational activities. Like the concert of 28 April 1935, this one also presented original compositions for voice and some of Villa-Lobos's transcriptions of instrumental music for choir. The concert was divided into two parts: "Choral Singing," under the inscription "Transcendent educational music," and "Orpheon," with the explanation "Popular educational music." The program itself does not make clear what "Choral" and "Orpheon" might mean, but elsewhere Villa-Lobos explained what he meant by those terms. In an article in which he described the activities of SEMA from 1932 to 1934, Villa-Lobos clarified that

The teaching of *choral singing* (generic expression), seeks to prepare groups to perform any genre of music, including classical genres and genres that are part of the Western canon, ranging from profane scholastic music to the music that followed liturgical rules . . . . The teaching of *orpheonic chant* is the educational element that aims to refine musical taste, forming elites, and contributing to elevate popular [artistic appreciation] and developing interest in national artistic facts. It can be concluded therefore that both *choral singing* . . . and *orpheonic chant*, however different, are branches of the same trunk: group singing.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Villa-Lobos, "SEMA: Relatório geral," 370. In the original: "O ensino do *canto coral* (expressão genérica), destina-se ao preparo de conjuntos para a execução de músicas de qualquer genero inclusive as classicas e canonicas, desde a música escolástica profana até as das regras litúrgicas . . . . O ensino do *canto orfeônico* é o elemento educativo destinado a apurar o bom gosto musical, formando elites, concorrendo para o levantamento do nivel popular e desenvolvendo o interesse pelos factos artisticos nacionais . . . . Concluê-se, pois, de tudo isso, que tanto o *canto coral* como . . . o *orfeônico*, apesar de diferentes entre si, não são mais do que ramos de um tronco único: o *canto em conjunto*."

The pieces performed in both parts of the program corroborate Villa-Lobos's definition. Part I of the program featured: 1) J.S. Bach's "Fugue no. 21" and "Prelude no. 22;"<sup>108</sup> 2) Chopin's "Waltz no. 2 op. 64;" 3) G. Dogliani's "The River"; 4) Antolisei's "The Blacksmith"; and 5) Villa-Lobos's "Pátria."<sup>109</sup> Part II featured: 1) D. Bicalhos's "Hymno ao Trabalho" (Hymn to Work); 2) Villa-Lobos's "As Costureiras" (The Seamstresses); 3) Armando Lessa's Sino (Bell); Villa-Lobos's "Canção do Marceneiro" (Song of the Joiner); 4) Lucília Guimarães Villa-Lobos's "Hymno ao Sol" (Hymn to the Sun); and 5) Villa-Lobos's "P'ra frente ó Brasil."

[Object 4-1. Villa-Lobos conducting the Teacher's Orpheon on J.S.Bach Choral 148 \(.mp3 file 2.7MB\)](#)<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> The program does not mention what book the "Prelude" and the "Fugue" were taken from, but they are most likely from the Bach's Well-tempered Clavier because Villa-Lobos did transcriptions of Preludes and Fugues from the two sets. Therefore, these pieces are most certainly from either one of the two keyboard volumes of the Well-Tempered Clavier. Villa-Lobos used Bach's music because he considered it "incontestably the highest godsend of the artistic world." Thus, it was important for him that the masses became familiar with Bach's music and, for this reason, the programs of the Teacher's Orpheon normally featured Villa-Lobos's transcriptions for choir of preludes and fugues from the Well-Tempered Clavier. Regarding his choice of Bach's music for educational concerts, Villa-Lobos said: "The people must be oriented to form spontaneous elites and the elites must become the moral and material bulwarks of the artistic realizations of their predilections." He believed people could be suggestible (or have "interest," in Kantian terms) and find beauty in a musical work because they had an aprioristic expectation for that piece of music. To illustrate his point, he described an experiment that he did with a mass of two thousand factory workers in which the Teacher's Orpheon sang several pieces without revealing their author's names. Among these pieces were two preludes and fugues by Bach, which, according to Villa-Lobos, were the most applauded. However, on a different occasion the Teacher's Orpheon sang a similar program to a similar audience but this time the teachers revealed the composers' names. According to Villa-Lobos, the audience did not appreciate the works of Bach and applauded with more enthusiasm the authors whose names they knew. These experiments demonstrate that Villa-Lobos wanted people to appreciate the aesthetic of music for what it is with no previous "interest," which could detract from the "true" musical values a musical piece holds. Somewhat contradictorily (but understandable) he wanted to familiarize the masses with the music of Bach (probably to create this aprioristic "interest") to facilitate their appreciation for the work of the German composer (Heitor Villa-Lobos, "Obras de Bach Para Auditórios Incultos," in *Presença*, vol. XVIII, 31).

<sup>109</sup> In a bracket, Villa-Lobos noted "Orpheon" for both G. Dogliani's "O Rio" and Antolisei's "O Ferreiro," meaning that, although these pieces are in the first part of the program, their character is not that of "Choral Singing" but of "Orpheonic Chant." For "Patria," Villa-Lobos noted that this is an "Artistic patriotic chorus, intermediate between educational and transcendental music."

<sup>110</sup> "Coral 148 – Orfeão de Professores e Heitor Villa-Lobos," (document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. No file number).

Object 4-2. Teacher's Orpheon Singing Boas Vindas from *Canções de Cordialidade* (.mp3 file 803KB)<sup>111</sup>

From this program, it seems “choral singing” was related to elaborate music composed in the European tradition and “orpheonic singing” was related to music of easier access, intended to instill patriotic and nationalistic values in the population. Furthermore, several pieces the Teacher's Orpheon sang in this and other concerts were taken from one of the two volumes of *Canto Orfeônico* (used for children's education), which revealed their educational character and also reinforced the creation of bonds between adults and children through music. The program of 1932, for instance, featured “Canção do Marceneiro” and “Pátria,” from *Canto Orfeônico* volume I and “As Costureiras” and “P'ra frente ó Brasil,” from *Canto Orfeônico* volume II.

Guanabarrino reviewed the Ensaio Especial de Demonstração de Canto Orpheonico and his criticism was favorable once more. This time Guanabarrino was especially pleased with the consonance of Villa-Lobos's compositions. Guanabarrino wrote,

Finally has come the day when we can give a little compliment to Mr. Villa-Lobos, director of the orpheonic chant courses of the City House. The reason for this is that on the seventh [day] of the current month a “special rehearsal of Orpheonic Chant Demonstration” with the title “Teacher's Orpheon” was held in the João Caetano Theater. There we saw a big choir group of around two hundred voices; and the effect was satisfactory, such that the program was warmly applauded and one piece was given as encore . . . Two very interesting choir pieces by Villa-Lobos were applauded: “As Costureiras” (for female voices) and “Canção do Marceneiro” (for male voices). During the performance of these two pieces I felt happiness entering my spirit as I observed Villa-Lobos frankly

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<sup>111</sup> “Boas Vindas (das *Canções de Cordialidade*), Orfeão de Professores e Heitor Villa-Lobos,” (document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. No file number).

manifesting a tendency to abandon the genre of “berrofonía” [shouting] or, more appropriately, the “algazarrafonia” [hullabaloo sounds].<sup>112</sup>

Guanabarrino was pleased with Villa-Lobos’s use of consonances that resulted in more “easily digestible” music. Guanabarrino’s review of the concert reveals an important aspect of Villa-Lobos’s music for educational concerts: by using consonances, Villa-Lobos made his music accessible to the musically uneducated masses and pleased the musically educated elite as well (such as Guanabarrino, who disliked dissonant modern music).

The pieces Guanabarrino mentioned in his review of the *Ensaio Especial de Demonstração de Canto Orfeônico* include some pieces about professions of lower classes such as the seamstresses and the carpenter, which, among other work songs were common in the programs of the Teacher’s Orpheon as well as the repertoire of Orpheonic Chant in school. Villa-Lobos’s work songs reflected Vargas’s policies toward work, which preached the virtues of work and the importance of every Brazilian worker for the growth of the nation, regardless of his profession.<sup>113</sup> By including songs about

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<sup>112</sup> Oscar Guanabarrino in *Villa-Lobos visto na platéia e na Intimidade*, 189-190. (The source mistakenly dates this review as of 08/07/1932). In the original: “Até que chegou o dia em que temos ocasião de tecer um elogiozinho ao sr. Villa-Lobos, diretor dos cursos de canto orfeônico da Prefeitura. É que na noite do dia 7 do corrente, realizou-se no Teatro João Caetano, um “ensaio especial de demonstração de Canto Orfeônico.” com o título “Orfeão de Professores.” Vimos ali um grande grupo coral, com cerca de duzentas vozes; e o efeito foi satisfatório, tanto que todos os números do programa foram calorosamente aplaudidos, e um deles bisado . . . De Villa-Lobos foram aplaudidos dois coros interessantíssimos “As costureiras”(vozes femininas e a “Canção do marceneiro”, (para vozes masculinas). Durante a execução dessas duas lindas páginas sentimos a invasão da alegria no nosso espírito vendo que Villa-Lobos manifesta franca tendência para abandonar o gênero da berrofonía ou, mais apropriadamente, da algazarrafonia.”

<sup>113</sup> Villa-Lobos’s “work songs” reflected Vargas’s all-embracing politics of cultural management, which emphasized the virtues and importance of work for society. This politics can also be observed, for instance, in his cultural management of Brazilian popular music. Through the actions of the DIP, Vargas “suggested” to *samba* composers that they write *sambas* about the virtues of work and good moral behavior. The most important “cultural products” of this politics were the *sambas de exaltação*, which exalted positive aspects of both Brazil and the government and instilled the ideology of the government in the population. “É Negócio Casar”(Getting Married is Cool) is an example of such *sambas* and suggested

the lower-class professions in several educational concerts, Villa-Lobos instilled pride in the masses and helped disseminate Vargas's work policies.<sup>114</sup>

Besides their educational value, the pieces performed in this concert also conveyed the regime's ideologies to the working class. "As Costureiras," for a four-voice female chorus (Example 4-1), which Guanabara praised as "very interesting," is part of *Canto Orfeônico* volume II and provides an example of how Villa-Lobos musically transmitted the ideologies of the regime. Among many other professions, Villa-Lobos chose the seamstress as the theme for his song, conveying merit to this profession; he also composed songs about several other professions that involved manual work such as the carpenter (mentioned above), the sailorman, and the blacksmith (compiled in the first volume of *Canto Orfeônico*). In "As Costureiras," Villa-Lobos used elements of the Brazilian music-poetic folk manifestation *embolada* to create a musical emulation of seamstresses sewing. In this way, he ingeniously "indexed" the profession itself with musical elements of the *embolada* and by consequence conferred a Brazilian "flavor" to the profession. *Embolada* (tongue-twisted) is a poetic-musical form that is used in various Brazilian dances, although it can exist as a purely textual form as well. *Emboladas* are characterised by their fast melodies, constructed with short melodic intervals and matched with fast texts with alliterations and onomatopoeias that make diction very difficult. The name *embolada* probably comes from the fact that, because of the difficulty of the texts, a lot of *emboladas* (tongue twists) can happen.<sup>115</sup>

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that working and raising a family were virtues all Brazilian *malandros* (rascals) should cultivate. (See Severiano, *Getúlio Vargas*).

<sup>114</sup> Due to his populist politics among labor workers, Vargas was nicknamed "father of the poor" and "father of the workers."

<sup>115</sup> See Marcondes, ed., "Embolada," *Enciclopédia da Música Brasileira*, 262.

Villa-Lobos used some of the peculiar characteristics of *embolada*, such as intermittent fast major and minor second intervals combined with the syllables “La-la-ri-la-lá” (which are assemic but contribute to the motoric drive forward of the intervals of seconds), whose fast-speed diction is very hard, to musically express the constant movement of sewing (especially by machine). Villa-Lobos used the intervals of second to construct a melodic cell repeated throughout the whole piece, conveying a continuous mechanically repeated motion to the composition, much like the act of sewing. Successful performance of the piece demands accurate and strict rhythmic control, which can be associated with the rigor and precision demanded by the profession of the seamstress itself.

In the beginning of the piece, Villa-Lobos created a polyrhythm of triplets against duplets when the soprano started singing a melodic line whose text is in first person (as if the seamstresses were speaking themselves) and describes aspects of the profession of the seamstresses, thus representing their “voice.” The beginning of this piece may create an overall impression very familiar to urban Brazilians: factory seamstresses speaking and talking while they sew, almost as if the two acts were independent from one another: one is automatic and the other is more conscious. In that sense, “As Costureiras” deals with the profession of seamstress and also couches the idea of sewing in typical elements of the *embolada*, “indexing” one another.

The text of “As Costureiras” describes the emotional state of the seamstresses during their work, the nature of their practical work, and their hope for a good future:

*Com a alma a chorar! Alegre a sorrir!  
Cantando os seus males! As costureiras,  
Somos nesta vida! Até amôres unimos a  
linha. Nós trabalhamos sempre alegres*

With our soul crying! Cheerful smiling!  
Singing their ills! Seamstresses we are  
in this life! Even love we join in line. We  
always happily perform our duties! As

*na lida! Como alguém que advinha o belo futuro que nos vai sorrir! Nos vai sorrir!*

someone who divines the beautiful future that will smile at us! Smile at us!

(Two times)

*Cose, cose, cose a costureira. Cose a manga, a blusa, a saia. Cose co'interesse e mostra-te faceira, bem faceira a quem provares o pontado, o alinhavado, o costurado, o chuliado, o preguiado. Ah!*

(Two times)

The seamstress sews, sews, sews. Sew the sleeve, the blouse, and the skirt. She sews with interest and coquettish to whomever tries the dotted, cobbled, sewed, stitched in zigzag, pleated. Ah!

This text reveals several important aspects of Brazilian laborers workers in Vargas's time. The two first phrases suggest that although they might be sad, they still smiled and sang their ills, a scene any Brazilian who had seen a seamstress work would recall: the seamstresses mumbling songs while sewing. Later in the text, the seamstresses speak of their pride in working hard and their hope for a better future (under Vargas's government). The second part of the text provides a playful sequence of words with tongue-twisters typical of *emboladas*.

As its activities show, the Teacher's Orpheon propagated the ideologies of the regime while raising the artistic level of musical activities in Brazil and the level of people's awareness of Brazilian and European music of concert traditions as well as national and international music of popular and folk traditions. Through its civic, artistic, and educational activities, the Teacher's Orpheon contributed to strengthening ties among members of the Brazilian families because it conveyed to the adult population nationalistic musical experiences similar to those of school children, instilling in them the same "common identifiers of *brasilidade*" that Orpheonic Chant disseminated in school. Thus, Villa-Lobos's system of music education created a common ground through which children and adults could exchange information and keep the ideologies of the regime alive.

## Orchestral Music and Music Education

### The Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro

Along with the Teacher's Orpheon, both the Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro, established in 1931, and the short-lived Orchestra Villa-Lobos, established in 1933, participated in civic, artistic, and educational concerts. Adolfo Bergamini, Vargas's *interventor* in Rio, established the Municipal Orchestra on 2 May 1931, under Decree no. 3.506.<sup>116</sup> Up to that point, most concerts performed at the Municipal Theater of Rio de Janeiro featured European orchestras, choruses, and ballets that normally went to South America to perform both in Rio and at the Colón Theater in Buenos Aires. In 1925, the Colón Theater established its own artistic groups, making it economically impractical for European orchestras to take all their musicians to South America to perform only in Rio. Thus, ever more local musicians from Rio were hired to fill in for concerts that European orchestras performed at the Municipal Theater. Because City Hall had to pay for both the orchestras and the free-lance musicians, soon Bergamini realized it would be economically advantageous if Rio followed the example of Argentineans and established an orchestra with a stable body of musicians. He then created the Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro, which is still active today.<sup>117</sup>

Although Bergamini did not create the Municipal Orchestra to support Villa-Lobos's system of music education, this orchestra contributed enormously to Villa-Lobos's educational campaign. The composer himself conducted several concerts that featured both European and Brazilian music traditions and sought to elevate the cultural

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<sup>116</sup> "Theatro Municipal do Rio de Janeiro," <http://www.theatromunicipal.rj.gov.br/orquestra.html> (accessed May 04, 2011).

<sup>117</sup> "Theatro Municipal do Rio de Janeiro," <http://www.theatromunicipal.rj.gov.br/orquestra.html> (accessed May 04, 2011).

awareness of local citizens. In addition to performing concerts of instrumental music, the Municipal Orchestra was featured side by side with the Teacher's Orpheon in several choral concerts designed to educate and to instill nationalistic pride.

Besides having its own schedule of concerts with artistic purposes, the Municipal Orchestra performed several concerts that contributed to Villa-Lobos's system of music education, such as the Fifth Concert in a series of eight concerts between October and December 1935. An inscription in the program of the Fifth Concert reveals its educational purpose: "5<sup>th</sup> Symphonic Concert of the subscription series organized by the Board of Adult Education and Cultural Diffusion of the General Department of Education and Culture, under the artistic direction of Maestro H. Villa-Lobos and performed by the Orchestra of the Municipal Theater."<sup>118</sup> The program was divided into three parts and featured two Brazilian premieres: Mozart's *Serenade in Bb* (Gran Partita) in Part I and Villa-Lobos's *Uirapuru* (Symphonic Poem and Ballet) in Part II. Among other pieces, this concert also featured Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* and Liszt's "Mephisto Waltz" arranged for orchestra. Due to the concert's pedagogical nature, the program notes were very simple and straightforward, clearly directed to the layman, and photos of the composers and performers accompanied the text for each piece featured.

The Fifth Concert of this series must have been a special occasion for Villa-Lobos because his *Uirapuru*, composed in 1917, was finally premiered. As the director of Vargas's music education, Villa-Lobos achieved the status of most important Brazilian musician and, as conductor and organizer of musical events, he could arrange

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<sup>118</sup> "Theatro Municipal: Concertos symphonicos culturaes, temporada official, 1935, programma do 5º concerto." (Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. No document number). In the original: "5º Concerto Symphonico de assignatura da série organizada pela Directoria de Educação de Adultos e Diffusão Cultural da Secretaria Geral de Educação e Cultura, sob a direcção artística e regência do Maestro H. Villa-Lobos e executado pela Orchestra do theatro Municipal."

performances of his music, which may explain the premiere of his ballet. In that respect, discrediting Villa-Lobos's educational skills and predicting that the composer would take advantage of his position in the government, Oscar Guanabara protested against the nomination of Villa-Lobos for Director of Music Education of Rio de Janeiro in 1932. Among other things, Guanabara suggested that as Director of Music of Rio de Janeiro, Villa-Lobos would take advantage of the position to promote his music: "To the most illustrious director, chosen for such a high position, to which there was no other with the same capacity, the advantages will be enormous, because now he will have the chance to empty the shelves of his editors."<sup>119</sup> In a sarcastic tone, Guanabara suggested other musicians could have taken the position. As Guanabara predicted, Villa-Lobos took advantage of his system of music education to promote his music and career. Several concerts of the Teacher's Orpheon, Municipal Orchestra, Orchestra Villa-Lobos, and the program of music taught at school featured Villa-Lobos's compositions. Doubtless, much of the music he disseminated during that time has substantial artistic value and represents true achievements for composers of the American continent, as the prominence that he gained in the world demonstrates. However, Villa-Lobos's compositions were not part of the Brazilian musical canon at that time, and by including his music in so many concerts, Villa-Lobos laid a strong foundation to establish his music as part of music programs in Brazil and worldwide.

Villa-Lobos's self-promotion did not invalidate the educational importance of his orchestral music concerts or their role in instilling nationalistic and patriotic feelings in

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<sup>119</sup> Oscar Guanabara in *Villa-Lobos visto na intimidade e na platéia*, 187. In the original: "Para o mais que ilustre director, sobre quem recaiu a nomeação de tão alto cargo, para o qual não havia nenhum outro com igual capacidade, as vantagens são enormes, porque agora ele terá a ocasião de esvaziar as prateleiras de seus editores."

the population. The “Sixth Concert” from the same series of eight concerts, for instance, was a gala concert that featured only Brazilian music (Figure 4-5). The concert opened with the National Anthem and the Flag Hymn and presented music by composers such as Luciano Gallet, Leopoldo Miguez, Henrique Oswald, Carlos Gomes, Barroso Neto, and Villa-Lobos himself. This gala concert was part of a subscription series (therefore, directed to the elites) and contributed both to elevating the awareness of Brazilian elite audiences of Brazilian music and to instilling national pride in these audiences (as the National Anthem and the Flag’s Hymn demonstrate).

The Municipal Orchestra also performed concerts that plainly celebrated the regime. One such concert—conducted by Villa-Lobos, Santiago Guerra (conductor of Municipal Theater’s Choir), and Henrique Spedini (Municipal Orchestra’s official conductor), thus central figures in the event—was the *Concerto Sinfônico em Comemoração do 2º Aniversário do Estado Novo* (Symphonic Concert in Celebration of the Second Anniversary of the New State), held in 1939.<sup>120</sup> The program’s cover page celebrates Vargas’s dictatorship and displays the Brazilian flag in the background and the map of Brazil and Vargas’s profile picture in the foreground (Figure 4-6). The disposition of these figures confers a “Brazilian aura” around Vargas, transmitting the idea that he was an intrinsic part of Brazil and, like the flag and the map, an emblem of the nation. Alongside the Municipal Orchestra, this festive concert featured several other musical groups, including the Teacher’s Orpheon, the Choir of the Municipal Theater, and bands such as those of the Firefighters, Military Police, Municipal Police, and Navy, which reveals the magnitude and military-orientation of the occasion.

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<sup>120</sup> Although the concert program does not mention it, the concert probably took place in November 1939, the month in which the *Estado Novo* completed two years.

Villa-Lobos conducted the first two parts of this concert and Spedini conducted the third, named “Apotheosis,” which featured solely the National Anthem. Part I of the program presented an interesting “pair” of musical works: Villa-Lobos’s Symphonic Poem *A Guerra* (War) and Francisco Braga’s Symphonic Poem *A Paz* (Peace). Although the program notes do not say so, these pieces surely allude to World War II, which officially erupted on September 1939, two months before the concert. Because the concert celebrated Vargas’s regime, it is hard to not see a political implication in the disposition of these two pieces on the program (“war” followed by “peace”): it subtly carried a political message that suggested either Vargas was against the war or that he wished the conflict ended soon. In the commemorative atmosphere of this event, people could easily have indexed the grandiose nature of both symphonic poems and the “evolution” from war to peace to Vargas and his government, crystallizing in their minds a positive image of his political figure. After Part II, which featured pieces by Saint Saens, Tchaikovsky, and Carlos Gomes, the concert culminated in the “apotheosis” of the National Anthem. The whole event had strong political implications, celebrating and promoting Vargas’s dictatorship, displaying he was against World War II, and celebrating the country itself.

### **Orchestra Villa-Lobos**

Unlike the Municipal Orchestra, the Orchestra Villa-Lobos apparently existed for only a few months in 1933.<sup>121</sup> A list of concerts Villa-Lobos conducted from 1933 to 1936 in Rio features this Orchestra only in five concerts: the first took place on 12 April

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<sup>121</sup> The Museu Villa-Lobos has only five Concert Programs of the Orchestra Villa-Lobos in their archives and no other source even mentions the concerts this orchestra performed. I would like to thank Pedro Belchior from the Museu Villa-Lobos, who performed a researched “Vila-info,” the internal database of the Museu Villa-Lobos, and confirmed that according to the information from this database the Orchestra Villa-Lobos played only these five concerts.

1933, and the last on 5 June 1933.<sup>122</sup> Prominent Brazilian musicians, several of whom were members of the Municipal Orchestra of Rio, organized the Orchestra Villa-Lobos to contribute to Villa-Lobos's quest to raise the musical level of Brazilian society. In a petition (Figure 4-7) the musicians who formed the Orchestra Villa-Lobos stated the purpose of the orchestra and made clear their intention to contribute to Villa-Lobos's mission:

We the undersigned, orchestral teachers living in Brazil, are willing to congregate spontaneously to work to raise the musical artistic level and the concept of morality of our class, which unfortunately, for the last few years, has declined considerably. Considering that only abnegation and great will power from each of us—guided by a person who has provided strong public proof, leadership both in Brazil and abroad, capable of acting and turning plans into reality, without any artistic creed and united by bonds of friendship, sympathy, and admiration to his milieu, to politics, to administrative structures, in order that with these credentials he can perform the role of an intermediary and patron of our class, striving for the fairest interest of our artistic and musical cause; We promise sincerely to respect all requests made by our chosen artist, whose main qualities may be found in the above description and do not clash with our objectives. For these reasons we have decided to invite Maestro Villa-Lobos and name our organization "Orchestra Villa-Lobos."<sup>123</sup>

The petition names of important musicians led by Iberê Gomes Grosso, a cellist, personal friend of Villa-Lobos, and collaborator of SEMA, to organize the Orchestra

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<sup>122</sup> "Concertos dirigidos pelo maestro H. Villa-Lobos nos anos de: 1933 a 1936 no Rio de Janeiro." (Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. No document number).

<sup>123</sup> Villa-Lobos, reprint of the "Petition" in "SEMA: Relatório geral," 384. In the Original: "Os abaixo assinados, professores de orquestra residentes no Brasil, dispostos a se congregar espontaneamente para trabalhar em prol do levantamento do nível artístico musical e do conceito moral da nossa classe que, infelizmente, de alguns anos até esta época, tem declinado consideravelmente. Considerando que somente a abnegação e uma força de vontade absoluta de cada um de nós, dirigidos por uma cabeça que já tenha dado provas cabais e públicas no Brasil e estrangeiro, de um poder de orientação, capacidade enérgica e oportuna de ação e realização, com completa isenção de credos artísticos e ligado por laços de amizade, simpatia e admiração, ao meio social, político e administrativo oficial, para que também com estas credenciais possa servir de intermediário e patrono da nossa classe, pugnando pelo mais justo interesse da nossa causa artística e material; prometemos, sinceramente, respeitar todos os itens que nos forem impostos pelo artista que desejamos, cujas principais qualidades se achem acima e que não choquem a nossa finalidade. Por estas razões, resolvemos convidar o Maestro Villa-Lobos e dar o nome à nossa organização, de "Orquestra Villa-Lobos."

Villa-Lobos. Although no document states the reason for the Orchestra Villa-Lobos's short existence, it could be inferred that since these musicians already had stable jobs, the organization of the Orchestra Villa-Lobos can be interpreted more as a symbolic act of solidarity to Villa-Lobos than with the intention of establishing a permanent organization like the Municipal Orchestra. However, no sources were found to confirm this hypothesis.

Besides its artistic function, the Orchestra Villa-Lobos fulfilled, through instrumental music, the same nationalistic and patriotic functions the Teacher's Orpheon fulfilled in the realm of vocal music. It also conveyed the idea that collective collaboration should supersede individual will. As Villa-Lobos affirmed, the orchestra "had a social orientation for its spirit of cooperation, abnegation of individualities, discipline, and harmony."<sup>124</sup> Anísio Teixeira, General Director of Public Instruction of Rio de Janeiro, spoke the importance Orchestra Villa-Lobos for the cultural milieu in Rio and also praised Villa-Lobos for his work as music educator:

The Villa-Lobos Orchestra, which was just organized in Rio de Janeiro, is an artistic enterprise of the highest significance. For circumstances common in the life of our artists, Villa-Lobos worked abroad during his youth and only now that his power of creation has fully matured is he dedicating his extraordinary skills to Brazil. And to this activity he has been performing, in the highest meaning of the word, an educational direction . . . . After the simple and edifying humility with which Villa-Lobos taught Brazilian children to sing, after the splendid victory of the "Teacher's Orpheon," the "Orchestra Villa-Lobos" appears. From the cohesion of [the musicians'] will and from his fine direction, people from Rio de Janeiro will soon see, extraordinary fruits.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Villa-Lobos, "SEMA: Relatório geral," 384.

<sup>125</sup> Anísio Teixeira In "Anúncio para o programa de concerto da temporada oficial de 1933 do Teatro Municipal do Rio de Janeiro" (Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. Document number HVL 26.14.128), 3. In the original: "A "Orquestra Villa-Lobos", que se acaba de organizar no Rio de Janeiro, é um empreendimento artístico da mais alta significação. Por circunstâncias explicáveis na vida de nossos artistas, Villa-Lobos andou a trabalhar no estrangeiro em toda a mocidade e só agora, quando o seu

Although the orchestra performed only five concerts, they premiered fifteen musical works of European and Brazilian composers in Brazil, including J.S. Bach, R. Strauss, Stravinsky, Ravel, Gershwin, and Villa-Lobos himself, which shows their goal to elevate the musical level of Brazil and to modernize the musical repertoire (Figure 4-8).

Finally, a significant political aspect of the Orchestra Villa-Lobos was that the cover page of the concert programs always pictured Villa-Lobos as a conductor whose gestures and outfit carried military connotations (Figure 4-9). These drawings associate the orchestra itself with a military group (whose conductor represented the figure of general) and transmit a military-like feeling of patriotism to the audiences. Figure 4-9 shows Villa-Lobos with his back turned to the spectator and holding a baton, alluding to the act of conducting. The way he holds the baton in his left hand, however, suggests he is signaling soldiers to salute. Furthermore, the drawing combines the figure of Villa-Lobos with the words “Orchestra Villa-Lobos” stylized to look like Villa-Lobos is wearing an army uniform. The letter “O” from “Orchestra” looks like a helmet hanging over his back. The two “L’s” from “Villa” suggest two military boots, which are missing in the drawing of Villa-Lobos. In addition to its important artistic role, the Orchestra Villa-Lobos thus conveyed strong military and patriotic associations to the audience, “indexing” music in general with patriotism.

### **Final Considerations**

This chapter has demonstrated that along with the Orpheonic Chant implemented in schools, Villa-Lobos reached out to the population as a whole through the Teacher’s

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poder de criação se acha em plena maturidade, é que veio a dedicar ao Brasil a extraordinária atividade de que é capaz. E a essa atividade vem imprimindo, no mais alto significado da palavra, um sentido educativo . . . . Depois da humildade singela e edificante com que Villa-Lobos ensinou as crianças do Brasil a cantarem, depois da esplêndida vitória do “Orfeão de Professores”, surge agora, a “Orquestra Villa-Lobos.”

Orpheon, the Municipal Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro, and the Orchestra Villa-Lobos, conveying nationalistic and patriotic messages to both children and adults. Through this system of music education that reached out to upper, middle, and parts of the lower class, Villa-Lobos created a common ideological ground for the population of Rio de Janeiro as a whole, which contributed to the creation and management of the “imagined community” of “national beings” Vargas envisioned for Brazil.

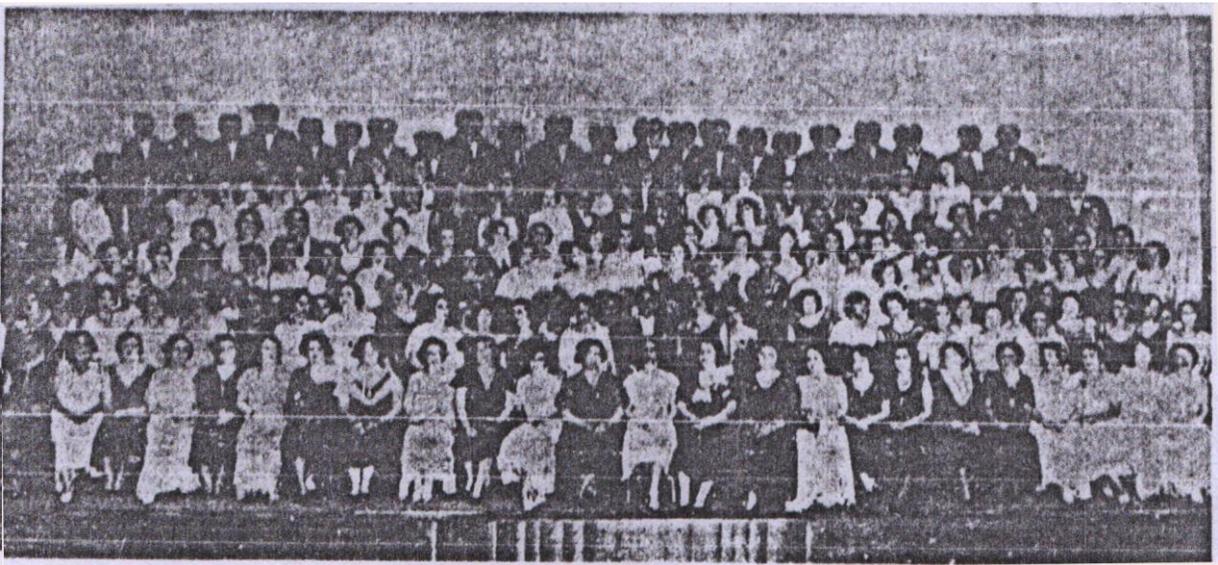


Figure 4-1. Teacher’s Orpheon (picture from a 1935 concert program). This picture is part of the Orchestra Villa-Lobos’s “Programma do 6º Concerto” from 1935. Document collected at the Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação da Faculdade Getúlio Vargas. Document number GCg 1935.00.00/3.

# 1.º CONCERTO

SEMANA SANTA

12 de Abril de 1933, ás 21 horas

Missa Solemne de Beethoven

CORO E ORCHESTRA (1.ª AUDIÇÃO)

Orpheão dos Professores

Com o concurso da ORCHESTRA VILLA-LOBOS.

Direcção de H. VILLA-LOBOS.

1.ª PARTE

KYRIE E GLORIA

2.ª PARTE

C R E D O

3.ª PARTE

SANCTUS. BENEDICTUS. AGNUS DEI.

Solo de violino — OSCAR BORGERTH.

400 EXECUTANTES

**PIANOS ESSENFELDER**

VENDAS Á LONGO PRAZO

**CASA CARLOS WEHRS**

PH. 2 - 4315

RUA DA CARIOCA, 47

Utilisem os serviços de correio aereo Militar  
*Informações nas agencias do Correio*

Figure 4-2. "Missa Solemnis program" from 1933 In Teacher's Orpheon's Five Concerts form 1933. Document collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos. No document number.

# Teatro João Caetano

2.ª feira, 18 de Junho de 1934 - A's.....hrs.

4.ª feira, 20 de Junho de 1934 - A's.....hrs.

RESPECTIVAMENTE

## 2 Grandes Concertos Historicos de Musica Brasileira

Promovidos pelo IV Congresso Teosofico  
Sulamericano e sob o patrocínio de S. Ex.  
o Snr. Interventor Federal

**DR. PEDRO ERNESTO**

Com orientação oficial da SÉMA (Superintendencia de Edu-  
cação Musical e Artistica do Departamento de Educação  
do Distrito Federal)

Para fins de propoganda da arte nacional  
e beneficência publica

REGENTE: MAESTRO H. VILLA-LOBOS  
SOLISTAS E CONCERTISTAS: Julieta e Yeda T. de Menezes,  
JOÃO SOUZA LIMA, José Brandão, Silvio Salema,  
Newton Padua, Orfeão de Professores e Orquestra  
do Teatro Municipal  
Comissão Administradora:  
Dr. Eugenio Richard Jr. Snr. Augusto F. Schmidt  
Prof. Caio Lemos Snra. Nada Glover  
M.<sup>tes</sup> Ibêrê Lemos (organizador)

Figure 4-3. Cover page of 2 Great Historical Concerts of Brazilian Music (2 Grandes Concertos Históricos de Música Brasileira). Document collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos. No document number. In the original: "Para fins de propoganda da arte nacional e beneficência pública."

# THEATRO JOÃO CAETANO

Domingo, 28 de Abril de 1935, ás 17 horas

Concerto do "ORPHEAO DE PROFESSORES" aos OPERARIOS, organizado pela SUPERINTENDENCIA DE EDUCACAO MUSICAL E ARTISTICA (SEMA) DO DISTRICTO FEDERAL, sob a direcção de H. VILLA-LOBOS.

## Programma

J. BACH .....	{ Preludio n.º 22
	{ Fuga n.º 21
Popular russo .....	O Barqueiro do Volga
ANTOLISEI .....	O Ferreiro
SCHUBERT .....	Serenata
Popular chileno .....	Ay-ay-ay
SCHUMANN .....	Revêrie
H. VILLA-LOBOS .....	O Canto do Lavrador
RACHMANINOW .....	Preludio
H. VILLA-LOBOS .....	P'ra frente, ó Brasil.

Figure 4-4. Teacher's Orpheon's concert program from 28 April 1935. Document collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos. Document number MVL 26.14.136.

# THEATRO MUNICIPAL

## CONCERTO DE GALA (Música brasileira)

6.º CONCERTO SYMPHONICO DE ASSIGNATURA da Serie organizado pela Directoria de Educação de Adultos e Diffusão Cultural da Secretaria Geral de Educação e Cultura, sob a direcção artistica e regencia do Maestro VILLA-LOBOS e executado pelo ORPHEAO DE PROFESSORES e ORCHESTRA DO THEATRO MUNICIPAL.

Terça-feira, 19 de Novembro de 1935, ás 21 horas

### PROGRAMMA

#### 1.ª PARTE

- I a) — *Hymno Nacional* (Letra de Osorio Duque Estrada) ... F. MANGUEL  
b) — *Hymno á Bandeira* (Letra de Olavo Bilac) ..... F. BRAGA  
Cora e Orchestra
- II *Uirapuru* ..... L. GALLEY  
a) — *Virgens Mortas* (Letra de Olavo Bilac) ..... FRANCESCO BRAGA
- III b) — *Campo Arabe* (Letra de Olavo Bilac) ..... HEBE LEMOS  
c) — *Ao Luar* (Musica e Letra) ..... J. VIEIRA BRANCO  
Solista — CARMEN GOMES
- IV *Hymno da Republica* (Letra de M. e Albuquerque) LEOPOLDO BRUZ  
Cora e Orchestra

#### 2.ª PARTE

- V CONCERTO DE PIANO ..... H. OSWALD  
a) — *Allegro-Andante*  
b) — *Lafagio*  
c) — *Prestissimo*  
Solista — J. OCTAVIANO
- VI — *Salvador Rosa* (Overture) ..... CARLOS GOMES

#### 3.ª PARTE

- VII — *Suite de corales* ..... BARROZO NETTO  
a) — *Berçense*  
b) — *Minha Terra*  
c) — *Movimento Perpetuo*
- VIII — *Scherzando* ..... HOMERO BARRETO
- IX *CHODOS N.º 10* (Rasga o coração) (Letra de Castello da Paizão Cearense) ..... H. VILLA-LOBOS  
Cora e Orchestra

Figure 4-5. Theatro Municipal: Concertos Symphonicos Culturales, Temporada Official, 1935, Programma do 6º Concerto. Document collected at the Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação da Faculdade Getúlio Vargas Document number GCg 1935.00.00/3.



Figure 4-6. Cover page of the Concerto Sinfônico em Comemoração do 2º Aniversário do Estado Novo (Symphonic Concert in Commemoration of the 2nd Anniversary of the New State). Document collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos. Document number MVL 76.14.165.

Os abaixo assinados, professores de arte, residentes no Brasil, dispostos a se consagrar ativamente para o melhor do país, em prol do levantamento do nível artístico nacional e do progresso da arte brasileira, que infelizmente, de alguns anos para cá, apresenta um estado lamentavelmente

deplorável, que somente a criação de uma força de vontade abalizada de cada um de nós, dirigida por uma cabeça que já tenha dado prova de lucidez e publicos no Brasil e estrangeiro, de um poder de orientação, respeito de caráter e seriedade de ação e realização, com completa isenção de preocupações artísticas e ligada por laços de amizade, simpatia e admiração, ao meio social, político e administrativo oficial, para que também com estas condições, possa ser capaz de interrelacionar e patrocinar da nossa classe, organizando pelo país, neste interesse de nobre causa, artística e material:

propomos a constituição, reunir todos os itens que nos foram propostas pelo artista que desejamos, cujas principais qualidades se acham acima e que não esqueçamos a nossa finalidade.

Por estas razões, resolvemos convidar o Sr. Heitor Villa-Lobos e Sr. Heitor Villa-Lobos para que seja o primeiro presidente da ORQUESTRA VILLA-LOBOS.

N.º	ENDEREÇO	TELEFONE
Yuri	R. Uruguay 324 C. 9	8-2119
Joaquim	R. Leões, nº 9 (B. S. S. S. S.)	4-4901
Bread	R. ...	
...	R. ...	4-6044
...	Rua Bandeira nº 45	
...	R. ... nº 209-40	2-0459
...	Rua ... nº 133	
...	Rua ... nº 160	5-2119
...	Rua ... nº 7	5-1974
...	Rua ... nº 159	5-1196
...	Rua ... nº 10 (S. S. S. S.)	
...	Rua ... nº 45 (sob)	
...	Rua 2 de Dezembro 35	5-0922
...	Rua Jardim ...	
...	Rua ... nº 27	5-1123
...	Rua ... nº 7 (L. S. S. S.)	
...	Rua Sant'Ana nº 27	
...	Rua ... nº 34 e 5	
...	Rua ... nº 96	
...	Rua ... nº 30	
...	Rua ... nº 21	
...	Rua ... nº 66	8-2119
...	Rua ... nº 3	8-5775

Figure 4-7. First page of the original petition that created the Orchestra Villa-Lobos. Document collected at Museu Villa-Lobos. No document number.

## PROGRAMMAS DA "ORCHESTRA VILLA-LOBOS"

1.<sup>o</sup> CONCERTO — ~~3~~<sup>12</sup> de Abril de 1933, ás 21 horas

BEETHOVEN — VII.<sup>a</sup> Symphonia.  
R. STRAUSS — Burleska (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
Solista: João de Souza Lima.  
FLORENT SCHMITT — Tragedia de Salomé (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
GERSHWIN — Blue Rhapsodie (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
Solista: João de Souza Lima.

2.<sup>o</sup> CONCERTO — ~~24~~<sup>24</sup> de Abril de 1933, ás 21 horas

CHERUBINI — «Faniska» — Abertura (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
J. S. BACH — Primeiro Concerto de Brandenburg (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
a) R. WAGNER — Morte de Izolda — Canto e Orchestra  
b) NEPOMUCENO — Oração ao Diabo — Canto e Orchestra  
Solista: Abigail de Parecis  
M. RAVEL — Alborada del Gracioso (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
F. MIGNONE — Momus (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)

3.<sup>o</sup> CONCERTO — ~~1~~<sup>1</sup> ~~de Abril~~<sup>Maio</sup> de 1933, ás 21 horas

BEETHOVEN — «Rei Estevam» — Abertura (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
L. MIGUEZ — Ave, Libertas! — Poema symphonico.  
P. COPPOLA — a) Poema eligiaco (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
b) Burlesca da Suite Intima (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
VILLA-LOBOS — Amazonas — Poema symphonico (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
R. WAGNER — Mestres Cantores — Abertura.

4.<sup>o</sup> CONCERTO — ~~24~~<sup>8</sup> ~~de Abril~~<sup>Maio</sup> de 1933, ás 21 horas

J. S. BACH — Suite em si menor (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
VILLA-LOBOS — Concerto para violoncello e orchestra.  
Solista: Iberé Gomes Grosso.  
STRAWINSKY — Canto do Rouxinol (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
CARLOS GOMES — Preludio de «Maria Tudor».

5.<sup>o</sup> CONCERTO — ~~6~~<sup>15</sup> de Maio de 1933, ás 21 horas

J. BRAHMS — IV.<sup>a</sup> Symphonia (1.<sup>a</sup> audição)  
VILLA-LOBOS — a) Cantiga de Roda — Côro feminino e orchestra  
b) Rasga o Coração — Chôros N.<sup>o</sup> 10 (1.<sup>a</sup> audição integral)  
Côro do Orpheão de Professores e Orchestra.

HAVERÁ DOIS CONCERTOS EXTRAORDINARIOS DE AUTORES  
NACIONAES E ITALIANOS.

Figure 4-8. Programmas da Orchestra Villa-Lobos. Document collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos. Document number MVL 76.14.128. The dates were scratched on the Museu Villa-Lobos copies. At the bottom, the program states: "There will be two extra concerts featuring national and Italian composers."

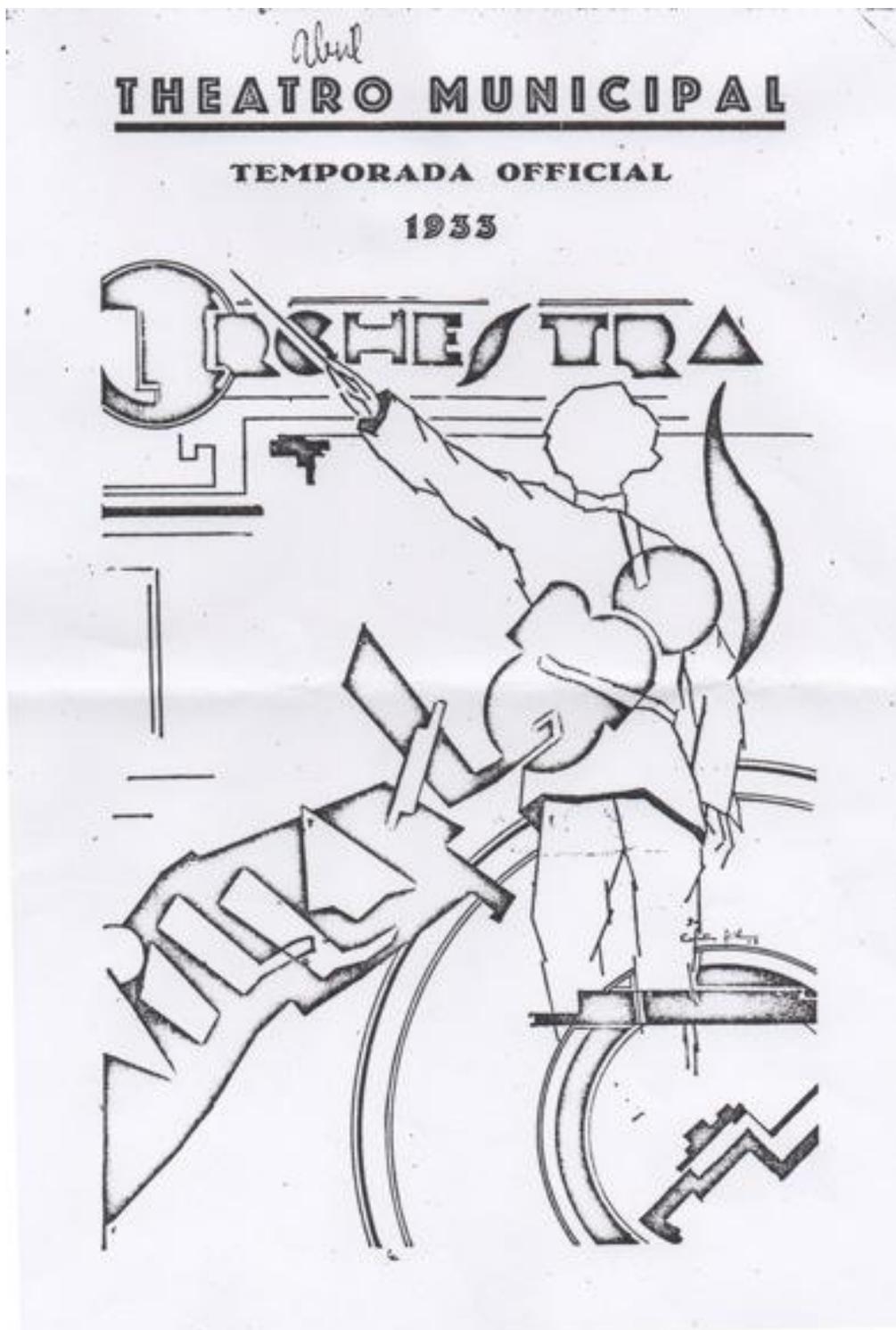


Figure 4-9. Cover page of Orchestra Villa-Lobos's concert programs. Document collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos. Document number MVL 76.14.128. The word "Abril" (April) at the top of the page was handwritten on the document collected at Museu Villa-Lobos.



76

As - ces - tu - rei - fas,

As - ces - tu - rei - fas.

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

So - mos o - sta vi - da!

So - mos o - sta vi - da!

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

A - té x - mó - res u - ni - mos x

A - té x - mó - res u - ni - mos x

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

77

li - o - ba, Nos tra - ba - ba - mos sem - per a - le - gres na

li - o - ba, Nos tra - ba - ba - mos sem - per a - le - gres na

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

Al - ma, que - a - di - vi - - - - -

Al - ma, que - a - di - vi - - - - -

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

Co - mo - al - gum que - a - di - vi - - - - -

Co - mo - al - gum que - a - di - vi - - - - -

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

La - teri - us! La - teri - us! La - teri - us!

90-V. L.

Example 4-1. Continued

## CHAPTER 5

### ORPHEONIC CONCENTRATIONS: POLITICAL PROPAGANDA AND THE MATERIALIZATION OF THE IMAGINED COMMUNITY

Villa-Lobos's role within the Vargas government went beyond the organization and direction of Orpheonic Chant in schools and choral and symphonic concerts in Rio de Janeiro. Villa-Lobos was also a key figure in the realization of the Orpheonic Concentrations, civic-artistic celebrations that happened throughout the year and featured patriotic demonstrations of Orpheonic Chant. These celebrations varied in size and function but overall served to celebrate the country and Vargas's regime. The largest Concentrations celebrated important dates of the country, such as Independence Day and Flag Day, and gathered in open spaces (mostly soccer stadiums) with thousands of children from of the most schools in Rio de Janeiro where Orpheonic Chant had been implemented. Adults also participated in these events as members of the audience.

Because of the colossal nature of such events, the artistic quality of the orpheonic demonstrations was not a priority, but their grandiose aspects were very powerful and Vargas used them to make propaganda for his political figure and the regime. On several occasions, smaller Concentrations were held on the patios of schools. Although they did not have the same projection as the big ones, they were important to keep fresh in children's minds the association of music with civic duty. In many ways, the experience of participating in smaller concentrations also prepared children for the larger and more significant Concentrations. Among other things, the smaller Concentrations celebrated Pan Americanism, the inauguration of schools in Rio, friendship with other nations, important Brazilian historical figures, and traditional Brazilian families.

The Orpheonic Concentrations became part of the educational landscape of Rio de Janeiro and were organized regularly during the school year. The number of events year demonstrates the strong connection between music education and civic duty. Reports by Maria Olympia de Moura Reis, a Specialized Supervisor of Music and Artistic Education, help illustrate the high number of concentrations and the dates they celebrated. In 1937, the schools in the four districts under her supervision participated in the following celebrations: Pan American Celebration, Celebration of the National Crusade for Education, Inauguration of the Portugal School, Celebration of the Cruzeiro School, Homage to the republic of Argentina, Homage to the royal family Orleans and Bragança (descents from the Portuguese House of Bragança who ruled Portugal and its empire from about 1640 to 1910), Homage to the mayor of Montevideo, Homage to Gonçalves Dias (Brazilian poet of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), Homage to the Embassy of Uruguay, Civic Concentration of the Day of the Patria (Independence Day), Homage to Dr. Julio Rocca (an army general who served two terms as president of Argentina: from 1880 to 1886, and from 1898 to 1904), Homage to Gabriela Mistral (pseudonym of Lucila de María del Perpetuo Socorro Godoy Alcayaga, a Chilean poet who was the first Latin American to win the Nobel Prize in Literature, in 1945), Children's National Week, Reopening of the Affonso Pena School, Inauguration of the Brasilidade and Pan American Clubs, Homage to the Heroes of the Patria, Celebration of the Flag, Homage to Benedicto Ottoni (probably either Cristiano Benedito Ottoni, an important political figure of the late years of the Empire and the First Brazilian Republic, or his brother Teophilo Benedito Ottoni, important political figure of the late years of Empire), Celebration of the School Portugal, Civic Celebration Floriano Peixoto (a marshal who

became the second president of Brazil), Visit of the Mayor to School Floriano Peixoto, Homage to Dr. Joaquim Serratora, Homage to Bolivia, Homage to the Republic of São Salvador, Inauguration of the Club Saúde, and Solemn of the Distribution of Diplomas of the Schools in the fifth district.

In addition to establishing communion among participating school children and adults in the audience, and disseminating nationalism and patriotism and creating awareness of important historical figures and celebratory dates of the nation, both the large and small Concentrations may have helped to establish a sense of communion among schools in Rio. Interestingly, Gustavo Capanema wrote about the importance of the radio in creating a “spiritual communion” among schools, which confirms Vargas’s use of radio broadcasts to create the idea of an imagined community and in which it is possible to establish a parallel with the role of Orpheonic Concentrations:

It is necessary to introduce the radio in all schools . . . and to establish through this powerful instrument of diffusion a certain spiritual communion among schools. The radio is the only way to achieve this spiritual communion, because . . . everything contributes to isolate our schools, which here and there are autonomous beehives, each with its own mentality and all unaware of the directions that we, from the center, wish to press upon them.<sup>1</sup>

Although on a lesser scale than the radio, the Orpheonic Concentrations also had this power to establish a “spiritual communion” among schools, because of their outreaching and aggregating character. Likewise, the Concentrations helped unify the ideology of the “center” (meaning the government) among children and schools.

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<sup>1</sup> Gustavo Capanema in *Tempos de Capanema*, Chapter 3, Simon Schwartzman, Helena Maria Bousquet Bomeny, Vanda Maria Ribeiro Costa, <http://www.schwartzman.org.br/simon/capanema/capit3.htm> (accessed May 10 2010). In the original: “É preciso introduzir o rádio em todas as escolas—primárias, secundárias, profissionais, superior, noturnas e diurnas—e estabelecer através deste poderoso instrumento de difusão uma certa comunhão espiritual entre os estabelecimentos de ensino. O rádio será o único meio de se fazer essa comunhão de espírito, pois . . . tudo concorre a separar e isolar as nossas escolas, que são aqui e em partes autônomas, cada qual com uma mentalidade e todas distantes do sentido que nós cá do centro desejamos imprimir-lhes.”

The existing literature on Villa-Lobos's system of music education has largely ignored such social and political implications of the Orpheonic Concentrations. Overall, scholars mention only briefly that Vargas used the large concentrations for political propaganda. Thomas Garcia said: "These mass choir concerts were supported by the Vargas government, and were transformed into public expressions of support and homage to the president."<sup>2</sup> Bèhague simply calls the Concentrations "populist and propagandistic public rallies."<sup>3</sup> In his *Passarinhada do Brasil: Canto Orfeônico, Educação, e Getulismo*, Arnaldo Contier's most important contribution to the investigation of the Orpheonic Concentrations was his admirable, but brief, evaluation of the political appeal of these events: "Given the magniloquent character, of boasted nationalistic connotations, of the celebrations organized by Villa-Lobos, music occupied a secondary position to verbal speech, for overt political and moralist content. Granted, music should inebriate the spectators so they would hear strong populist appeals grounded in nationalism."<sup>4</sup>

While it is true that Vargas appeared in most of the large concentrations and delivered populist speeches to the nation, promoting his political figure and his regime, these events also had several other important functions that need to be investigated in depth to reveal their important role in disseminating the ideologies of the government and in crystallizing a sense of patriotic communion among the population. As I argue,

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<sup>2</sup> Garcia, "Music and the Brazilian Estado Novo," 628.

<sup>3</sup> Bèhague, *Villa-Lobos*, 25-26.

<sup>4</sup> Contier, *Passarinhada do Brasil*, 195. In the original: "Dado o caráter grandiloquente, de conotação ufanista, das celebrações programadas por Villa-Lobos, a música ficava numa posição secundária em face do discurso verbalizado, de conteúdo nitidamente político e moralista. De fato, a música deveria inebriar os espectadores para que estes ouvissem os fortes apelos populistas assentados no nacionalismo."

because of their colossal, emotional, and inclusive nature, the Concentrations not only materialized the notion of an imagined community as a real community but also reaffirmed the indexicality properties of music, making people conscious of their communion through the same nationalistic and patriotic values.

In addition, these events publicly displayed the accomplishments of music education, creating enthusiasm in the population toward the practice of Orpheonic Chant in schools and awakening people's interest in implementing Orpheonic Chant in the schools of Rio and the rest of Brazil. On a political level, the Concentrations demonstrated that Orpheonic Chant was an efficient tool to discipline children and instill in them a sense of civic duty, collective cooperation, and patriotism. By investigating several Orpheonic Concentrations, mostly the ones that celebrated Independence Day, this chapter reveals their socio-political implications and demonstrate that along with their propagandistic function, they represented a microcosm of the nation, where active participants and the audience shared the same "Brazilian" values and emotions.

### **The Beginning of a Tradition**

Villa-Lobos organized large Orpheonic Concentrations from the beginning of his educational "crusade." One of the first large concentrations, which Villa-Lobos called Exhortação Cívica Villa-Lobos (Civic Exhortation Villa-Lobos), occurred on 24 May 1931, in the field of the Associação Athletica São Bento (Saint Bento Athletic Association) in the city of São Paulo under the sponsorship of João Alberto Lins de Barros.<sup>5</sup> In the pamphlet that advertised the concert and its program (Figure 5-1), Villa-

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<sup>5</sup> The *interventor* of São Paulo, João Alberto Lins de Barros, who had already supported the "Artistic excursion Villa-Lobos," was also the politician who made this Concentration possible.

Lobos invited the population to “Listen to the largest choir formed in the Americas”<sup>6</sup> and predicted the gathering would have 10,000 people and 400 orchestral and band musicians. (He later reported that around 12,000 people participated in this event).<sup>7</sup>

The article the important newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* produced about this Concentration reveals the grandiose, nationalistic, and patriotic nature of this event as well as its aggregating character:

The sports arena was crowded with the audience, musicians, and spectators. “All São Paulo” of the great elegant meetings was there. At the center of the field was a wood platform where one could find maestro Villa-Lobos surrounded by assistants. In the “pelouse,” crowds of photographers walked with their cameras, attempting to get shots . . . . On the field itself were countless civil and military participants who carried little flags, which fluttered in the wind . . . at 16:40, we hear the last signal . . . . The first notes of the martial song “P’ra frente Ó Brasil” are heard. Against a musical backdrop of drums, which unexpectedly reminds us of remote things, integrated into the nation, the mass of thousands of voices, clear, waving, seizes all spectators. The effect is surprising. None present expected to watch such a beautiful and moving spectacle. And the composition, admirably performed, ends with a roar of applause that lasts, and lasts . . . . At the end of the event, maestro Villa-Lobos receives one of these ovations that one never forgets.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “Exhortação cívica Villa-Lobos” (pamphlet advertising the event). (Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. Document number MVL 76.14.113).

<sup>7</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, *A Música Nacionalista*, 43.

<sup>8</sup> “Exhortação cívica Villa-Lobos” in *O Estado de São Paulo*, Terça-Feira, 26 de Maio de 1931, n/p 9 Document collected in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro). In the Original: “A praça de esportes estava apinhada de publico, de musicos, de espectadores. Lá estava “toda S. Paulo” das grandes reuniões elegantes. Ao centro do gramado, erguia-se um estrado de Madeira, onde se encontrava o maestro Villa-Lobos, cercado de auxiliares. Em baixo, na “pelouse”, cardumes de photographos que iam e vinham, com suas camaras, caçando reflexos no monoculo das objectivas . . . . No campo propriamente dito, massa incontavel de cantores civis e militares, munidos de bandeirolas que trmulavam ao vento . . . às 16 horas e 40 minutos, ouve-se o ultimo signal....Erguem-se as primeiras notas da canção marcial “P’ra frente Ó Brasil”. Sobre um fundo musical de tambores, que lembra inesperadamente coisas remotas, integradas na nação, ergue-se a massa de milhares de vozes, claras, ondulantes, arrebatando a todos os espectadores. O effeito é surprehendente. Ninguém que alli se encontra imaginou assistir um espectáculo tão bello, tão comovedor. E a composição admiravelmente executada termina num fragor de palmas que se prolongam, se prolong . . . . Ao terminar a audição, o maestro Villa-Lobos teve uma destas aclamações que nunca mais se esquecem.”

This excerpt is rich in information about several aspects of this Concentration and helps us understand the nature of the event. Several elements that became part of the large Orpheonic Concentrations in the future were already present in this one, including the atmosphere of communion among members of the audience (encompassing the elite, whom the reporter called people from “great elegant meetings”) and people who participated in the mass choir; the patriotic and nationalistic nature of the event whose ruff of drums “reminded” the reporter of elements entrenched in the nation (he did not mention what these elements are but most likely referred to the drumming of Afro-Brazilians); the unexpected (the “effect” of thousands of people singing patriotic hymns); and Villa-Lobos’s acclamation at the end of the spectacle.

Through this Concentration, Villa-Lobos said he wanted to show that the “most elevated way to demonstrate civic sentiments is to sing civic and patriotic songs.”<sup>9</sup> Villa-Lobos also aimed at familiarizing people from all social classes with Orpheonic Chant because he believed this was “The means by which music could penetrate all cultural milieus, and given its strict Brazilian character . . . . Orpheonic Chant became since then a very important element in the spread of patriotism and development of national consciousness among the mass of the population and the new generations.”<sup>10</sup> This Concentration (like all others in which he participated) served to disseminate Orpheonic Chant, and also for Villa-Lobos’s self-promotion. Despite the event’s sponsorship by João Alberto, the reporter of *O Estado de São Paulo* did not mention

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<sup>9</sup> “SEMA: Relatório geral,” 371.

<sup>10</sup> Villa-Lobos, “A música nacionalista,” 43-44. In the original: “Foi o meio pelo qual a música pôde penetrar em tôdas as camadas sociais, e dada a sua qualidade estritamente brasileira—porque desde o início procurei dar uma feição nacional aos programas elaborados para uso das escolas—o canto orfeônico tornou-se, desde então, um fator importantíssimo de difusão do sentimento de patriotismo e do desenvolvimento da consciência nacional entre a massa popular e entre as novas gerações.”

any political figure and focused his account on the event itself and on the important role of Villa-Lobos in the Concentration.

This Concentration on 24 May 1931 happened very early in Vargas's government and roughly one month after music education had been made mandatory in the school system in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>11</sup> Despite its nationalistic, patriotic, and collective nature, this Concentration did not have the same political appeal these civic-artistic events would acquire during the rest of Vargas's regime. In fact, unlike the dates of most future Orpheonic Concentrations, May 24 is not even a day connected to Brazilian history nor does it commemorate any historical figure.<sup>12</sup> From the circumstances of this event, it seems there was no specific political intention behind it, and Villa-Lobos aimed only to disseminate his Orpheonic Chant and to create awareness about it in the population.

Because of the novelty of Orpheonic Chant and Orpheonic Concentrations, by that time Vargas had still not used Orpheonic Concentrations as systematic tools for political propaganda. But soon enough, after the first great Orpheonic Concentrations, Vargas realized the political power of such events, whose nationalistic and patriotic programs and collective character naturally matched his political ideology. He quickly appropriated the Concentrations and openly used them to promote his figure and regime, especially the Concentrations of Independence Day, the most grandiose mass music events of his regime. The Independence Day Concentrations displayed the same aspects of the first Concentration (namely its grandiose nationalistic, patriotic, and aggregative qualities)

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<sup>11</sup> Since Orpheonic Chant had been made mandatory in school of Rio de Janeiro only on 18 April 1931, it was still a novelty in the school system at that time.

<sup>12</sup> The same is true for the next large concentration that Villa-Lobos accounted for, which happened on 24 October 1932, an ordinary day that did not celebrate any event related to the nation. This Concentration gathered 18,000 in the soccer stadium *Laranjeiras* in Rio de Janeiro.

and Vargas was present at these events delivering addresses to the audience, thus using the Concentrations to openly promote his ideology and his regime.<sup>13</sup> The Concentrations still served Villa-Lobos's personal ideals of disseminating music among different social classes and advertising his Orpheonic Chant. But after Vargas appropriated these events, they also started overtly serving the political ideals of the government.

### **Orpheonic Concentrations of Independence Day: the Materialization of the Imagined Community**

The Orpheonic Concentrations of Independence Day, called *Hora da Independência* (Hour of Independence), occurred on September 7 and were, by far, the most grandiose spectacles of music and civism during Vargas's First Government, gathering thousands of children and adults in soccer stadiums (mostly the soccer stadium *São Januário*). These Concentrations started at 4:00 P.M. and were the climactic moment of a weeklong celebration called *Semana da Pátria* (Fatherland Week). In addition to demonstrations of Orpheonic Chant, which constituted the climax of the Hour of Independence, the Concentrations also included Vargas's address to the Brazilian nation and Indigenous Ballets organized by Villa-Lobos.<sup>14</sup>

[Object 5-1. Villa-Lobos conducting an Orpheonic Concentration on the Independence Day and followed by an Indigenous Ballet \(.AVI file 35 MB\)<sup>15</sup>](#)

The City Hall of Rio de Janeiro produced official documents that detailed every aspect of the Hour of Independence, and among other things, displayed the numbers of

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<sup>13</sup> Among the elements of his populist routine in those events, Vargas performed the "presidential lap," in which he waved and smiled to people inside a convertible that rode a lap around the edge of the soccer field.

<sup>14</sup> In these so-called "Indian Ballets," dancers dressed as Brazilian Amerindians performed dances whose choreography emulated Amerindians' dance rituals.

<sup>15</sup> "Cine Jornal Informativo," (Video collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. File number 78-22-11-4).

students and musicians that participated in these events, revealing the magnitude of these Concentrations. In 1939, the Hour of Independence gathered thirty thousand students and one thousand band musicians; in 1940 forty thousand students and one thousand band musicians; in 1941, thirty thousand students and five hundred band musicians; in 1942, twenty-five thousand students and five hundred band musicians; and in 1943, fifteen hundred students.<sup>16</sup> In addition to the mass of children and musicians who participated actively, the Hour of Independence also gathered a huge audience of adults who flocked to the soccer stadiums and contributed to the colossal nature of these events. In the Concentration of 1942, for instance, the radio broadcaster of the event reported: “We have, dear listeners, before us a spectacular crowd that has filled to capacity the bleachers of *Vasco da Gama* stadium. About seventy thousand people came to this sports arena to watch the culminating celebrations of Independence Day.”<sup>17</sup>

The emotional and patriotic nature of these ceremonies materialized the notions of an imagined community into a real community. Schoolchildren dressed in uniforms (which conferred visual homogeneity upon the group) demonstrated strict discipline, followed the guidance of one leader (Villa-Lobos), and sang a repertoire that mostly consisted of civic-patriotic hymns. Through these “common identifiers of *brasilidade*,” children who participated in these ceremonies finally experienced the once imagined community together: they shared a musical education and its precepts, followed the

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<sup>16</sup> Information taken from the Official Documents of *Hora da Independência* (Hour of Independence) of the years mentioned above. (Documents collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. No document number).

<sup>17</sup> Radio broadcast of September 7 1942. Document collected at CPDOC-FGV. In the original: “Estamos, senhores ouvintes, diante de uma espetacular multidão que enche completamente as dependências do Vasco da Gama. Cerca de setenta mil pessoas vieram para essa praça de esportes a fim de assistir as comemorações culminantes do Dia da Independência.”

same lead, and wore the same uniforms. Along with the emotional and celebratory atmosphere of such events, these common elements crystallized their communion in their minds. Although the thousands of children who participated in these events could scarcely meet everyone in these ceremonies, it is fair to say that they could have felt like all children in Brazil were present. In other words, at these events, children could have a real experience of the national community they had previously imagined. The thousands of adults who attended the Concentrations were also aware of the ideals music education conveyed, and shared this patriotic emotion and sense of “Brazilian” communion, becoming part of the “real community” as well. In the Hour of Independence, these adults also experienced a real-life-sense of the big Brazilian community they had previously only imagined.

In the above-mentioned radio broadcast, the narrator commented about this sense of communion that people in Rio, and throughout Brazil, shared through nationalistic and patriotic feelings disseminated at that Concentration: “[The youth parade] was a spectacle that became indelibly etched in the eyes of all who attended the parade of twenty thousand students . . . who displayed a great sense of duty, of civism, of love for Brazil, which excited the spectacular crowd who rushed to the streets that morning to watch the parade of the youth in the great commemoration to the Day of the Race.”<sup>18</sup>

While the mass of adults in the audience was not part of the orpheonic group, this broadcast suggests they were taken by the same “national” emotion that emanated from

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<sup>18</sup> Radio broadcast of 7 September 1942. Document collected at CPDOC-FGV. The narrator mistakenly reported 20,000 participant children and the official program reported 25,000. Later in the broadcast, however, he corrected himself and announced 25,000 children instead. In the original: “Foi o desfile de nossa mocidade. Um espetáculo que ficou indelévelmente gravado nos olhos de todos aqueles que assistiram ao desfile dos 20.000 alunos . . . com uma noção de dever, com uma noção de civismo, com uma noção de amor ao Brasil, que empolgou completamente a espetacular massa que acorreu para as ruas naquela manhã a fim de assistir ao desfile da mocidade na grande comemoração do Dia da Raça.”

school children. The national pride was such that, in the eyes of the broadcaster, the Independence Day Concentration celebrated the country and also the Brazilian “race” (it is not clear; however, what he meant by “race,” since there are several races, and ethnic groups in Brazil, and September 7 commemorates the nation and all national citizens by extension. It is possible he used the word “race” in the singular because he wanted to convey a sense of unity to the diversity Brazilian ethnicities).

In this broadcast, the narrator also spoke about the patriotic communion that happened throughout Brazil on the celebration of Independence Day, affirming that the festivities happened in the large metropolis and also “in all towns of Brazil that cheered in the same emotion and patriotic enthusiasm of the populations of Rio de Janeiro.”<sup>19</sup> In the capital, the demonstrations of Orpheonic Chant reinforced this sense of patriotic communion that naturally emanated from the population on the day that celebrated the nation: the demonstrations display children’s sense of civic duty, collective discipline, and love for Brazil, and they also disseminated these ideas to people in attendance and through radio broadcast to the whole population of Rio and other Brazilian cities. In essence, through their emotional environment, these Concentrations crystallized in the minds of people the same common identifiers of *brasilidade* and contributed to the materialization of the imagined community of national beings.

### **A Real Community of Children and Adults**

Children were essential to the realization of the Orpheonic Concentrations, and although thousands of adults also contributed to the success of the Concentrations as

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<sup>19</sup> Radio broadcast of September 7, 1942. In the original: “Esse espetáculo disse se repetiu por todo o Brasil. Não só nas grandes metrópolis, nas capitais dos estados, mas também em todos os municípios do Brasil, que vibraram na mesma emoção e no mesmo arrebatamento patriótico com que vibraram as populações do Rio de Janeiro.”

members of the audience, the mass of participating children was the protagonist. Children's teachers were likewise important because they were responsible, among others things, for preparing children to sing, coordinating their distribution on the soccer field, and ensuring their safety from the time they left their schools on the trams that took them to the event until they got back to their schools. With respect to the Orpheonic Concentration of 1945, Lieutenant Colonel Moacyr Toscano, director of the Department of Nationalistic Education, wrote a letter to the Secretary of Education addressing the importance of students and teachers for the success of the Hour of Independence that year. In his words, "The alluded solemnity could well be called 'the party of teachers and students.' We have always affirmed—and it would not be too much to do it again—that the brilliance and success of the solemnities we put together depend 99% on the participation of teachers and students."<sup>20</sup>

To reach out to the adult population and to massively advertise about the Orpheonic Concentrations, Villa-Lobos distributed pamphlets from airplanes. In a pamphlet he launched from airplanes in 1932, Villa-Lobos used a strong patriotic tone to advertise his method of music education as well as that year's Orpheonic Concentration. This pamphlet exemplifies the essential patriotic and socializing character of Orpheonic Chant and Orpheonic Concentrations and reveals a political tone similar to the tone Vargas used in his speeches. Through a clever text Villa-Lobos

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<sup>20</sup> Moacyr Toscano, "Cópia de pf. nº 319 de 10-09; 1945, dirigido ao exmo. Snr. secretário geral pelo diretor do Departamento de Educação Nacionalista, a respeito da Solenidade da 'Hora da Independência,' no dia 7 de setembro do corrente ano." (Document collected in the Museu Villa-Lobos. No document number). In the original: "A aludida solenidade bem poderia ter sido chamada 'festa de professores e alunos'. Sempre afirmamos e não seria demais fazê-lo mais uma vez, que o brilho e o êxito de solenidades como a que realizamos dependem 99% do concurso de professores e alunos."

“recruited” the population to unite and move toward the same goals, promoting the growth of the nation:

Soldiers of Brazil, Men of the Sea, Factory Workers, Academic Youth, Intellectuals, Educators, Artists, Feminine Souls, Brazilian Youth, Conservative and Progressive Classes of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture! Forward! Confident in the future of our land, let us move forward, all united, cohesive, without hesitating! In this crusade of resurgence of our fatherland, crossing through the great crisis of economic, social, and moral evolution that shakes the entire world, we have as pioneer the most powerful and charming of all arts—Music—the most perfect expression of life. Music that through the means of sounds unites the souls, purifying human sentiments, ennobling the character, elevating the spirit to a more complete ideal . . . . Propagated in the Public Schools the Orpheonic Chant radiates enthusiasm and happiness in children, awakens spontaneous discipline in the youth, a healthy interest in life, and love for the Fatherland and human kind!!!<sup>21</sup>

In this text, much like Vargas’s speeches, Villa-Lobos tried to convey the idea that all these people formed a homogeneous and concise group of comrades who, despite their different backgrounds and heritages, should come together to promote the advancement of the nation. Cleverly, he opened the text with the words “Soldiers of Brazil,” which warrants a two-fold interpretation: while it refers to the actual soldiers, it also conveys metaphorically the idea that all other classes of people and professions Villa-Lobos mentioned afterward were “Soldiers of Brazil,” who, in their own ways, also fought for their nation. Furthermore, in this text Villa-Lobos described the benefits

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<sup>21</sup> Villa-Lobos, “Exortação,” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos* Volume IV, (Rio de Janeiro: MEC-Museu Villa-Lobos, 1969), 115 (reprint from a prospect from 1932). In the original: “Soldados do Brasil, Homens do Mar, Operários, Mocidade Acadêmica, Intelectuais, Educadores, Artistas, Almas Femininas, Juventude Brasileira, Classes Conservadoras e Progressistas do Comercio, Indústria e Lavoura! Avante! Confiantes no futuro de nossa terra, sigamos avante, unidos todos, coesos, sem hesitar! Nessa cruzada de ressurgimento da nossa pátria, atravessando a grande crise de evolução econômica, social e moral que abala o mundo inteiro, tenham por pioneira a mais poderosa e encantadora de todas as artes—a Música—a mais perfeita expressão da vida. Música, que por meio dos sons une as almas, purificando sentimentos humanos, enobrecendo o caráter, elevando o espírito a um ideal mais completo. Como indicar esse guia seguro a Nação Brasileira do futuro?!!! - Pela voz humana, pelo Canto Orfeônico!!! Propagada pelas Escolas Públicas o Canto Orfeônico irradia entusiasmo e alegria nas crianças, desperta na mocidade a disciplina espontânea, o interesse sadio pela vida, o amor a Pátria e a humanidade!!!”

Orpheonic Chant would bring to the youth, conveying the idea that his Orpheonic Chant was less about training musicians and more about forming human beings with good moral behavior and patriotic ideals.

Members of the government also reached out to the adult population and formally invited staff members and children's parents to participate in the celebrations.

Invariably, these invitations used strong patriotic tones and sounded like "recruitment" for soldiers who should participate in the commemoration of Independence Day to praise their country and carry out their duties to the nation. In the program for the Hour of Independence of 1939, for instance, Pio Borges, the General Secretary of the Secretariat of Education and Culture, wrote the following text to invite his staff to participate in the Orpheonic Concentration of Independence Day:

As September 7 draws closer, the magna data of the Fatherland, I take the opportunity to invite the Messrs. employees of this Secretariat to a significant demonstration of your nationalistic sentiments, which will be represented by your attendance at the "Hour of Independence," in the "Civic Concentration" to be held in the Stadium of the Club Vasco da Gama, and through the ways that each one of you want to use to reinforce in the public consciousness the notion of collective social discipline indispensable to the order and progress of Brazil."<sup>22</sup>

In this passage, Borges practically instructed his staff to act as "soldiers of the nation" who should help to propagate the ideology of the regime. Borges encouraged them not only to attend the Civic Concentration but also to act as agents to reinforce the sense of discipline at that event, thus helping to promote the progress of Brazil. Likewise, in the

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<sup>22</sup> Pio Borges, Official Document of Hora da Independência of 1939, 4. (Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. No document number). In the original: "Aproximando-se 7 de Setembro, data magna da Pátria, aproveito a oportunidade para concitar os Srs. Funcionários desta Secretaria a uma demonstração expressiva de seus sentimentos nacionalistas, que se traduzirá pelo comparecimento à "Hora da Independência", na "Concentração Cívica" a ser realizada no Estádio do Club Vasco da Gama, e pelo emprego dos meios ao alcance de cada qual para que se torne cada vez mais forte na consciência pública a noção da disciplina social coletiva indispensável à ordem e ao progresso do Brasil." Document collected at the *Museu Villa-Lobos* (no archive number).

program for the 1942 Hour of Independence, Toscano wrote about the importance of children's parents' participation in that year's Concentration, imposing a patriotic responsibility on them: "By responding to the request of The Secretary General [of Education] and attending the festivities, parents and guardians [of participating children] will provide the Government with their valuable collaboration in this moment of patriotic exaltation that congregates all good Brazilians."<sup>23</sup> Like Villa-Lobos and Borges, Toscano also used a strong patriotic tone in his text and "recruited" schoolchildren's parents to collaborate with the government. When he said the parents and guardians will provide a valuable collaboration to the event that gathers good Brazilians, Toscano projected moral values on those willing to attend the Orpheonic Concentration, also linking patriotism to good moral character.

## **Organization and Discipline**

### **The Logistics of Hora da Independência**

The mobilization of schoolchildren in Orpheonic Concentrations that brought together thousands of people required meticulous organization. As the official documents of the Hour of Independence show, the events were carefully planned. These documents contain information about the participating schools, number of students from each school, procedures to embark and disembark schoolchildren on the trams that took them to the stadium, the distribution and organization of schoolchildren in the bleachers, and the role of individual teachers in the event. The documents also presented the names of staff members responsible for several other tasks, such as

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<sup>23</sup> Cited on the Official Document of Hora da Independência of 1942. (Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*, No document number). In the original: "Atendendo à solicitação do Sr. Secretário Geral e comparecendo às festividades, os Srs. Pais e Responsáveis prestarão ao Governo sua valiosa colaboração nesse momento de exaltação patriótica que congrega os bons brasileiros."

taking children to their designed positions in the bleachers and giving them little flags with the colors of the Brazilian flag.

Because of the large number of children participating in these events, the logistics of the Concentrations were carefully laid out in these documents. Figure 5-2 shows some aspects of logistics and organization of children and the general public on the Orpheonic Concentration of 7 September 1939. Figure 5-2 shows stadium doors for patrons and the general public (gate no. 1), authorities (gate no. 2), bands (gate no. 3), schoolchildren (gates no. 4 and 5), and how all these people should be distributed in the stadium. Children, patrons, and the general public were assigned positions on the bleachers and the authorities stayed on a podium on the soccer field. Figure 5-2 also shows the position of the groups of physicians, nurses, ambulances, policemen, and school buses, and the location of snacks to help children get through the day.<sup>24</sup>

The 27-page official document for the 1939 Hour of Independence shows the sense of discipline taught at schools was extremely important to the organization and success of Orpheonic Concentrations. In addition to the Orpheonic Chant method, physical education classes also instilled an almost military-like discipline into children's personalities. In these physical education classes, students were trained to march for the important Orpheonic Concentrations. According to the official document of 1939, the physical education teachers should:

During the classes of Physical Education, in their respective schools, train students to march in columns of 4, demanding that students position

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<sup>24</sup> Official Document of Hora da Independência of 1939. The text of the General Secretariat of Education and Culture that contains the logistics and the program of the Concentration, says the number of participants was 30,000 but the figure that is part of the same document shows 25,000 instead. It seems that the second number is incorrect: the document also contains a detailed list of participating schools and the number of children gathered in each school. On that part of the document, the total number of children is 29,240.

themselves according to their voices [vocal part] and that they march with elegance and correct attitude, to present themselves to the audience of this great solemnity, dapper and demonstrating that the Brazilian youth is disciplined and betters its physique to better serve the Fatherland.<sup>25</sup>

This strict discipline taught in school was very important for the success of the Concentration because it guaranteed that children would follow the commands of their teachers and other staff members. Additionally, through their display of discipline, children showed respect for the fatherland.

For Villa-Lobos, the enforcement of discipline during the Orpheonic demonstrations was imperative because he wanted to display the efficiency of music education in instilling discipline in children and also because only through discipline would he be able to control such an enormous body of children and to keep them silent when not singing. Having to stand several hours in a crowded soccer stadium without their parents must not have been easy for children and the discipline learned in school must have helped them accomplish this difficult obligation.

Through these public demonstrations of Orpheonic Chant in which children displayed an elevated sense of patriotism, discipline, and civic duty, Villa-Lobos also sought to extend the principles of his music education to the whole population. The invitation ticket for the Orpheonic Concentration at *São Januário* of 7 July 1935, which gathered 20,000 voices (Figure 5-3) included the following order in bold capital letters:

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<sup>25</sup> Pio Borges (Secretary of Education), in the official document of Hora da Independência of 1939, 8-9. Document collected at the *Museu Villa-Lobos* (no archive number). In the original: "Os Srs. Profs. Deverão, durante as aulas de Educação Física nas suas respectivas escolas treinar os seus alunos na marcha em coluna por 4 e já exigindo que êles se coloquem de acôrdo com as vozes e que marchem com elegância, atituda correta, para que se apresentem aos assistentes da grande solenidade, garbosos e demonstrando que a mocidade brasileira é disciplinada e que melhora o seu físico para melhor servir sua Pátria."

“DURING THE PERFORMANCE TOTAL SILENCE IS REQUIRED!”<sup>26</sup> Because this event took place in a soccer stadium, where people were used to rooting for their teams and making noise, such a message seems warranted. Nevertheless, the invitation also shows that Villa-Lobos was already trying to educate and awaken discipline in the people, even before the Concentration started.

Indeed, in speaking about the objectives of the Orpheonic Concentrations, Villa-Lobos said the most important aspect of these events was the sense of civic duty and collective discipline it would awaken in the attendees:

The civic-orpheonic demonstrations cannot be considered recreational or artistic exhibitions . . . . They aim solely at demonstrating the civic progress of the schools, because our people . . . still do not comprehend the importance of men’s collective discipline. We must thus consider each of these demonstrations as “civic classes” not only for school children, but for the population [as a whole], and the proof of its efficiency is found precisely in the noticeable progress observed year after year in the civic attitudes of our people.<sup>27</sup>

For Villa-Lobos, these Orpheonic Concentrations were not artistic events but a way to display children’s elevated sense of collective discipline and civic duty learned at school. Because of the huge number of children who participated in the Concentrations, Villa-Lobos could demonstrate that the social education he promoted through Orpheonic

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<sup>26</sup> In the “Convite ingresso” to the Orpheonic Concentration of 7 July 1935. (Document collected at the Museu Villa-Lobos. No document number).

<sup>27</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “O ensino popular da música no Brasil,” 12-13. In the original: “As demonstrações cívico-orfeônicas não podem ser consideradas como exibições recreativas ou artísticas, pelo menos neste período de formação de compreensão da disciplina coletiva da multidão. Elas visam tão somente provar o progresso cívico das escolas, pois que a nossa gente, talvez em consequência de razões raciais, de clínica, de meio, ou dos poucos séculos da existência do Brasil, ainda não compreende a importância da disciplina coletiva dos homens. Devemos, pois, considerar cada uma dessas demonstrações como “aulas de civismo” não só para os escolares, mas, principalmente, para o povo, cuja prova da sua eficiência está justamente no visível progresso que, de ano a ano se observa nas atitudes cívicas do nosso povo.”

Chant was efficient in developing their sense of discipline even within a large community.

Castro Filho, Villa-Lobos's brother-in-law<sup>28</sup> and a personal friend of the composer for several years, reported on the impressive quasi-military organization of the Hour of Independence of 1936 when he was a counselor to the soccer team *Vasco da Gama*, whose training stadium is *São Januário*.<sup>29</sup> As a counselor to *Vasco*, Filho was working closely with the board of directors of the soccer team (which had control over the stadium) and helped Villa-Lobos with the bureaucratic organization of the Orpheonic Concentration that year. In a video interview, Filho recalled: "All municipal teachers were mobilized on this occasion. I recall that even the Light [the Canadian company Brazilian Traction Light and Power Co. Ltd, which provided electric, telephone, and tram services for São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro at that time] mobilized countless trams to transport the children. It was a movement of almost military formation."<sup>30</sup> From this testimonial, one realizes that from the moment they left their schools headed for the soccer stadium, children were part of an "almost military" formation, for which the discipline instilled at schools had somewhat prepared them.

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<sup>28</sup> Castro Filho was married to Aidê, sister of Arminda Neves d'Almeida (Mindinha), Villa-Lobos's second wife.

<sup>29</sup> In Brazil, soccer teams are part of big-club organizations. These clubs form the elite Brazilian athletes. The clubs are also leisure centers for ordinary people and require the purchase of membership. Most of these club have facilities such as swimming pools, volleyball and basketball courts, and a soccer stadium, which function as a training place for the club's soccer team, but also host professional soccer games. Eventually, soccer stadiums are also used for extra-sports activities such as the Orpheonic Concentrations in Villa-Lobos's time.

<sup>30</sup> Castro Filho in *Depoimentos* -Tape 1 (DVD 38) min. 50. (DVD collected in the multimedia archive from the *Museu Villa-Lobos*). In the original: "Todos os professores municipais foram mobilizados na ocasião. Eu me recordo que até a bLight mobilizou bondes e mais bondes para transportar essas crianças. Foi um movimento assim, quase de uma formação militar."

In the official document of the *Hora da Independência* of 1939, the section “Instructions for the ‘Commemoration of the Day of the Fatherland’” lists 25 items, several of which display the enforcement of discipline in that Concentration. Items 10 through 12, for instance, describe the quasi-military organization of some logistic aspects of the Concentration (numbers in brackets indicate the item):

[10] Students must leave the schools organized in groups divided by their voices, respectively 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> to facilitate the entrance in the stadium. [11] On disembarking, students will form groups in columns of 4 and will be guided to the respective entrance by the responsible Commissions. [12] From the entrance gates, students will be led to the field by the respective commission. Next, they will be grouped according to their voices by the respective commission, which will await the command from the Commission or Direct Contact with the Chief-Conductor to guide them to the Commission of the Bleachers, which will locate them according to “voices” or “groups.”<sup>31</sup>

Additionally, item 15 on the list said while in the bleachers, teachers should insist that children be kept in absolute silence, pay attention to the Chief-Conductor, listen to the bands and chants of children from other schools, and pay attention to the Chief-Conductor’s signal to raise their little flags, distributed before the event started.

In addition to the discipline itself, several other elements of the above list show the quasi-military character of these events. For instance, despite the inherent higher status of the conductor before his instrumental or vocal group, Villa-Lobos was called Chief-Conductor, of which “Chief” conveyed a military value to his figure and the idea that he was a high authority in the Concentration. Villa-Lobos was responsible for authorizing

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<sup>31</sup> Pio Borges, in the official document of *Hora da Independência* of 1939, 12. In the original: “[10] Os alunos deverão sair das escolas formados por grupos ou vozes, respectivamente 1.º, 2.º, 3.º e 4.º afim de facilitar a hora da entrada no Estádio. [11] Ao desembarcar, os alunos formarão por grupos, em colunas de 4 (quatro), e serão encaminhados até os respectivos portões de entrada pelas Comissões disso encarregadas. [12] Dos portões de entrada os alunos serão conduzidos ao gramado pela respective comissão. Em seguida serão colocados em grupos de vozes pela respective comissão a qual aguardará ordens da Comissão de Contacto Direto com o Regente Chefe, para encaminhá-los à Comissão da Arquibancadas, que os localizará de acôrdo com as “vozes” ou “grupos”.

the Commissions to guide students to the bleachers, inspecting the Commission that distributed the flags to children, giving the signal for children to raise their flags, allowing someone to speak on the microphone (set up for Vargas's speech and for Villa-Lobos to provide instructions to schoolchildren and musicians), and authorizing all schools to leave the stadium when the event was over. Because of the colossal nature of these events, their military connotations, and the power of Villa-Lobos, there was even a special Commission of Direct Contact with the Chief-Conductor, which was in charge of delivering any messages addressed to Villa-Lobos at the Concentrations.

This military atmosphere was also part of other commemorative events that took place before the Concentrations on 7 September. In 1942, for instance, the radio broadcaster enthusiastically commented about the military parade that took place that morning conveying an atmosphere of military and patriotic pride to the population:

A fact of great significance that can be mentioned today, in the culminating moment of celebrations of the Week of the Fatherland is the great parade that took place this morning in the capital of the republic, in which participated our forces on land, at sea, and in the air, with an unsurpassable elegance, in a decisive demonstration of Brazil's military preparedness . . . . The popular mass that witnessed this morning's wonderful parade in the republic's capital, was estimated to be 400,000 people, spread throughout the Flamengo neighborhood, Avenue Rio Branco, Avenue Marechal Floriano, and all along Avenue President Vargas. The spectacle makes clear the solemn decision of the Brazilian nation defend the honor of the Brazilian flag with weapons in hands.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Radio broadcast on 7 September 1942. Document collected at CPDOC-FGV. In the original: "Fato de grande significação, que pode ser mencionado hoje, nesse momento culminante das comemorações da semana da pátria é o grande desfile realizado pela manhã na capital da república. Desfile de que participaram as nossas forças de terra, mar e ar, num garbo inexcelável, numa demonstração absoluta do preparo militar do Brasil . . . . A massa popular que presenciou a parada maravilhosa na manhã de hoje na capital da república, era orçada em cerca de 400 mil pessoas, que se estendiam através do bairro do flamengo, da avenida Rio Branco, da avenida Marechal Floriano e ao longo de toda a avenida Presidente Vargas. Espetáculo que deixa bem patente a decisão solene da nação brasileira de defender a honra do pendão brasileiro de armas na mão." The narrator was most likely making reference to Brazil entering WWII in August of that year.

The patriotic feelings and sense of civic duty demonstrated in this parade built up the crowd throughout the day and found its climax in the Hour of Independence at 4:00 P.M. By singing and listening to patriotic music in the Orpheonic Concentrations, the population could experience a cathartic nationalistic and patriotic moment that crystallized these sentiments disseminated throughout the whole day.

### **Bands and the Sense of Discipline in the Orpheonic Concentrations**

The participation of bands also contributed to the demonstration of discipline in the Orpheonic Concentrations and reinforced the military character of the celebrations. Villa-Lobos believed good bands could help awaken discipline in the population and, in a text about the teaching of instruments for the formation of bands at school, he affirmed that any band of popular, symphonic, or military character could act powerfully in the “social popular panorama, from which one can perfectly check the level of education of the people through the way they behave as they listen to the programs organized by these bands.”<sup>33</sup> Villa-Lobos said when he lived in Europe, he could determine the level of Europeans’ education when he listened to bands playing art music in public spaces in Paris and Barcelona: “Nobody asks for popular music and they do not take advantage of the fortissimos in the performance of the pieces to speak out loud about any subject. Why this respect and discipline?—Solely education.”<sup>34</sup> He

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<sup>33</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “Novas Diretrizes da Educação Civico-Artístico Musical,” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos* vol. XII, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Rio de Janeiro: MEC - Museu Villa-Lobos, 1981), 99. In the original: “Não resta a menor dúvida que a Banda de Música, seja a tradicional charanga dos arrabaldes, ou a pequena ou a grande banda de militares ou uma Banda Sinfônica no gênero da Guarda Republicana de Paris, a Municipal de Barcelona e a de Lisboa, e outras, todas formadas por artistas virtuosos agem, fortemente, no panorama social popular, do qual se pode verificar, perfeitamente, o grau de educação do povo pela maneira de se portar ao ouvir programas organizados por essas Bandas.”

<sup>34</sup> Villa-Lobos “Novas Diretrizes da Educação Musical,” 99. In the original: “Assisti várias vezes em Paris e Barcelona, as Bandas citadas e sempre tive dificuldade em obter um lugar para ouvi-las. Quando se anuncia que estas Bandas vão tocar numa praça ou jardim público, na cidade, um mês antes, não existe uma só cadeira de ferro, das que alugam em benefício de instituições artísticas populares. Os programas

continued: “It has been proven, therefore, that if we educate ourselves listening constantly to good Music Bands (and by good I mean bands trained by performers disciplined and conscious of the pure art), it will forcefully influence the progress of Brazilian crowds’ public behavior.”<sup>35</sup> For this reason, Villa-Lobos also implemented teaching band instruments at schools (for limited participants) and called for the participation of several bands in the Orpheonic Concentrations. In 1939, for instance, 1,000 musicians from eleven different military bands participated of the event, among which the bands of the Navy, the Military Police, the Firemen, the Battalion of Guards, the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Police, the Niterói Municipal Police, and the School Battalion.<sup>36</sup>

Like the 25,000 children (in mandatory blue and white uniforms) who participated in this Concentration, band musicians also followed the directions of the Chief-Conductor. Through their strict organization, alignment, and progression on the soccer field, they contributed to the visual display of discipline and reinforced the military connotations of the Concentration held in 1939. Figure 5-4 shows the organization and progression of these bands on the soccer field. At the top of the figure are the four participating groups of school choirs (*coros escolares*) organized in the bleachers.

Below the choirs, aligned horizontally, are the first position of the bands (*primeira*

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são organizados, exclusivamente, de música fina e elevada. Milhares de pessoas assistem de pé, uma hora e meia de música, no mais absoluto silêncio. Ninguém pede música popular, nem aproveita os fortísimos da execução das peças para falar mais alto assuntos diversos. Porque esse respeito, esta disciplina? – Educação, unicamente.”

<sup>35</sup> Villa-Lobos “Novas diretrizes da educação musical,” 99. In the original: “Por conseguinte, está provado que se nos educarmos ouvindo constantemente boas Bandas de Música (digo boas, quando são formadas de executantes disciplinados e conscientes da pura arte), forçosamente influirá no progresso do caráter popular das multidões brasileiras.”

<sup>36</sup> In the official document of Hora da Independência of 1939, 24.

*posição das bandas*) whose progression on the soccer field is indicated by arrows. The bands aligned vertically (along the edge of the soccer field) are in the second position (*segunda posição das bandas*). According to the instruction at the top of Figure 5-4, “The Bands will march in columns of five to the second position after the performance of nº 11 of the program, always following the directions of the Main Podium.”<sup>37</sup> The participation of bands along with their progression on the soccer field created a strong reference between Orpheonic Concentration and the military.<sup>38</sup>

### **The Music Programs and Vargas’s Ideologies: a Real Community Imagines the Nation**

The musical program of the Concentrations consisted mostly of patriotic melodies and hymns learned in school and, along with the display of discipline, the mandatory uniforms, and the participation of bands, reinforced the military aspect of these nationalistic and patriotic events. The program of the Concentrations of 1942 and 1943 disclose their nationalistic and patriotic nature:

#### **Program of the Orpheonic Concentration of 7 September 1942<sup>39</sup>**

I – National Anthem (Chorus and Bands)  
 PRAYER FROM THE EXCELLENCY  
 MR.PRESIDENT TO THE BRAZILIAN  
 NATION

#### **Program of the Orpheonic Concentration of 7 September 1943<sup>40</sup>**

I – National Anthem  
 DISCOURSE OF PRESIDENT  
 GETÚLIO VARGAS TO THE NATION  
 II – Hymn of the Independence  
 III – Hymn to the Flag

<sup>37</sup> In the official document of Hora da Independência of 1939, 26.

<sup>38</sup> Figure 5-4 also shows two Chiefs (*chefes*) whose functions are not explained in the official document but probably helped coordinate the distribution of children in the bleachers and the evolution of the bands on the field.

<sup>39</sup> Official programs of Orpheonic Concentrations of 1942. Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. Document number MVL 26.14.186).

<sup>40</sup> Official programs of Orpheonic Concentrations of 1942 and 1943. (Document collected in the *Museu Villa-Lobos*. Document number MVL 26.14.190).

II – National Anthem (Choir and Bands)

III – Hymn of Independence

IV – Civic-Religious Prayer  
(Orpheonic Salutation)

V – Hymn to the National Flag

VI – a) Orpheonic salutation to the Flag

b) Orpheonic Salutation to the Fatherland

VII – Brazil the Country of the Future

VIII – Orpheonic Effects:

Palm trees

Invocation to metallurgy

History repeats itself

IX – Oath of Brazilian Youth

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*September Seven* – Heroic March  
(for the procession of the students)

IV – “Invocation” in Defense of the Fatherland

V – Hymn to Victory

VI - Dance of the Earth

FINAL PROCESSION

Hymn of the Brazilian Youth

Besides its quasi-military nationalistic and patriotic musical content, these Orpheonic Concentrations presented several other characteristics intrinsically connected to the government’s ideologies, including Vargas’s prayer to the nation in 1942. This prayer conveyed a religious “aura” to the most important day of celebration of the fatherland, which was reinforced by the fourth number of the 1942 program (Civic Religious Prayer), whose very conveys religious significance to the sense of citizenship. Several other elements in the 1942 program reflected Vargas’s ideologies: the idea that Brazil was the “country of the future” that blossomed under Vargas’s regime; the orpheonic effects “emulating” the movement of the palm trees, making reference to a “typical” Brazilian tree; the orpheonic effects making reference to steelwork, which Vargas incentivized for industrial growth in Brazil; and, finally, the oath of Brazilian youth to the

fatherland, another military element of this Concentration. Regarding the Orpheonic Concentration of 1943, of which the program is shorter, the “Invocação em Defesa da Pátria” (Invocation in Defense of the Patria) and the “Hino à Vitória” (Hymn to the Victory) made reference to the entrance of Brazil in WWII, which was in the news in the whole country and operated as a “common identifier of *brasilidade*” because all Brazilians were united through the same desire for victory.<sup>41</sup>

### **The Emotional Effect of Orpheonic Concentrations: Crystallizing the Real Community**

In addition to all the other elements in the programs, several visual references contributed to reinforce the “Brazilian” (nationalistic and patriotic) nature of the Orpheonic Concentrations. Among these references were choreographies of the mass of schoolchildren on the bleachers forming the word “Brazil,” (Figure 5-5), and children waiving little Brazilian flags at Villa-Lobos’s signal (Figure 5-6). All these celebratory elements contributed to awake both children’s and adults’ emotions, reinforcing their quasi-religious devotion to the nation and quasi-military discipline for the fatherland.

These Concentrations had such a powerful impact on their participants that several years later these people would emotionally recall the Concentrations’ atmosphere. In a lecture from 1971, the teacher of Orpheonic Chant, Cacilda Guimarães Fróes, reported on testimonials about Orpheonic Chant she heard from two former students who also became teachers of the discipline. According to Fróes, one of them recalled her thoughts and emotions when taking part in an Orpheonic

Concentration held on Independence Day:

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<sup>41</sup> Although Vargas had demonstrated sympathy for the Fascist regimes, Brazil entered WWII on the side of the Allies in August 1942 because German submarines torpedoed Brazilian ships in the Atlantic Ocean. Besides, Vargas realized Brazil could not be on the opposite side of the USA, the most powerful economy in the Americas and becoming the most powerful economic and military nation in the world.

There was widespread emotion. The spectacle was surprising for the unforeseen. It took one gesture of Maestro Villa-Lobos, who commanded the spectacle, for the immense mass of children to rise singing in the most eloquent demonstration of discipline and citizenship . . . . In the bleachers the students formed the frame of the picture. Villa-Lobos stood out among all. On that day, like on no other, I felt the presence of the Fatherland, which was there, palpitating in the happiness of school children, in the enthusiasm of all people singing with us, vibrating with us . . . . I then looked to my flag. It never seemed so beautiful to me, so imposing in its majesty.<sup>42</sup>

Fróes's text shows the Concentrations had great power to imbue the ideology of the government into people's minds, especially patriotism and a sense of discipline and civic duty. From her report, it is clear these sentiments were largely shared by attendees, and crystallized in their identities the unity of all those people singing together in praise of the country.

Carlos Drummond de Andrade (1902-1987), widely regarded as the most important Brazilian poet of the twentieth century, also witnessed the power these Concentrations had to generate emotion and to create a sense of collective identity and national pride in the participants. In 1959, he commented on the powerful impact an Orpheonic Concentration had provoked in him and the rest of the audience:

The masses [in the bleachers of the soccer stadium] were living a cosmic Brazilian emotion; we were so united to one another, so participatory [as a community] and at the same time so proud of ourselves [as individuals], in the plenitude of our sensorial capacity; it was so beautiful and smashing that for some people there was no other way but to cry; cry for pure joy.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Cacilda Guimarães Fróes, "Educação—Civismo—Villa-Lobos," in *Presença de Villa-Lobos*, Vol VII. 1st ed. (Rio de Janeiro: MEC-Museu Villa-Lobos, 1972), 34. In the original: "A emoção era geral. O espetáculo surpreende pelo imprevisto. Um gesto do Maestro Villa-Lobos, que comandava o espetáculo, ergue-se cantando, aquela imensa massa de crianças, na mais eloquente demonstração de disciplina e civismo. Os corações fremem de entusiasmo e vêm-se lágrimas até nos olhos de gente grande. Nas arquibancadas, os alunos formavam o relevo do quadro. Villa-Lobos o ponto alto, culminante da paisagem. Naquele dia, como em nenhum outro, senti a presença da Pátria. Ela estava ali palpitando na alegria dos escolares, no entusiasmo do povo vibrando conosco... Volvi, então um olhar para minha bandeira. Nunca me pareceu tão bela, tão imponente em sua majestade."

<sup>43</sup> Carlos Drummond de Andrade quoted in *Villa-Lobos: Edição do seu centenário* (Rio de Janeiro: Museu Villa-Lobos - Edição Alhumbramento, 1986), 74. In the original: "A multidão em torno vivia uma

Drummond provides strong evidence of the emotional power of the Concentrations to reinforce the sense of collective unity in the masses and the sense of pride (of being Brazilian) in each individual. As Fróes's and Drummond's testimonials reveal, the Concentrations accessed people's emotions so deeply that some of them cried with joy at those intense celebrations of the fatherland.

The emotional atmosphere of such events affected even Vargas himself, whose main intentions with the Orpheonic Concentrations were strictly political. With respect to this, Castro Filho recalled: "The old Getúlio who made appearances in [the Concentrations of] September 7 for instance . . . got excited. He was normally a man with a cold and controlled temperament [but] got excited when he saw the movements of those thousands and thousands of little arms imitating the [movement] of the coconut trees, or [emulating] with their mouths closed [*bocca chiusa*] the movement of the waves of the Brazilian sea."<sup>44</sup> Further on, Filho mentioned that Vargas's nephew, one of Filho's great personal friends, told him that in Vargas's moments of reflection, the president hummed the patriotic songs he heard children sing, because "they stuck in the ears and to the senses of old Getúlio."<sup>45</sup>

### **Final Considerations**

The statements above show that the grandiose, festive, and emotional atmosphere of the Orpheonic Concentrations worked as a powerful mechanism to inculcate national sentiment in children and adults alike. In these events, through the

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emoção brasileira e cósmica, estávamos tão unidos uns aos outros, tão participantes e ao mesmo tempo tão individualizados e ricos de nós mesmos, na plenitude de nossa capacidade sensorial, era tão belo e esmagador, que para muitos não havia outro jeito senão chorar; chorar de pura alegria."

<sup>44</sup> Filho, *Depoimentos*-Tape 1.

<sup>45</sup> Filho, *Depoimentos*-Tape 1.

indexical properties of music, Vargas also propagated the sense of union of all people toward a common national sentiment. With respect to the power of “indices” for rallies and political propaganda, Turino affirmed:

In spite of their rather unpredictable consequences, indices are frequently harnessed for the construction of social identities—in advertising, in mass political rallies and propaganda, and in ritual ceremonies—because of their emotion-producing potentials and as pre-existing signs of identity . . . indices signify our personal and collective experiences in a particularly direct manner, they are “really” attached to events and aspects of our lives, and hence are *experienced* as real; they are signs of our lives, not signs about them.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, the Orpheonic Concentrations were very efficient for inculcating nationalistic and patriotic sentiment in people, because in such an emotional atmosphere people did not have to be forced to praise the fatherland; they spontaneously embraced all values disseminated in these events as intrinsic parts of their personal and collective identities and necessary for their existence as “national beings.” Within a disciplined and rigorous organization, these huge masses of people experienced together the quasi-religious “presence” of the nation and crystallized themselves as a real community. By experiencing together the “common identifiers of *brasilidade*” disseminated and inculcated in the Orpheonic Concentrations, the once imagined community was now totally *conscious* of its existence and union.

Although the nationalistic ideology came from the government and its nationalist intellectuals, Orpheonic Chant and the musical events associated with it (including the Orpheonic Concentrations) presented this ideology in such a way that Brazilians would believe that they spontaneously developed feelings toward the fatherland. Intelligently, the government used children as vessels of such ideas of nationality. The essential

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<sup>46</sup> Turino, “Signs of Imagination,” 236.

participation of children in the Orpheonic Concentrations conveyed a sense of naiveté to those grandiose rallies, thus assuaging the clear political purposes of such events. In that context, children were once more the perfect disseminators of political ideology.

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P. 22  
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# EXHORTAÇÃO CIVICA VILLA-LOBOS

Venham ouvir o maior cõro- que se  
tem formado em todas as Americas

## DEZ MIL VOZES

==== (10.000) =====

BRASILEIROS E EXTRANGEIROS

1931 - S. Paulo

Domingo, dia 24 de Maio, às 9 1/2 da manhan

## QUATROCENTOS EXECUTANTES

(400)

ENTRE PROFESSORES DE ORCHESTRA E BANDAS

Bondes e auto - omnibus em numero extraordinario

### PROGRAMMA

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>I - P'RA FRENTE O' BRASIL</b><br>(Cõro mixto) . . . <i>H. Villa-Lobos</i>                | <b>V - PROTOPHONIA DO GUARANY</b><br>(Orchestra e Banda) . <i>Carlos Gomes</i>       |
| <b>II - Hymno Universitario</b><br>(Cõro e Banda) . . . <i>Carlos Gomes</i>                 | <b>VI - NA BAHIA TEM...</b><br>(Cõro masculino a secco) <i>H. Villa-Lobos</i>        |
| <b>III - Cantiga de Roda</b><br>(Cõro feminino, orchestra e Banda)<br><i>H. Villa-Lobos</i> | <b>VII - MEU PAIZ</b><br>(Exhortação) (Cõro e Banda)<br><i>H. Villa-Lobos</i>        |
| <b>IV - Brasil Novo</b><br>(Hymno revolucionario, cõro e Banda)<br><i>H. Villa-Lobos</i>    | <b>VIII - HYMNO NACIONAL</b><br>(Cõro, Orchestra e Banda)<br><i>Francisco Manoel</i> |

Toda a renda dos distinctivos, serà em beneficio das instituições de caridade ás crianças desamparadas de S. Paulo e as caixas escolares de algumas Escolas Superiores, cujos alumnos tomam parte no grande cõro

Figure 5-1. Exhortação Cívica Villa-Lobos (Civic Exhortation Villa-Lobos) of 24 May 1931. Document collected at the Museu Villa-Lobos (file number MVL 76.14.113). The document presents some post scriptum handwritten information.

DIA DA PATRIA (HORA DA INDEPENDENCIA) — 16 HORAS  
 7 DE SETEMBRO 1939  
 DEMONSTRAÇÃO DE CANTO ORPHEONICO NO CLUB DE REGATAS.  
 VASCO DA GAMA.

25 000 VOZES — 1 000 MUSICOS DE BANDA.

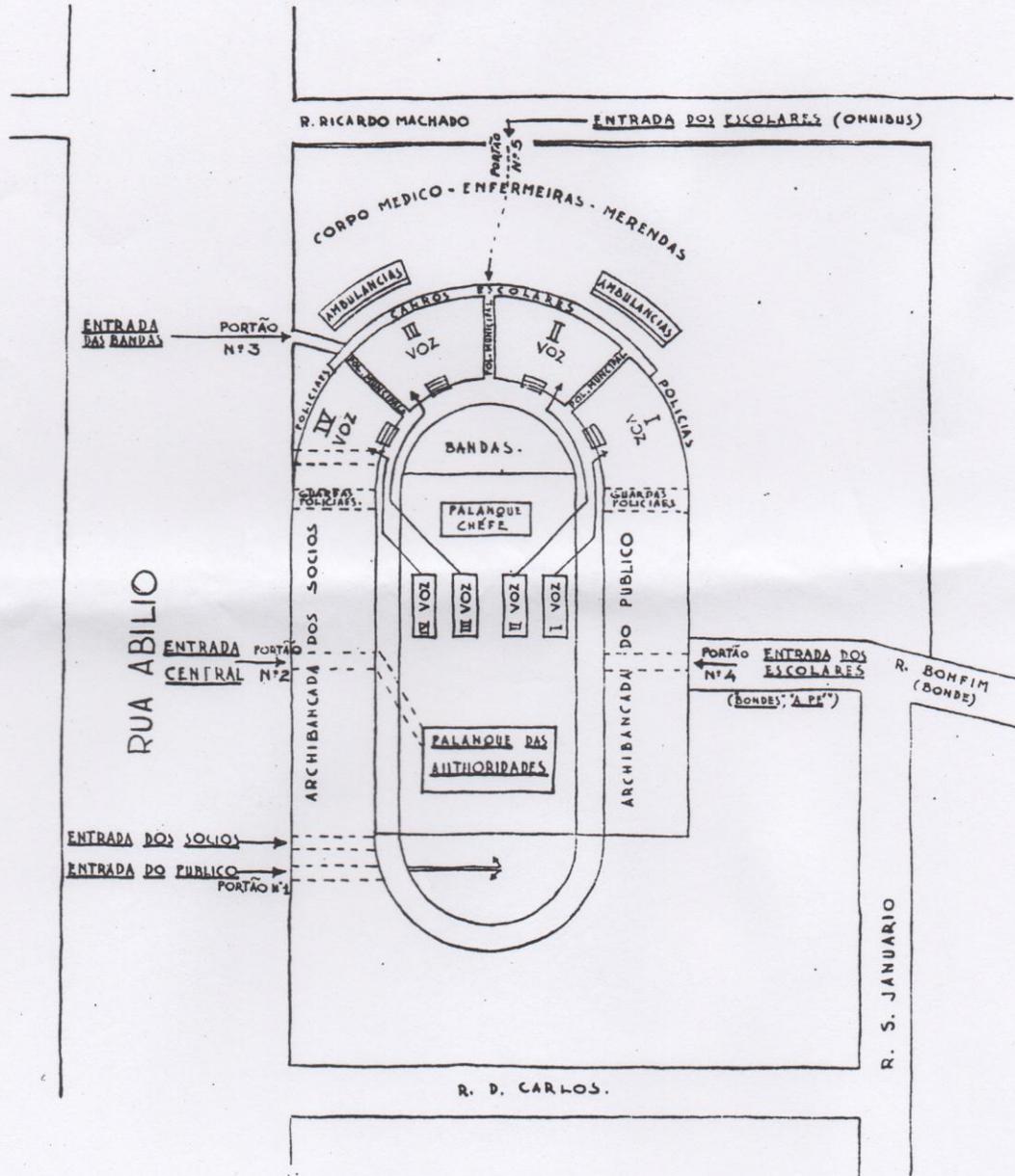


Figure 5-2. Logistics and organization of children and general public on the Orpheonic Concentration of 7 September 1939. Figure taken from the Official Document with the logistics and program of the Orpheonic Concentration of September 7 1939. Document collected at the Museu Villa-Lobos (no archive number).







Figure 5-5. Orpheonic Concentration of Brazil's Independence Day that took place in São Januário in 7 September 1942 and gathered 25,000 students. A policeman in the center of the stadium observes students forming the word "Brasil" in the bleachers. Collected in the archives of the Museu Villa-Lobos. File number 1982-16-143. There is a discrepancy between the number of students listed in the official program (25,000 students) and the number (included by the staff of Museu Villa-Lobos) in the description of this picture (35,000). I opted to use the number given in the official program of this Orpheonic Concentration.



Figure 5-6. Fifteen thousand students in uniform holding little flags in the Orpheonic Concentration that took place in 7 September 1943 at the soccer stadium São Januário. Collected in the archives of the Museu Villa-Lobos. File number 1977-16-057. Here, there is also a discrepancy between the number of students in the official program of this Concentration (15,000 students) and the number in the title-description of this picture (44,000), collected at the Museu Villa-Lobos (the number 44,000 was probably included by the staff of Museu Villa-Lobos). Again, I opted to use the number given in the official program of this Orpheonic Concentration.

## CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

Interactions between music and politics as well as the nature of musicians' commitment to political ideologies have been largely investigated in the musicological literature, especially in countries that implemented authoritarian regimes at a given point in history, such as Nazi Germany, the former Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and the Brazil of Vargas (1930s and 40s).<sup>1</sup> This scholarship has raised several questions that need to be taken into account in evaluating the moral judgment of musicians and their involvement with political regimes. It is useful to consider parallels between aspects of Villa-Lobos's political involvement with Vargas's regime and those of Richard Strauss and Carl Orff in Nazi Germany, although each case presents unique difficulties in understanding the relationship between these composers and political regimes, certain aspects of their interaction are similar.

In her article, "Dismantling a Dystopia: On the Historiography of Music in the Third Reich," Pamela Potter proposed a model to evaluate musicians' moral commitment to political regimes.<sup>2</sup> Although she spoke specifically of German musicians in the Third Reich, her proposals can be used to interpret similar cases of music and politics outside Germany. Potter suggests that, although scrutiny of individual musicians in Nazi Germany will not cease, new inquiries need to consider broader elements such as the

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to Vargas's dictatorship, Brazil also had a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985. At that time, Brazilian popular musicians such as Chico Buarque and Gilberto Gil wrote music in protest against the dictatorship. The government exercised rigorous censorship, which led these songwriters to elaborate clever music poetic structures that concealed their subversive messages. Scholars have produced a rich scholarship about popular music in that context. See Marcos Napolitano's "A Música Popular Brasileira (MPB) nos anos de chumbo do regime militar" In Roberto Illiano and Massimiliano Sala (eds.), *Music and Dictatorship in Europe and Latin America* (Lucca: Publications of the Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, 2009), and for a thorough analysis of music-poetic structures of these songs, see Charles Perrone, *Letras e Letras da MPB* (Rio de Janeiro: Booklin, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Pamela Potter, "Dismantling a Dystopia: On the Historiography of Music in the Third Reich," in *Central European History* 40, no. 4 (2007): 623-51.

“volatility of success in the arbitrary political climate of the Third Reich, the privileged position of musicians, and the degree of *Narrenfreiheit* allowed to celebrities and creative individuals.”<sup>3</sup> Potter also regarded the generation to which the musicians belonged (and the ideals and hopes of these generation) as an important element in their evaluation. Richard Strauss, for instance, turned sixty-nine in 1933, the year Hitler became Chancellor, and because he had lived and worked under several other regimes, he “arguably underestimated Hitler by thinking he could simply show respect in return for artistic freedom, but he also detected a degree of progressivism in the new government’s promises to musicians of new professional and economic securities and unprecedented attention to his own pet project, copyright laws.”<sup>4</sup> Regarding a younger generation of musicians, Potter said they might have accepted any job in view of the unstable economic situation, and the generation that grew under Nazism was ideologically intimidated into disseminating the precepts of the regime. Finally, as Potter showed, all these individuals were part of a larger musical community “that transcended social, economic, and professional categories and that, for the first time, believed to be gaining the respect and recognition they longed for.”<sup>5</sup>

Some of Potter’s considerations can be extrapolated outside Nazi Germany to help evaluate other musicians’ contributions to political regimes. Indeed, as my study shows, in the analysis of Villa-Lobos’s involvement with the regime of Vargas, the composer had several reasons to engage with the government’s politics, many of which were similar to those of German musicians. These reasons were related to his personal

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<sup>3</sup>Potter, “Dismantling a Dystopia,” 639

<sup>4</sup> Potter, “Dismantling a Dystopia,” 639.

<sup>5</sup> Potter, “Dismantling a Dystopia,” 640.

career and as to his role as spokesman of the community of artists with whom he shared similar ideas. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, Villa-Lobos used the regime both to promote his musical career and to advance the ideas of an intellectual community seeking the elevation of the intellectual and cultural level of the people. Like Strauss in Germany, Villa-Lobos contributed to the political regime in Brazil to secure a stable position and to guarantee his income. Although Strauss and Villa-Lobos did not engage directly with practical political matters (and Strauss never joined the Nazi party) they also never positioned themselves against the politics their governments implemented.

Much like Strauss used his position to work in favor of musicians in Germany and to organize German musical life according to his views, so did Villa-Lobos fight for the rights of Brazilian musicians and to create institutions to promote music and music education, such as the National Conservatory of Orpheonic Chant. Faced with a distressful situation of musicians in Brazil, Villa-Lobos used his position within the government to demand more social respect and recognition as well as financial security for Brazilian musicians. In addition to becoming a champion of the music of Brazilian composers—some of whom were neglected or even forgotten—he also fought to provide more work opportunities for musicians.

Early in 1932, for instance, when he was becoming closer to the government, Villa-Lobos sent a letter to Vargas asking him to create the National Department for the Protection of Arts, which would advocate for the rights of artists in general. In this letter, Villa-Lobos pointed out the poor situation of Brazilian artistic milieu that prevented the arts from having a more important educational role and affirmed that as an “enthusiast patriot” he wanted to turn that situation around and help the country. Villa-Lobos then

revealed that 34,000 Brazilian musicians were unemployed and reminded Vargas that these artists could make an important contribution to the nation: “As demonstrated, Your Excellency, there are more than thirty four thousand forsaken professional musicians all over Brazil; men who represent, however, for their value as artists, four times over the personal representative values [e.g. ordinary people], because it has been like this in all countries and all times; the difference of intellectual value that separates artists from ordinary people.”<sup>6</sup>

In this appeal, Villa-Lobos also spoke about the importance of music in representing the country overseas not only as an aesthetic manifestation, but as a true bearer of Brazilian cultural elements: “I ask permission to remind Your Excellency that the universal language of music can incontestably make the most efficient propaganda for Brazil abroad, especially if it holds genuine Brazilian elements, because in this manner it will display national traits, which better define a race, even though this race is mixed and does not have an old tradition.”<sup>7</sup> And finally, he concluded his letter by affirming that if Vargas took care of the situation of artists in Brazil he would be considered a great patriot and “Loyal friends of the arts and artists of your patria, collaborator of one of the most important artistic movements that the world had

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<sup>6</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, “Apelo ao chefe do governo provisório da república brasileira,” in *Presença de Villa-Lobos* Vol. 7, 1st ed. (Rio de Janeiro: MEC–Museu Villa-Lobos, 1969), 86. In the original: “Como vem de ser mostrado a Vossa Excelência, acham-se desamparados para mais de trinta e quatro mil musicistas profissionais, em todo o Brasil, homens que representam, entretanto, pelos seus valores como artistas, quatro vezes os valores representativos pessoais, porque assim é e tem sido em todos os países em todas as épocas, a diferença de valor intelectual de que se destaca do vulgar esta gente privilegiada.”

<sup>7</sup> Villa-Lobos, “Apelo ao chefe do governo,” 86-87. In the original: “Peço ainda permissão para lembrar a Vossa Excelência que é incontestavelmente a música, como linguagem universal que melhor poderá fazer a mais eficaz propaganda do Brasil no estrangeiro, sobretudo se for lançada por elementos genuinamente brasileiros, porque desta forma ficará mais gravada a personalidade nacional, processo este que melhor define uma raça, mesmo que essa seja mista e não tenha tido uma velha tradição.”

produced and that the Universal History of Arts will inscribe as one of its most interesting chapters.”<sup>8</sup>

To gain Vargas’s support, Villa-Lobos used a generous and demagogic tone conveying patriotic and historic values, so favoring artists that he may have exaggerated the importance of Brazilian artistic movements and their relevance to the “Universal History of Arts.” But within this text, he asked in a more assertive tone that Vargas take a position on the situation: “Thus today, February 1st of 1932, I hope that Your Excellency will decide, rightly, the true situation of the arts in Brazil.”<sup>9</sup> In this way, he worked as a spokesman of his artistic class and fought for the rights of Brazilian musicians and the dissemination of Brazilian music. Although Vargas did not create this specific department, he supported Brazilian arts in many ways, especially through the activities of SEMA (created on the same year of Villa-Lobos’s appeal), the National Conservatory of Orpheonic Chant, created in 1942, and numerous other actions that supported the arts.

Demagogy seems to have been the “order of the day” not only for Villa-Lobos in Brazil, but for several composers working under political regimes that imposed strong ideologies. Strauss, for instance, could have fled Germany like many other musicians did early in the Nazi regime, but he never did. He stayed for purely personal reasons, including the financial security that he had in Germany, even though his daughter-in-law (consequently his two grandsons) were Jewish. And although he defended himself and

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<sup>8</sup> Villa-Lobos, “Apelo ao chefe do governo,” 87. In the original: “Amigo leal das artes e dos artistas da nossa pátria, colaborador dum dos maiores mounmentos artísticos que o mundo produziu e que a História Universal das Artes inscreverá como um de seus capítulos mais interessantes.”

<sup>9</sup> Villa-Lobos, “Apelo ao chefe do governo,” 87. In the original: “De modo que hoje, 1º de fevereiro de 1932, espero que Vossa Excelência irá decidir, com acerto, a verdadeira situação das artes no Brasil.”

affirmed that he did not share Hitler's ideology, he knew that he would have to compromise with the regime to protect his family.<sup>10</sup>

Likewise, with respect to his controversial position within the Nazi regime, one cannot help but think of Carl Orff, whose moral judgment has presented a challenge to musicologists since 1945. After the end of WWII, Orff worked hard to hide any kind of association that could be established between him and Nazism, even if that involved lying about his musical activities connected to the Nazis. Even though Orff never joined the Nazi party, considerable evidence ties him to the Nazis, and his case is very controversial. The most notorious aspects of Orff's involvement with the Nazis—which have been exhaustively investigated in the scholarship—are his acceptance of a commission to write music to replace Mendelssohn's incidental music to Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* and the possible Nazi connotations in his most famous piece, the profane cantata *Carmina Burana*.<sup>11</sup>

Orff's work as a musical pedagogue—which presents remarkable similarities with Villa-Lobos's—is particularly relevant to the present discussion. In the early 1920s, Orff developed the *Schulwerk*, a method for music education that focused on the development of the sense of rhythm. Along with educator Dorothee Günter, he established the *Günterschuler für Musik* in Munich in 1924. While he elaborated his pedagogies before the Nazi ideology was implemented, under the Nazi regime he worked toward conveying a Nazi outlook to his educational approaches. As Michael

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<sup>10</sup> For more information about Strauss' personal reasons for staying in Germany see Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 270-72.

<sup>11</sup> For more information on this topic see Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 120; Potter, "Dismantling a Dystopia;" and Pamela Potter, "What Is 'Nazi Music'?" *Musical Quarterly* 88, no.3 (2005), 428-55.

Kater affirmed, “From 1933 to 1937, Orff took care, in conjunction with his publishers, to tailor his *Schuwerk* series as much as possible to the goals of the Nazis, as they then appeared, without, it may be assumed, wanting to falsify any facet of its originally conceived character. Fortunately, both Orff’s and the Nazi’s intentions were compatible in several respects.”<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, besides the controversial nature of his own musical activities, he had close ties with several people who joined the Nazi party, among who Günther herself and musicologist Wilhelm Twittenehoff, who championed the *Schuwerk*.

Although the Nazi party did not adopt the *Schuwerk* as the official method of music education for the Hitler Youth,<sup>13</sup> as Vargas adopted Orpheonic Chant as the official method for music education in Brazil, the parallels between Orff’s attitudes in Germany and Villa-Lobos’s in Brazil are indeed striking and in both cases challenge scholars’s judgements of their actions. Both Orff and Villa-Lobos had elaborated their plans for music education before they associated themselves with the political regimes of their countries (and even before these regimes had been established), but because their pedagogies coincidentally matched aspects of the political ideologies that the regimes implemented. Despite the natural compatibility between their music education and the political ideologies of their countries, both Orff and Villa-Lobos tailored their pedagogies as much as they could to match political ideologies: Orff shaped his *Schuwerk* series to the goals of Nazism, and Villa-Lobos conveyed Vargas’s nationalism in his music orientation, which he clearly revealed in his three essays about music education.

Because of the complexities involved in musicians’ participation in political regimes—well represented in the cases of Villa-Lobos, Strauss, and Orff—scholars

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<sup>12</sup> Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 120.

<sup>13</sup> See Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 121.

have faced many difficulties in assessing their moral commitment and passing judgement on their actions. Much of the difficulty lies in the fact that, in general, authoritarian regimes coerced (“suggested” or strictly demanded) artists to disseminate political ideologies under the guise of culture, often leaving musicians with very little room for choice. Furthermore, several musicians’ attitudes are ambiguous, and it is hard to evaluate whether they were honest or simply acted out their words and actions either to connect their images with the regime when it interested them or to disconnect themselves from politics when they needed (or both). The fact is that in many cases musicians were very careful and did not expose publicly their political ideologies. Despite the fact that some served the political regime just as much (and sometimes even more) than musicians that openly shared their sympathy for the regime’s ideologies, their ambiguous position makes it hard to evaluate on what side they stood.

In the case of Villa-Lobos, despite there are several variables in his involvement with Vargas (namely, personal gains, the elevation of the cultural level of the people, dissemination of Brazilian music, creation of awareness to Brazilian culture), they do not change the political consequences of his actions; but they help us to understand why scholarship tends to see him as playing a mere supporting role within the political regime. Because Villa-Lobos never actually declared himself to be a political ideologue (which he was *most likely* not) nor he expressed support for the authoritarian orientation of Vargas’s politics, scholars’s focus mostly on his personal interests and on how he and Vargas both benefited from their collaboration. Thus, the questions “Did Villa-Lobos share the ideologies of the regime?” or “how much did Villa-Lobos contribute to the regime?” will normally lead to an interpretation of Villa-Lobos’s personal motivations

themselves, which places him within a world onto himself and separates him from the consequences of his actions on people.

This approach opens room for speculation and controversies. How can we assess whether Villa-Lobos exaggerated the patriotic and a political content of his words only to gain Vargas's support (which he *probably* did in his essays of music education)? How can we know that he was really speaking the truth when he exempted himself from commitment with political ideologies (although he *probably* did not engage in politics as an ideologue in any moment of his life)? The "probably" in the answers in parenthesis reflect a tendency in scholarship: They are based on personal opinions (which will have their own "interest"—in the Kantian sense of the term, which implicates an established viewpoint about the subject before its appreciation, and leads to a biased interpretation of the subject's nature)<sup>14</sup> as opposed to scientific rigor. In most cases of musicians' involvement with politics worldwide scholars are normally divided into two schools of thought, one that maintains composers were victims of the political regimes and another that claims they collaborated out of free will. In the case of Villa-Lobos, despite his active participation in the regime, scholars tend to excuse him from political engagement with the government, in the Machiavellian fashion of "The end justifies the means."

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<sup>14</sup> Kant coined the terms "disinterestedness" and "interest" to formulate his ideas about aesthetic appreciation, more specifically about how to judge beauty. In the "Critique of Judgement," Kant proposed the idea that the aesthetic judgement ought to be "disinterested," meaning that, during an aesthetic appreciation or judgment, one needs to detach oneself from the object and appreciate it for what it is (or what it represents) to avoid attributing aprioristic meanings to that which holds meaning in itself. By opposition, "Interest" refers to people's pre-loading an object with meanings, which will create aprioristic ideas about that object, thus establishing particular conditions to its appreciation. In my discussion above I expanded the application of the term to a different context; however, without distorting its original connotation.

Because Villa-Lobos (and other musicians) can “hide” behind the music itself, claiming, say, that they were just concerned with art, education, preservation of traditions, and so forth, scholars tend to gloss over the intrinsic power of music in creating personal and collective identities. Had Villa-Lobos publicly asserted that he was contributing to the government out of free will and because he believed in Vargas’s political ideology, there would be no question as to whether he was “guilty” or not, or at least, if any doubt would emerge—such as in case he was considered to be lying only to save his skin—the premise for his assessment would be “guilty” unless the contrary is proven. Furthermore, the criteria for scholars’ assessments do not help to reveal how much he acted *directly* upon the formation of people’s identities.

But as this dissertation has tried to demonstrate, through the exhortations performed in music education in school and public concerts, Villa-Lobos imposed several nationalistic values onto his music education, facilitating their indexation in people’s minds and thus being directly responsible for the values that he wanted his music to hold and transmit. Because Villa-Lobos said several times that he knew music had the power to imbue values in people’s minds and still imposed values of Vargas’s politics into his music education, I argue that he consciously worked for the regime and, in this sense, can be held directly responsible for the results of his actions. One should evaluate the music that Villa-Lobos composed and performed as a representation of his thoughts. As I demonstrated, when music is regularly experienced with extra musical (ideological) elements, it can easily index in people’s that extra musical idea. In this sense, music may point to semantic values, and that which was first extra musical will become in people’s perception an inseparable part of the aesthetic musical experience.

In Brazil and several other nations, political regimes explored this inherent communicative aspect of music, and transformed music in an important political tool.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Brazilian musicologist and pianist Gabriel Ferraz pursued his Ph.D. in historical musicology and worked as teaching assistant in music history at the University of Florida. He pursued a master's degree in piano performance at Miami University (OH) and a master's degree in Musicology at the University of São Paulo, Brazil. At the University of Florida, Mr. Ferraz was awarded the 2010 University of Florida Outstanding International Student Award. More recently, he won the international musicological competition 2011 Otto Mayer-Serra Award for Music Research for the "Best Unpublished Article of Latin American Music" with his article "Heitor Villa-Lobos e Getúlio Vargas: Doutrinando Crianças por Meio da Educação Musical." This award was sponsored by the University of California Riverside and the Center for Iberian and Latin American Music and carried a publication in the *Latin American Music Review*. In addition to this publication, Mr. Ferraz's chapter about Villa-Lobos's Orpheonic Chant is forthcoming in the book *Pedagogias em Educação Musical*, vol. II, and his article "Heitor Villa-Lobos and Choros no. 3: Modernism, Nationalism, and 'Musical Anthropophagy'" is forthcoming in *The International Journal of the Arts in Society*.

At the University of Florida Mr. Ferraz was awarded numerous travel grants as well as a field research grant from the Center of Latin American Studies at the UF to pursue research in Brazil. He presented papers at several important conferences in the USA, such as the 2011 American Musicological Society National Meeting and the 2009 American Musicological Society Southern Chapter Meeting, as well as meetings in Italy, Brazil, France, and Portugal. As a pianist, Mr. Ferraz has performed solo and chamber concerts in Brazil and the USA and has worked extensively as a collaborator with instrumentalists and singers.