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Christopher Batterman Cháirez April 9, 2019

Sounding Brazilianness: Race, Nation, and Ideology in the Music of Antônio Carlos Gomes

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the music of Brazilian composer Antônio Carlos Gomes (1836-1896) with respect to the nation-building project of the 19th century. Gomes, hailed today as one of Brazil's greatest composers of art music, frequently found himself in the company of some of Brazil's most powerful men—politicians, nobles, intellectuals, and even the Emperor corresponded with and supported the composer's music. Taking this elite network as a point of departure, this thesis examines the way Gomes' music operated within political and ideological spheres. In particular, the study examines the way the composer's music engaged with notions of "Brazilianness," a discourse that encompassed the various racial, national, political, and social identities that were at play during the enterprise of nation-building.

My focus is on Gomes' most seminal works—*Il Guarany* (1870), *Lo Schiavo* (1889), and *Colombo* (1893). The study examines the place of these pieces in the historical development of Brazil, and the way in which dominant society engages with music as a means of reproducing and reifying ideological notions of race and nation. I consider music, then, as a site in which concepts of "Brazilianness" can be constructed, negotiated, and contested. This thesis argues that music is mutually constitutive with the political and ideological contexts in which it is produced, performed, and consumed—the dominant societal discourses regarding race and nation inform musical articulations of "Brazilianness," which, in turn, act to support, validate, and embolden the initial discourse. In situating his compositions in the discourse of the late 19th century, I argue that his operas produced a specific, racialized notion of "Brazilianness" that mediated notions of nationalism, modernity, and cosmopolitanism.

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My sincerest thanks,
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

INTRODUCTION

PROTOFONIA

History, Music, and Understandings of Brazilian National Identity

Al Maestro
Antonio Carlos Gomes
Gloria del Brasile che ebbe i natali
Onore dell'Italia
Ove educò e spiego il suo genio
I figli, gli amici e la patria
Ne piangono la prematura morte
E pregano pace

To the Maestro
Antonio Carlos Gomes
Glory of Brazil, where he was born
Honor of Italy,
Where he was educated and developed his genius
The children, friends, and country
Cry at his premature death
And pray for the peace of his soul[1]

—Inscription on the door of the San Fedele Church, Milan

It was a cold night, in September of 1896, when news broke throughout Brazil that Antônio Carlos Gomes, eminent operatic composer, had passed away. Gomes, Brazil's foremost *maestro* and composer of the famous *Il Guarany*, *Lo Schiavo,* and *Fosca*, had recently accepted a position as the head of Belém do Pará's new musical conservatory. Living for the first time in Northern Brazil, the aging composer's health took a turn for the worse. Now combatting yellow fever, Gomes died in the company of friends—Brazilian elites, politicians, writers, etc.—on 16 September 1896. With Gomes on that night was his close friend Lauro Sodré, governor of Pará and a career politician that would serve as a senator to the Republic four times. The *Província do*

[1] Inscription found on the San Fedele Church in Milan, Italy. Translation by author.

Pará newspaper immediately circulated a bulletin that relayed the fact of Gomes' passing, meticulously detailing the ailing composer's final moments. The newspaper read:

> The eminent *maestro* has expired. The esteemed Dr. Lauro Sodré closed for him his eyes.
>
> That the agony was slow, yet calm, was the ultimate observation of the doctor Miguel Pernambuco, who was present. There lies now the *maestro:* at the back of the lace sheets, his knees contracted and his right hand over his right thigh. Laying on his left side. His eyelids are half-closed, his mouth half-open.
>
> The death of Carlos Gomes was completely serene. His regular gasping diminished bit by bit and his last whisper escaped in a difficult breath, almost imperceptible.
>
> The expression on his face is serene.[2]

Soon after Gomes' passing, other Brazilian news outlets began publishing announcements and tributes to the composer, one of "Brazil's brightest stars."[3] The *Folha do Norte,* for example, ran a piece the following day in which the composer was hailed as "the greatest musical glory in the two Americas":

> Upon arriving to our workbenches, it was under the most distressing of impressions that we begin to draft this text, that at 10:30 last night, we received, through telegraph, news of the fatal outcome and death of Carlos Gomes, the greatest musical glory of the two Americas.
>
> All who love this land, all who understand how loved is the glory that, for its name and for our country, conquered the genius of this man [Gomes], can understand perfectly the indescribable pain by which we are grabbed in this sad moment, in which the soul of the *Pátria* is once again wounded by fatality.
>
> It is with an oppressed heart, forcibly accepting this hard reality, that we publish news of this pain; and in the bitter weeping of this bitter anguish, we express

[2] "Expirou o eminente maestro. Cerrou-lhe os olhos o Sr. Dr. Lauro Sodré. A agonia foi lenta, porem calma, eis a derradeira observação do Dr. Miguel Pernambuco. Ali esta agora o maestro: ao fundo da rede, os joelhos contraídos e a mão direita sobre a coxa, também direita. Deitado sobre o lado esquerdo. As pálpebras estão entrecerradas, a boca semiaberta. A morte de Carlos Gomes foi completamente serena. O arquejar regularíssimo diminuiu pouco a pouco e o ultimo suspiro esvaiu-se numa respiração difícil e quase imperceptível. A expressão do rosto é serena. " Província do Para, "Carlos Gomes," 16 September 1896. Cited in Jorge Alves da Lima, *Carlos Gomes, Uma Nova Estrela: Sou e sempre serei o tonico de Campinos e do Brasil 2ª edição* (Campinas, SP: Deigo Editora, 2017), 73. Translated by author.

[3] I borrow this phrase from Alves da Lima's book title, where the author used "brightest star" to refer to the composer. See: *Ibid.*

> the hurt and the nameless pain that has caused our newest calamity, one that has produced a tremendous eclipse for the artistic foundation of the Americas.[4]

The death of Carlos Gomes was certainly a tragic event for many Brazilians. The recent arrival of the telegraph in Brazil allowed the news to diffuse quickly throughout the country—while the first to report on the events were the Pará papers outlined above, outlets in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro soon notified their readers of the composer's passing.[5] In Campinas, the composer's hometown, the journalist José Villagelin authored an article that not only announced Gomes' passing, but lauded him for his innumerable contributions to Brazilian arts and society. He wrote:

> CARLOS GOMES
> Brazilian art is struggling!
> To develop the brain of Carlos Gomes, it took nearly four centuries of Brazilian history, but to destroy it the simple breath of death was enough, but his work is like eternity, infinite, undying…
> His flickering soul is always divine, in every note that he wrote, and his royal personality, always embedded in the popular soul, must be transmitted to the coming generations in sublime incarnation as a God of Art!
> The genius who drank all his inspiration from the beautiful sky of Brazil has died, the greatest of all Brazilians has stopped existing. One can hear weeping, directed to the dead, he will be buried in a tomb, but on the earth, which must be

[4] "Chegada à nossa banca de trabalhos, começamos sob as mais aflitivas impressões a traçar estas linhas, quando as 10:30 minutos da noite, recebemos comunicação telefônica do desenlace fatal da morte de Carlos Gomes, da maior gloria musical das duas Américas. Todos o que ama esta terra, todos os que compreendem como querida de nos é a gloria que para o seu nome e para o nosso pais, conquistou o gênio grandioso daquele homem, podem perfeitamente avaliar a magoa indescritível que nos avassalou nesse triste momento, em que a alma da Pátria foi mais uma vez profundamente ferida pela fatalidade. É com o coração opresso, ao custo aceitando a lutuosa realidade, depusemos a pena; e no pranto amargo da suprema angustia, exprimimos a lastima e a dor sem nome que nos causou essa nova calamidade que acaba de produzir um eclipse tremendo, no firmamento artístico da América." *Folha do Norte,* 18 September 1896. Cited in Alves da Lima, *Carlos Gomes, Uma Nova Estrela*, 84-85. Translation by author.

[5] A telegraph was sent from Lauro Sodré to Santana Gomes in Campinas on the night of Carlos Gomes' death. It read: "Cumpro doloroso dever, comunicar-vos que acaba de finar-se o nosso eminente compatriota, o glorioso maestro Carlos Gomes. Seus funerais serão feitos as expensas do estado do Pará." ["It is my painful duty to comunicate to you that our eminent compatriot has just passed, the glorious *maestro* Carlos Gomes. His funerals will be completed at the expense of the state of Pará." Telegraph from Sodré to Gomes, 16 September 1896. See correspondence in the Coleção Carlos Gomes, Correspondências, in the Museu Carlos Gomes in Campinas, BR. Translation by author.

> covered, the national soul will eventually resurge, and as a flag it will have the sacrosanct poem that the great *maestro* has left us as his legacy.[6]

Villagelin's article, along with those published in the *Folha do Norte* or the *Província do Pará,* make clear the importance that Carlos Gomes held for the Brazilian nation and its citizens. These articles also reveal the extent to which Gomes was mythicized and idealized. The entire nation stopped in awe of his death, distressed to have lost one of Brazil's most important and renown cultural imaginaries. As the Italian inscription presented in the epigraph also demonstrates, Gomes' death was impactful beyond Brazil—Italy, where he studied and composed much of his music, had also lost one of its premiere musical geniuses. More profoundly, the articles and homages elucidate a rhetorical connection that Brazilians (and foreigners) made between Gomes, his music, and the very notion of "Brazil." As another *Folha do Norte* journalist decried, Gomes' death "stabbed the very heart of the homeland [Brazil]."[7] Clearly, Gomes and his music were seen as the artistic embodiment of the nation and of "Brazilianness," the abstract notion of a Brazilian national identity, or of a connectedness among those identifying (or identified) as Brazilians.

The events of Gomes' death also illuminate the elite social circles in which he operated. He died in the company of his elite friends, among them politician Lauro Sodré, senator Antônio José de Lemos, senator Firmo José de Costa Brage, politician and intellectual José Coelho da Gama

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[6] "CARLOS GOMES. Está de luto a arte brasileira! Para formar o cérebro de Carlos Gomes foram necessários cerca de quatro séculos, para o destruir bastou um sopro adverso da morte, mas a sua obra é como a eternidade, infinita, imorredoura... A alma dele cintilar é sempre divina, em cada nota que escreveu, e a sua personalidade augusta, engastada na alma popular, há de ser transmitida as gerações vindouras na sublime encarnação de em Deus de Arte! Morreu o gênio que bebeu toda a inspiração sob o formoso céu do Brasil, deixou de existir o maior de todos os brasileiros. Ouvem-se prantos, dobram a finados, vai encerrar-se num tumulo, mas sobre a terra, que há de cobrir, ressurgira enfim, a alma nacional vibrante para a luta, tendo como bandeira o poema sacrossanto que o grande mestre nos legou como herança." José Villagelin, *Jornal de Campinas,* 20 September 1896. Cited in Alves da Lima, *Carlos Gomes, Uma Nova Estrela*, 108. Translation by author.

[7] "apunhalar o coração da Pátria." *Folha do Norte,* "CARLOS GOMES," 18 September 1896. Cited in Alves da Lima, *Carlos Gomes, Uma Nova Estrela*, 108. Translation by author.

e Abreu, among others.[8] Gomes was also a close friend of intellectual and abolitionist leaders such as Joaquim Nabuco and André Rebouças, and Southeastern politicians, including Campos Sales (a future President of Brazil) and Francisco Glicério.[9] Above all, during Brazil's monarchy, Gomes was a loyal friend and supporter of Emperor Dom Pedro II, who financed and encouraged Gomes' musical studies and his compositions in Italy. Gomes, then, was involved with Brazil's most elite and powerful men—he had correspondences with political leaders, nobility, prominent intellectuals, and the cultural powerbrokers that were at the center of Brazil's intelligentsia, the wealthy and educated class that possessed enormous cultural, intellectual, political, and social influence.

This thesis takes the dissemination of Gomes and his music within these elite and erudite circles as a point of departure. In what follows, I examine the various ways through which Gomes' compositions were used by the composer and his network to reproduce and reify the discussions that were being raised regarding Brazil's national trajectory. His major compositions—operas *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo,* for example—were performed and premiered during times in which the Brazilian intelligentsia relied upon his music to evoke certain notions of Brazilian national identity: *Il Guarany* was premiered on Dom Pedro II's birthday (2 December 1870) and *Lo Schiavo* was premiered Princess Isabel's birthday (27 September 1889). This study, therefore, seeks to dissect the nationalist implication of Gomes' work from a musical and contextual perspective, carefully situating his musical production within the appropriate cultural, political, and social contexts. In

[8] Lauro Sodré (1858-1944) was a politician, lawyer, and republican leader that served as governor of Pará a number of times. Antonio José de Lemos (1843-1913) was a politician from the state of Pará that served as a senator for Belém from 1908-1911. Firmo Braga was another senator from Belém, as was José da Gama, a historian of Brazil and Portugal and member of the Portuguese Academy of Arts and Letters.

[9] Joaquim Nabuco (1849-1910) and André Rebouças (1838-1898) were both writers, politicians, intellectuals, and prominent abololitionists in Brazil during the second part of the 19th century. Campos Sales (1841-1913) was a lawyer and politican, first elected as a governor and mayor of Sao Paulo (1896-1897), and then as the fourth president of the Brazilian Republic (1898-1902). Francisco Glicério (1846-1916) was a politician and lawyer from Campinas, São Paulo, serving as the Minister of Agriculture between 1890 and 1891.

particular, I attend to this notion of "Brazilianness," a term that, as we will see, encompasses the various racial, social, political, ideological, and national identities that were at play during Brazil's nation-building project in the 19th century.

This concept of "Brazilianness" lies at the heart of this thesis. This study interrogates this notion of "Brazilianness" with regards to the various ways it is constructed, negotiated, and disseminated by Gomes' musical works. However, "Brazilianness" here is not seen as restricted to a national space—Brazil. In fact, such an approach to the concept would contribute to the very musicological issue that this thesis is intending to attenuate.[10] Rather, this thesis serves as an intervention in current musicological approaches to music and "nation-ness" that seek to examine music within the pre-specified constraints of national boundaries. Therefore, I treat "Brazilianness" as an ideologically-constructed notion of identity that can operate both inside and outside of national borders. That is, "Brazilianness" serves just as much as an affirmation of identity to those within Brazil as it does an articulation of identity to those of outside of Brazil (i.e., foreigners).

This transnational approach to Gomes' music will reveal critically important insights into the importance of his compositions to global music history. This is especially crucial given that Gomes himself lived a transnational life. Never confined to one country, the composer spent much of his life travelling between his homes in Brazil and Italy. In fact, his musical development took

[10] As I will argue throughout this thesis, much of the scholarship on Gomes and on Brazilian (or Latin American music) in general is restricted to analytical frameworks that fall within national boundaries. That is, Carlos Gomes' music is examined within a Brazilian context. Alberto Ginastera's music is analyzed within an Argentinian context. Silvestre Revueltas' music is discussed within a Mexican context. This, I argue, occludes larger conclusions that can be drawn by examining music within transnational bounds, as all of these pieces were circulated, performed, and received in a number of national and international contexts. For examples of works that restrict themselves to national considerations, see: Leonora Saavedra, "Manuel M. Ponce's 'Chapultepec' and the Conflicted Representations of a Contested Space," *The Musical Quarterly,* 92/3 (2009), 279-328 and Deborah Schwartz-Kates, "Alberto Ginastera, Argentine Cultural Construction, and the Gauchesco Tradition," *The Musical Quarterly,* 86/2 (2002), 248-281.

place across these contrasting national spaces. Having grown up in Campinas, Brazil, Gomes studied with his father, Manuel José Gomes. His father was a respected composer and conductor in Campinas—he served as the official "*mestre-de-capela*" (the *Kappelmeister*), in charge of presiding over the musical accompaniments to public events, religious ceremonies, and the municipal conservatory.[11] He eventually moved to study music at the Imperial Conservatory in Rio de Janeiro, where he caught the attention of Dom Pedro II. The Emperor was so impressed that he became Gomes' patron and biggest supporter, financing his travels to Italy to study under the master composer Lauro Rossi and premiere many of his most successful operas.[12] Gomes' compositions were similarly transnational in nature. While many were debuted in Brazil, an even greater number were composed and premiered abroad, either in Italy or the United States. *Il Guarany,* for example, received its first debut performance in Milan's La Scala theater. His operas *Fosca, Maria Tudor,* and *Condor* were similarly premiered in various Italian venues.[13] His other operas—*Lo Schiavo* in particular—were first staged in Brazilian theaters.[14] Most peculiarly, his composition *Colombo* was composed for a premiere in the United States' 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

This thesis moves in a somewhat modular fashion, examining Gomes' musical productions with respect to racial thought, national identity (or "nation-ness"), and ideological discourse. My focus is on Gomes' most seminal works—*Il Guarany* (1870), *Lo Schiavo* (1889), and *Colombo* (*1893).* At its core, this thesis is about music, power, and the power of music. More specifically,

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[11] Lenita W.M. Nogueira, *A Lanterna Magica e o Burrico de Pau: Memorias e Histórias de Carlos Gomes* (Campinas, BR: Arte Escrita Editora, 2011), 111.
[12] *Ibid,* 23-26.
[13] *Fosca* premiered in Milan's La Scala theater in February of 1873. Similarly, *Maria Tudor* was first presented at the La Scala theater in March of 1879. *Condor* was also premiered at La Scala in 1891, but a full decade after his last La Scala premiere.
[14] Gomes premiered a number of operas in Brazil, including *Lo Schiavo* in 1889, *Joana de Flandres* in 1863, and *Noite do Castelo* in 1861.

this thesis examines the place of music in the historical development of Brazil, and the way in which dominant society—intellectuals, political leaders, and artists—engage with music as a means of reproducing and reifying ideological notions of race and nation. I consider music, then, as a site in which concepts of "Brazilianness" can be constructed, negotiated, and contested. I propose that we consider music to be mutually constitutive with the political and ideological contexts in which it is produced, performed, and consumed. That is, the dominant societal discourses regarding race and nation inform musical articulations of "Brazilianness," which, in turn, act to support, validate, and embolden the initial dominant discourse. In this study, I examine the music of Antônio Carlos Gomes through the above theoretical framework, situating his compositions in the discourse of the late 19th century to argue that his operas produced a specific, racialized notion of "Brazilianness."

On Nation: "Brazilianness," Brazilian National Identity, and Race

"Brazilianness" is the theoretical framework that joins my various analyses of Gomes' musical compositions. It is an imagined ideal to which scholars such as Ludwig Lauerhass attribute the cultural and social development that provided a foundation for the 19th-century project of nation-building.[15] In many ways, "Brazilianness" can be thought of as a type of nationalism, or a Brazilian national identity. However, a distinction should be made between the idea of national identity and that of "Brazilianness." Whereas national identity can be defined as a collective sense of identity to a nation or national group,[16] "Brazilianness" is a broader term that encapsulates the

[15] Ludwig Lauerhauss Jr, "Introduction: A Four-Part Canon for the Analysis of Brazilian National Identity," In *Brazil in the Making: Facets of National Identity,* edited by Carmen Nava and Ludwig Lauerhass Jr. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 2-3.

[16] My definition of national identity is drawn from Peter Boerner, *Concepts of National Identity: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos, 1986). See also: Louis L. Snyder, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (New York: Paragon House, 1990).

various identities and ideologies that interacted during the 19th century, oftentimes being conflated with questions of race and ethnicity, social class, and modernity. A complicated, ideologically-fraught concept, "Brazilianness" is based in the very basic questions that have always defined discussions of identity, sameness, and difference: Who are we? Who are we to the rest of the world? Who should we be? Recent scholarship on questions of identity—especially of collective identity—has turned to the concepts of the Self and the Universal, as put forth by various 20th-century philosophers interested in the forming and defining of identities (i.e., Jacques Lacan). Clyde Kluckhohn, following these philosophical considerations, has posited three logical possibilities for humanity: (1) Each man is unique; (2) All men are alike; (3) Some men are more alike than others.[17] It is this third possibility, Kluckhohn argues, in which the concept of a national cultural identity, and indeed any sort of collective identity, is based.

Benedict Anderson's discussion of nationalism, or as he calls it, "nation-ness," concurs in many ways with Kluckhohn's appraisal of collective identity. Specifically, Anderson posits national identity as based in an "imagined community," one that is "imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."[18] To provide a practical example in the case of Brazil: it is possible that an individual from São Paulo will never meet an individual living in Pará, yet, in both of their minds, they consider each other compatriots and, above all, Brazilians. Ernest Gellner makes a comparable point, arguing that "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist."[19] Like

[17] Clyde Kluckhohn, quoted in Jacques Maquet, *The Aesthetic Experience: An Anthropologist Looks at the Visual Arts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 169.
[18] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 49.
[19] Ernest Gellner, *Thoughts and Change* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), 169.

Kluckhohn's idea, the communities outlined by Anderson and Gellner are based in notions of sameness among community members that may or may not have met. The reverse, however, is also true. The "imagined communities" along which nationalism are established are also built upon notions of difference—to be part of a national group, there must be people that are excluded from the community. In simpler terms, "imagined communities" are intrinsically founded upon in-group/out-group dynamics that are defined by imagined sameness and difference.

In both of these conceptualizations of nationalism and national identity, nationalism is something *imagined* or *fabricated,* rather than something that is inherently there. As Cornelius Castoriadus writes, the very concept of "nation" is a rumination within some sort of interior rationality, something constructed within a "social imaginary."[20] A national identity becomes collective when it is shared among various individuals, many of whom, as Anderson notes, have never met or will never meet each other. The social imaginary of nation is built upon a number of potential factors, from shared languages, as Anderson argues, to shared histories, as Castoriadis does.[21] This makes sense in the case of Brazil—Brazilians in all parts of the country share a language (Portuguese) and a history (colonization by the Portuguese). More recent scholars, however, have attributed a collective social imaginary to other factors. Renato Rosaldo and William V. Flores, for example, in a critique of Anderson's "imagined communities," posit community gatherings as important discursive fields through which notions of community and national consciousness can be constructed and disseminated.[22] Similarly, Lee Bebout has proposed the term "mytho-historical" to describe the complex interactions of myth and histories as

[20] Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society,* translated by Kathleen Blamey (Boston: MIT University Press, 1977), 139-197.
[21] Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 57.
[22] Renato Rosaldo and William V. Flores, "Identity, Conflict, and Evolving Latino Communities: Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California," in *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights,* edited by William V. Flores and Rina Benmayor, 57-96 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997).

discursive axes through which national histories and identities can be created and maintained.[23] All of these factors may well have worked together, in the case of Brazil, to develop the national-consciousness, or "imagined community," that developed into "Brazilianness" over the course of the 19th century.

Over the past two centuries, intellectuals in Brazil and abroad have presented different theories of national identity and "Brazilianness." These questions were first opened in the early part of the 19th century, when the Portuguese royal court moved to Brazil in 1808, following Napoleon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. This shift prompted an unprecedented amount of foreign involvement in Brazil—a number of travel writers and scientific expeditions produced many of the first writings on Brazil. Foreigners who never even set foot in Brazil wrote about the country. Robert Southey, for example, wrote the first history of the Brazilian colony, describing in vivid detail its people, landscape, cities, and culture, despite having never traveled to Brazil.[24] His work problematically placed the unique national identity of Brazil as stemming from its "uncivilized" natives and "untamed" exotic wilderness, following in the tradition of travel writers such as Alexander von Humboldt, describing the new country in terms of its people and its landscape.[25] This paradigm, rooted in an imperial gaze and characterized by Mary Louise Pratt as that of "Man and Land," became the quintessential way of characterizing colonial identities.[26] Writings like Southey's circulated both within Brazil and in Europe and marked the beginnings of

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[23] Lee Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions: The Chicano Movement and its Legacies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

[24] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1810-1819). See also: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[25] Humboldt was a German/Prussian natural scientist, writer, and intellectual. In the 18th century, he traveled to South America and published widely on his studies. His particular focus was on New Spain (today Mexico), discussing in detail its natural resources, topography, flora, fauna, and human population. His work there has been of foundational importance for the fields of biogeography. His work was also heavily influenced by Enlightenment and Romantic ideologies.

[26] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* esp. 87-92.

a continuing discussion—by both local and foreign actors—of Brazil's national character, culture, and identity.

By the middle of the 19th century, writings on Brazilian identity shifted to Brazilian writers. These writers, however, remained entrenched in the patterns set by the foreign writers such as Southey, and used their writing to emphasize the vast, exotic nature of Brazil's people and its natural resources—the "Man and Land" paradigm that Pratt described. Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, a Brazilian historian who wrote extensively on Brazil's colonial and religious history, for example, provided detailed descriptions of Brazil's natural splendor and its diverse populations.[27] At the same time, the 1850s saw the rise of Brazilian Romanticism, a genre that situated Brazilian identity within European Romanticism's focus on the natural and the individual. Writers that engaged with this genre—Gonçalves Dias and José de Alencar—began seriously examining Brazil's indigenous roots as a foundation for a national identity.[28] Another major shift that occurred in the mid-19th century, however, was the institutionalization of the study of "Brazilianness." In 1838, the interim Emperor founded the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Historic and Geographic Institute of Brazil), a center dedicated to the development of historical, geological studies on the newly independent Brazilian nation. The first issue of the Institute's *Revista* (Journal) included an article by Carl Friedrich Phillip con Martius, the German botanist and zoologist. In this article, Martius asserted that Brazilian history and culture should be approached with a racial perspective. In particular, he argued that "Brazil" should be conceptualized as a fusion of races, particularly those of the European, African, and Indian.[29]

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[27] Stuart B. Schwartz, "Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen: Diplomat, Patriot, Historian," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 47/2 (1967), 185. See also: Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *Noticia do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1839).

[28] David T. Haberty, *Three sad races: Racial identity and national consciousness in Brazilian literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 16.

[29] Lauerhass, "Introduction," 8-9. See also: Pablo Diener and Maria de Fatima Costa, *Martius e o Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Capivara, 2018).

While Martius's argument was clearly based on a European imperial perception of the continent, it does reveal the importance that racial identity played in discussions of "Brazilianness." The very concept of "Brazilianness" came to be, at times, conflated with notions of race, as color became an easy way to delineate a person's national identity. Indeed, throughout the rest of the 19th century, racial issues, or the *questão racial* (the "racial question"), lay at the center of many intellectual's explorations of "Brazilianness." The linkage between race and nation was not new to the 19th century, however. Rather, the idea that blood was an integral part of one's national loyalty can be traced to the 16th-century Inquisition, which saw as a central tenet the maintenance of a Spanish blood purity.[30] Theories of race and difference developed over the subsequent centuries, until human racial hierarchies were foundational parts of European and American societies in the 19th century. As George Reid Andrews has argued, elite institutions in 19th-century Latin America formalized racial difference towards nationalist ends. In the case of Argentina, for example, miscegenation and racism were tools by which Afro-Argentinian identities were gradually and systematically erased, until elite and middle-class Argentinians believed that their country was no longer multicultural, but rather white and European.[31]

The case of 19th-century Argentina demonstrates the importance of racial identities to constructions of nationalism and national identity. Race was conflated with national belonging, so much so that Afro-descendants were no longer seen as actually Argentinian. Indeed, Brazil presents the same troubled history of racial exclusion—"Brazilianness" came to be increasingly

[30] For discussions of the Inquisition in Brazil, see: Giuseppe Marcocci, "Toward a History of the Portuguese Inquisition. Trends in Modern Historiography (1974-2009)," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 227/3 (2010), 355-393; James E. Wadsworth, "In the Name of the Inquisition: The Portuguese Inquisition and Delegated Authority in Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil," *The Americas* 61/1 (2004), 19-54.
[31] George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980).

defined along racial lines (the "fusion of races" discussed by Martius).[32] Brazil's national identity was thus built upon the three racial streams that were thought to make up Brazil: the European (white), the indigenous (native), and the African (black). The degree to which each of these racial identities were included within "Brazilianness," however, was anything but equitable. And, as we will see, the imagined community around which the notion of Brazilian identity was formed came to be built upon white and indigenous identities, eclipsing black ones. This paradigm of race-based nationalism remained consistent throughout much of the 19th century. Brazilian Romantacism in the 1850s fashioned a Brazilian national identity out of a racial mixture of whiteness and indigeneity.[33] Starting in the 1870s, waves of immigration from Europe sparked discussions of a singular Brazilian race (the "*raça brasileira*") based upon miscegenation, a discourse spearheaded by Silvio Romero. In the late 1800s, writers of Brazilian fiction explored the racial question. Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, for example, used works such as *Dom Casmurro* (1899) to analyze the racial distinction and makeup of Brazil's urban society.[34] Similarly, Euclides da Cunha, in his seminal *Os Sertões* (1902), discussed the differences between urban and rural Brazilians within a racial frame.[35] *Setanejos,* or rural Brazilians, da Cunha argued, were backwards not because of a lack of education or resources, but because of their racial heritage, one that was based in "degeneracy" and "backwardness."

Discussions of race and "Brazilianness" continued into the 20th century, the most famous ideas being those of Brazilian-born but U.S.-educated sociologist Gilberto Freyre. His 1933 book,

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[32] Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (Cambridge: Ca,bridge University Press, 2013), esp. 11-14.
[33] Haberty, *Three sad races,* esp. 14-31.
[34] Robert Patrick Newcomb, "Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis: Six Crônicas on Slavery and Abolition," *Portuguese Studies* 33/1 (2017), 105-122; Renata R. Mautner Wasserman, "Race, Nation, Representation: Machado de Assis and Lima Barreto," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 45/2 (2008), 84-106.
[35] Frederic Amory, "Historical Source and Biographical Context in the Interpretation of Euclides da Cunha's Os Sertoes," *Jounral of Latin American Studies* 28/3 (1996),667-685; Gerald Michael Greenfield, "Sertão and Sertanejo: An Interpretive Context for Canudos," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 30/2 (1993), 35-46.

Casa Grande e Senzala ("The Masters and the Slaves"), laid out what has become one of the most pervasive racial theories in Brazilian history, that of a "racial democracy." In his book, Freyre points to racial-mixing between whites, blacks, and natives as being a positive force for the Brazilian population, one that has allowed the Brazilian people to develop with the best features of each race. This, he argues, was facilitated by the "filial nature" of Portuguese slavery—because the Portuguese treated their slaves better than the Spanish treated theirs, Brazil developed with a unique capacity for miscegenation that was not seen anywhere else in the Americas.[36] This miscegenation led to a "racial democracy" in which all races, due to the high degree of intermixing, lived in harmony. For Freyre, racism was a North American invention, something conspicuously absent from Brazilian society.[37]

Freyre's myth of "racial democracy" has become an integral part of Brazil's social imaginary, as it continues to be invoked in common practice today. Freyre's argument does carry some weight. Indeed, Brazil has never been legally racially segregated as was the Jim Crow-era United States.[38] However, the idea of "racial democracy" actively denies the exclusionary nature of Brazilian society and the very existence of racial prejudice in Brazil. Although a study by UNESCO in the mid-20th century found "racial democracy" to be nothing more than a myth,[39]

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[36] Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Salves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987).

[37] *Ibid.* See also: Brian Owensby, "Toward a History of Brazil's 'Cordial Racism': Race beyond Liberalism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47/2 (2005), 318-347; Jeffrey D. Needell, "The Foundations of Freyre's Work: Engagement and Disengagement in the Brazil of 1923—1933," *Portuguese Studies* 27/1 (2011), 8-19.

[38] Although Brazil was never explicitly legally segregated (there were no spaces reserved for blacks or whites), segregation stull occurred (and continues to occur) along the lines of race and social class. For example, the majority of Rio or Sao Paulo's favela-dwellers (those that live on the outskirts of the city, or in the city slums) are black or of Afro-descendance, whereas many of the upper-class, inner-city dwellers are white.

[39] In the 1950s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sponsored a scientific study of race relations in Brazil. In response to the atrocities of the holocaust in World War II, UNESCO hoped to study a multicultural nation where races could live together harmoniously. The study, however, found that race relations were actually not at all equitable in Brazil, and concluded that racial discrimination, inequality, and prejudice existed in Brazil. Marcos Chor Maio, "UNESCO and the Study of Race Relations in Brazil: Regional or National Issue?" *Latin American Research Review* 36/2 (2001), 118-136.

many Brazilians today still believe in their country as being free from racism and exclusion. In his study of race and music in contemporary Brazil, John Burdick found that many sambistas, for example, will articulate the history of samba in a way that echoes Freyre's discourse. Many will even go so far as to argue that racism is not a pervasive part of Brazilian social interactions.[40]

Freyre's "racial democracy" goes beyond the chronological scope of this study, which limits itself to the bounds of the 19th century. However, the pervasiveness of this myth effectively demonstrates the importance of racial identity to the concept of "Brazilianness" even today. For this thesis, my interest in "Brazilianness" focuses on the associated racial thought and ideological precepts that produced racialized interpretations of Brazilian history and of Brazilian identity. Defining "Brazilianness" became an essential part of nation-building, since, as Anderson and Castoriadus argue, successful national projects are based in imagined bonds of similarity. That is, the search for "Brazilianness," a notion of sameness among those deemed to be Brazilians, was necessitated by the nation-building enterprise. This collective identity within the nation-building project becomes problematic, however, when one considers then narratives and identities silenced or excluded by the national project. In defining "Brazilianness," the Brazilian intellectuals and intelligentsia had to determine who was Brazilian and who was not. In this regard, Brazilian nation-building was inherently an exclusionary practice—certain groups became more Brazilian that others, while some groups were occluded completely.

Theorizing Music, its Reception, and its Circulation

I focus in this study on music, and music's unique capacity to engage with and shape the ideologically-constructed notions of "Brazilianness" that developed during the enterprise of

[40] John Burdick, *The Color of Sound: Race, Religion, and Music in Brazil* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), esp. 103-131.

nation-building. My core theoretical argument in this thesis is that in order to understand how erudite music was implicated in the defining of a Brazilian national identity in the 19th century, we must attend to the ways that the musical pieces in question were received and circulated within both national and transnational context. Therefore, I do not only concern myself with the way the ideologies of nation-building influenced and shaped Gomes' music, but also how Gomes' music influenced and shaped the ideologies of nation-building. I present what could perhaps be considered a Gramscian interpretation, asserting, as Antonio Gramsci would, that musical culture was used by elite circles to reinforce the already existing relations of production and the actual distribution of power.[41] In other words, the music of Carlos Gomes was used to reify hegemony, what he defined as the willing consent of the general population to be governed by a small and powerful group.[42] In the case of Brazil, this group of powerful and influential men was the very one in which Gomes found himself intimately involved.

Gomes' music, then, can be placed within an analysis of class in 19th-century Brazil. While his operatic compositions were certainly known to and attended by Brazilian popular classes, their nature as *operas* made them an upper-class—elite and erudite—pastime.[43] Their function as elite affairs is exactly what made Gomes' operas useful in the reproduction of elite ideologies and social/racial hierarchies. As Pierre Bourdieu has argued, taste for music acts as an articulation of

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[41] Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), 90-96.

[42] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International, 1971), esp. 324-340.

[43] Claudio Benzecry has argued that, historically, opera performances in Latin America could be attended by a number of social classes, including middle and upper-middle classes. In this way, the opera was not restricted to an elite viewership. However, they were still perceived as a symbol or marker of status—*habitus*—and socially-constructed to be elite or upper-class affairs. As Cristina Magaldi asserts, one of opera's early functions in Brazil was to serve as a marker of Europeanness, or of culture and civility. Therefore, I argue that, although Gomes' work could have been attended by middle-class individuals, there were still symbols of prestige, status, and elitism. See: Claudio Benzecry, *The Opera Fanatic: Ethnography of an Obsession* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Cristina Magaldi, *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro: European Culture in a Tropical Milieu* (Scarecrow Press, 2004).

social class—the upper classes, according to Bourdieu, would gravitate towards finer, more erudite music (Beethoven, Verdi, etc.), whereas the lower classes would prefer popular musical forms, such as samba or choro music in Brazil. This was, in part, due to cultural capital and life habits: wealthier individuals would have been socially trained from an early age to appreciate and listen to these forms of "elite music."[44] However, Bourdieu's arguments also build upon his conceptualization of music as an abstract—"mute"—medium, one that "does not speak its *habitus* [cultural capital]."[45] In plainer terms, music itself does not articulate a political or social agenda; Beethoven's 9th Symphony would not itself articulate an elite *habitus.* Rather, music's *habitus* is attributed to it by the listeners.[46] (In the case of Beethoven's 9th, the audience decides that it is elite, and subsequent performances of it are read in such a manner.) Therefore, Gomes' operas were socially constructed as elite compositions, those that were received and circulated within upper-class social circles. Their status and (attributed) *habitus* as upper-class is what allowed them to reproduce and reify elite ideologies and support the racial hierarchies that nation-building ideologies espoused.

Bourdieu's discussion of musical *habitus* as being socially-constructed rather than inherent effectively captures my approach to music throughout this thesis. In this study, I see Gomes' musical production as multifaceted, comprising of more than just the audible music. While my analysis certainly focuses on musical qualities—musical gestures, motifs, timbre, form, dynamics, and so forth—it also examines music in its other discursive contexts. As other scholars have similarly done, I recognize that much of music's discourse does not take place in lyrical or musical

[44] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* translated by R. Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 362-363.
[45] Jairo Moreno and Gavin Steingo, "Rancière's Equal Music," *Contemporary Music Review* 31/5-6 (2012), 487-488.
[46] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 263.

material, but in how it is received, distributed, and read by audience members.[47] I understand music, then, as an interconnected grouping of related practices and discourses: the composition process, musical dedications, the contexts surround premieres, musical gestures and distinct sonic characteristics, lyrics and libretti, dramatic themes, aesthetic and genre choices, visuals and staging, social relations and networks implicated in performances, among others. While part of my analysis is based in semiotics and discussions of musico-dramatics in Gomes' compositions, I also attend to the non-audible aspects of his music, particularly its reception history and the ideological contexts in which the operas were premiered and performed.

In discussing Gomes' music and its relation to "Brazilianness," this study engages with questions of music and identity. My interest in music is not only in its reflection of identities, or how elite Brazilians saw themselves and their nations, but also in how music engaged, shaped, formed, or constituted such identities. As philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy has argued, the act of listening to music allows listeners to reflect on their own subjectivities and identities, defining themselves in relation to others and in relation to the world around them.[48] I build on this assertion and argue that music is not simply a reflection of selfhood, but rather a catalyst for new ideas of identity and social relation.[49] In other words, in placing the music of Gomes in its proper social contexts—both within Brazil and without— this study aims to examine the role of music in shaping the elite ideologies and the social, racial, political, and national identities imbricated in the discourse of "Brazilianness."

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[47] See: Andy Bennett, "Consolidating the music scene's perspective," *Poetics* 32 (2004), 223-234; Simon Frith, *Performing Rites* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).
[48] Jean-Luc Nancy, *Listening*, translated by Charlotte Mandell (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), 63-67.
[49] Frith,*Performing Rites*; Peter Wade, *Race, Nation, and Culture: An Anthropological Approach* (London: Pluto, 2002).

My interests in Gomes' music, however, focus more on its engagement with *collective* rather than *individual* identities. To understand how music articulates and forms collective identities, Aaron Fox has proposed embodiment, emplacement, and temporality as the thematic groups around which music can form identity.[50] His conceptualization of the music-identity nexus builds upon Elizabeth Grosz's formulation of place, body, and time as essential pillars upon which identity is constructed.[51] In my analysis of Gomes' music and its related discursive fields, I bring these frameworks to bear on Gomes' music and its engagement with "Brazilianness." In examining how *Il Guarany,* for example, invokes themes of body, history, and place, I demonstrate how it engaged with and shaped a collective notion of Brazilian national identity, or "Brazilianness." Gomes music engages extensively with all of these themes: his works present myths of national foundation, narratives of conquest and colonization (history), characterizations of race, ethnicity, "degeneration" (body), and questions of national pasts, futures, and modernity (time).

This study posits music as a critical element in the establishment, legitimization, and collectivization of identities—"Brazilianness" as an ideological construction, I argue, was both reflected in the music of Carlos Gomes, but also shaped and supported by the circulation of his pieces within Brazil's social and racial hierarchies. However, I also assert music to be an essential political tool, one that allowed—to echo Gramsci—for the maintenance of social hierarchies and power dynamics within Brazilian society.[52] My approach to politics draws from the work of Jacques Rancière, who defines "politics" in aesthetic terms:

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[50] Aaron Fox, *Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture* (Durham, NC.: Duke University Press, 2004), 21.
[51] Elizabeth Grosz, *Architecture from the Outside: Essays on Virtual and Real Space* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1994). For examples of studies into music that use this formulation of identity, see: Fox, *Real Country*; Burdick, *The Color of Sound*; Peter Manuel, "Andalusian, gypsy, and class identity in the contemporary flamenco complex," *Ethnomusicology* 33/1 (1989), 47-65; Lara Allen, "Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity During the 1950s," *Ethnomusicology* 47/2 (2003), 228-249; Thomas Solomon, "Dueling Landscapes: Singing Places and Identities in Highland Bolivia," *Ethnomusicology* 44/2 (2000), 257-280.
[52] Gramsci, *Selections,* 324-360.

> Politics is not the struggle for or the exercise of power…[but rather] the configuration of a specific space, the framing of a particular sphere of experience, of objects posited as common and as pertaining to a common decision, of subjects recognized as capable of designating these objects and putting forward arguments about them.[53]

For Rancière, truly "political" acts are those that undermine or challenge the "consensus," or the naturalized appearance of existing social hierarchies (racial, class-based, or otherwise). These acts—acts of "dissensus," as he terms them—overturn such reductions of people to political subjects, thus altering the "distribution of the sensible" (mainstream perceptions of social relations and hierarchies).[54]

I use Rancière's theorization of "politics" and the concept of a "consensus" as a point of departure for examining how Gomes' music operated within the political spheres of 19th-century Brazil. Many studies of music and politics focus on sonic and musical productions as ways to undermine the consensus, or as acts of dissensus that redistribute the sensible. Gavin Steingo's study of Kwaito music in South Africa, for example, theorized the genre within this framework, arguing that Kwaito acted to generate new sensible and political realities for listeners. It was, as Rancière would say, a "redistribution of the sensible."[55] The present study, however, aims to demonstrate music's capacity to do the opposite, to reinforce and uphold the political consensus, or the existing hegemonic power distributions. Erudite music, in 19th-century Brazil, functioned to sonically reproduce the consensus, reifying the social, racial, and ideological discourse espoused by the societal elites that supported and attended works like *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo.* While

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[53] Jacques Rancière, *Aesthetics and its Discontents,* translated by S. Corcoran (Malden, MA.: Polity Press, 2009), 24.
[54] Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus: On the Politics of Aesthetics* (London, Continuum Books, 2010), 5. Cited in Jim Sykes, "Culture as Freedom: Musical 'Liberation' in Batticaloa, Sri Lanka," *Ethnomusicology* 57/3 (2013), 488.
[55] Gavin Steingo, *Kwaito's Promise: Music and the Aesthetics of Freedom in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). For other works that take similar approaches, see: Sykes, "Culture as Freedom"; Ruba Salih and Sophie Richter-Devroe, "Cultures of Resistance in Palestine and Beyond: On the Politics of Art, Aesthetics, and Affect," *Arab Studies Journal* 22/1 (2014),8-27.

Gomes' operas were certainly shaped by the ideological discussions that surrounded him and the social circles with which he engaged, they also worked to fashion, crystalize, and disseminate the notions of race and nation constructed by the intelligentsia. Rather than the invisible hand of hegemony that Gramscian theory so often depicts, here we can see how the interactions between music and elite institutions worked to shape notions of race and nation, Brazilian identity and "Brazilianness," and Brazilian society at large.

The Music of Antônio Carlos Gomes

Gomes' music has been extensively studied by musicologists, historians, cultural theorists, and other scholars, both in Brazil and abroad. Though the scholarship on this corpus is considerable in size, it is often approached from the same angles. Thus, much of the literature on Gomes is either biographical in nature or concerned primarily with musical stylistic analysis. Scholars such as Marcos Pupo Nogueira, in his *Muito além do melodramma: Os prelúdios e sinfonias das óperas de Carlos Gomes,* have presented sophisticated engagements with Gomes' compositions, but their works are more analytical then interpretative.[56] That is, their study of works like *Il Guarany* or *Fosca* is done within an explicitly musical framework, oftentimes neglecting the cultural, social, and pollical contexts in which these works were composed and performed. Likewise, other scholars have written about Gomes from a purely biographical perspective, meticulously detailing his studies, travels, romantic engagements, and other aspects of the composer's tumultuous and eventful life.

It should be noted, however, that many of the biographies of Gomes are incredibly hagiographic in nature, often overlooking the composer's uncomfortable engagement with issues

[56] Marcos Pupo Nogueira, *Muito além do melodramma: Os prelúdios e sinfonias das óperas de Carlos Gomes* (São Paulo: Fundação Editora UNESP, 2006).

of race and cultural exclusion. While a certain degree of hagiography is to be expected for any national figure, the idealized mythicization that Brazilians have constructed around Gomes is especially problematic—Gomes is often portrayed as a national hero, one that, according to biographer Jorge Alvez da Lima, united the citizens of Brazil and smoothed over national political tensions.[57] This hagiography is especially evident in the early musicological scholarship on Gomes—scholars in the 1940s and 1950s, oftentimes attempting to legitimatize Brazil's erudite musical tradition, were particularly egregious in their idealization of the composer. These early scholars also sought to use their work to contribute to a nationalized musical culture, proposing terms like "Brazilian music" or "Brazilian national music" for the first time. The first book on music in Brazil, Guilherme de Melo's 1908 *A música no Brasil, desde os tempos coloniais até o primeiro decênio da República* ("Music in Brazil, from colonial times to the first decade of the Republic"), devoted itself to proving Brazil to be a nation not without culture, literature, and art.[58] More recent scholars, however, have presented more critical looks at Gomes' musical career, paying special attention to his place in Brazilian history. Musicologist Maria Alice Volpe, for example, has written on the composer's engagement with 19th-century ideologies, such as Brazilian Romanticism, and his place in the development of a "national art."[59] Similarly, Lutero Rodrigues has examined the reception of Gomes' music, both by his contemporaries and by music critics that identified with the 20th-century *modernista* movement.[60] Mario de Andrade and Oswald

[57] Jorge Alvez da Lima, *Carlos Gomes, Sou e sempre serei: O Tonico de Campinas, 1º Volume* (Campinas, SP: Solution Editora, 2016), xii.
[58] Guilherme Teodoro Pereira de Melo, *A música no Brasil, desde os tempos coloniais até o primeiro decênio da República*, 1908, 2nd ed (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1947).
[59] Maria Alice Volpe, "Remaking the Brazilian Myth of National Foundation: Il Guarany," *Latin American Music Review* 23/2 (2002), 179-194; Maria Alice Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape in the Brazilian age of progress: art music from Carlos Gomes to Villa-Lobos, 1870s-1930s," Ph.D. Diss (University of Texas at Austin, 2001).
[60] Lutero Rodrigues, *Carlos Gomes, um tema em questão: A ótica modernista e a visão de Mario de Andrade* (São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2011).

de Andrade, spearheads of the modernist movement in São Paulo, for example, openly criticized Gomes' Europhilic rendering of Brazilian history and Brazilian identity.[61]

The work of this most recent wave of scholarship, however, does not broach the themes presented in this thesis, particularly those of race and nation. Scholarship in other disciplines—history, anthropology, sociology—that has examined such themes of race and difference,[62] has necessitated a fresh look at Gomes' oeuvre, one that carefully attends to the place of music within historical conceptions of race, nationalism, and "Brazilianness." In a way, the arguments and interpretations I present in this thesis are revisionist: they aim to challenge and undo some of the mythicization that surrounds Gomes in the Brazilian musical imaginary. More broadly, however, this study is intended to demonstrate the role of art music—using Carlos Gomes as a case-study—in the Brazilian nation-building project. I situate music within the ideological discourse of nation-building, arguing that it played an important role in mediating and negotiating notions of race ("*a raça brasileira*"), national identity ("Brazilianness"), and questions of modernity and cosmopolitanism.

This thesis does not pretend to provide a complete account of Brazilian music, race, and nation in the 19th century. Rather, the study narrows the focus to a single representative composer and uses his pieces to examine—in a chronological fashion—aspects of the complicated and nuanced relationships between music, politics, and ideologies in Brazilian nation-building. Though the chapters speak to most of his compositions, the analytic focus is on three of Gomes'

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[61] Rodrigues, *Carlos Gomes, um tema em questão*.

[62] For representative works examining race in Brazil, see: John Burdick, *Blessed Anastasia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, "Racial Doctrines in the Nineteenth Century: A History of Differences and Discrimination," in *The Spectacle of the Races, Scientists, Institutions and the Race Question in Brazil 1870-1930*, 44-70 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999); Peter Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," *Daedalus* 129/2 (2000), 83-118; Jerry Davila, "Building the Brazilian Man," In *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil*, 23-51 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

most well-known pieces: *Il Guarany*, *Lo Schiavo,* and *Colombo.* The chapters move chronologically—starting with the Italian premiere of *Il Guarany* in 1870 and closing with *Colombo's* intended 1893 debut—and trace the musical development of "Brazilianness" and its related racial, national, and political precepts over the course of three decades. In this way, this thesis examines the development and evolution of "Brazilianness" in social thought, demonstrating that elite notions of race and nationalism were not exactly static but were gradually refined with the introduction of new theories and ideas.

The first two chapters analyze the premieres and readings of *Il Guarany* in 1870, but in different contexts. Chapter 1 interrogates *Il Guarany's* debut performance in Milan's La Scala theater and puts the piece in dialogue with the musical trends of exoticism and Oritentalism that circulated in European art music genres at that time. It argues that Gomes' composition engaged in an act of auto-exoticization—it interacted with European and Brazilian ideologies in such a way that presented a primitivized "Brazilianness" salient to Italian audiences hungry for exotic depictions of faraway people and lands. In the same way that the early European writers like Southey and Brazilian Romantics such as Alencar and Dias based their representations of Brazilian identity on indigenous peoples and exotic landscapes, Gomes' *Il Guarany* remains firmly entrenched the paradigm of "Man and Land." It uses musical, visual, and dramatic renderings of Brazilian natives and landscapes to present an exotic image of Brazil. This "Brazilianness" is therefore discussed as a projection of an "Other," to Italian audiences.

In Chapter 2, this reading of "Brazilianness" in Italy is contrasted with the reading of *Il Guarany* in Brazil, one that was read as an allegory for the Brazilian nation and therefore as a projection of "Self." Here, I connect *Il Guarany* to the discussions of race and nation that were precipitated by the end of the Paraguayan War in 1870. I argue that the racialized and antagonistic

nature of the war facilitated a racialized and nationalistic reading of *Il Guarany*. The composition's "Brazilianness" engaged with Indianist and national ideologies in such a way that negotiated concepts of a national, indigenous past with a white, European future. I use *Il Guarany,* then, as a site in which to consider the "Brazilian Self" that elites and intellectuals sought to create during the nation-building process. This "Brazilian Self," I contend, is rendered as uniquely Brazilian, yet at once European.

Chapter 3 turns to the 1889 "abolitionist" opera *Lo Schiavo,* and its engagement with themes of racial and national identity in the era of abolition. It situates the composition with the racial rhetoric of Brazilian social thought in the 1880s, particularly the ideas espoused by the "1870s generation" and intellectuals such as Silvio Romero. Carefully analyzing the racial and ethnic tropes explored and presented in *Lo Schiavo,* the chapter argues that the "Brazilianness" presented in the opera was one that was whitened and Europeanized, thought rooted in an indigenous Brazilian past. The opera was abolitionist, I argue, only insofar as to present Brazil as progressive and modern, cleared of the "backwardness" of slavery. Non-white—and especially black—identities, however, were eclipsed by a white, European "Brazilianness" that sought to integrate itself into the circuits of modernity that the Brazilian elite saw in Europe and North America. Like in *Il Guarany,* stock figures and indigenous tropes of "Europeanized" natives and Noble Savages—to borrow from Rousseau—were the characters in which to couch the discourse of "Brazilianness." In both operas, the concept of *mestiçagem,* or racial mixing, also became an important element that came to symbolize the hybrid nature of Brazilian identity and society. As I demonstrate in the first three chapters, however, the distribution of power in these mixed-race romances was anything but equitable and came to represent the imbalances in identity that characterized concepts of Brazilian national identity.

Chapter 4 examines a particularly confounding series of events in Gomes' musical career: his composition of the symphonic vocal-poem *Colombo* for the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. This piece presented a change in paradigm for the composer, as it moved away from uniquely Brazilian subject matter—dancing natives and mixed-race couples—to a Pan-American narrative of Christopher Columbus's journey to (and conquest of) the New World. The chapter examines the discourse of *Colombo* in relation to the emerging ideologies of cosmopolitanism, arguing that the "Brazilianness" constructed in the piece was one that transgressed simple nationalisms, but rather posited "Brazilianness" as part of a larger, cosmopolitan "Americanness." Like Chapter 1, Chapter 4 is interested in the construction and dissemination of "Brazilianness" to communities and audiences beyond Brazil. In this way, these analyses and interpretations demonstrate the way Brazilian intellectual and political leadership hoped to be perceived by foreign onlookers.

The chapters oscillate between national and transnational—or non-national, in the case of cosmopolitanism—perspectives. In each chapter, I focus on "Brazilianness" as the critical center of my analysis, using constructions of nationalism, race, and identity to explore and discuss the ways in which Gomes' erudite musical production engaged with and shaped the dominant ideologies of Brazil's social and political elite. This musical history reveals the tense and sometimes contradictory ideological precepts of nation-building. Moreover, it reveals the way the Brazilian intelligentsia negotiated and mediated Brazil's collective entry into modernity, especially with regards to questions of race, class, and nationalisms and cosmopolitanisms. While music and sound may seem like superficial and "mute"—as Bourdieu would say—elements of society, oftentimes viewed only as entertainment, they were not taken lightly by the participants discussed in this thesis. Rather, the composers, politicians, intellectuals, and audiences involved

in the events that I will relay understood the music and themselves to be engaged in important discussions that would shape the ultimate fate of Brazil.

They were right.

CHAPTER 1

Projections of "Other": Indigeneity, "Brazilianness," and the Brazilian Opera in Italy

Poscia l'uomo maledetto sarà pasto del banchetto agli anzian della tribu!

Then the accursed wretch will serve as banquet meals for the ancients of our tribes![1]

—Cacique, *Il Guarany* Act III Scene 3

On 19 March 1870, the orchestra sounded the now famous opening theme of *Il Guarany* at its premiere in Milan's La Scala theater. At the time, it was implausible that composer Carlos Gomes could have known the importance he would assume in Brazil's musical canon. The opera, a dazzling musical and visual display of plumed Indians, jungle battles, and fatal mixed-race romances, was sung entirely in Italian and set to an Italianate musical score. However, *Il Guarany*, his third to be performed in Europe, was easily his most successful opera in the Italian opera houses, receiving favorable reviews from the public and music critics alike.[2] Back home in Brazil, the opera premiered in Rio de Janeiro's *Teatro Lyrical Fluminense* on 2 December 1870, the birthday of a close friend, Emperor Dom Pedro II. The opera was met with such fanfare in Brazil that public fervor led to an additional thirteen performances within the following two weeks.[3] Partly due to his composition, but mostly due to his success in the prestigious and exclusive Milanese opera scene, Gomes was quickly labeled a national hero by his Brazilian countrymen. Upon hearing the news of his premiere in Italy, Brazilians were quick to capitalize on the opportunity to appropriate such triumph. His hometown of Campinas stood to gain the most from

[1] Antônio Carlos Gomes and Antônio Scalvini, *Il Guarany*, Act III Sc 3. Translation by author.
[2] Marcus Goés, *Carlos Gomes: A força indômita* (Belém: SECULT, 1996), 129.
[3] Tracy Devine Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil: Indigeneity After Independence* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 70.

such associations with the newly-minted Italian superstar. An article from the 21 April 1870 issue of the *Correio Paulistano* illustrates such patriotic sentiments attached to Gomes' success:

> Our distinguished compatriot…received his grand European baptism, thereby bolstering the legitimate fame of his artistic merits. The great opera, *O guarany* [sic], was performed in Milan's Scala Theater with great success, and the maestro was called back to the stage more than twenty times to the resonance of frenetic applause. This glory belongs in large part to Brazil, and particularly to this province, which considers the illustrious *campineiro* one of her most beloved sons and one of the most notable embellishments of her artistic fame. We *paulistas* must not be indifferent to this occasion. We must pay attention. Carlos Gomes, whose musical career has begun so brilliantly, should be our source of pride, our brightest star in the field of fine arts.[4]

The nationalist fervor exemplified above only grew with time. Over the subsequent century, Gomes would become lionized in the Brazilian musical canon—regarded as "the greatest Brazilian operatic composer"[5]—and his *Il Guarany* considered a second Brazilian national anthem.[6]

It should be clear as to why many scholars have labeled Gomes a nationalist composer.[7] After all, how could an opera depicting a Brazilian subject, adored by the Brazilian public, and picked up by the Brazilian nation as an unofficial anthem be considered anything less than nationalist? Music critic Guilherme Fontainha writes in his 1936 homage to the composer in the centenary celebrations of his birth:

> "[Gomes] proved the musical value of our race overseas…because the staging of his operas has always been a resounding triumph for the author and an immense glory for the land he loved so much….[His work] meant recognition for us, at the time so little known in the Old World, especially in the field of arts."[8]

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[4] "*O Guarany* de Carlos Gomes." *Correio Paulistano,* 21 April 1870, 1. Cited/translated in Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 69.

[5] A statue of the composer standing outside of the *Teatro Municipal* in Rio de Janeiro is displayed with a plaque that reads: "*Carlos Gomes: O melhor compositor brasileiro da ópera."* ["Carlos Gomes: The greatest Brazilian opera composer."]

[6] João Itiberê da Cunha, "*Il Guarany:* Algumas palavras sobre a ópera," *Revista Brasileira de Música* 3, 2 (1936), 250.

[7] Gomes' labeling as "nationalist" is one that has been debated by various historians and musicologists. Maria Alice Volpe, considering the polemics of Mario de Andrade in the 1920s and 30s, writes that "scholars have long been reluctant to acknowledge the nationalist significance" of Carlos Gomes. Here, I offer counterexamples to challenge her characterization of the composer, arguing here that Carlos Gomes is considered by more to be "nationalist" than not. See: Volpe, "Remaking the Brazilian Myth of National Foundation," 179

[8] Guilherme Fontainha, "Prefácio*," Revista Brasileira de Música* 3,2 (1936), 78.

More recently, author Jorge Alvez da Lima, in an almost inexcusable hagiography of Gomes,[9] asserts the nationalist significance of the composer and the need for Brazil to bestow upon him endless praise: "Campinas has the right and the duty, fluid and uncontested, to glorify its illustrious son, true national hero—it is our civil duty. To perpetuate his memory and his musical heritage is also [Brazil's] honorable obligation."[10] However, it is important to place Gomes' opera in context: *Il Guarany* was composed and premiered in Italy, by a composer who wanted nothing more than to be accepted and applauded by European audiences. To examine *Il Guarany* within the context of Italy, therefore, is essential to a holistic understanding of the opera's cultural importance.

Regarding his compositions, however, Gomes once declared: "I wrote *Guarany* for the Brazilians; *Salvator Rosa* for the Italians; and *Fosca* for the wise."[11] This would explain his choice of a Brazilian subject for *Il Guarany*. It would also explain why so many scholars have considered *Il Guarany* exclusively as a Brazilian historical and cultural artefact, neglecting any associations with Italy.[12] Given the opera's subject matter, considering its place in Brazilian history seems necessary, if not expected. Additionally, the reception of the opera points to its significance for Brazilian arts: Gomes was appointed as an *Oficial da Ordem da Rosa* (Official of the Order of the

[9] Lima's work is so explicitly hagiographic that he makes claims that are both historically inaccurate, but that also present delusional interpretations of historical facts and events. For example, Lima claims that Gomes was solely responsible for the pacification of the new Brazilian Republic and that, without him, Brazil would have fallen apart. See: Alvez da Lima, *Carlos Gomes. Sou e sempre serei: O Tonico de Campinas, Vol 1*, preâmbulo *vii.*

[10] "Campinas tem o direito e o dever, liquido e inconteste, de glorificar o seu ilustre filho, verdadeiro herói nacional—é o nosso dever de civismo. Perpetuar a memória e sua herança musical é também a nossa obrigação de honra, não só do seu berço natal, como da Nação Brasileira!" See: *Ibid.*

[11] "Fiz o *Guarany* para os brasileiros; o *Salvator Rosa* para os italianos; e o *Fosca* para os entendidos." Carlos Gomes, unknown and undated correspondence. Cited in Iteberê da Cunha, 247. Translation by author. Many scholars consider this just an "attributed phrase"—though widely cited, no one has tracked down a concrete document in which Gomes says this. For that reason, I treat such a statement with caution. While Gomes claims that *Il Guarany* was written for a Brazilian audience, I demonstrate here that there is good reason to consider the opera as one composed for Italian audiences.

[12] For a notable exception, see Gaspare Nello Vetro, *Antônio Carlos Gomes: Carteggi Italiana* (Milan, Nuove Edizioni, 1976), where he uses Gomes' correspondences to examine the composer's life and work while he was in Italy. Vetro's work, however, is more biographical than analytical. He transcribes many of Gomes' Italian correspondences and describes his life in Italy but does not consider his work in a substantially analytical capacity.

Rose) by Dom Pedro II following the *Il Guarany* premiere in Brazil, recognizing his contributions and loyalty to Brazilian society.[13] However, Gomes had positioned himself as a composer in the Western tradition, longing to be considered alongside operatic composers like Verdi or Rossini. The Italian music scene was kind to Gomes—his European operas were met with favorable reviews and he had no problem securing venues for his performances. *Il Guarany* even earned him a nomination as a "chancellor dignitary" to the *Ordine della Corona d'Italia* (Order of the Italian Crown), decreed by King Vitor Emmanuel II on 29 May, 1870.[14] Attempting to present himself as part of the Italianate operatic tradition, Gomes went so far as to label *Il Guarany* an "*ópera italiana"* in the Brazilian newspapers and promotional materials.[15] It would be correct to assume, then, that Gomes' particular construction of "Brazilianness," as seen in his *Il Guarany,* was one that was intended for Italian audiences first and foremost (so as to secure acceptance in the Western canon as a legitimate operatic composer) and not to ignite Brazilian nationalism, as many seem to suggest.

This chapter discusses the notions of "Brazilianness" conveyed by Gomes' seminal opera *Il Guarany.* I examine the piece through a transnational lens, considering how it was read by an Italian audience at its initial premiere in Milan. I interrogate the way Gomes used varied representations of indigeneity and of the Brazilian landscape to craft an image of "Brazil," one that would find a natural home in the European trends of musical exoticism and orientalism. Specifically, I discuss his projected "Brazilianness" as a construction of the "Other," one that was

[13] In a letter dated 14 December 1870, an Imperial officer writes to Gomes notifying him that on 7 December 1870, Dom Pedro II ordered, by decree, that Gomes be named "*Oficial da Ordem da Rosa."* See letter located in the Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), Série Correspondências (CGcr), housed in the Museu Nacional Histórico in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

[14] Decree from the Secretary of Public Instruction in Italy, announcing that Carlos Gomes has been named to the Order of the Italian Crown) by the Italian King Vitor Emmanuel II. Dated 29 June, 1870. See letter located in the Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), Série Correspondências (CGcr), housed in the Museu Nacional Histórico in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

[15] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 70-71.

positioned antithetically to the European ideals of civility. I argue that Gomes' depictions of Brazil and of indigeneity engage in a strategic auto-exoticization, one that reduces the image of Brazil to one of primitivity and of "Other," presenting Italian audiences with the musical depiction of an "exotic" Brazil.

A Brazilian Composer in Italy: Gomes in Milan and the Context of *Il Guarany's* Premiere

In 1859, Carlos Gomes left his hometown of Campinas and made his way to Rio de Janeiro to study music. Although his father protested, Gomes felt confident in his abilities as a composer and was sure that he could begin studying at Rio's *Imperial Conservatório de Música.* In a letter to his father from that year, Gomes apologized for leaving Campinas and revealed his plan to talk to the Emperor to gain admittance to the Rio Conservatory:

> A fixed idea has accompanied me, as my destiny. Do not fault me for the actions taken today. My intention is to speak with the Emperor to obtain protection from him in order to enter the Conservatory [here in Rio]. I will not waste time; all of this that I tell you will displease you because of my leaving without your consent, but I have confidence in my determination and in the little intelligence that God gave me. I cannot tell you anything more on this occasion, but I swear to thou that my intentions are pure and that I restlessly await your blessing and your forgiveness.[16]

During his studies at Rio's Conservatory, Gomes composed two operas, *A Noite do Castelo* (1861) and *Joanna de Flandres* (1863), both characterized by librettos in Portuguese. The operas formed part of the National Opera Movement, a state-sponsored initiative in which Brazilian

[16] "Uma ideia fixa me acompanha, como meu destino….Não me culpe pelo passo dado hoje….A minha intenção é falar ao Imperador para obter dele proteção a fim de entrar no Conservatório desta cidade. Não perderei tempo; tudo isto que lhe estou dizendo lhe desgostará pelo motive de eu ter saído de lá sem a sua licença, mas tenho confiança na minha vontade e no pouco de inteligência que Deus me deu. Nada mais lhe posso dizer nesta ocasião, mas afirmo a Vmc. que minhas intenções são puras e que espero desassossegado a sua benção e seu perdão." Correspondence from Carlos Gomes to his father, Manuel José Gomes, dated 22 June 1859. Cited in Sílio Bocanera Jr., *Um artista brasileiro* (Bahia: Typographia Bahiana, 1913), 12-14. Translation by author.

composers sought to define and construct the "Brazilian opera."[17] Composers experimented with operatic styles and structures meant to deviate from those set by Italian and French operatic composers and contest the cultural hegemony held by European opera. Instead of composing the standard four acts, for example, Brazilian composers experimented with operas that contained a larger number of shorter acts. These composers also looked to compose to librettos set in Portuguese, working in the vernacular rather than in the imported languages of French and Italian. However, for a number of pragmatic reasons, the National Opera Movement failed, and Brazil did not see the creation of a "Brazilian opera."[18]

Instead, the National Opera Movement became the "National and Italian Opera Movement" and Rio saw an influx of Italian opera companies. As a result, Brazilian composers experienced increasing difficulty in finding venues to premiere their compositions—high-profile theaters and opera houses offered programs filled with such names as Verdi and Rossini rather than featuring national composers.[19] Brazilian opera companies, such as José Amat's Company at the Academia Imperial de Música e Ópera Nacional, were affected by such shifts in opera consumption and were often forced to end productions.[20] Perceiving this change in audience

[17] The National Opera movement was a prerogative of The Imperial Academy of Music and National Opera. The movement sought to create a Brazilian style of operatic singing that made use of the Portuguese language as opposed to the more common German, Italian, and French styles of singing. The movement started in 1852 when João Antonio Miranda, director of the Teatro Provisório, launched a competition that encouraged the composition of an opera to be sung in Portuguese and revolving around a Brazilian subject. Such nationalist aspirations were continued in 1856 when José Amat founded the Imperial Academy of Music and National Opera, encouraging the creation of a national opera. This movement was largely a product of the nationalist sentiments that were growing in Brazil during the 1850s, also seen in the literary movements. Volpe draws a parallel between the opera movement in Brazil and the creation of the French Grand Opera in France (instead of the traditional Italian Grand Opera). For more on the Brazilian national opera, see: Luis Heitor Correia de Azevedo, *Relação de óperas de autores brasileiros* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1938),102-103; Bruno Kiefer, *História da música brasileira* (Porto Alegre: Movimento, 1976), 77-82; and Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape,"159.

[18] The performances of operas in Brazil relied largely on foreign singers. Their lack of experience with singing in the Portuguese language made performing Portuguese librettos especially difficult, and often led to lackluster or even poor performances. The public reception of such performances was thus jeopardized, and audiences often laughed at garbled singing and mispronounced words. This led to the end of the National Opera movement in 1863. See Kiefer, *História da música*, 77-82.

[19] *Ibid*, 77. Also see: Cristina Magaldi, *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro*,esp. 90-92.

[20] Azevedo, *Relação de óperas*, 331.

sensibilities, Gomes sought out new avenues for success. In 1863, recognized as the conservatory's most successful student, Gomes was able to secure a scholarship to study opera in Europe. While the Emperor, a friend and admirer of the young composer, encouraged him to study in Germany (presumably in the Wagnerian style), Gomes chose to follow Brazilian penchants for Italian opera and culture.[21] Thus, in December of 1863, Gomes left for Milan, where he started a new life and career as a Brazilian composer in Italy.

Gomes arrived in Milan in February of 1864 and immediately began studying at the Milanese *Real Conservatorio* under Francisco Lauro Rossi (1812-1885), Italian conductor and opera composer. Gomes quickly set himself apart from the Italian students, finishing his studies with the highest honors and receiving the title of "*mestre compositore*" ("master composer") in 1866.[22] His first (known) commissioned work in Milan was for Italian librettist Antonio Scalvini (1835-1881), who would later write the libretto for Gomes' *Il Guarany.*

Scalvini approached the young Gomes, then almost completely unknown on the Milanese music scene, and asked him to write the music for his *revista musical* (musical revue) entitled *Se Sa Minga* (Nothing is Known), to be premiered at the Teatro Fossati on 9 December, 1866. Marcos Virmond writes that the *revista* genre can be thought of as a light musical theater piece popular in Italy at that time. The *revista* pieces were typically written for a large cast of characters who would relay recent political, economic, social, and cultural events over a simple musical composition. For

[21] Dom Pedro II was a friend and admirer of Wagner and the Wagnerian compositional style, the "music of the future." Although Wagner's first premiere in debut was a poorly attended failure, Pedro II desired for Gomes to study in Germany under the Wagner-school. See: Octavio Bevilacqua, "Wagner no Brasil," *Revista da Associação Brasileira de Música*, 8 (1934), 3-11; Américo Jacobina Lacombe, "D. Pedro II e Wagner," In *Ensaios Históricos*, Coleção Afrânio Peixoto, da Academia Brasileira de Letras (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1993), 173-8.
[22] A document dated 06 June 1866 from the Milanese Music Conservatory stated that Gomes was thus forth entitled to the title "*mestre compositore"* ("Master Composer"), signed by several professors at the conservatory. See document located in the Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), Série Correspondências (CGcr), housed in the Museu Nacional Histórico in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

that reason, Virmond points out that *Se Sa Minga's* libretto, which revolved around the events of the Italian Third War of Independence, was much more important for the piece's success than Gomes' music.[23] Regardless, the composition was well-received and served as Gomes' introduction to the Milanese music world. It is hard to say whether *Se Sa Minga* should be considered a deciding factor in Gomes' success in Milan. What is clear, however, is that the partnership with Scalvini would later become one of the most well-known composer-libretto duos in both Italy and Brazil.

It is worth situating Gomes within the larger musical trends in Italy and Europe during that time. As an operatic composer studying under the Italian masters, Gomes' Italian-period compositions, including *Il Guarany,* conformed to the conventions of the Italian Grand Opera genre. As Jay Nicolaisen notes, the musico-dramatic form of *Il Guarany* follows the typical mid-century Grand Opera formula:[24]

Act I	Expose the Central conflict
	Introduce the central character
	Use a chorus
Act II	Duets; confrontations between characters
	Little or no use of chorus
Act III	Ballet
	Heavy use of chorus
	All or most of characters take part in a climactic finale
Act IV	Climax, oftentimes the protagonist dies
	Depictions of moral anguish
	Subdued use of chorus[25]

Gomes' *Il Guarany* follows this typical Italian convention almost to the last detail. The only departure he makes is in not killing his protagonist, Pery. However, as we will see, the climactic close of the opera makes up for this departure in its lengthy depictions of moral anguish (and plenty

[23] Marcos da Cunha Virmond, "*Se Sa Minga* de Carlos Gomes: Contextualizacao Historica," Mimeses, Bauru 35/1 (2014), 27-29, 34-40.
[24] Jay Nicolaisen, *Italian Opera in Transition, 1871-1893* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1980), 13-14.
[25] *Ibid,* 13. List format by author.

of principal characters die). Additionally, *Il Guarany's* plot falls perfectly into the archetypal plot of the 19th-century Romantic opera, that of love delayed by a number of obstacles that must be overcome.[26]

Another important musical aesthetic was developing in Europe during Gomes' musical career: musical exoticism. This trend, starting in the 18th century and developing throughout the 19th, was built on Europe's attraction to regions and cultures outside of its own.[27] In most basic terms, these operas can be conceptualized as musical and visual representations of what critical theorists have termed "the Other." Composers that wrote operas in the exoticism medium, then, used various musical, dramatic, and visual cues to attempt to signal various forms of "Otherness," be it "Japaneseness" in the case of Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904) or "Egyptianness" in Verdi's *Aida* (1871). "The Other" was not always constructed around non-European regions, cultures, or populations. As John MacGowan demonstrates, the "Other" is a broad term that can be applied to any representation of the "not-I."[28] Thus, musical representations of more subaltern European populations, such as the Romani in Bizet's *Carmen* (1875), can be placed within the exoticist framework.

A common form of musical exoticism that surged in the 19th century was Orientalism, an exoticism specific to the East or the Far East.[29] This Orientalism, as Edward Said argues, is a

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[26] Gilles de Van, "Fin de Siècle Exoticism and the Meaning of the Far Away," Trans. William Ashbrook,, Letteratura, musica e teatro al tempo di Ruggero Leoncavall (1993), 90. For more on the Romantic Opera, see: John Daverio, *Ninetheenth Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York: Schrimer Books, 1993), esp. 8-22; Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

[27] Ralph P. Locke, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3/3 (1991), 261-263. See also de Van, "Fin de Siècle Exoticism," 77-78.

[28] See John MacGowan, *Postmodernism and its Critics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 21-22; 90-101. Here, he introduces the term "The not-I" in reference to "the Other."

[29] For examples of discussions of Orientalism in Western musical culture, see: William Ashbrook and Harold Powers, *Puccini's 'Turandot': The End of the Great Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Arthur Groos, "Return of the Native: Japan in Madama Butterfly/Madama Butterfly in Japan," *Cambridge Opera Jounral*, 1 (1989), 167-194, and Locke, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other'," 263-267. For Orientalism as an ideology, see: Raymond Schwab, *Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, trans. Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

"corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[30] Said's characterization of Orientalism posits it as more than a fleeting attraction—a curiosity—for the Orient. Instead, he discusses Orientalism as an ideological artefact, one that is based in colonial power dynamics. Orientalism, then, is a construction of all things "Orient" in the European imaginary. Indeed, in his discussion of Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Delilah* (1877), Ralph P. Locke encourages musicologists to examine Orientalist and exoticist operas by considering the ideological project to which the construction of "Other" is tied. Instead of performing only musical or rhetorical analyses on these operas, Locke suggests that musicologists treat the music as "inscribed in an ideologically driven view of [the Other]."[31]

To best understand Locke's approach, it is worth considering a similar opera that preceded Gomes' *Il Guarany* by only five years: *L'Africaine* (1864/1865). The French opera, composed by Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864), utilized a French libretto that relayed a story that fits squarely within the Orientalist framework previously described. The plot follows Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama, who returns to Lisbon following an expedition with two prisoners from an undiscovered land. One of them, Sélika, is revealed to be the queen of that land (somewhere near or in India) and falls in love with da Gama, whom she saves from various dangers. The final act of this opera takes place in this new and unfamiliar land, complete with dancing tribespeople and

[30] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 3. Here, Said, a critical theorist, examines the writings of European authors and writers concerning the Arab/Eastern world.
[31] Locke, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other'," 262.

sacrificial rites. The opera closes with da Gama's return to Europe, leaving his Oriental romantic interest behind only for her to commit suicide, unable to live without her lover.[32]

Clearly, Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine* capitalizes on the exoticist aesthetic—he depicts non-European characters in ways that emphasize their Otherness. Gabriela Cruz notes that Meyerbeer's opera, though supposedly a historical rendering of conquest and colonization, was littered with historical mistakes.[33] For example, Meyerbeer's opera opens with a conflict between several of the expedition's captains when, in fact, there was a single captain on the expedition (da Gama). This negligence of historical fact only strengthens the exotic appeal of the opera. Instead of presenting audiences with a strictly historical retelling, Meyerbeer makes use of the French imaginary—the French idea (or illusion) of India and the Orient—to present a narrative that transcends history, past or present. As Cruz writes, "*L'Africaine* [is] an account of bygone events that is historically reflective and prescriptive, providing the listener with a specific strategy to imagine and understand the past."[34] In further creating exotic appeal, Meyebeer's opera makes use of the vision of the orient already held by his French audiences. For example, Meyerbeer's Sélika character plays to the images of Oriental women widely held by European men, presenting her as an object of desire, one that is voluptuous, vulnerable, and overly sexualized.[35]

Gomes was studying in Milan, the heart of the European Grand Opera scene, during the time that the "exotic" and the "Other" were the sought-after features in operas and art music. *Il*

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[32] Meyerbeer's opera was first composed in 1864, but its premiere was temporarily postponed due to his death that same year. The opera was premiered posthumously in 1965, though in a slightly revised form. For the full version of the libretto, see: Giacomo Meyerbeer, *L'Africaine* (1964). For a discussion of the opera's exoticism, see: Jean Andrews, "Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine:* French Grand Opera and the Iberian Exotic," *The Modern Language Review* 102/1 (2007), 108-124.

[33] Gabriela Cruz, "Laughing at History: The Third Act of Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine,*" *Cambridge Opera Journal* 11/1 (1999), 31-33.

[34] *Ibid,* 31.

[35] Locke, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other'," 269-270. See also: Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, eds., *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Guarany's 1870 premiere was situated temporally in between the Oreientalist *L'Africaine* and *Aida.* As such, it is worth considering *Il Guarany,* at least in its Italian premiere, within such an exoticist framework. Locke points out that composers from minority populations often used their own identities and backgrounds in an act of auto-exoticization, presenting themselves and their cultures to the hegemonic cultures as "exotic" and therefore more appealing.[36] He considers Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos, for example, whose musical presentations of Brazil were modified to present images of urban life in Brazil (as opposed to indigenous Brazilians) to European audiences in the 1920s.[37] In this case, Villa-Lobos displays quotidian aspects of Brazilian life to European listeners as "exotic" and "unfamiliar." It makes sense, then, that Gomes would capitalize on his own position as a Brazilian in Italy to present exotic and unfamiliar themes to Italian audiences in search of acceptance among the European canon. Gomes' work has been considered under the auspices of exoticism and Orientalism before. However, such analyses have been largely reserved for his operas *Condor* (1891) and *Salvator Rosa* (1874), both premiered in Italy and containing explicitly Orientalist material.[38] *Il Guarany,* on the other hand, has seen little attention as an "exoticist" composition, especially given its categorization as a "Brazilian opera" by most scholars. However, it is important to consider Gomes' opera in its Italian context, examining why it became so popular among Italian audiences.

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[36] Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 245.
[37] *Ibid,* 246.
[38] See, for example: Marcos da Cunha Virmond and Irandi Daroz, "Orientalismo e discurso dramático-musical no "Notturno" de *Condor,* de Carlos Gomes," *Revista Brasileira de Música* 24/1 (2011), esp. 63-69. Although not entirely convincing, Virmond and Daroz provide an interesting case for *Condor's* Orientalist content. Virmond and his colleagues also provide a brief discussion of *Il Guarany's* exoticism, though their discussion is limited and restricted to a single musical scene. Again, their argument is not entirely convincing, largely due to their limited perfunctory analysis. See: Marcos da Cunha Lopes Virmond, Lenita Nogueira, and Rosa Marin, "Exotismo e Orientalismo em Antônio Carlos Gomes, " *Anais do XVI Congresso da Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Música – ANPPOM,* p. 535-541. Brasília, 2006.

I should point out that I am not protesting other scholars' discussion of *Il Guarany* as a Brazilian opera. There is definite merit in examining the opera as a Brazilian cultural artefact (as I will do later in this chapter). Rather, I am challenging such a limited view of the opera and considering it also as a work within the context of Italian culture. Why exactly did the Italian audiences find such representations of Brazilian subjects so appealing? Although Gomes himself described *Il Guarany* as a composition for Brazilians,[39] I consider it here as a composition tailored to Italian (and European) sensibilities.

The idea to compose *Il Guarany* around a Brazilian subject came to Gomes in Milan. According to Gomes, he found an Italian language copy of the Brazilian novel *O Guaraní* by José de Alencar while in Italy. Noting its appeal among Italian readers, Gomes wrote to his friend Francisco Manuel da Silva (director of the Rio Conservatory) about his plan to commission a libretto and compose an opera depicting the Brazilian tale in 1864:

> Amat is witness to the contract I made with a librettist to write me a libretto that until now I had not determined what it should be, but today I think it will be *O Guaraní,* pulled from Alencar's novel, that here I have found translated into Italian.[40]

However, the failure of the National Opera Movement temporarily discouraged Gomes from continuing with the opera. He wrote to da Silva again in 1865 lamenting the "destruction of the National opera" and the "death of National and Italian music" in Brazil. In this letter, Gomes explained that he paid for an Italian libretto, but that the shift towards French music and opera in Rio's Teatro Lírico, a change ushered in by the new "Empresario Veloso," had led him to almost

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[39] Itiberê da Cunha, *"Il Guarany*," 247.

[40] "O Amat é testemunha do contrato que fiz aqui com o libretista para me fazer um libreto que até então não estava determinado qual seria, mas que hoje creio que será o Guarani, extraído do romance de Alencar, que aqui encontrei traduzido em italiano." Correspondence from Carlos Gomes to Francisco Manuel da Silva, dated 4 September 1864 and sent from Milan. Housed in the Coleção Correspondências of the Museu Carlos Gomes in Campinas, BR. Cited in Luis Heitor Correia de Azevedo, "A música brasileira e seus fundamentos" In *Música e Músicos do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Casa do Estudante do Brasil, 1950), 207-208. Translation by author.

abandon *Il Guarany*.[41] However, Gomes continued with his project, completing the opera five years later. It is clear that, from the opera's earliest inception, Gomes had envisioned it as a work within the Italian sphere of consumption. Although he had previously composed with Portuguese librettos, his new project made use of an Italian one. Additionally, every aspect of *Il Guarany's* composition, from its subject matter to its dramatic structure, is composed to Italian sensibilities and, I argue, for success among an Italian audience. However, as his lamentations of the importation of French opera to Brazil demonstrates, Gomes also kept the possibility of a Brazilian premiere in mind. *Il Guarany*, then, has a clear place within the Brazilian cultural landscape, as well. For that reason, *Il Guarany* should be examined under both the Italian and Brazilian contexts of its premieres. First, however, a discussion of the opera's plot and its genesis is necessary.

Indians, Portuguese, and Spanish: *Il Guarany*

Gomes' opera is set to a libretto written by Antonio Scalvini and revised by Carlo D'Ormerville, both Italian librettists that were acquainted with Gomes during his time in Milan. The libretto is an adaptation of a staple novel in the Brazilian literary tradition: José de Alencar's *O Guaraní* (1854).[42] Alencar, one of the principle myth-makers of 19th-century Brazil, has been referred to as "the father of the Brazilian novel" and the largest voice in the literary movement of

[41] ["I greatly lament the premature death of the National and Italian music. This death makes me lose the will to write the National opera The Guarany, whose libretto cost me 800 Francos. Here, they are saying that a new Empresario Veloso took the Theater and ordered the hiring of a company in Paris. They also say that Veloso is arranging the Teatro Lírico. God wants that the destruction of the National Opera not be completed, because should it die forever, what would be our hopes?!"] "Sinto muito a morte prematura do música Nacional e Italiana. Essa morte me faz perder a coragem de escrever a ópera Nacional o Guarany, cujo libretto me custou 800 francos. Por aqui se diz que um novo Empresário Veloso tomou o Teatro e que mandou contratar a companhia em Paris. Se diz também que esse Veloso está concertando o Teatro Lírico. Deus queira que não seja completa a destruição da Opera Nacional, porque morrendo para sempre, quais serão as nossas esperanças?!…" Correspondence drom Carlos Gomes to Francisco Manuel da Silva, dated 3 May 1865 and sent from Milan. Cited in Azevedo, "A música brasileira," 214 and Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 142. Translation by author.

[42] A note on spellings: Characters in *O Guaraní* and *Il Guarany* have differently spelled names, depending on the language. For the sake of simplicity, I default to the Italian language spelling, used throughout *Il Guarany*, throughout this thesis.

indianismo.[43] Predictably, the novel presented romanticized renderings of Brazil's natives as symbols of national identity. Indigeneity and *mestiçagem* were presented as the necessary forbearers of the contemporary Brazilian identity. Much in the style of Rousseau's "Noble Savage," however, the indigenous past was idealized and portrayed as civilized and Christian, normalized to European standards of behavior (read: whitened). Although Gomes' operatic adaptation of Alencar's novel produced a mutually beneficial situation in which concert goers were encouraged to return to and reconsider *O Guaraní,* the author found himself displeased with Gomes' simplifications and modifications.[44] He lamented: "Gomes turned my *Guarany* into a nameless mess, full of nonsense…I forgive him for everything, though, since perhaps in times to come, because of his spontaneous and inspired harmonies, many will read and reread the book, which is the greatest favor an author could possibly deserve."[45]

Alencar was correct in his assessment of the novel's relation with the opera—many of his novels were sold to concert-goers who were eager to consume more of the "Indianist" rhetoric that characterized *Il Guarany.* However, he also had cause to lament Gomes' operatic adaptation, one that omitted and modified several important and foundational scenes. As Maria Alice Volpe notes, however, the ideological precepts of the novel, *indianismo*, were still conveyed through Gomes' opera. In fact, she argues that *indianismo* is a central component of what she calls the "Carlos Gomes Paradigm," a compositional formula that was developed throughout the composer's works and was eventually adopted by other Brazilian nationalist composers.[46] That is, Gomes' opera still portrayed the Indian as emblematic of the Brazilian people and used the *mestiço* couple between

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[43] Américo de Alves Lyra Júnior, *Pensamentos e Trajetória Política de José de Alencar* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Prismas, 2014), 4-6.
[44] Durval Cesetti, "Il Guarany for Foreigners: Colonialist Racism, Naïve Utopia, or Pleasant Entertainment?," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana,* 31/1 (2010), 103.
[45] José de Alencar, quoted in: Alfredo d'Escrgnolle Taunay, *Reminiscências,* 2nd ed (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1923), 87.
[46] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 131-155.

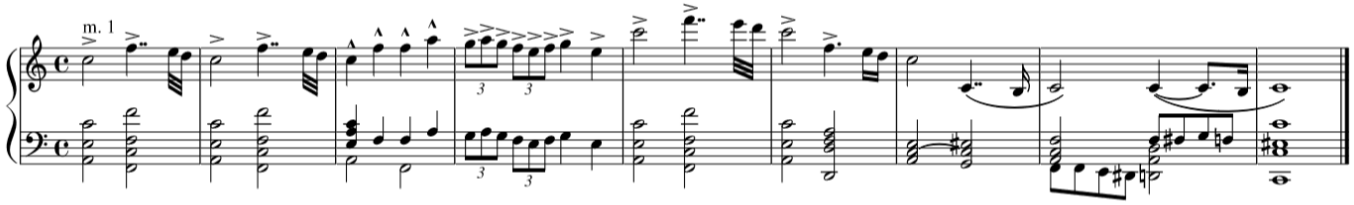
the indigenous chief and his Portuguese maiden to symbolize the founding of the Brazilian nation.[47] *Indianismo's* indelible presence in *Il Guarany* is not to say that Gomes did not make modifications, however. For example, the Italian Loredano, who conspires against the opera's protagonist, is replaced by the Spanish Gonzales, presumably to avoid angering the opera's Italian audiences with a negative portrayal of Italians. Additionally, the novel's ending is simplified, depicting the prototypical couple on top of a hill overlooking the barren forest and omitting the subsequent struggles that Alencar details in his novel, namely Pery having to forge a canoe for the couple to be able to survive the deadly floods caused by Dom Antonio's explosion.[48]

The plot of Gomes' operatic adaptation is a simplified version of Alencar's famous novel, though it presents several revisions. The opera is split into four acts, opening with the Protofonia and the famous opening theme (Example 1.1). In the first act, the main characters are introduced. The adventurers, Don Alvaro, Ruy Bento, Alonso, and Gonzales, return from a hunting trip to Don Antonio de Mariz's castle, where he tells them that one of his men erroneously wounded a maiden of the Aimoré tribe, sending the "savages" into a vengeful frenzy and launching a war with the tribe.[49] He relays that the Aimoré attacked his daughter, Cecilia, betrothed to Alvaro, who surely would have died had it not been for the "manly strength" of indigenous chieftain Pery.[50] He introduces the adventurers to Pery, who they all shower with praise and refer to as a loyal friend and compatriot. Here, Pery pledges his loyalty to the Portuguese, promising to "defeat [the] cowardly plots" of the Aimoré savages.[51] The final scene in the first act introduces the audience to the budding romance between Pery and Cecilia, one that must be hidden because of Cecilia's

[47] For a fuller discussion of *indianismo* and Alencar's novel, see Chapter 2.
[48] For a full discussion of the opera's departures from the novel, see: Volpe, "Remaking the Brazilian Myth."
[49] Gomes and Scalvini, "*Il Guarany,"* Act I Sc 2.
[50] *Ibid,* Act I Sc 2.
[51] *Ibid,* Act I Sc 3.

betrothment to the Portuguese adventurer. Pery also suspects that some of the adventurers, particularly Alonso and Gonzales, are plotting against Don Antonio; Pery, hearing them speak of a secret plan, decides to follow them.

Example 1.1. *Il Guarany*, opening Protofania (main theme).



Act II opens with "Pery's Scene" (Act II Scene I), a monologue in which Pery not only pledges to protect Cecilia and Don Antonio from the suspected traitors but pledges his eternal love and loyalty to the Portuguese heiress. Following his scene, Alonso, Ruy, and Gonzales, all now revealed to be Spaniards, enter the grotto where Pery is hidden, and begin discussing their plans for a revolt against the Portuguese. Gonzales also reveals his love for Cecilia and his desire to steal her from Alvaro and Antonio. Pery, overhearing the treasonous plots, confronts them.

The next portion of the act takes place in Cecilia's chamber, where she sings a romantic ballad before falling asleep. Gonzales sneaks into her chamber, wakes her, and professes his love for her, much to her disgust. He is interrupted by Pery and the Portuguese, who converge on the chamber to defend Cecilia. However, the conflict is cut short when it is revealed that the Aimoré, seeking their promised vengeance, have surrounded the castle. The act concludes with the Aimoré kidnapping Cecilia and the Spanish and Portuguese declaring a brief truce, promising to come together to fight off the "vile Indians."[52]

[52] The chorus proclaims: "Vile indiano, trema, trema!" ['Tremble, vile Indians'] Gomes and Scalvini, "*Il Guarany,"* Act II Sc 8. Translation by author.

The opera's third act takes place in the Aimoré camp, situated in the forest outside of the Portuguese castle. Here, the Aimoré leader, the Cacique, declares his admiration for the captive Cecilia, telling her that she may become Queen of the Aimoré tribe. Soon after, a captive Pery enters the scene. The Cacique, not moved by Pery's profession of love for Cecilia, tells him that he will be killed and "serve as a banquet meal for the ancients of [the Aimoré] tribe."[53] The Cacique tells the two that they may share a moment together in private before Pery's death, leaving them alone on stage for their famous duet scene. When the Cacique and the rest of the tribe returns to kill Pery, the tense scene is cut short when Don Antonio and the rest of the Portuguese arrive to save the two captives.

Act IV returns the audience to Don Antonio's castle, where the Spanish adventurers are discussing their attack against the Portuguese and are preparing a plot with the Aimoré. Knowing that Don Antonio plans to ignite the castle, Pery asks that he be allowed to flee with Cecilia. In true colonizer fashion, Don Antonio agrees, but tells Pery that he must accept the Christian god and renounce his pagan beliefs. Pery accepts: "What do I hear! Is this the only obstacle? Thy god! I renounce, then, the idols of Guarany; baptize me in thy faith, now on my knees before thee!"[54] In his final moments, the Portuguese hidalgo ignites the castle, killing all the Spanish, Portuguese, and Indians. As the scene closes, the new mixed-race couple—Pery and Cecilia—stand on a hill and observe the explosion and its aftermath. The symbolic scene is marked by a return to the opening theme of the Protofonia, bringing the opera to a close.

As a number of scholars have pointed out, a number of departures from Alencar's *O Guaraní* can be seen in Gomes' *Il Guarany.* For example, the opera presents a different historical

[53] "Sarà pasto del banchetto agli anzian della tribù!" Gomes and Scalvini, "*Il Guarany,"* Act III Sc 3. Translation by author.
[54] "Che intendo! E tale ostacolo sol si frappone? Il Dio! Gl'idoli dei Guarany rinego; alia tua fede iniziami, prostrato al suol tem prego." *Ibid,* Act IV Sc 3. Translation by author.

setting, situating the plot in the middle of the 16th century (1560) instead of the beginning of the 17th century (1604).[55] Similarly, Gomes' opera excludes characters such as the *mestiça* Isabel and Cecilia's mother. While Durval Cesetti argues that these modifications attenuate and weaken the underlying racist ideologies that make up Alencar's *indianismo,*[56] I argue that they merely repackage them for a different audience. While the *indianismo* ideology is somewhat altered in presentation by Gomes' operatic adaptation, Volpe points out the centrality of *indianismo* to Gomes' operas.[57] Building on Volpe's characterization of Gomes' *Il Guarany,* I argue that Gomes' departures from Alencar's novel presents a strategically altered version of *indianismo* and a related notion of "Brazilianness" to Italian and Brazilian audiences. In what follows, I focus my analysis on the curated image of "Brazilianness," constructed alongside a modified *indianismo,* that was presented to Italians at *Il Guarany's* Milanese premiere.

Indigeneity as "Other" and the Exoticization of Brazil

"This young man has true genius. He begins where I have left off."[58] Thus proclaimed the aging Italian composer Giuseppe Verdi, following the Milanese premiere of *Il Guarany*. This quote is seemingly bold for Verdi, someone who was understandably cautious in judging his contemporaries. However, as Gino Monaldi explains, Verdi saw much of himself—his own youth—in Gomes.[59] Verdi also saw parallels between Gomes' opera and his own works from those years. In 1861, Verdi had premiered *La forza del destino* ("The Power of Fate"), an opera depicting the struggles of nobility in colonial Peru. A decade later, his *Aida* premiered in Egypt in 1871 and

[55] Jean Andrews, "Carlos Gomes' 'Il Guarany': The Frontiers of Miscegination in Nineteenth-Century Grand Opera," *Portuguese Studies* 16 (2000), 31-32.
[56] Cesetti, "*Il Guarany* for Foreigners," 103.
[57] Volpe, "Indianismo and landscape," 131-135.
[58] Quote attributed to Giuseppe Verdi, quoted in: Vetro, *Antônio Carlos Gomes,* 49.
[59] Gino Monaldi, *Verdi nella vita e nell'arte (Conversazioni verdiane)* (Milan: Ricordi, 1913), 187-188.

then in Milan's La Scala in 1872. Both of these works conform to the aesthetics of exoticism that had been developing in 19th -century Grand Opera.[60] Thus, Verdi's affinity for *Il Guarany* points not only to the Verdian style in which Gomes composed, but also to the exotic sensibilities he saw in Gomes' work. Just as Villa-Lobos presented an exoticized image of Brazil to French audiences in the 1920s, Gomes' *Il Guarany* exoticized the composer's position as a Brazilian in Italy.

When Italians first saw *Il Guarany,* they were struck by the dazzling displays of plumed Indians and jungle battles that characterized the opera. Gomes used his representations of indigeneity to augment the exotic appeal—he used musical, dramatic, and visual means to exaggerate the "savage" and "primitive" characteristics of his Indian characters in order to present an image of Brazil that conformed to the exoticist framework. For example, the opera's libretto inherently lended itself to such constructions of the "Other" and exoticist readings by the Italian audience. The plot depicts a "savage tribe" in conflict with the "civilized" Portuguese. The events of Act III are especially "exotic": the Aimoré Indians kidnap Cecilia and partake in sacrificial, cannibalistic rituals. The act's opening scene introduces the chorus of Aimoré. In placing them at odds with the Portuguese colonists, *Il Guarany's* libretto paints them as bloodthirsty savages, rendering them as a "collective primitive." The Aimoré sing of the vengeance they seek to inflict on the Portuguese, whom they "swear to exterminate." Lines such as "covered with corpses the soil is still red," "drink of wine shall become blood," and repetitive declarations of "fire and sword!" (a call to arms) all emphasize the "savage" and violent side of the Aimoré characters. Further, references to the "*maraca,"* an indigenous instrument, and "flying darts" suggest primitivity.

[60] For discussions of exoticism in Verdi's *Aida,* see: Fabrizio della Seta, "'O cieli azzurri': Exoticism and Dramatic Discourse in Aida," *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 3 (1991), 49-62.

Coro di Aimore	**Chorus of Aimore**
Aspra, crudel, terribile fu l' implacabil Guerra. Coperta di cadaveri rosseggia ancor la terra. Nell' aure ancore echeggiano I nostri maracà. Di questi dardi al sibilo Il sol si oscurerà.	Harsh, cruel and terrible was this implacable war. And covered with corpses the soil is still red. On the wind still are sounding our *maraca*. And our flying darts will even obscure the light of day.
Ma per l'empio Portoghese—più speranza omai non v' è. Tremi, tremi quel che offese la tribu degli Aimorè. Di costui cadrà atterrato, sterminato. Ogni servo ed ogni sgherro, fuoco e ferro! Ferro e fuoco, lo giuriamo quelle torri struggerà.	And the impious Portuguese—to him no hope remains. Let the offender tremble, tremble before the name of the Aimoré. 'Tis decreed that he fall, exterminated. To each slave and felon, fire and sword! Fire and sword, we swear to exterminate them.
Fino il vino che mesciamo, diman sangue diverrà. Di colui cadrà atterrato sterminao; ogni asilo ed ogni loco, ferro e fuco!	And then, drink of wine shall become blood within tomorrow's time. Fall they shall, and exterminated to all asylums and all protection: fire and sword![61]

The libretto's rendering of the indigenous Aimoré not only presents the Indians as "exotic" and "unfamiliar," but also conforms to the common European notions regarding indigeneity. These notions, which conceptualized indigenous South Americans as "savage" and "primitive," date back to the early 16th-century accounts of colonization in Brazil. European explorers published accounts of their expeditions to Brazil, oftentimes including sensationalized accounts of alleged kidnappings and cannibalistic practices. French explorer, Jean de Léry, for example, published *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Brésil* ("History of the Voyage to the Land of Brazil") in 1578, an early ethnography of the Tupínamba Indians, in which he described "gruesome" body modifications and ritual cannibalism.[62] The accounts of Léry and his contemporaries created a

[61] Gomes and Scalvini, *Il Guarany,* Act III Scene 1. Translation by author.
[62] Léry describes body modifications such as scarification and the stretching of ears, lips, and noses. He also describes practices of cannibalism observed by the indigenous tribe, usually tied to their religious rituals. See: Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), esp. 56-65.

certain notion of Brazilian indigeneity within the minds of European readers, who came to associate Brazilian Indians with cannibalism and general primitivity.[63] *Il Guarany* caters to this colonialist misconception. When the Aimoré capture Pery, the Cacique sings of the ritual cannibalism to which they will sacrifice the Guarany chieftain: "the accursed wretch will serve as banquet meals for the ancients of our tribe." Additionally, the Cacique's reference to "the ancients of [his] tribe" adds to Gomes' characterization of the Aimoré as pagan cannibals.

Cacico	**Cacique**
No, fermate! Consumato non è pure il sacro rito, pria che l'empio sai svenato, esser deve appien compito. Poscia l'uomo maledetto sarà pasto del banchetto agli anzian della tribu!	Hold! The sacred right, to take place before his death, is not yet complete. Then the accursed wretch will serve as banquet meals for the ancients of our tribe.[64]

By including references to what would have been viewed as "savage" by Italian audiences—bloodthirsty pagans participating in ritual cannibalism—Gomes' opera engages in a rhetorical construction of the "Other." In these instances, Gomes presents images of indigeneity, stand-ins for "Brazilianness," as antithetical to European culture and customs. His rendering of the Aimoré was intended to be read as "Other" by Italian audiences. Thus, his composition engages in a strategic exoticization of his own position as a Brazilian composer in an Italian milieu to construct a strategic "Other," one that would allow his work to fit within the exoticist framework set by composers like Meyerbeer and Verdi.

Musically, Act III presents listeners with the most explicit constructions of the "Other," again using the Aimoré characters and Brazilian indigeneity to bring glimpses of an "exotic" Brazil to an Italian audience. When the Aimoré, surrounding a captive Cecilia, are introduced in the first scene, Gomes builds an ominous and menacing atmosphere around the Indian entrance with

[63] Donald W. Forsyth, "Three Cheers for Hans Staden: The Case for Brazilian Cannibalism," *Ethnohistory* 32/1 (1985), 18.
[64] Gomes and Scalvini, *Il Guarany,* Act III Scene 3. Translation by author.

sustained timpani rolls separated by sharp, dissonant entrances by the winds and strings. The Aimoré chorus, singing of their desired vengeance on the Portuguese (see *Coro di Aimore*), is characterized by a melody that begins on long note values and progresses to end with a unison, frenzied descent (Example 1.2, mm. 1-4). This musical structure, moving hurriedly from long to short values in a descending fashion, is typical of "Turkish" music, or musical constructions used by European (often non-Turkish) composers to imply "Turkishness".[65] References to Turkey or the "Turkish" were common patterns in musical representations of the exotic and were reoccurring elements of Gomes' music. As Volpe observes, Gomes frequently employed the distinctive rhythmic techniques coded as "Turkish" throughout *Il Guarany* and *Lo Shiavo* to illustrate "exoticness."[66] Gomes' appropriation of the rhythms here betrays his penchant for operatic exoticism and reifies his positioning of the Aimoré as "Other."

Harmonically, the Aimoré make use of suspended chords, such as the G minor seventh-chord with a suspended fourth in m. 2. However, this suspension does not resolve, but instead leads into a G-flat dominant seventh-chord, also with a suspended fourth, giving the impression of a misspelled French augmented sixth chord. The entire descending line (mm. 3-4), in fact, is characterized by suspended chords and chromatic voice-leading, building tension and dissonance until the line ends on the interval of a ninth, created between A^b and B^b. The tension is further exacerbated by the liberal use of ninths and parallel motion throughout the Aimoré chorus. Gomes' musical characterization of the Aimoré is fraught with dissonance and harmonic tension, placing the tribe in opposition to the traditional European musical sensibilities of so-called "nice quality"

[65] For a discussion of "Turkish" music, see: Mary Hunter, "The Alla Turca Style in the late Eighteenth Century: Race and Gender in the Symphony and the Seraglio," Jonathan Bellman, ed. *The exotic in Western music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 43-73.
[66] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 179-180.

composition characteristic of Verdi.[67] This musical association of indigeneity with dissonance serves to position the Aimoré as "Others," especially in respect to the European characters in the opera. The Aimoré chorus is further "Othered" through Gomes' rhythmic structures—both phrases end on the upbeats, causing the phrase to sound "rough," "unfinished," or even "primitive."

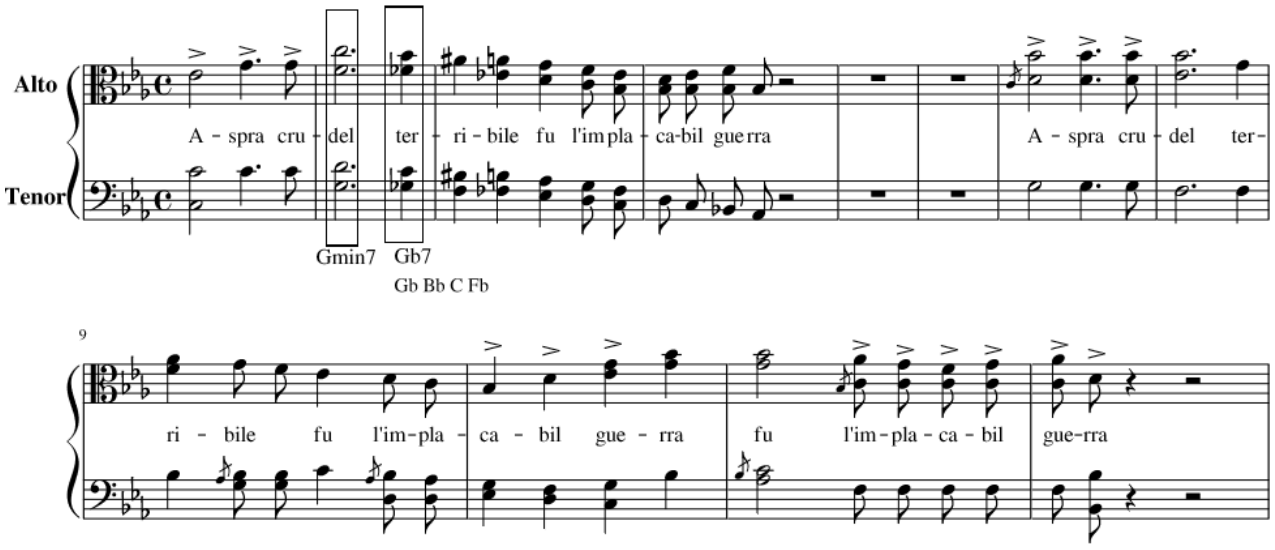
In composing for the Aimoré chorus, Gomes also made use of the staple patterns that were used to imply "primitive music": repetitive rhythms, static harmonies, and a lack of complexity.[68] The introduction of the Aimoré chorus is characterized by a repetitive ostinato of eighth-note thirds, E^b and G (Example 1.2b, mm. 4-7). Here, the chorus starts in the tenor voice by switching between E^b and D pitches with no accompaniment, creating a dissonant interval of a minor second. This phrase begins with a slow rhythm (dotted quarter to an eighth-note) and quickly doubles in speed (dotted eighth to sixteenth-note) (mm. 1-4). In the next phrase, the tenor voices sing repeated eighth-notes over the static harmony of an E^b major third (M3). The final phrase presents another instance of repeated eighth-note melodies (mm. 8-12). The lower voices punctuate the eighth-note melodies with alternations between a major sixth (M6) and a minor seventh (m7). This harmony is repeated between mm. 8 and 12, though transposed down a half-step. These instances all present musical characterizations of the Aimoré that make use of repetition and simple, static harmonies. The dramatic context of these lines only serves to add to this musical "primitivism," as each of the phrases is a repetition of the same line: "On the wind still are sounding our *maraca*." The line itself

[67] I borrow this term—"nice quality"—from Marcos Virmond, who characterizes Gomes' Italian compositional style as one of *"boa qualidade"* ("nice quality") while he describes the Aimorés chorus as the opposite. See: Marcos Virmond and Lenita Nogueira, "Iconografia e Exotismo em Il Guarany de Antônio Carlos Gomes," Congresso Brasileiro da Iconografia Musical (2015), 379.

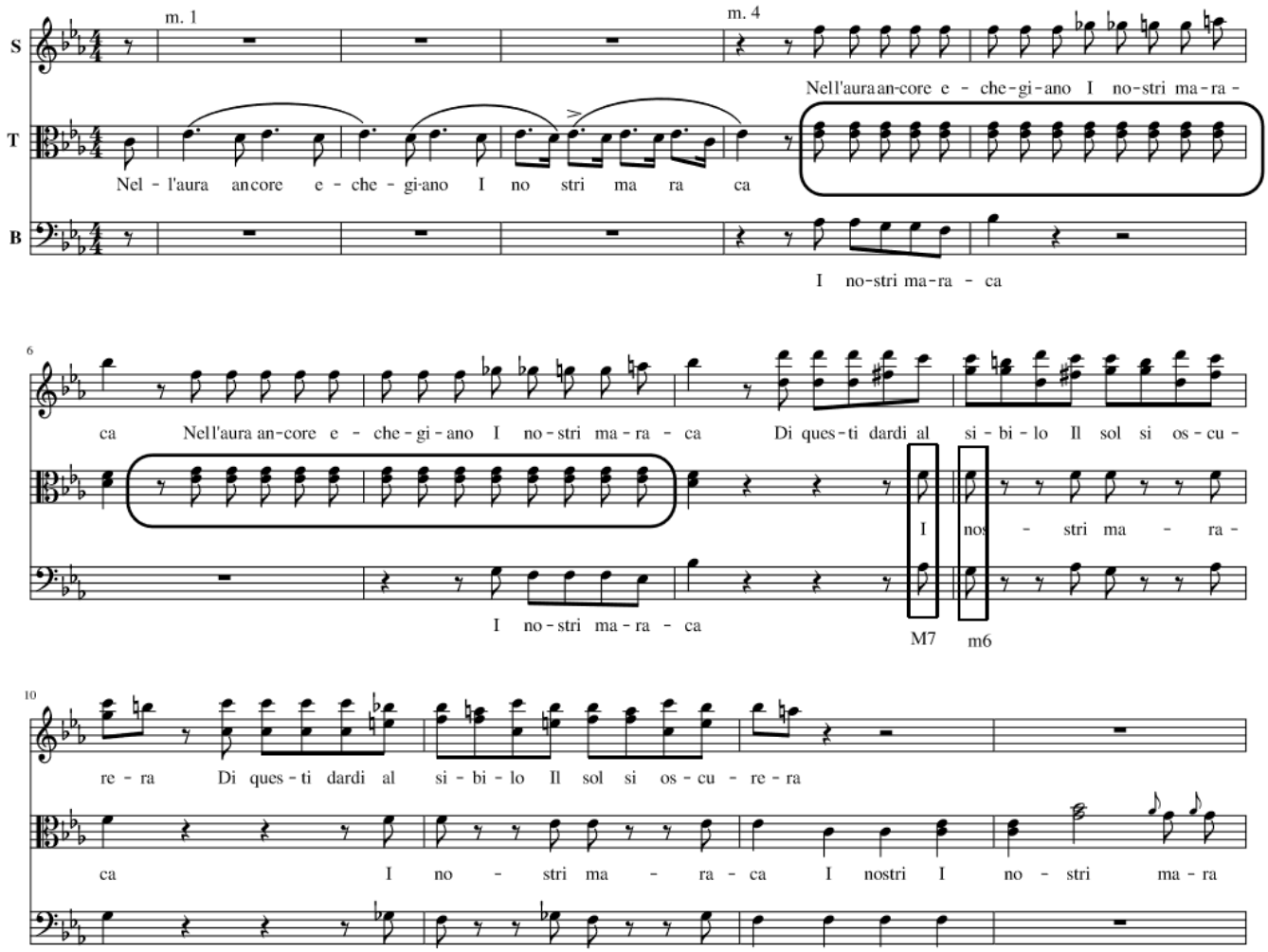
[68] Music critic Theodor Adorno has written about musical "primitivism," describing it as being characterized by repetitive rhythms and melodies, simple structures, static harmonies, and "unnecessary" dissonance. In writing about Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring,* for example, Adorno argued that the repetition was "unmusical" and as "[imitating the gesture of regression.]" At one point, Adorno described "primitivism" as a musical representation not of the "underdeveloped, but rather the forcibly retarded." See: Theodor Adorno, *Philosophy of New Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1947/2006), esp. 62-63; Theodor Adorno, "Stravinsky: A Dialectic Portrait, " in *Quasi una fantasia, Essays on Music* (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), 153.

carries connotations of primitive savagery—references to the indigenous "*maraca*" instrument—adding to the "exotic" and "native" image being created by the musical material. Gomes uses these common operatic Orientalist conventions to set the Aimoré apart from the more "European" musical standards and render them as "exotic" or "Other."

Example 1.2a: Gomes' *Il Guarany*, "*Aspra, crudel, terribile"* (Coro di Aimore, Act III Scene 1).



Example 1.2b: Gomes' *Il Guarany*, "*Nell' aure ancore*" (Coro di Aimore, Act III Scene I).



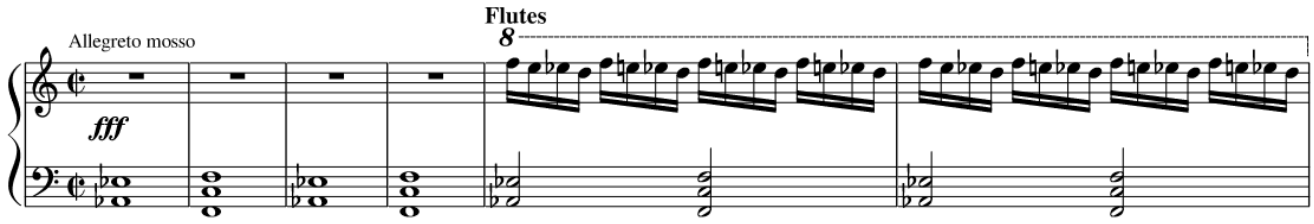
While the Aimoré chorus presents an "Othered" musical rendering of Brazil, it is not the only place in which Gomes exaggerates and emphasizes the "exotic" in his indigenous characters. In the end of Act II, when the Aimoré enter to surround Don Antonio and his men, Gomes presents the theme that becomes associated with the Aimoré, using rapid and repetitive chromaticism over static harmony to add a "savage" character to the music (Example 1.3). Much like Wagner's use of the leitmotif, this theme becomes associated with the appearance of the "savage" natives

throughout the opera, as Marcos Virmond and Lenita Nogueira assert.[69] The theme even appears in the opening Protofonia, juxtaposed with the Italianate structures that Gomes uses to characterize Pery and the Portuguese characters.[70]

Again, Gomes uses repetition and simplicity to imply "primitivity." The Aimoré theme is set to a harmony that oscillates between A^b and F quartal and quintal chords, conveying a hollow, rough, and almost sinister effect to listeners. Over this static harmony, the flutes enter with a repeating descending four-note chromatic motif. The dynamics of the passage, marked *fortississimo* (*fff*), are themselves abrasive, adding to Gomes' primitivized characterization of the indigenous tribe. In Gomes' original manuscript, he noted "*suono interno di intrumenti selvaggi"* ("internal sound of savage instruments") in the margins, making it clear that the musical theme associated with the Aimoré was meant to sound "indigenous," or at least imply indigeneity to an Italian audience (who would not have known what Aimoré music actually sounded like).[71] The theme of the Aimoré was thus intended to reduce the concept of indigeneity and "Brazilianness" to primitivity, constructing an exotic "Other" around the Aimoré characters that would find appeal among a European audience.

[69] Virmond and Nogueira, "Iconografia e Exotismo," 378-379.
[70] Pupo Nogueira, *Muito além do melodrama*,164-165.
[71] See original manuscript for *Il Guarany,* Coleção Carlos Gomes (Partituras) at the Fundação Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

Example 1.3: Gomes' *Il Guarany*, "Aimoré entrance" (Act II Scene 7).



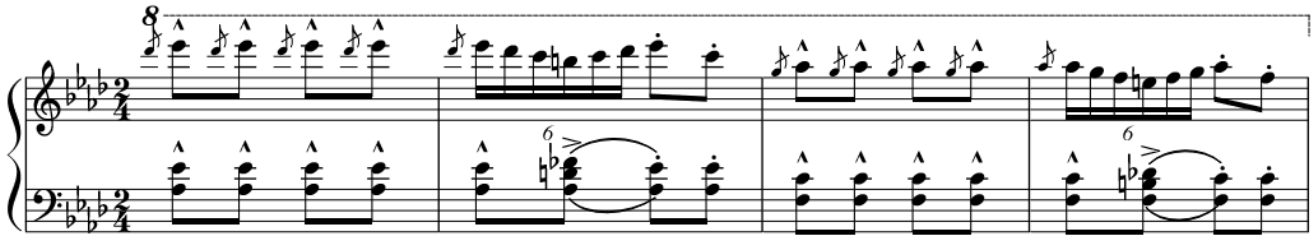
However, Gomes' musical treatment of the "exotic," especially with regards to the Aimoré, was oftentimes superficial. He did not build entire arias or scenes around exotic musical references or structures. Rather, his inclusion of such motifs and ideas was done in passing—he briefly presented themes coded as "exotic" merely to suggest the "Other," but would quickly return to strictly Italianate musical styles. This can be especially seen in the baccanale in Act III, where the Aimoré are dancing around a captive Cecilia and Pery. Aside from the visuals of the plumed native performances, the baccanale is very Italian in nature, using conventional forms of vocal and instrumental phrasing and standard harmonic accompaniments. As Andrews and Volpe point out, the actual music in this section is not "brazilianate," but instead characteristic of the Italian Grand Opera style of Verdi or Rossini.[72]

There are brief instances, however, where Gomes composes motifs meant to be read as "exotic." For example, in his "*passo selvaggio"* ("savage step"), Gomes presents repeated appoggiaturas over a static harmony (Example 1.4). In this instance, the two-measure phrase in the melody is first presented over an A-flat quintal harmony, before it is transposed to F. This passage is peculiar in that the composer juxtaposes the acciaccatura, an Italian technique, with the repetitive rhythm (particularly in the bass voices), and simple harmony. While the repetitive nature of the passage is indicative of exoticism, the blended Italian and exotic nature of this passage can be read

[72] Andrews, "Carlos Gomes' *Il Guarany,"* 34-35; Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 242, 245-246.

as part of Gomes' attempts to appropriate "exotic" sounding material for use in an Italian milieu. This motif only appears passingly, however, always wedged between passages orchestrated explicitly in the Italian opera style. As such, Gomes' use of exoticism and of exotic themes is merely surface-level: he presents just enough of the "exotic" to construct his indigenous characters as "Othered." In doing so, he capitalizes on Brazil's peripheral position on the world stage to present "Brazilianness" to Italian audiences as unfamiliar, exotic, and alluring.

Example 1.4: Gomes'*Il Guarany,* "*passo selvaggio"* (Act III Scene 3).



The opera's visual depictions of Brazil also added to the construction of "Brazilianness" as an "Other," especially Gomes' treatment of the indigenous characters. According to Virmond and Nogueira, Gomes' visual presentation of American Indians set the precedent for how indigenous America was to be depicted in European opera.[73] For example, *Il Guarany*'s Pery, perhaps the first representation of an American Indian on the Italian Grand Opera stage, was always performed by an actor dressed in items meant to suggest the "exotic" and "primitive" nature of indigenous American peoples—wearing feathers, animal skins, jewelry, and adornments made from bones, etc. Particularly striking is the skin color of the Pery character; singers performing the role were often asked to darken their skin with powder or makeup. An 1880 picture of tenor

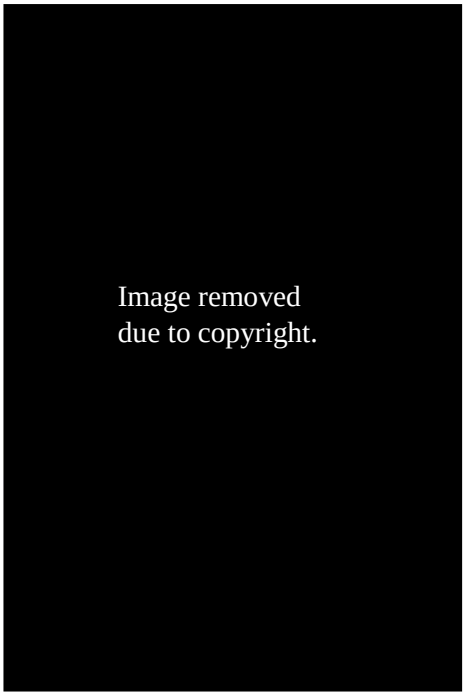
[73] Virmond and Nogueira, "Iconografia e Exotismo," 380.

Ludovico Giraud, one of the only pictures of a 19th-century performance of *Il Guarany*, shows the performer in full "Indian" dress, complete with a darkened complexion (Figure 1.1).

The opera's other indigenous characters were similarly depicted, oftentimes rendered as even more "primitive" than Pery. The Aimoré chorus or dancers, for example, were often presented with fewer clothes and darker complexions, giving the impression of American Indians as "savage" or "jungle dwellers."[74] *Il Guarany* caters to the Italian illusion—their preformed ideas and conceptions—of the American Indian. By depicting characters in such stereotypical dress, even going so far as to darken performers' skin tones, *Il Guarany* participates in a construction of the Brazilian "Other," one built around a European fetishization of primitivity and "savagery." In presenting characters and musical material that could be read as "exotic" and unfamiliar by Italian audiences, Gomes positioned himself in the exoticist trend, much in the style of Meyerbeer or Verdi. He presented "Brazilianness" as an "Other," one that could be seen as antithetical to the ideas of Western or European civilization, in order to take advantage of exoticist curiosities and find appeal on the Milanese music scene.

[74] Virmond and Nogueira, "Iconografia e Exotismo," 381.

Figure 1.1: Photograph of Giraud as Pery; 1880 performance in Milan.[75]



Projections of "Brazil": The Brazilian Landscape

While the images of Brazilian Indians chanting, dancing, and participating in ritualistic sacrifice are surely some of *Il Guarany's* most explicit references to the "exotic," Gomes' portrayal of the Brazilian landscape, both visually and musically, added to the exoticist appeal. At its Milanes premiere, the opera presented European audiences with glimpses of a foreign, unfamiliar, and alluring land. Volpe notes that the "topos of Landscape"—the musical characterizations and representations of the physical Brazilian land—were an essential and paradigmatic component of Gomes' operas.[76] She asserts that his representation of landscape was essential in the subsequent nationalization of Brazilian art music; 20th-century composers, such as Villa-Lobos and Marlos

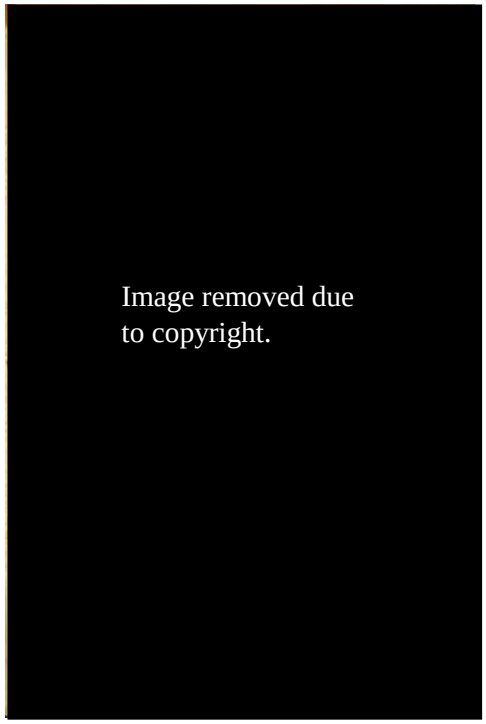
[75] This is the earliest photograph of an Italian performance of Pery that scholars have been able to locate. In fact, it is one of the only photographs of a nineteenth-century performance of *Il Guarany.* See "Image of Ludivico Giraurd as Pery, Bologna 1880," Coleção Carlos Gomes (Iconografia), Fundação Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, BR.
[76] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 225-228, 236-241.

Nobre, found success in Brazil (and abroad) with their musical representations of Brazilian flora and fauna.[77] *Il Guarany's* original score cover, prepared for the premiere in Milan, made an explicit reference to the Brazilian land (Figure 1.2a). Gomes presents the mixed-race couple of Cecilia and Pery surrounded by plants and vegetation that would have been exotic and unfamiliar to Europeans—they are surrounded by lush ferns, exotic flowers, and even tropical palm trees. The 20th-century version of the score cover, prepared for both Brazilian and foreign premiers in the 1930s and 1940s, continued with this exoticist formula (Figure 1.2b). On this version, the mixed-race couple in the center is replaced by a Portuguese lute and a native bow, surrounded again by giant ferns and exotic, alluring flowers. Even the font, in which the opera's title is printed, appearing to be carved from wood, suggests "exotic" or "primitive" qualities.

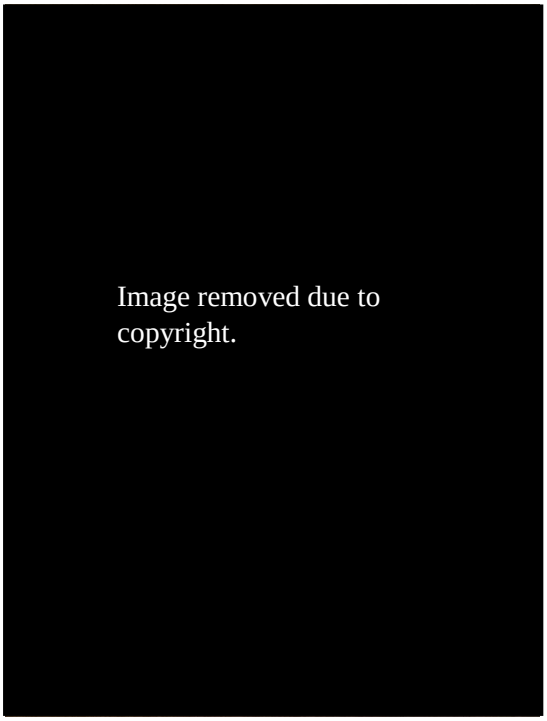
[77] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 225-226. For an example of a twentieth-century representation of the Brazilian land, see Villa-Lobos' *Amazonas* (1919) or *Uirapuru* (1934). For discussions of these works, see: Gerard Béhague, *Heitor Villa-Lobos: The Search for Brazil's Musical Soul* (University of Texas at Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1994), 13-36; Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 310-322; Simon Wright, "Villa-Lobos: Modernism in the Tropics," *The Musical Times,* 128/1729 (1987), 132-135.

Figure 1.2a and b: Original cover art for *Il Guarany* in 1870 (**a**)[78] and cover art for Melesio Morales' 1934 version of *Il Guarany* (**b**).[79]

a.



b.

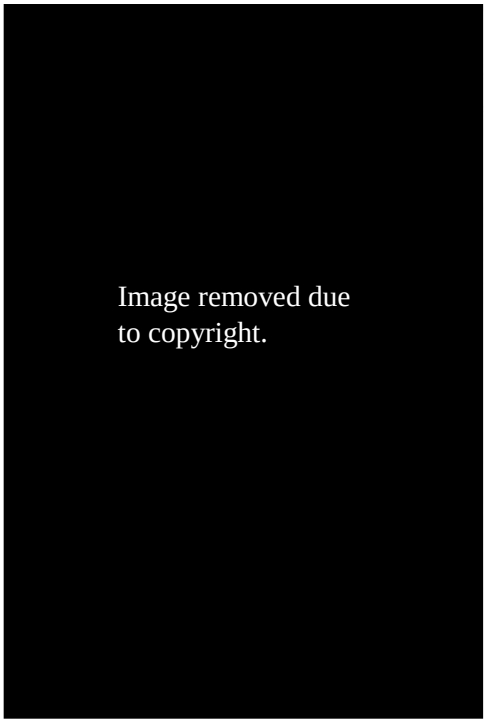


Gomes' cover art builds on the prevailing European ideas of Brazil in which audiences associated the country with tropical settings and lush jungles. This image of Brazil can be seen in Félicien David's 1851 opera *La Perle du Brésil* ("The Pearl of Brazil"), whose cover art similarly presented the exotic natural qualities of Brazil (Figure 1.3). David was a French composer who, like Meyerbeer, found success in his musical appropriation of Orientalist and exotic themes. His symphonic ode, *Le Désert,* inspired by his travels to the Middle East, found great success in 1844.[80]

[78] See "*Il Guarany* Partitura,"Coleção Carlos Gomes (Partituras), Fundação Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, BR.
[79] See "*Il Guarany* de Melesio Morales," Colección de Partitura Nacional, Conservatorio Nacional de México, Mexico City, MX. Morales was a Mexican composer who performed and arrangement of Gomes' *Il Guarany* at several Mexican venues in the 1930s. Note: Being the Mexican version of the score, the opera's title is in Spanish as opposed to Portuguese (ie. *El Guarany* as opposed to *Il Guarany*).
[80] For a discussion of David's *Le Désert* and its Orientalist aesthetic, see: Peter Gradenwitz, "Félicien David (1810-1876) and French Romantic Orientalism," *The Musical Quarterly*, 62/4 (1976), esp. 472-479.

La Perle du Brésil was composed with a similar exoticist gaze, idealizing non-European peoples and places for European consumption. However, having never traveled to Brazil, David's representation of the country was informed only by second-hand accounts and his own preconceived image of the country. Naturally, he presented (at least in the piece's cover art) an "exotic" Brazil in which he emphasized the tropical and vibrant qualities of the land. Gomes built on these European notions of Brazil in presenting Italians with a visual encapsulation of his opera. In these visual representations of *Il Guarany,* Gomes presents an image of Brazil to Europe that is "Othered," meant to be seen as outside of the European sphere of influence and civilization.

Figure 1.3: Cover art for Félicien David's *La Perle du Brésil,* 1956.[81]



Gomes' use of the Brazilian landscape in his exoticist opera is seen explicitly in sketches for *Il Guarany's* staging. Through specific staging instructions, Gomes' work brings Brazil to a

[81] "David, *La Perle du Brésil"* Félicien David archives in Paris, France. Cited in Virmond and Nogueira, "Iconografia e Exoticismo," 377.

European audience, the vast majority of which would have had little knowledge of the country. Thus, the visual depictions in the staging of *Il Guarany* are full of references to the European idea of "Brazil": tropical plants, vines, forests, and colonial castles. Despite the little familiarity that Europeans had with Brazil, the country still had a place in the European vision of the Americas, one that envisioned South America as a land riddled with jungles, waterfalls, and new plants and animals. Gomes, himself aware of these European concepts of Brazil, staged *Il Guarany* in such a way that it would present a Brazil that resonated with the European "Brazil." These references to a foreign and unfamiliar land helped to align the opera audience's sense of place and situate them within a "Brazilian" context. However, as Locke notes about the Orientalist aesthetic, the visual and musical references to the foreign reinforce one's sense of being situated safely in the "West," or in Europe.[82]

In the process of composing his opera, Gomes worked with an artist to create sketches of the scenes he wanted to visually convey with the staging (Figure 1.4). The opera's opening depicts what is perhaps one of the most iconic (for the Europeans, at least) visual portrayals of 16th-century Brazil: the colonial stronghold. The corresponding sketch, from Act I Scene 1 (Figure 1.4a), labeled "*spianata di un castello"* ("esplanade of a castle"), contains a depiction of Don Antonio's castle. Situated in colonial-era Brazil, it adheres to the European vision of Brazil—it is a towering, European structure located within the dense jungles of the New World, signaled here by the artist's inclusion of tropical palms and a dense flora. The juxtaposition of European with the American—of the fortress with the jungle—is especially important because it caters to the colonialist narratives prevalent in much of Europe.[83] Not only does the presentation of the tropical flora echo the "exotic" Brazil presented by the opera's score cover, but it glorifies the era of European

[82] Locke, "Constructing the Oriental Other," 265.
[83] Said, *Orientalism*, 119-120.

colonialism and presents the Europeans as having adapted to the "conquered" New World, by building a castle in the middle of the inhabitable Amazon.

The scene in which Gomes and his artist depict the Aimoré camp (Act III), illustrated by a sketch labeled "*campo degli Aimore"* ("camp of the Aimoré"), presents a similar image of Brazil with more references to dense jungle imagery (Figure 1.4b). In the background, indigenous settlements populate the space beneath the foliage. These settlements are characteristically "primitive"—they appear to be small and crudely made settlements in the form of tents or teepees. The inclusion of this visual aid not only adds to Gomes' "Othered" rendering of the indigenous Aimoré tribe, but it adds to the "exotic" idea of the Brazilian landscape being disseminated in this scene. The sketch creates a rhetorical connection between the native people and the Brazilian land, painting the landscape as both "primitive" and "indigenous." That is, the Brazilian landscape is presented as largely untouched by European civilization, or by civility in general. Therefore, the land is "uncivilized," projecting an image of Brazil that is placed within the European illusion of Brazil, but outside of the European concept of "civilization."

The staging for the scene in which the Spanish adventurers meet to plot against Don Antonio and Pery (Act II) presents a similar aesthetic. The sketch, labeled "*La grotto del selvaggio,"* depicts the same lush, tropical foliage that characterizes the other "exotic" scenes (Figure 1.4c). The language used in the scene's title, "the grotto of the wild," is indicative of the "wild" and "savage" connotation that Gomes wished to convey to his Italian audiences. In this sketch, the adventurers are surrounded by foliage, lacking any ostensible reference to civilization. Like the other two sketches, this one presents an image of Brazil situated outside of the European sphere of influence, one characterized again by references to an "untamed" land. The more explicit "European" scenery, as depicted in the sketch "*camera di Cecilia"* ("chamber of Cecilia"),

presents a contrast to the "exotic" aesthetic of the forest and Aimoré scenes (Figure 1.4d). This sketch (corresponding to Act II Scene 6), depicts Cecilia's room, adorned with Italian tapestries, European statues, and luxurious furniture (and even a candelabra). Gomes' brief presentation of the European brings his curated projection of an "exotic" Brazil as illustrated in the other scenes into sharp relief. This scene serves to juxtapose his presentations of the Amazon jungle and the Aimoré camp and exaggerate their "wild" and "untamed" characterizations, furthering his construction of "Brazilianness" as "Other."

The sketch in which the Aimoré camp is depicted calls for an additional discussion of the opera's use of the *indianismo* ideology, that which searched for Brazil's national roots in an indigenous past. As previously discussed, *Il Guarany* has been largely considered an "Indianist" opera. As scholars like Volpe, Béhague, Cesetti, and Andrews have all aptly pointed out, Gomes' operatic adaptation of an Indianist novel, Alencar's *O Guaraní,* presents a version (though modified) of Alencar's *indianismo* to the audience.[84] One of the central tenants of this ideology is the identification and association of the indigenous natives with the Brazilian landscape, an idea that was first explored in the literary iterations of *indianismo*. As Afrânio Coutinho writes, the literary exploration of the "most peculiar element of American civilization, the Indian, was a way

[84] Andrews, "Carlos Gomes' *Il Guarany,"* 27-28; Gerard Béhague, "Indianism in Latin American Art-Music Composition of the 1920s to 1940s: Case Studies from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana,* 27/1 (2006), 34-35; Cesetti, "*Il Guarany* for Foreigners," 103-104; Volpe, "Remaking the Brazilian Myth," esp. 179-184.

Figure 1.4. Artistic sketches for *Il Guarany* scenography.[85]

Figure 1.4a. "*spianata di un castello."* Sketch corresponding to scenography from Act I Scene 1 of *Il Guarany*

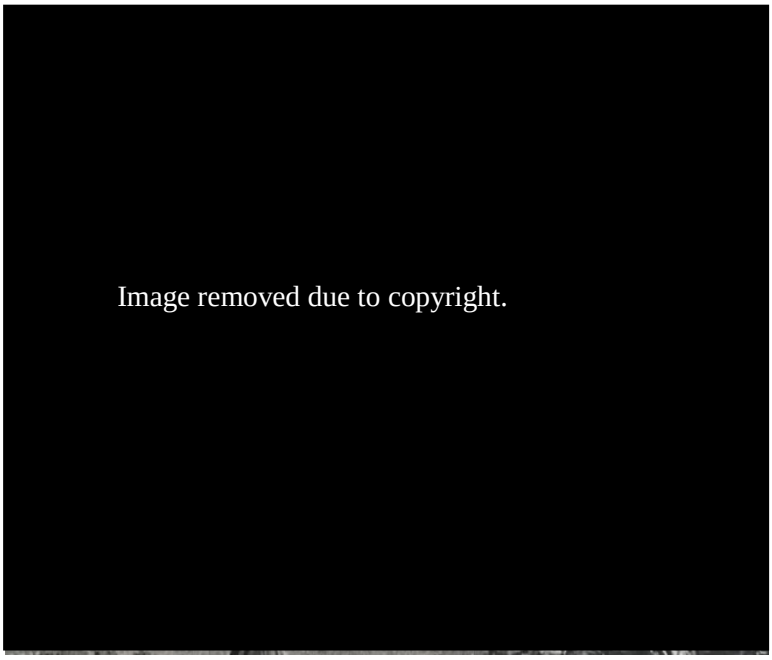


Figure 1.4b. "*campo degli Aimore."* Sketch corresponding to scenography from Act III of *Il Guarany*

[85] See "Visual sketches of *Il Guarany,"* Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), Série Iconográfica (CGic), Museu Nacional Histórico in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

Figure 1.4c. "*La grotto del selvaggio."* Sketch corresponding to scenography of Act II Scene 1 of *Il Guarany.*

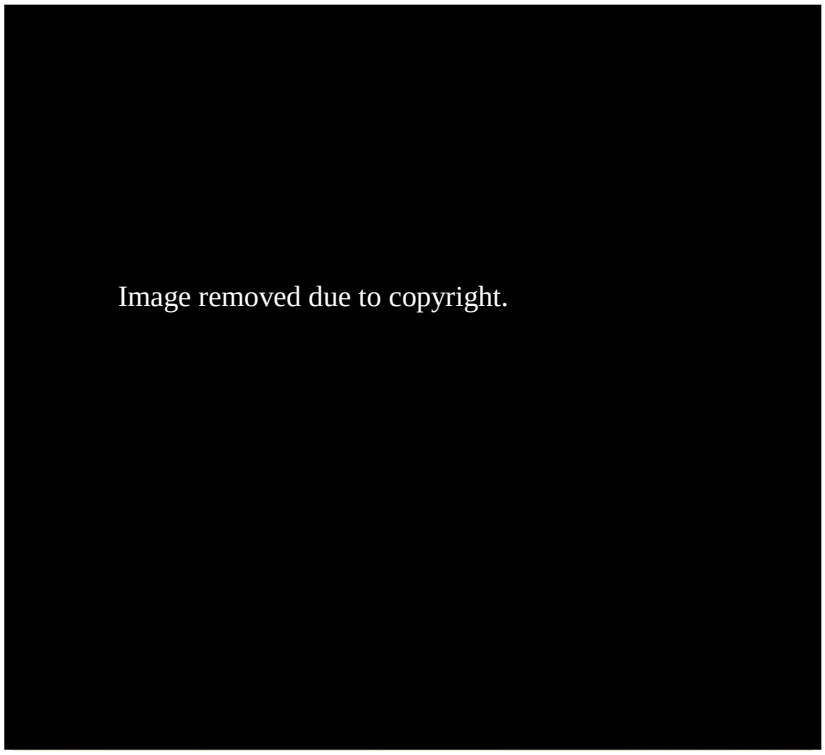


Figure 1.4d. "*Camera di Cecilia."* Sketch corresponding to scenography from Act II Scene 6 of *Il Guarany*

of embodying the feeling of nature, since the Indian was part of local landscape and the true carrier of national cultural uniqueness."[86] For Coutinho, the ideas of the Indian and landscape were inseparable components to "Brazilianness." As Volpe discusses in her characterization of the "Gomes Paradigm," the composer was one of the first Brazilian composers to search for the musical embodiment of *indianismo's* nationalist ideals, particularly the association of the indigenous natives with nature.[87] This can be seen not only in the visual staging of the Aimoré camp, but also in the musico-dramatic structure of *Il Guarany.*

In *Il Guarany,* Gomes' situation of musical conventions, intended as references to nature and landscape, within the appropriate dramatic context does suggest a connection between indigeneity and nature. This can be seen especially in Pery's famous aria, in the opening Act II. In this scene, Pery has followed Gonzales and the other Spaniards, whom he suspects of treachery against his new friends, the Portuguese, into a secluded grotto. In the libretto, Gomes rhetorically connects Pery to nature, referring to him as "a hidden serpent crawling through briars and thorns" and "the lion of the forest." In Alencar's novel, Pery is the only character who can descend into a serpent-infested chasm and return unscathed—clearly, he is the most adept in the jungle environs in which the story takes place. Though this scene is omitted from the opera, Gomes still conveys Pery's relationship with nature, one in which he is part of the landscape both literally (his hiding in the plants: "let the plants conceal me") and figuratively (comparisons to serpents and lions).

Pery	**Pery**
Son giunto in tempo! Qual celata serpe, strisciandomi fra i dumi e fra le spine io li preveni e guadagnai la via; grazie al fato ne rendo. Il torvo sguardo dello spagnuolo, ed il parlar sommesso son le prove di un turpe tradimento! Ma più di tuttoo un presentir arcano or mi tormenta. Vanne, esso mi grida,	I am in time! As a hidden serpent crawling through the briars and thorns, I forestalled them, and found the way; thanks to fate. The sinister looks of the Spaniard, and his mumblings, are the best proof of an infamous treachery. But more than that, an arcane

[86] Afrânio Coutinho, *A literatura no Brasil 1ª Edição* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Sul-Americana, 1969), 2, 309.
[87] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 242.

più non frappor dimora, vola in soccorso della tua signora!	present troubles me. It tells me to go, and wait no longer, but to fly to the help of my fair one!
…	…
Ma ti vidi, o vergin bela, per chiamarti la mia stella; bastò un guardo—una memoria—e il león della foresta il tuo shiavo diventò!	But I saw thee, beautiful virgin, and named thee my star. A glance sufficed—a momento—and the lion of the forest they slave became.
Ma alcun s' appressa—oh instante. Or celarmi degg' io fra quelle piante.	Someone approaches—what a moment. Let the plants conceal me.[88]

The musically descriptive material of Act II Scene 1 capitalizes on the dramatic context to present material intended to be sonic references to nature. The scene opens with instrumental material that marks Pery's entrance onto the stage (Example 1.5). The staging (Figure 1.4c) would have immediately transported the Italian audience to the unfamiliar wilderness of Brazil. Gomes' composition makes use of musical references to bird calls and "forest murmurs" to add to the exotic jungle setting he is trying to convey in the scene. The passage opens with a flowing chromatic line set to a B^b diminished harmony; repetitive motions in the lower voices again present references to "simplicity" and musical "primitivity." While the repetitive and dissonant lines imply "exoticness," their phrasing presents an impressionist influence derived from European music.

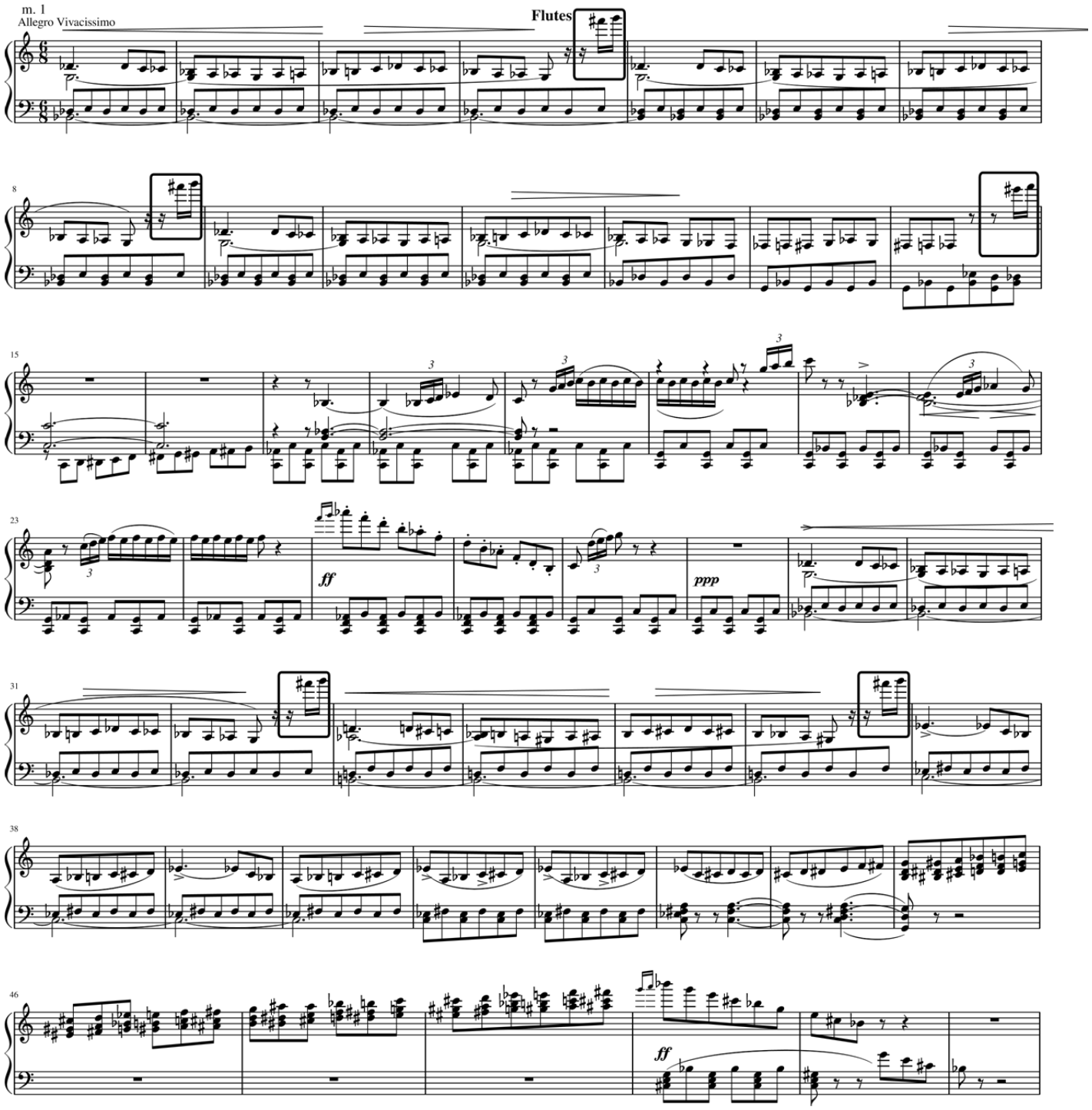
Pery's aria also presents references to the "exotic" inhabitants of the Brazilian forest. In his composition, the flutes punctuate every phrase with a high-pitched, staccato interruptions (F# to G, mm. 4, 8, and 14)—their shrillness and irregular placement to evokes the idea of bird calls. This reference to forest fauna (the bird), a concession to one of the European notions regarding Brazil, augments to the exotic appeal of *Il Guarany* and exemplifies the composer's focus on the Brazilian landscape. The birdcalls, as Volpe notes, represents an especially essential element of

[88] Gomes and Scalvini, *Il Guarany,* Act II Scene 1.

Gomes' style and became a paradigm for subsequent Brazilian nationalist composers.[89] While Pery's entrance music does not contain any musical material that is explicitly "Brazilianate" or that presents a new national style, his use of dissonant and suspended harmonies, repetition, and musical references to forest sounds and bird calls coalesce, along with the dramatic context, to convey local colors and promulgate an image of Brazil. However, Gomes' Brazil, at least in this scene, is again reduced to "primitivity," both through musical descriptions and through his characterization of the indigenous Pery. He uses his musical and dramatic license to symbolically connect Pery to the Brazilian forest, emphasizing *indianismo's* association of the Indian with nature and constructing a Brazil in which the nation and indigeneity are at once inseparable, yet both "Othered" for an Italian audience.

[89] Other Brazilian nationalist composers that adopted the birdcall as a musical element include, for example, Francisco Braga (in *Marabá* and *Jupyya)* and Heitor Villa-Lobos (in *Uirapuru*). See:Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape, " 245-246.

Musical Example 1.5: Gomes' *Il Guarany*, Pery's Scena ed Aria— "*Son giunto in tempo!"* (Act II Scene 1).



Admittedly, *Il Guarany* does not present Gomes' most complete or developed musical expression of *indianismo,* something which, scholars claim, is typically reserved for his 1889 opera *Lo Schiavo.*[90] As critics frequently noted, the opera's exclusion of several key scenes from Alencar's novel presented an overly simplified rendering of Brazil's indigeneity.[91] Specifically, *Il Guarany* left out the scene in which Pery is introduced during his valiant battle with the jaguar ("A Luta" chapter in *O Guaranî*) and when he unearths the giant palm tree to save himself and Cecilia during the flood at the end of the novel ("A Tempestade" chapter). Though these scenes do little to advance the actual plot (perhaps why Gomes omitted them), Volpe argues that their absence severely minimizes the *indianismo* conveyed by *Il Guarany*—by neglecting these scenes in which the Indian struggles with and ultimately overcomes nature, the opera downplays the connection between indigeneity and the Brazilian land.[92] For Volpe, the opera simplifies the connection to "a perfect communion with nature," rather than portraying the complex, nuanced interconnectedness between the native Pery and the unpredictable Brazilian landscape.

This interpretation, criticizing the dilution of Alencar's *indianismo* within Gomes' *Il Guarany*, makes the most sense when considering the opera's Brazilian audience—listeners with a knowledge of Alencar's mythical tale would have surely noted (and potentially lamented) the exclusion of these scenes. However, for an Italian audience largely unfamiliar with the original story, the *indianismo* conveyed by Gomes would have been taken at face-value. Gomes' repackaged *indianismo,* in which the Indian is in "perfect communion" with the Brazilian landscape, would have been the Italian audience's only engagement with Brazilian indigeneity and the associated "Indianist" precepts. This aesthetic choice, I argue, was an intentional one. The

[90] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 242.
[91] Itiberê da Cunha, *"Il Guarany,"* 140.
[92] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 178.

composer chose to simplify the ideology's association of the Indian with nature, omitting the more nuanced themes of struggle, to present the Indian, in this case Pery, as being one with nature. Like the staging of the Aimoré camp in which visual and rhetorical connections were drawn between the indigenous figures and the land, *Il Guarany's* version of *indianismo* was simplified in order to extend the idea of "indigeneity" to the land. The Brazilian landscape, then, is painted as being indigenous, pure, and untouched. That is, Brazil is presented as outside of the realm of European civilization: an "Other." These visual, musical, and dramatic representations of Brazil's land and landscape, tied in various ways with concepts of indigeneity, serve to further the opera's projection of an "exotic" Brazil to an Italian audience and make it clear that Gomes was writing within the exoticist framework in the same way as Meyerbeer and Verdi.

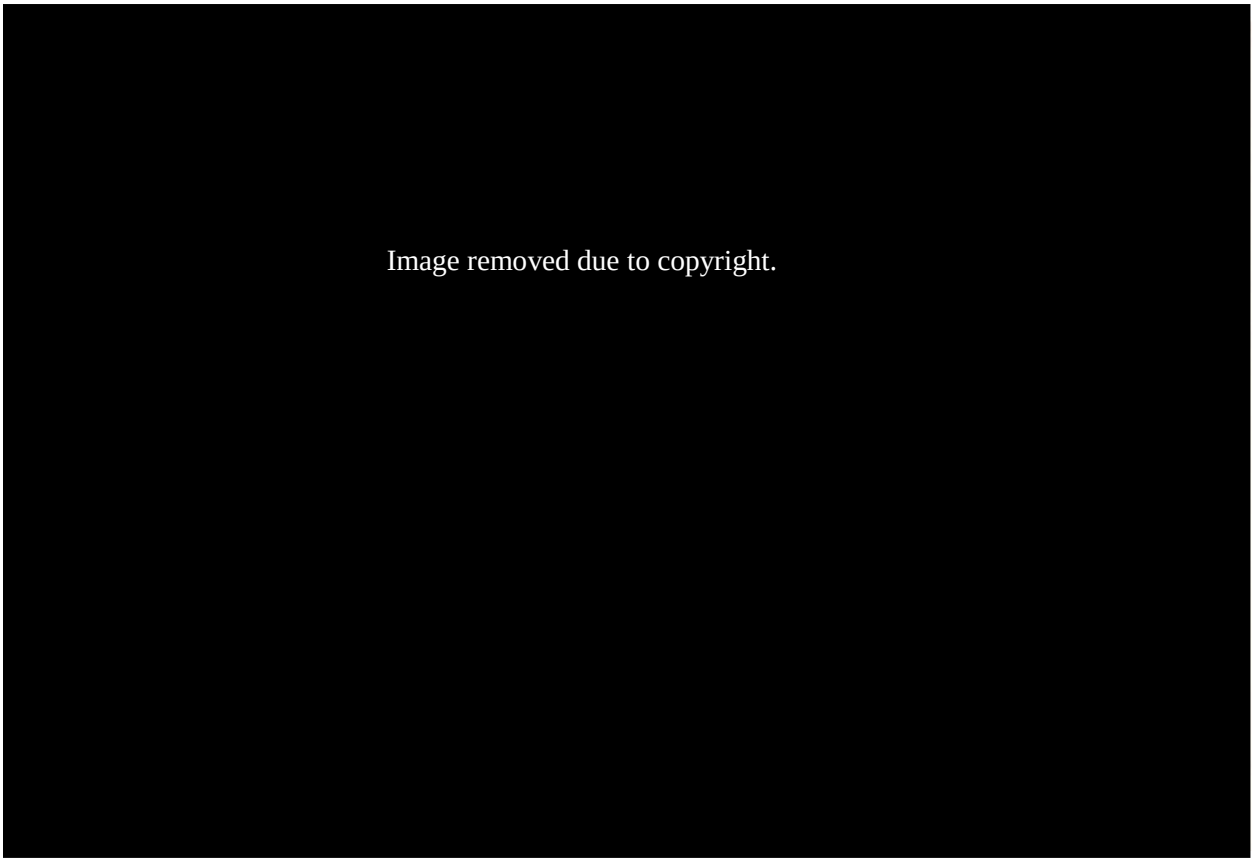
Conclusion

Carlos Gomes' own image as a composer was also subjected to this exoticized reception by opera audiences in Italy. While studying, composing, and premiering his work in Milan, Gomes occupied a somewhat precarious social space: he was a Brazilian in Italy, a European space. This garnered him the nickname "*il selvaggio dell'opera"* ("the savage of the opera").[93] Undoubtedly exacerbated by the composer's own mixed indigenous and Portuguese descent, this nickname reveals a certain preconception of Brazil held by Italians of the time, one that associated qualifiers such as "savage" and "primitive" with the notion of Brazil. Italian newspapers and advertisements built upon these exoticist notions, publishing cartoons and caricatures of the artists in which Gomes was portrayed as a Brazilian Indian (Figure 1.5). These cartoons often depicted the composer

[93] A piece in the 1878 verison of the Milan newspaper Gazetta Musical reads: "Carlos Gomes un po' selvaggio in tutte le sue cosa, lo è poi in grado superlative alle prove dell sue opera." [English translation] Cited in Vetro, *Antonio Carlos Gomes,* 14.

wearing stereotypically "Indian" artefacts, such as feathers and animal skins, and brandishing indigenous weaponry.

Figure 1.5: Image of Gomes in an Italian newspaper, 1870s[94]



In a way, Gomes came to be associated with the Pery figure, or with Brazilian indigeneity more broadly. He was often described using terms that emphasized his "Otherness."[95] The composer's Italian teacher, Rossi, for example, described him as having "a naked nobility; a

[94] Newspaper clipping from the Italian newspaper *Principio di Stagione.* Clipping from the 1870s, exact date unknown. See clipping in Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), Série Iconográfica (CGic), Museu Nacional Histórico in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

[95] Many of the Italian newspapers, in writing about the composer, used words like "malcontent," "untamed," and "lion-like." See, for example, the 1878 Gazetta Musical piece on Gomes: "Il maestro è sempre malcontento; gli esecutori sempre disperatissimi; e lo sono tanto più alle prove, perché Gomes non parla, non correge, non moonisce, non insegna, non prega, non supplica, come fanno tutti gli altri maestri; niente di tutto ciò." [English translation] Cited in Vetro, *Antonio Carlos Gomes,* 14-15.

primitive, aboriginal nobility."[96] Rodolfo Paravicini, an Italian composer, described the composer's personality as of a "virgin nature, impetuous, nervous, irascible, yet generous, forthright, and without rancor."[97] These characterizations of the composer exemplify his reception within the exoticist gaze of 19th-century Europe. Descriptions such as "aboriginal" and "iracibile" demonstrate the way Gomes' image was associated with indigeneity and primitivity. His own position as a Brazilian composer in Italy gave him an easy avenue to fit himself into the exoticist and Orientalist trend and helped to support the reception of his work as "exotic." That is, an Italian audience attending an opera composed by "*il selvaggio dell'opera"* would have surely expected exotic and "savage" material.

What is most significant, however, is the way in which Gomes embraced this reception of himself on the Milanese concert scene. When he returned to Brazil, media outlets proudly touted his famous nickname, translating it to Portuguese as "*o selvagem da ópera*."[98] Clearly, Gomes saw himself as a composer within the exoticist/Orientalist tradition being developed by his hero Verdi and saw his position as a Brazilian in Italy as a way to facilitate the exotic appeal of his work. His work found appeal in Milan because of his strategic self-exoticization—Italians saw in him and in his work an image of an "exotic" Brazil that adhered to many of the European notions of Brazil and its indigenous peoples. Musically, visually, and dramatically, Gomes depicted a "Brazilianness" that was "Othered," painted as "savage," "primitive," and largely antithetical to ideas regarding Europe and civility. Additionally, his engagement with the ideologies of

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[96] "ma è una nobiltà tutta nuda; una nobiltà primitiva, aborigena." Lauro Rossi, cited in Fonseca, *O Selvagem*, 47. Translation by author.

[97] "natura vergine, impetuosa, nervosa, irascibile, è insieme generosa, schietta, senza rancori." Rodolfo Palavicini, cited in Vetro, *Antonio Carlos Gomes,* 22. Translation by author.

[98] Vetro, *Antônio Carlos Gomes,* 17. The "savage of the opera" moniker has become a staple phrase in the Brazilian cultural imaginary, especially in reference to the myth of Gomes. See, for example, the semi-historical works of fiction written about the life of Gomes: Rubem Fonseca, *O Selvagem da Ópera* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994); Lenita W.M. Nogueira, *A Lanterna Mágica e o Burrico de Pau: Memorias e Historias de Carlos Gomes* (Campinas, SP: Arte Escrita, 2011).

indianismo were intentionally modified and simplified, allowing him to extend ideas regarding indigeneity to the Brazilian landscape and further position Brazil as an exotic "Other." "Brazilianness" was thus reduced to primitivity. This reading of the opera, as we will see, differed tremendously from the reception *Il Guarany* saw in Brazil.

CHAPTER 2

Projections of "Self": Race, Nation, and *Il Guarany's* Premiere in Brazil

Che intendo! E tale ostacolo sol si frappone? Il Dio! Gl'idoli dei Guarany rinego; alia tua fede iniziami, prostrato al suol tem prego.

What do I hear! Is this the only obstacle? Thy god! I renounce, then, the idols of Guarany; baptize me in thy faith, now on my knees before thee![1]

—Pery, *Il Guarany* Act IV Scene 3

Il Guarany's success in its Italian premiere was cause for celebration in Brazil, as Carlos Gomes was the first Latin American composer to achieve such acclaim in Milan. Naturally, Brazilians wanted to see for themselves this famous opera, which propelled Brazil into the international music world. On 2 December 1870, *Il Guarany* premiered in Rio de Janeiro's *Teatro Lyrical Fluminense*. The event was of great cultural and artistic importance; it marked the birthday of Emperor Dom Pedro II, who, along with the noble family and other members of the Brazilian elite, was in attendance.[2] The event was planned with the noble family in mind. Prior to the performance, announcements that used the Emperor's presence as a selling point for the opera circulated. One such announcement read: "Performance in grand, national celebration…honored with the August Presence of Their Imperial Majesties. After the National Anthem,…the grandiose opera-dance of the Brazilian maestro A. Carlos Gomes will take the stage."[3] After all, Gomes

[1] Carlos Gomes and Antônio Scalvini, *Il Guarany,* Act IV Sc III. Translation by author.
[2] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 1.
[3] Theatro Lyrico Fluminense, "Opera Italiana: *Il Guarany." Jornal do Commercio,* 29 November 1870, 6. Cited in Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 70.

publicly dedicated the opera to the Emperor following its Milanese premiere.[4] However, to suggest that the opera's appeal among Brazilians was primarily predicated upon its achievements abroad neglects the significance that the opera held for a Brazilian audience. For Brazilians, *Il Guarany* was emblematic of Brazil's Second Empire, an association that was only reified by Gomes' explicit dedication of the opera to the Emperor.

Il Guarany's premiere in Brazil was a resounding success—within two weeks, the opera had been performed fourteen times, largely due to popular demand.[5] Advertisements and articles ran in all of the Rio de Janeiro newspapers, celebrating the "*grande sucesso"* ("great success") of *Il Guarany* and reiterating Gomes' success abroad.[6] Music critics described the opera's appeal in Milan as not only an achievement for the composer, but as one for all of Brazil. *Il Guarany* was also successful with Gomes' close friend and patron, Dom Pedro II, who spoke highly of the piece. He appointed Gomes as an *Oficial da Ordem da Rosa* (Official of the Order of the Rose), recognizing the cultural importance of the composer and his work. Gomes was thus lionized as a Brazilian cultural icon—*Il Guarany* became an unofficial national anthem and subsequent composers tried with great zeal to reproduce Gomes' nationalist formula in their own works.[7] For example, the 1936 Centenary celebrations of the composer's birth revealed the great importance Gomes held (and still holds) for Brazilians. As one observer noted: "all of Brazil, in a manifestation

[4] In a correspondence sent from Rio de Janeiro to Milan in May of 1870, the steward of the Imperial Palace, Nicolau Antônio Nogueira Vale da Gama, informed Gomes that Dom Pedro II gladly accepted the dedication of *Il Guarany* to the Brazilian Emperor and Brazilian Empire. Correspondence dated 13 May 1870, Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), Serie Correspondência (CGcr), in the Museu Histórico Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, BR.
[5] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil*, 70.
[6] Advertisements in *Jornal do Commercio*, 12 December 1870 and 14 December 1870. See Hermeroteca Digital, Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, BR.
[7] *Il Guarany* became the opening song for the government radio program *Voz do Brasil*, which was founded in the 1930s to project the daily political occurrences to the Brazilian populace.

of spiritual solidarity and civil exaltation to the memory of her most preeminent figures, pulsated and throbbed on that day of glorification."[8]

The national significance taken on by *Il Guarany* is paradoxical, however. As Tracy Devine Guzmán has asserted, critics who attribute such nationalist importance to this opera are politicizing a work that was, at least in its intention, largely apolitical.[9] Gomes always publicly proclaimed himself to be a staunchly apolitical citizen, one whose allegiance to the noble family was more personal and professional (they sponsored his studies in Milan) than ideological. He once stated his unwillingness to "get involved in any 'noise' other than music," living instead by the doctrine that "art unites while politics divides."[10] How then did an opera that was composed and intended to be consumed outside of the political sphere take on such political and national importance? I argue that such characterizations of the composer as "apolitical" are oversimplifying at best and erroneous at worst. Gomes was a friend and supporter of the abolitionists Joaquim Nabuco and André Rebouças, himself a large proponent of abolition. His correspondences with these two political leaders reveal a political engagement that could hardly be considered "apolitical."[11] Further, the end of Brazil's monarchy in 1889 led Gomes to feel great disdain for the new Republican government, by which he felt betrayed. He once wrote:

> I will not take with me any nostalgia for the world or for the Government of the Republic that had treated me with such injustice. I only regret not being able to destroy everything written with such enthusiasm by my hand for the benefit of the national art.[12]

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[8] "Tudo Brasil, numa manifestação de solidariedade spiritual e exaltação civil à memoria das suas figuras mais preeminentes, pulsou e latejava nesse dia de glorificação." See: Hermes Viera, "O romance de Carlos Gomes," *Fon Fon, 18 July 1936,* 16-17. Translation by author.

[9] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 67.

[10] "me envolver em nada desse 'barulho' fora da música" and "a Arte Une e a Politica Divide." These are two phrases that have been attributed to Carlos Gomes. Cited in Alvez da Lima, *Carlos Gomes,* preâmbulo *v-vi.* Translation by author.

[11] In correspondences with abolitionist thinkers Rebouças and Nabuco, Gomes discussed such themes as abolitionism and the creation of the New Republic in 1889. These correspondences are discussed in Chapter 3.

[12] "Não levarei comigo nenhuma saudade do mundo ou do Governo da Republica que me tenha tratado com tanta injustiça. Só arrependo não poder destruir tudo escrito com tanto entusiasmo pela minha mão para o benefício da

Clearly, Gomes held strong political leanings that manifested themselves in his temporary self-exile from Brazil following the 1889 proclamation of the First Republic. To say that his art is devoid of political meaning, then, presents only a perfunctory consideration of the composer and his context. Instead, Gomes' *Il Guarany* and its Brazilian significance should be considered within the context of Brazilian history and the contemporary political climate. During the 19th century, Brazil found itself in a period of growth under the firm, guiding hand of Dom Pedro II, Brazil's "citizen emperor."[13] Brazil's economy continued its rapid growth, facilitated in part by new avenues for revenue in the form of coffee exports. Further, Brazil's formerly bifurcated political climate was ameliorated by Dom Pedro II—he promulgated the "*conciliação"* ("conciliation"), which attenuated political partisanship between Conservative and Liberal factions in an effort to forward infrastructural and economic development programs.[14] Though the nation began to project an image of itself as socially, politically, and economically stable (especially in contrast to its Latin American neighbors), questions of national identity loomed precariously over its intellectual leaders, especially following the deeply racialized Paraguayan War (1864-1870). Of particular interest to the Brazilian intellectuals was defining the history and future of the Brazilian nation—these writers sought to define the Brazilian "general spirit" ("*espírito geral*"), the "Brazilian special way of feeling" ("*sentir especial do brasileiro*"), and the Brazilian "national character"

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arte nacional." Letter from Carlos Gomes to his friend Manoel José de Souza Guimarães, dated 12 August 1895, sent from Bahia, BR. See Coleção Carlos Gomes, Correspondências in the Museu Carlos Gomes, Campinas, BR. Translation by author.

[13] Because of his presence and perceived dedication to the nation of Brazil, the Pedro II's supporters nicknamed him "o imperador cidadão" ("the citizen emperor"). The term first appeared in an essay published by *O Chronista* in 1838. Quoted in Roderick J. Barman, *Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825-91* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 64-65. Barman provides an in-depth discussion of Pedro II and his personality, focusing specifically on how the traits of the emperor were perceived by the nation.

[14] On the conciliação and political organization in mid-19th century Brazil , see: Jeffrey D. Needell, "Provincial Origins of the Brazilian State: Rio de Janeiro, the Monarchy, and National Political Organization, 1808-1853," *Latin American Research Review* 36/3 (2001): 144; Roderick James Barman, "Brazil at Mid-Empire: Political Accommodation and the Pursuit of Progress under the Conciliacao Ministry, 1853-1857," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1970.

("*caráter national*"). [15] Brazilian intellectuals, then, set out to explore and define the roots of "Brazilianness."

It is within this political climate—the intellectual search for "Brazilianness"—that I consider *Il Guarany's* 1870 premiere in Brazil. In this chapter, I examine *Il Guarany* as a Brazilian cultural artefact, situating its premiere and its reading by a Brazilian audience within the discourse of racialization and nation-building in which Gomes' contemporaries were participating. Specifically, I argue that through his operatic adaptation of an Indianist novel, one that was itself a myth of national foundation, Gomes positioned himself alongside other great Brazilian mythmakers and presented Brazilian audiences with a musical articulation of the "Self" (in contrast to the "Other" presented to Italians). This notion of the "Brazilian Self" was a racialized one—Gomes' operatic interpretation of Brazilian history adapted the *indianismo* ideology to contribute to the popular notions of "*a raça brasileria"* that characterized the contemporary elite discourse of nation-building. Through his dramatic rendering of the *indianismo* ideology and his musical treatment of indigenous and European characters, Gomes' *Il Guarany* presented a "Brazilian Self" that negotiated concepts of indigeneity and modernity to present Brazil as both uniquely Brazilian, yet at once European.

From *O Guaraní* to *Il Guarany*: *Indianismo's* Literary Roots

Gomes' *Il Guarany* was an operatic adaptation of the Indianist novel *O Guaraní,* written by José de Alencar in 1854. Alencar's novel was serialized and released weekly in the *Diário de Rio de Janeiro,* a popular newspaper read primarily by the literate middle- and upper-class

[15] These terms appear in Silvio Romero's 1888 essay on the Brazilian nation. Cited in João Hernesto Weber, *A nação e o paraíso: a construção da nacionalidade na historiografia literária brasileira* (Florianópolis: Editora da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 1997), 72-73.

Brazilians. The novel was a huge success, as readers anticipated each new chapter and followed "with rapt suspense the pure and discreet affection of [Cecilia] and [Pery]."[16] The plot's more-than-passing similarity to the novels of James Fenimore Cooper and François-René de Chateaubriand, particularly in its depiction of indigeneity and *mestiçagem,* brought several accusations of plagiarism against Alencar.[17] Such accusations were not baseless; Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and Chateaubriand's *Atala* (1801), for example, both depict mixed-race romances and frontier stories. Alencar himself, in his essay "Como e porque sou romancista*"* ("How and why I am a novelist"), cited as his inspiration Cooper, Chateaubriand, Charles-Victor Prévot vicomte d'Arlincourt, and Alexandre Dumas.[18] Alencar's explicit mention of these authors perhaps explains his penchant for tales of adventure and conquest, imbued with elements of poeticism and exoticism. Though he gives Cooper and Chateaubriand credit, Alencar sets himself apart from their far too realistic descriptions of the Indian, noting: "Cooper considers the indigenous under a social point of view, and in his descriptions of their customs was a *realist;* he presented [the Indian] under the vulgar aspects."[19] Instead of discussing the "vulgar aspects" of the Indians, for which he criticizes Cooper, Alencar positions himself as a "romanticist," making clear his desire to poeticize and idealize the indigenous figure. Regarding his own novel, he writes:

> In *O Guaraní* the savage is an ideal, one that the writer attempts to poeticize, stripping him of the coarse crust in which he was wrapped by the chroniclers, and pulling him out of the stubborn remains of the almost-extinct race that they project onto him.[20]

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[16] M. Cavalcanti Proença, *Estúdios Literários,* edited by A. Houaiss (Rio de Janeiro: Olympio, 1971), 47-48.
[17] David T. Haberty, *Three sad races,* 44.
[18] José de Alencar, *Como e porque sou romancista* (Rio de Janeiro: Leuzinger &Filhos, 1893).
[19] "Cooper considera o indígena sob o ponto de vista social, e na descrição dos seus costumes foi *realista*; apresentou-o sob o aspecto vulgar." Alencar, *Como e porque,* lxxxii. Translation by author, italics in original.
[20] No *Guarani* o selvagem é um ideal, que o escritor intenta poetizar, despindo-o da crosta grosseia de que o envolveram os cronistas, e arrancando-o ao ridículo que sobre ele projetam os restos embrutecidos da quase extinta raca." *Ibid,* Translation by author.

This idealization of the indigenous past is the defining characteristic of 19th century *indianismo*, presented for the first time in Alencar's prose. More than just an exciting literary formula, *indianismo* was built on nationalist precepts and promulgated a myth of national foundation. The ideology found a strong foothold in Brazil's political climate, one in which the Brazilian elite were looking to better understand the roots and the trajectory of their nation. *Indianismo* gave them a literary and ideological explanation for Brazil, positing it as the natural continuation of an indigenous past and using the Brazilian Indian to embody the nation. This "Brazilian Indian," as Alencar shows us, was far from historically or factually accurate—representations of indigeneity were modified and romanticized, in a fashion similar to Rousseau's "Noble Savage,"[21] in order to present a more palatable past for the Brazilian nation.[22] While the literary tradition of *indianismo* in 19th-century Brazil was very much a cultural marker of privilege (and, in general, whiteness) and was very much restricted to a narrow circulation among the Brazilian elite, it went beyond mere description of the nation. Rather, Brazilian writers "quite literally wrote Brazil,"[23] creating an imagined notion of "Brazilianess" based upon constructed images of the nation's past.

The myth of national foundation constructed in Alencar's *O Guaraní* (and presented in Gomes' *Il Guarany*) can be summed up as follows: a proud indigenous chieftain falls in love with a Portuguese countess, avoiding numerous perils together before going on to become the founding

[21] The idea of the "Noble Savage" has often been associated with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who wrote about the inherent goodness of man and his connection with nature in 1754. See: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality Among Men* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1992). See also: Arthur Lovejoy, "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's Discourse on Inequality," *Modern Philology* 21/2 (1923): 165-186.
[22] For a discussion of the idea of the Noble Savage and examples of its use in literature, see Elsie Murray, "The 'Noble Savage,'" *The Scientific Monthly* 36/3 (March 1933):250-257; Joseph R. de Lutri, "Montaigne on the Noble Savage: A Shift in Perspective," *The French Review* 49/2 (December 1975): 206-211; Bernard W. Sheehan, "Paradise and the noble Savage in Jeffersonian Thought," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 26/3 (July 1969):327-359. For a critique of the term and its roots, see Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
[23] Haberty, *Three sad races*, 9.

couple of the modern mixed-race Brazilian nation. Doris Sommer notes the way that Pery and Cecilia's love is portrayed not as a mutual romance, but as a quasi-religious worship of the white goddess, a "mixture of Mariolatry and white supremacy."[24] For Sommer, Pery's love, as well as that of other *mestiço* and indigenous characters, is rooted in a fascination and idealization of whiteness. He idealizes the white Cecilia, positioning himself as subservient and willing to do anything for her (sacrifice himself to the rival Aimoré tribe, for example). The opera conveys this same dynamic, one in which Pery is reduced to subservience and Cecilia is elevated to the status of a goddess. In his duet with Cecilia, for example, Pery dedicates himself to the Portuguese countess and makes clear his willingness to sacrifice his own identity and beliefs as a Guaraní. He sings: "Trust in me, fair virgin, and in my everlasting plight. Gods, people, and country, all I forsake for thee."[25]

In the novel, Cecilia resists the romantic interests of Portuguese explorer Alvaro, opting instead for the indigenous chieftain with whom she has fallen enamored. Alvaro, similarly finding himself impassioned for an indigenous lover, resorts to a love affair with *mestiça* Isabel, a "cousin" of Cecilia's (presumably Dom Antonio's illegitimate daughter with an indigenous slave).[26] These two mixed-race romances, paradigmatic in Alencar's *Indianist* style,[27] come to markedly different conclusions. In true *Romeo and Juliet* fashion, Alvaro is killed by the "savage" Aimoré tribe, and, unable to live on without him, Isabel takes a poison to kill herself.[28] While Alvaro and Isabel's relationship ends tragically, Pery and Cecilia escape several potential dangers, from displeased members of the Portuguese court who threaten to disown Cecilia to savage kidnappings by rival

[24] Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1991), 141.
[25] "A me t' affida, o vergine, eterne è la mia fè. Numi, parenti, pátria, tutto obliai per te." Gomes and Scalvini, *Il Guarany,* Act II Sc 5. Translation by author.
[26] José de Alencar, *O Guaraní* (São Paulo: Ática, 1994), 108-109, 263-264.
[27] David T. Haberty, *Three sad races,* 44-46.
[28] Alencar, *O Guaraní,* 196.

indigenous groups, and become the *mestiço* symbols for the founding of the Brazilian nation. As Sommer argues, this mixture of Portuguese and Indian is meant to represent the mixed roots of the modern Brazilian, romanticizing contemporary Brazil in a noble Indian past.[29]

Towards the end of the novel, conflict erupts between the Portuguese and the indigenous Aimoré tribe. The story ends with the conversion of Pery to Christianity and the explosion of Don Antonio's castle, killing everyone except for Pery and Cecilia. This particular sequence of events is perhaps the most important and symbolic in all of the novel. Firstly, Alencar draws a sharp distinction between his indigenous characters: the Aimoré are depicted as "diabolical spirits in the flames of Hell,"[30] positioning them antithetically to the very ideals of Christianity, while the Guaraní Indian openly embraces Christian conversion. Don Antonio even refers to Pery as "a Portuguese gentleman in a savage's body," making even clearer Alencar's idealization of a noble, civilized indigeneity.[31] This creates a dichotomy between the "savage cannibal" concept of indigeneity (the Aimoré) and that of the "noble savage" (Pery), a distinction that is important to both the novel's and the opera's construction of Brazilian indigeneity. Secondly, the novel's conclusion presents an explicit rendering of *indianismo's* racial consideration of the Brazilian nation, one in which "Brazilianness" is imagined as coming from indigenous-Portuguese mixture. When Don Antonio sets off the explosion in his castle, all the hostile Indians and traditional Portuguese are wiped out, leaving only the mixed-race couple of Cecilia and Pery. As Cecilia and Pery escape the castle, they take refuge from a flash flood in a palm tree (later converted into a canoe by Pery). The two sail off together, representing the "survival and fusion, in some Edenic refuge, of the best of Europe and of Indian America, leading implicitly to the creation of a new,

[29] Sommer, *Foundational Fictions,* 141.
[30] Alencar, *O Guaraní,* 223.
[31] *Ibid,* 34,64.

Brazilian race."[32] The racial vision laid out by Alencar in the novel's finale is a central part of the *Indianist* genre and the *indianismo* ideology, one that is adopted and presented in Gomes' operatic adaptation of *O Guaraní.*

Over the course of Alencar's novel, the Guaraní chieftain undergoes a rather archetypal transformation, developing into the noble, ideal hero that characterized Romantic literature of the time. His love for Cecilia leads him to become more "civilized" and "modern," exemplified perhaps most climactically in his renunciation of his indigenous paganism and his adoption of Christianity. In an expression of colonialist racism, Alencar's novel favors the whitened indigenous figure, one who abandons his indigeneity in favor of European behaviors and lifestyles, to the indigenous figures stuck in their "primitive" ways (the Aimoré, for example). In true Romantic fashion, Pery's transformation is one that requires sacrifice, exemplified first and foremost by his abandoning of his indigenous beliefs and traditions, and secondly by the emotional (and physical) turmoil that characterizes his relationship with Cecilia. Pery's nickname for Cecilia is Ceci, which, according to Alencar, is a Tupí-Guaraní word that means "pain, and suffering,"[33] symbolically capturing the sacrifices Pery makes for his (white) lover. The name is twofold, as it also represents Cecilia's adoption of indigenous characteristics—her use of a new "Indian" name points to a symbolic miscegenation between the European and Amerindian worlds. As we will see, Gomes' opera capitalizes on this archetypal transformation in its title character, adopting the colonialist racial views put forth by Alencar.

The ideology of *indianismo* and the associated myth of national foundation are central for understanding the importance of Gomes' *Il Guarany* for his Brazilian audience. Both the novel's and the opera's temporal settings facilitated such nationalistic and mythicized interpretations of

[32] Haberty, *Three sad races,* 46.
[33] Alencar, *O Guaraní,* 87-88.

the opera's subject matter. Alencar's novel, and by extension *Il Guarany*, fused the historical retellings characteristic of Romantic novels with mythical narration. The novel, set in 1607, corresponds to the colonial era of Brazilian history, but itself does not mark any foundationally momentous historical events or periods, as it is neither the age of discovery (c. 1500) nor the independence era (19th century). As Volpe argues, this setting creates a "historical remoteness of time and place," one that, not corresponding to any readily identifiable dates in Brazilian history, allows the narrative to unfold in "mythical time."[34] This "mythical time" is maintained by Gomes' operatic adaptation that shifts the setting to 1560, another year that does not correspond to any foundational events in Brazilian history. This rendering of Brazilian history is effectively "uchronic": it is a series of events that are not tied to anything temporally and are therefore unspecified and poorly defined.[35] Instead, this "uchronic myth" offers an alternative, imagined history that does not necessarily take place in the past, but rather in the Brazilian imaginary, further contributing to Brazilians' notions of themselves and of their nation. This rejection of conventional chronology allows the events of *Il Guarany* to occur within a "mythical center," a concept defined by Renato Ortiz as "a foundational point from which the mythical history unfolds."[36] Thus, the union between Pery and Cecilia, the literary couple that symbolically founded the Brazilian nation, was elevated to a mythical status.

There is debate over exactly how *indianismo* is translated from Alencar's *O Guaraní* to Gomes' *Il Guarany*. While Cesetti argues that the underlying racial ideologies of Alencar's

[34] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 173-174.
[35] "Uchronic" is a term put forth by historian Alessandro Portelli. Working with oral histories of labor movements and working-class Italians, Portelli uses the term to describe the manner through which narratives of memory can be used to imagine quasi-utopic and alternative events, histories, or even lives. For a discussion of the "uchronic myth" and "uchronic narrative," see: Alessandro Portelli, "Uchronic Dreams: Working Class Memory and Possible Worlds," *Oral History*, 16/2 (1988), esp. 46-48.
[36] Renato Ortiz, "O Guarani: um mito de fundação da brasilidade." *Ciência e Cultura* (São Paulo, 1988) 40 (3): 261-9; reprint in Renato Ortiz, *Românticos e Folcloristas: cultura popular* (São Paulo: Olho D'água, 1992), 81.

indianismo are attenuated and subdued by Gomes' operatic adaptation, Volpe and Andrews assert that the modified *indianismo* presented by *Il Guarany* carries with it the original racial implications.[37] That is, *Il Guarany* presents audiences with the same racial vision of Brazil that was put forth by Alencar's symbolic ending. This seems to be echoed by Gomes' daughter Itala Gomes Vaz de Carvalho, who, in a 1965 letter, emphasized the importance of the indigenous characters and the "*raça indígeno-brasileiro"* ("indigenous-Brazilian race") to her father's music. She writes:

> …In 'Guarany' the protagonist is an Indian…. [In his] magistral operatic works with Brazilian librettos, my father always exalted the character of [Brazil's] Indian, as if it was an irresistible shout of his very nature, leading to praise his own race as a legitimate Brazilian![38]

Clearly, *Il Guarany's* reflection of race and indigeneity were of importance to Gomes' daughter and to Brazilian audiences more generally. While Italian audiences would not have had an exposure to *indianismo*, the Brazilian audience was composed primarily of the literate elite who would have been familiar with Alencar's novel and *indianismo's* myth of national foundation.[39] The opera, premiering shortly after the end of the Paraguayan War in 1870, presented an audience with deeply national themes and added to the foundational myth that was already circulating in the national discourse. Therefore, it is important to consider *Il Guarany's* representations of race and

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[37] Andrews, "Carlos Gomes' 'Il Guarany'," 30-31; Cesetti, "Il Guarany for Foreigners," 101-102, 117-118; Volpe, "Remaking the Brazilian Myth," 179.

[38] "…no 'Guarany' o protagonista 'Pery' é um índio...[Nas suas] magistrais obras operísticas de libreto brasileiro, meu Pai exaltou sempre o caráter do nosso índio, como se fora um grito irresistível de sua natureza, levado a enaltecer a sua raça de legitimo brasileiro!" Letter from Itala Gomes Vaz de Carvalho to Benjamin Grosbayne, dated 3 December 1965. See Coleção Carlos Gomes, Correspondências, in the Museu Carlos Gomes in Campinas, BR. Translation by author.

[39] Haberty writes that Indianist literature, such as Alencar's novel, was restricted to a narrow circulation within a societal elite. In the nineteenth century, illiteracy rates in Brazil was high and education was a privilege largely reserved for the upper classes. As such, only the elite would have had the literacy needed to access Alencar—and other Indianist writers'—works. Haberty additionally argues that it was not only a marker of class, but also of whiteness, as those that were of the upper classes were also predominantly white. See: Haberty, *Three sad races,* 5.

nation, both as an adaptation of an Indianist novel and as a cultural artefact that was premiered in a tense and highly racialized political climate.

In Search of Nation: The Paraguayan War and its Antagonisms

Gomes' success in Brazil came partly as a result of the context in which *Il Guarany* premiered—as Guzmán argues, the nationalist response to the opera was produced by Brazil's involvement in a bloody conflict that only concluded months before *Il Guarany's* premiere.[40] In the years preceding Gomes' triumphant return to Brazil, the country was involved in the War of the Triple Alliance, known in Brazil as the *Guerra do Paraguay* or the Paraguayan War. The war was a result of longstanding border disputed between the Southern Cone countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil), beginning in 1864 with Brazil's invasion of Uruguay and the installment of a friendly regime. Paraguay, loyal to the regime that Brazil overthrew, retaliated that same year.[41] Argentina and Uruguay sided with Brazil and fighting lasted until March of 1870, when the Paraguayan president Francisco Solano López was killed by Brazilian troops. While the war was costly for all sides, being the deadliest war fought in Latin America since the Spanish conquest, Brazil was affected disproportionately. Historian Maximillian Von Verson, in 1913, wrote:

> It's not even worth mentioning the help of the Oriental Republic [Uruguay]…and the Argentine Republic never maintained more than a minimal number of troops on the battlefield. The entire burden of the war and none of its advantages fell on Brazil. Only Brazil sustained the fight with energy until the end, providing war material, money, and soldiers.[42]

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[40] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 74.

[41] For a more detailed description of the events that led up to the War of the Triple Alliance, see: Barman, *Citizen Emperor,* 198-201.

[42] See: Maximillian Von Verson, "História da guerra do Paraguai e episódios de viagem na América do Sul," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro* 76, pt. 2 (1914), 198. Cited in Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 74-75. Translation hers.

Although both Argentina and Uruguay provided support to Brazil's war efforts, Brazil bore the largest burden and paid the highest price for its involvement in the war. While the exact casualties are debated, scholars estimate there to have been approximately 100,000 Brazilian casualties, compared to the 10,000 Argentine and Uruguayan casualties.[43] Despite the bloody results of Brazil's involvement in the war, patriotic and nationalist sentiments in Brazil were high. Guzmán notes a rise in patriotic cultural production in the years following the conclusion of the war, attributing it to the public's reverence for the sacrifices made by Brazilian soldiers.[44] For example, plays such as Bernardo Taveira Júnior's *O voluntário* (1870) and Tomás Antônio Espiuca's *Os voluntários da honra* (1870), as well as poetry by Antônio José dos Santos Neves and Manuel de Sousa Garcia documented the heroic efforts of the Brazilian armed forces and the hardships they endured for Brazil.[45] It was in this wave of nationalist cultural production that *Il Guarany* premiered and resonated with a Brazilian audience.

While patriotism was on the rise following the Paraguayan War, feelings of disillusionment and discord also began to take hold, especially within Republican (and anti-monarchist) factions. As Silvio Romero notes, the costly results of the war led to social and political crises that opened up a space for dissent, slowly weakening the hold that the Brazilian monarchy held over its people.[46] Instead, Republican and abolitionist movements began to publicly speak out against the monarchy and their policies. While still only a small threat in 1870, these movements planted the seeds of disunity and opposition that would only grow until the final rejection of the monarchy in 1889. Just days after *Il Guarany's* Brazilian premiere, the Republican Manifesto was published in

[43] Robert L. Scheina, *Latin America's Wars* (Dulles, VA.:Brassey's, 2003), 331.
[44] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 74.
[45] Though these productions never became as important to national letters as did Alencar's *O Guaraní* or Gomes' *Il Guarany,* Guzmún aptly points out that their production can be seen as reflective of the setting in which they were composed. See: Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 74.
[46] Romero, as cited in Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 75.

the first edition of the Partido Republicano Brasileiro's (Brazilian Republican Party) newspaper. The publication, although signed by only a small number of supporters and restricted to a narrow circulation, set the precedent for the oppositional journalism and rhetoric that would characterize the next twenty years. These critiques painted the royal family, the aristocracy, and its supporters as hypocritical, slaveholding elites that only had their own best interests in mind, not those of the Brazilian nation.[47] However, in 1870, when *Il Guarany* premiered, these movements and oppositional politics represented only a small portion of Brazilians. The Republican forces did not represent any significant threat to the Brazilian Empire, which had benefitted from the reinvigorated nationalism seen after the conclusion of the Paraguayan War. The anti-monarchist minority was instead outnumbered by the many Brazilians swept up by the surge of patriotism that André Rebouças referred to as a "joyous delirium."[48]

While the patriotic and nationalist zeal planted by the Paraguayan War is important for understanding *Il Guarany's* place in Brazilian history, the racial implications of the war provide a more holistic context for examining *Il Guarany's* Brazilian significance. Gomes' opera debuted following a highly racialized confrontation between Brazil and Paraguay, one in which racial rhetoric played a large role in shaping the nations' conceptions of each other and of themselves. Paraguayan newspapers, for example, described Brazil as am empire of "black stinking monkeys" and "black dirty pigs," obviously noting Brazil's large population of African and African-descendant individuals (see, for example, Figure 2.1).[49] Meanwhile, Paraguay was painted by its opponents by as a nation of uncivilized, savage natives. Alfredo d'Escragnolle Tauney, a military officer turned writer who authored the libretto of Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* published his memoir of the

[47] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 77-78.
[48] Quote from André Rebouças in his 29 April 1870 diary entry. Cited in Barman, *Citizen Emperor,* 230.
[49] See the Guarani-language newspaper articles "Lambaré kuatia ñe'ê" and "Los camba." Cited and translated in Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 74.

Paraguayan war in which he described the Paraguayan soldiers he confronted.[50] While at times praising their fierceness and loyalty, he often described them as "cruel," "savage," and "cowardly" soldiers who tortured their enemies and burned them alive.[51] Paraguayans were rendered as "primitive" and "backwards"; the poverty and desolation of postwar Paraguay was attributed not to years of war but to their embracing of (contemporary) indigenous cultures. As Guzmán notes, the racial rhetoric that characterized the war made Brazilians self-conscious of the racial makeup of their nation.[52] This explicit anti-blackness and anti-indigenousness within Brazilian society would lead to the modernizing and "whitening" (i.e., *branqueamento*) policies that became prevalent in the late 1880s.[53] However, the racialization seen in the wake of the war led many Brazilian elites to consider the question of race in the 1870s, providing fertile context for their racialized reading of Gomes' opera.[54]

[50] Tauney was stationed in the Southern State of Matto Grosso (bordering Paraguay) during the war and documented his experiences and encounters during his time as an army officer. He published his memoires as *A retirada de Laguna* (originally called *La retraite de Laguna)* in 1872.

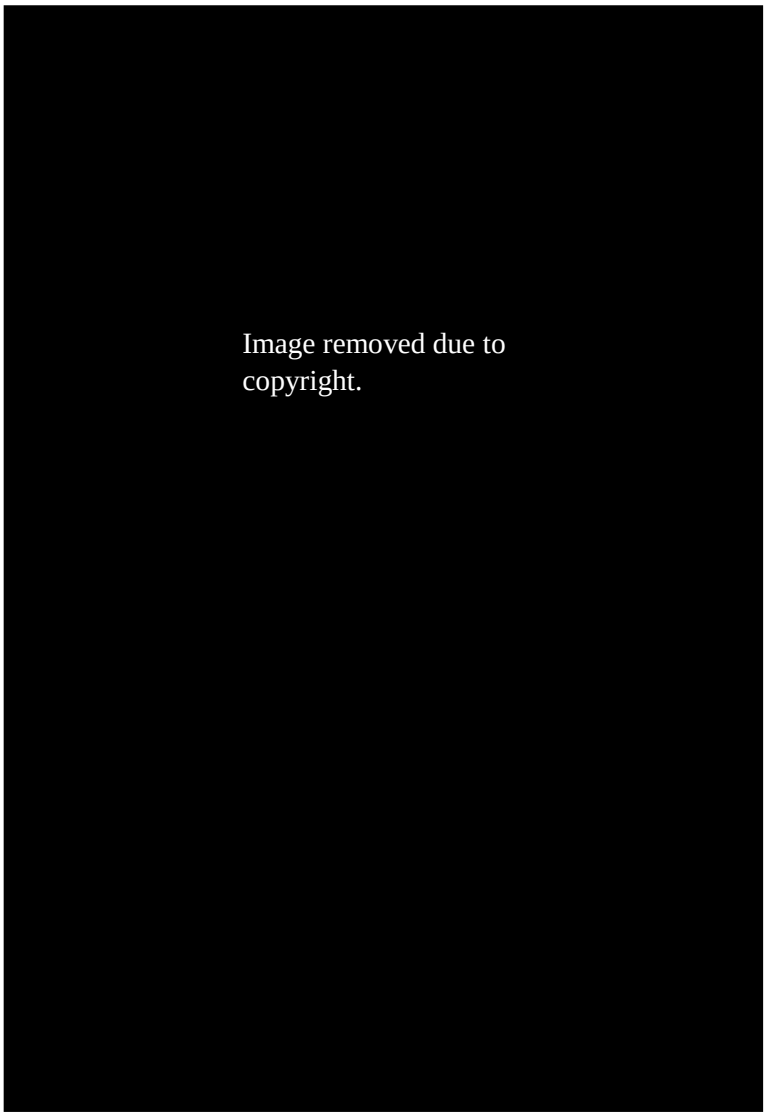
[51] Tauney describes the way that Paraguayan soldiers would scour battlefields after rounding up and executing wounded Brazilian soldiers and stealing their clothes and uniforms. Further, Tauney's memoire includes a detailed recollection of an incident in which Paraguayans killed the Brazilian victims of a mass cholera outbreak while they were unarmed, incapacitated, and begging for mercy. Tauney's memoire, as I show here, contributes to the racialization of the Paraguay nation as "indigenous" and therefore "savage" and "uncivilized." See: Alfredo d'Escragnolle Tauney, *A retiradaa da Laguna,* esp. 20, 32, 50, and 55.

[52] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 74-75.

[53] For more one *branqueamento* and racial thought in the 1880s, as well as a discussion of Gomes' music within that context, see Chapter 3.

[54] The racialized sentiment and racial thought that saw as its genesis the Paraguayan War led to the *pensamento social brasileiro*—"Brazilian social though"—that was promulgated by the intellectuals of the Recife School, or the "geração de 70" ("70s generation"). These intellectuals—writers such as Francisco Gobineau and Silvio Romero—began to explore question's regarding Brazilian nationalism, Brazil's place on the world stage (or peripheries), and, of course, Brazils racial makeup. Though these works, written and published in the mid- to late-1870s and throughout the 1880s, were predated by Il Guarany's premiere, the dawn of the *questão social* ("social question") had an undeniable influence on the political and social climate in which the opera was received. See: Maria Aparecida Rezende Mota, "A geração de 70 e a invenção simbólica do Brasil," *Anais do Congresso XXVII do Simpósio Nacional de História—Conhecimento Histórico e Dialogo Social*, pg. 1-17 (Natal, RN: 2013), 1, 10-11.

Figure 2.1. *Cabichuí* newspaper, Asunción, Paragauay,14 November 1867.[55]



The intense patriotic sentiment produced by the end of the war, in tandem with the newly racialized thinking of the Brazilian elite, worked to propel Brazil into a newly reinvigorated search for the "Brazilian Self," to borrow a term from critical theory.[56] It is within this search—one

[55] *Cabichuí* newspaper dated 14 November 1867. See in Colección Cabichuí del N.56 al N. 95, Hermeroteca Digital de Paraguay. The newspaper depicts a Black Brazilian surrounded by flies.

[56] I borrow my discussion of the "Brazilian Self" from Leonora Saavedra's dissertation on Mexican art music after the revolution (2001). There, she discusses rhetorical constructions of the "Mexican Self" and the "Mexican Other" in music, referring to the ways in which composers defined the portions of Mexico and Mexican history that they were claiming in *mexicanidad* (Mexicanness), and those that they were not. My discussion of the "Brazilian Self" and the "Brazilian Other" will follow along similar lines. See: Leonora Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others:

necessitated by the nation-building project—that the imagined "Brazilianness" constructed by *Il Guarany* in Brazil can be situated. Here, a discussion of the critical theory implicated by the processes of defining nation and nation-ness—in this case, "Brazilianness"—will prove useful in understanding *Il Guarany's* importance within this political and social climate. I propose two terms by which we can better understand the "Brazlianness" presented by the opera in Brazil: the "Brazilian Self" and the "Brazilian Other." These terms are similar to the "Self" and "Other" frequently discussed by critical theorists such as John MacGowan.[57] However, the "Brazilian Self" and "Other," though also dialectically opposed, both occur in the same context: Brazil. In the rhetorical discourse surrounding these new terms, then, Brazil carefully defined which aspects of Brazilian history and identity were being claimed as part of "Brazilianness" (the "Brazilian Self") and which were being left out of "Brazilianness" (the "Brazilian Other").

This process of defining the "Self" and "Other" necessitates a strategic antagonization of the two identities—the "Other" must be constructed in such a way that it opposes the "Self," such that the "Self" can exist separate from the "Other." This is an important part of the nation-building process, as the idea of the nation (and by extension, of nation-ness) revolves around an identity articulated as the "Self." Regarding this construction of a national identity, Léopold Sédar Senghor argues that the "Self" is predicated on a complete rejection of the "Other":

> The withdrawal upon oneself is the necessary moment of a historical movement: the refusal of others, the refusal to be assimilated, to be lost in the others. But because this movement is historical it is at the same time dialectic. The refusal of the other is the affirmation of the self.[58]

Historiography, Ideology, and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music," Ph.D. Diss (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh, 2001).

[57] See MacGowan, *Postmodernism,* for example.

[58] Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Rapport Sur La Doctrine et la Propagande Du Parti* (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1965), 122.

Senghor writes within the context of African liberation movement, himself a Franco-African post-colonial theorist from Senegal and avowed African Socialist.[59] Nonetheless, his ideas are relevant to our discussion of Brazil, a country that itself was in a post-colonial building phase in which elites sought to contract and define the essence of the nation: "Brazilianness." Senghor's conclusion, that the "refusal of the other is the affirmation of the self," rings true for the Brazilian concept of nation as well, as the affirmation of "Brazil" was, in part, based upon a relational rhetoric in which the "not-Brazil" was defined as being separate from the nation.

Senghor's discussion introduces an important concept for the present analysis of *Il Guarany:* antagonism. In their seminal work *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (1985), Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe reexamine Marxist theory through lenses of post-structuralism, particularly that of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony.[60] Gramsci, an Italian Communist, theorized hegemony in plainly Marxist terms. Thus, the antagonisms that he discussed were those that emerged within the context of class-struggle, when the proletariat was placed at odds with the political and economic bourgeoisie. He writes: "Reality is the deep and bottomless abyss that capitalism has dug between proletariat and bourgeoisie and the ever-growing antagonism between the two classes."[61] For Gramsci, hegemony—dominance of one social group over others—was built upon these class-based antagonisms, the dialectic between the bourgeois and the proletariat. Similarly, Laclau and Mouffe posit hegemony as a function of

[59] Senghor was one of the founders of the Négritude Movement. This movement, drawing from socialist and Marxist ideals, rose to prominence in the 1930s and offered a critique of colonialism, simultaneously calling for a unique Pan-African identity among all people of African descent. The ideology and movement stressed a uniquely diasporic orientation in which African-descendant communities were rhetorically connected by the shared experiences of Blackness (Négritude). See, for example: David Murphy, "Birth of a Nation? The Origins of Senegalese Literature in French," *Research in African Literature* 39/1 (2008): 48–69.

[60] See Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso Books, 1985), esp. 93-149.

[61] Antonio Gramsci, *History, Philosophy and Culture in the young Gramsci,* ed, P. Cavalcanti and P. Piccone (Saint Louis: Telos Press, 1975), 134.

antagonisms. They argue that in democratic societies antagonistic relationships are not erased but sustained—new political ideas and identities are constantly being debated.[62] This discussion is rooted in their understanding of subjectivity, one that they define in a way that is not dissimilar to the idea of "Self" and "Other." They write:

> But in the case of antagonism, we are confronted with a different situation: the presence of the 'Other' prevents me from being totally myself. The relation arises not from full totalities, but from the impossibility of their constitution. The presence of the 'Other' is not a logical impossibility: it exists; so it is not a contradiction. But neither is it subsumable as a positive differential moment in a causal chain, for in that case the relation would be given by what each force is and there would be no negation of this meaning.[63]

That is, the presence of something other than the "Self"—the "Other"—renders one's own sense of self, vulnerable and precarious, something to be questioned. For Laclau and Mouffe, the "Self" and "Other" dialectic, then, is essential to both one's very own sense of subjectivity and to the creation of political hegemonies. This conceptualization of hegemonies, in tandem with the "Self" and "Other" dichotomies discussed by Senghor, provide a basis for understanding the Brazilian nation-building project and the conflict of the Paraguayan War. The nation-building project, after all, was one in which the Brazilian elite sought not only to define their new nation, but to consolidate a political hegemony, one that aligned with their notion of "Brazilianness" (i.e., white and male). Thus, it is a political climate in which frontiers between the "Self" and "Other" were constantly being drawn and debated. Seen in the rhetoric surrounding the Paraguayan War, ideologically-constructed antagonisms were at the base of "Brazilianness." While, at its center, the war was a conflict between Brazil and Paraguay (and other belligerent nations), popular rhetoric

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[62] Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy,* 121-124. See also: Ernesto Laclau, *Emancipation(s)* (London: Verso Books, 1996), esp. 36-47.

[63] *Ibid,* 125. For a discussion of Laclau and Mouffe's concept of antagonism within the Latin American context, see: Mariano Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires: Global Modernity and World Literature in Latin America* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014), esp. 103-140.

made it out to be a conflict between races—African descent and indigeneity were pitted against one another.

Obviously, the war was not between Blacks and indigenous peoples, but between two countries. However, these rhetorical abstractions, those that reduced the conflict to a racial one, served to invigorate racial antagonisms that would inform the Brazilian elite's search for "Brazilianness." I argue that the dialectic between the "Brazilian Self" and "Brazilian Other emerged in the wake of such racial antagonizations. That is, in defining "Brazilianness," the "Brazilian Self" had to be constructed in opposition to the "Brazilian Other."[64] This climate of antagonization and dialectic opposition provides the analytical framework through which *Il Guarany* is examined here. An opera that was received and continues to be viewed as a marker of "Brazilianness," *Il Guarany* exemplifies the rhetorical construction of diametrically opposed identities that are used to define a particular notion of nationhood.

"Selvaggi" e "*Cristiano"*: Musical Antagonisms and Constructions of Brazilian Indigeneity

As evidenced by the literary trend of *indianismo,* Brazil's indigenous past was an important pillar upon which Brazilian identity—and the very notion of Brazil, more broadly—was based. The ideology posited indigenous peoples as one-half of the roots of contemporary Brazil, the other being Portuguese colonists. Alencar's novel, for example, used the Pery figure, himself one-half of the "founding couple," to represent the indigenous past that would have a place in contemporary "Brazilianness." Writers like Alencar, however, were not the only intellectuals to consider

[64] A note for clarification: My proposed dialectic between the "Brazilian Self" and the "Brazilian Other" takes after Jacques Lacan's theory of subjectivity, in which he proposes subjectivity to be irredeemably incomplete and decentered. Because of this, Lacan argues that subjectivity is inherently a process of self-identification, one that involves the constant defining of "Self" and "Other." This is the theory of subjectivity upon which Laclau and Mouffe build their discussion of antagonisms. For an explication of Lacan, see: Dylan Evans, *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* (London: Routledge, 1996), 195.

indigeneity as core element of "Brazilianness." Early Brazilian historiography demonstrated a similar interest in the Brazilian Indian and his role in the development of the nation. Capistrano de Abreu, an early historian of colonial Brazil, is perhaps one of the most effective examples of an intellectual who focused his interests on the *questão índio* ("the Indian question").[65] Abreu's historiographical argument hypothesized miscegenation between the indigenous peoples and the Portuguese as the root of Brazil's supposedly great social and economic ability.[66] This interest in Brazil's indigenous past, exemplified both by literature and historiography in the 19th century, resulted in what David T. Haberty called "Indian Fever."[67]

It should come at no surprise, then, that Gomes' "Brazilianness," as constructed by *Il Guarany,* was similarly built upon an indigenous past. In basing his opera upon Alencar's *O Guaraní,* Gomes offered listeners the same formula for "Brazilianness" that was proposed by *indianismo:* Brazil, and thus "Brazilianness," comes from a mixture of one-half Portuguese and one-half Indian. The anti-Blackness seen in the War would explain the lack of an African contribution with *indianismo's* Brazilian identity. While this may initially seem like a simple explanation for contemporary Brazil, it demands a closer interpretation, especially with regards to indigeneity's place within "Brazilianess." In defining the Brazilian Indian's place within his imagined conceptualization of Brazil, Gomes took part in a negotiation of the "Brazilian Self" and the "Brazilian Other." In particular, he created a dichotomy between two opposing indigeneities, one that would found Brazil (and thus have a place in "Brazilianness") and one that would remain left behind as Brazil's "savage" past.

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[65] For an example of de Abreu's seminal work, see for example: Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos de História Colonial (1500-1800),* 4th. ed. revised and annotated by Jose Honorio Rodriques (Rio de Janeiro: Briguiet, 1954).
[66] Katherine Fringer, "The Contribution of Capistrano de Abreu to Brazilian Historiography," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 13/2 (1971):258-259.
[67] Haberty, *Three sad races,* 16.

The opera presents a number of different indigenous characters to a Brazilian audience composed primarily of societal elite—they would, for the most part, have had little to no contact with actual indigenous communities. In the same way that Gomes' presentation of "Brazil" to Italian audiences built upon an ideologically driven view of the "Other" (Brazil and the Americas), Gomes' presentation of indigeneity to a Brazil elite built upon their imagined notions of Brazilian Indians. While Pery is depicted as a friend of the Portuguese colonists—and thus in line with European interests—the Aimoré are their enemies. The Aimoré, then, serve as the antagonized "Brazilian Other" against which the "Brazilian Self," exemplified by Pery, can be built. Gomes builds a binary between the "*cristiano"* ("Christian") indigenous identity, represented in the converted Pery, and the *"selvaggi"* ("savage") Aimoré who are placed at odds with him.[68]

I propose the dialectic of "tamed" and "untamed" to refer to Gomes' characterization of the two opposing indigeneities. Pery, who accepts European influence and converts to Christianity, is the "tamed" part of this dialectic, whereas the Aimoré, resistant to European influence, compose the "untamed" portion of the dialectic.[69] Gomes' rhetorical construction of these different indigeneities is not only based on Alencar's novel, but also informed by historical discourses. As David Brookshaw points out, the tribes that presented the most resistance to Portuguese colonialism, such as the Aimoré, become archetypal symbols throughout Brazilian art and literature, representing the antithesis to European notions of civility.[70] Gomes' portrayal of the Aimoré, especially when considered in tandem to his constructed Pery character, conforms to this

[68] At various points in libretto, the word "*selvaggi"* is used to refer to the Aimoré. Initially, the word is used to refer to Pery, until his conversion when he begins to be referred to as a "*cristiano."* See Gomes and Scalvini, *Il Guarany.*
[69] My discussion of "tamed vs. untamed" builds slightly off of Tracy Devine Guzmán's discussion of "Cannibals vs. Christians." However, my proposed dialectic refers to *Il Guarany's* musical, dramatic, and visual characterization of indigneity, whereas hers refers to the contested ideas of indigeneity that are used to construct indigeneity by Carlos Gomes and then by modernist Oswaldo de Andrade. See: Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil*, 93.
[70] David Brookshaw, *Paradise Betrayed: Brazilian Literature of the Indian* (Amsterdam: Centrum voor Studie en Documentatie van Latijns Amerika (CEDLA), Latin American Studies, 47, 1988), 6.

archetypal reduction, one that reduces them to "primitivity" and renders them unilaterally as "*selvaggi.*" The "tamed vs. untamed" opposition corresponds to Gomes' negotiation of the "Brazilian Self and Other"—the "tamed" natives become part of the "Brazilian Self," whereas the "untamed" natives are "Others" and therefore excluded from the opera's imagined "Brazilianness." Throughout the opera, Gomes' dramatic, musical, and visual characterizations of the two indigeneities facilitate his reification of the "tamed vs. untamed" dialectic and informs his construction of "Brazilianess."

Il Guarany's libretto uses dramatic context to paint the two indigeneities in opposing lights. As discussed in Chapter 1, the Aimoré are rendered in a way that emphasizes their "savage" and "primitive" qualities—they kidnap Cecilia and Pery and sing of the ritual. Pery, however, is described using language that highlights his proximity to Europe and "Europeanness." In his duet with Cecilia in Act I, for example, he is portrayed in a way that is evocative of the gentlemanly chivalry implicated in European discourses surrounding "civility." He speaks in a manner that resembles the way Portuguese and the Spanish characters speak, and frequently refers to himself as "loyal" and a "great friend" of Don Antonio and the Portuguese.[71]

In addition to being portrayed as in line with European civility, Pery is rendered as an ideal, or, "tamed" Indian, one that is receptive to European influences and ideas. In being "tamed," Pery is submissive and open to European manipulations of his indigenous identity—he happily accepts Christianity. In approaching Cecilia during their duet, he sings: "Gentle one, I am but a humble slave, and fate renders me unworthy even to cross thy threshold,"[72] referring to himself as a

[71] In Act I Scene 1, for example, Pery sings: "Pery, in their native language, the heroic people of Guarany call me of kingly race. Danger there is none that Pery dare not meet….And a true friend [of the Portuguese] I am." ["Pery m'appella in sua favela l'eroico popolo dei Guarany. Di regi figlio, non v'há periglio che srretrar pávido vegga Pery....E um vero amico io sono!"] Gomes and Scalvini, *Il Guarany,* Act I Scene 3. Translation by author.
[72] "Un umile schiavo, o gentil, son io; ne di calcar tue soglie degno mi fèa la sorte."*Ibid,* Act I Scene 5. Translation by author.

"humble slave," i.e., submissive, malleable, and under the control of Cecilia and her father. Pery's readiness to refer to himself in such a way is perhaps a foreshadowing of his willingness to renounce his indigenous identity in Act IV of the opera. Even before then, Pery expresses his willingness to give up his very identity in order to protect Cecilia. Once again asserting his submission to Cecilia, whom he is essentially worshipping, Pery sings: "Trust in me, fair virgin, and in my everlasting plight. Gods, people, and country, all I forsake for thee."[73] Here, his "everlasting plight" might be in reference to his desire to protect (and worship) Cecilia, to whom he has now pledged his life. Pery, rendered now as the epitome of submission to Europe, exemplified the "tamed" indigeneity that forms the "Brazilian Self" in *Il Guarany's* construction of "Brazilianness."

Throughout the libretto, Pery is rhetorically pitted against the Aimoré in a way that explicitly reinforces the "tamed" and "untamed" dialectic under which Gomes' is composing. When, in Act I, Don Antonio is explaining Cecilia's attempted kidnapping to Alavaro and his men, he sings: "[Cecilia was almost abducted] by hidden savages; and their prey she would have been had he not by manly strength snatched her from impious hands."[74] This line's use of language is particularly revealing of Gomes' treatment of indigeneity. Gomes and Scalvini refer to the Aimoré as "*selvaggi"* ("savages") in contrast to Pery, who is said to have "*forza virile"* ("manly strength"). While both Pery and the Aimoré are indigenous, one is characterized as "savage"—and thus "untamed"—while the other is praised for virility and masculinity. The latter, Pery, will go on to claim a place in *Il Guarany's* constructed "Brazilianness," while the Aimoré will be eclipsed (and killed off) in Brazil's national story.

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[73] "A me t' affida, o vergine, Eterna è l amia fè! Numi, parenti, pátria, tutto obliai per te." Gomes and Scalvini, *Il Guarany,* Act I Scene 5. Translation by author.

[74] "Da selvaggi nascoti e preda loro l'infelice saria, se svelta a forza Dall' empie mani ei non l'avesse."*Ibid,* Act I Scene 2. Translation by author.

Further, Pery's own discourse regarding the Aimoré strengthens the division between the two indigeneities and Gomes' antagonization of the "untamed," "Brazilian Other." In a particularly striking line, when Don Antonio asks Pery what he knows of the Aimoré, he responds: "The Indians lie quietly encamped, perhaps seeking terrible vengeance."[75] Again, the libretto's language creates an important distinction between the two groups. First, Pery further antagonizes the Aimoré by referring to the "terrible vengeance" that they hope to inflict on the Portuguese. Additionally, by referring to them as "the Indians," Pery removes himself from that very group of indigenous individuals. In doing this, he further draws a distinction between himself and the Aimoré and foreshadows the renunciation of his indigeneity. In plain terms, Pery is announcing his aversion to indigeneity in this scene, claiming that he is separate from "the Indians" the he antagonizes. This portion of the libretto significantly reinforces Gomes' "tamed" vs. "untamed" dialectic and is reflective of his notion of imagined "Brazilianness," one in which the "tamed" Indian that founds Brazil is not only submissive and receptive to European influences, but antagonistic to his own position as an indigenous Brazilian.

The musical material used to characterize the two indigenous groups further divides Pery from the Aimoré. As discussed in Chapter 1, the Aimoré are musically represented such that they evoke notions of primitivist music. The Aimoré chorus in Act III exemplifies this—they sing repetitive rhythms or simple harmonies, but with abrasive timbres and dynamics (see Examples 1.2a, 1.2b, 1.3, and 1.4). These musical gestures, along with the dramatic context in which the Aimoré are portrayed, primitivize them and reduce them to "savages." When placed in contrast to Pery, the Aimoré are clearly functioning as the "untamed" indigeneity in Brazil's national story, one that Gomes presents as the "Brazilian Other."

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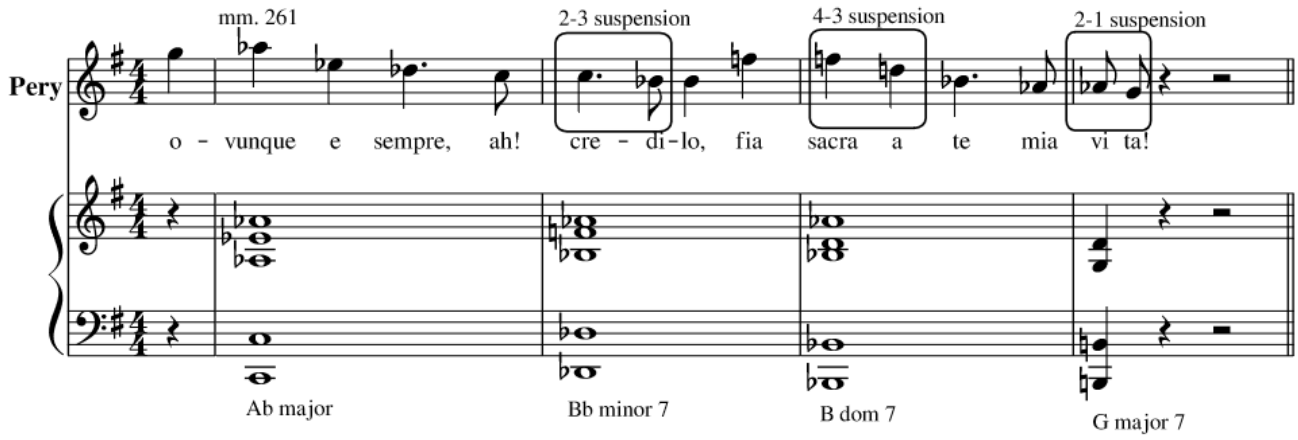
[75] "Tace accampato l'indiano, e forse cova vendette atroci." Gomes and Scalvini, *Il Guarany,* Act I Scene 3. Translation by author.

While the musical material reduces the Aimoré to a "collective primitivity," firmly placing them within the "Brazilian Other," Pery is presented alongside musical markers of "Europeanness." His arias and duets with Cecilia, for example, are reminiscent of Verdi's compositional style. Many of these passages also make use of European musical structures like waltzes, ostensible references to European musical culture. Pery and Cecilia's duet in Act I, labelled by Gomes as "*sento una forza indomita"* ("I feel an indominable force"), provides a clear example of the Italianate characterization of Pery. In contrast to the repetitive harmonies and melodies used in the Aimoré chorus, Pery's singing is accompanied by careful harmonic development. His vocal lines, instead of being hurried repetitions on a single note, develop more melodically, as seen in Example 2.1. In this portion of the duet, Pery sings a slow descending line, marked by Gomes as *a piacere* ("at pleasure").[76] Pery, then, is free to interpret the descending line as he wishes, not bound to follow the exact rhythms. This creates a flowing, melodic feel that is ostensibly at odds with the strict rhythmic lines of the Aimoré chorus. The harmonic material also stands in opposition to the Aimoré's harmonic accompaniment, which typically tends to be restricted to one or two harmonies. Instead, Pery sings his four-line phrase over a constantly moving harmony—the accompaniment moves from an A-flat major triad to a B-flat minor seventh chord, then to a B dominant seventh chord, and finally to a G major triad. Each harmonic change is marked by a suspended tone, creating a brief sense of dissonance followed by a resolution. For example, over the B dominant seventh, the F (the sharp fourth) is suspended, but resolves to a D (the third). This persistent chord motion, in tandem with Gomes' use of suspensions and the *a piacere* marking, function to set Pery apart from the Aimoré, rendereding him as more in line with the complex, "civilized" music styles of Europe while the Aimoré music is "primitive." Thus, the

[76] See original manuscript for *Il Guarany,* "Partitura de *Il Guarany* Atto 1º," in Coleção Carlos Gomes, Serie Partituras, in the Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, BR.

"Brazilian Self" represented by Pery is depicted as European and Italianate, the Aimoré serving as the foiled "Brazilian Other" against which *Il Guarany's* "Brazilianness" can be defined.

Example 2.1. Gomes' *Il Guarany*, "*E ovunque e sempre, ah!"* (Act I Scene 5).



The duet scene between Cecilia and Pery excerpted above is one of the staple scenes in the opera, as it presents the first explicit love scene between the two. The *Scene e Duetto* (Act I Scene 5), then, provides a fertile basis for examining Gomes' musical construction of the indigenous Pery, representative of the "Brazilian Self" presented to his audience. As a number of scholars have noted, the opera closely follows the conventions of the typical Italian Grand Opera.[77] However, the *Scena e Duetto* in *Il Guarany* deviates slightly from the typical operatic duet in that it does not feature a *cabaletta* (see Table 2.1). According to Harold Powers, duet scenes in the Italian operatic tradition follow a structural convention that he termed the "solita forma": they contain an introduction, *tempo d'attaco, cantabile, tempo di mezzo,* and a *cabaletta.*[78] While these

[77] See, for example: Nicolaisen, *Italian Opera in Transition*, 13-14.
[78] Harold Powers, "La solita forma and The Uses of Convention," *Acta Musicologica* 59(1987): 65.

components are in no way a rigid practice, Powers asserts that they are paradigmatic elements in the compositions of nearly all Italian opera composers, from Puccini to Verdi.[79]

Table 2.1. Form and Structure of *Scene e Duetto,* Gomes' *Il Guarany* (Act I Scene 5).

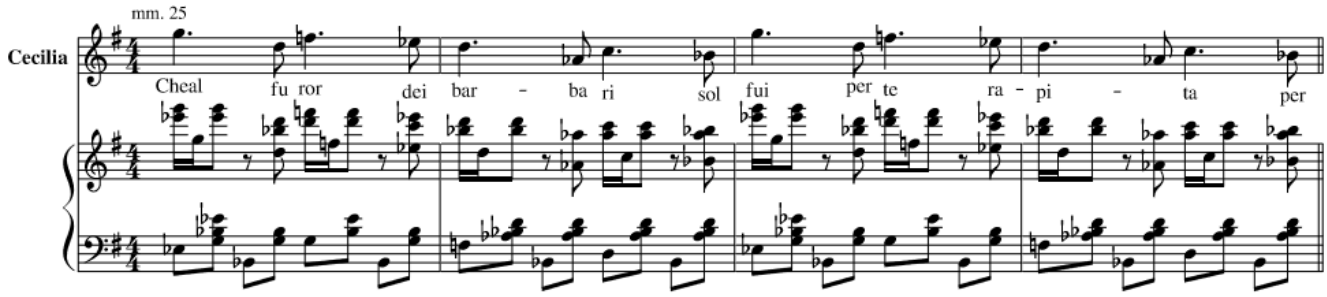
Characters	Verse	Formal Structure	Key Center	Time Signature	Length (mm.)
Pery	*Pery?/Che brami?* (P+C)	Intro/Scene	C maj	4/4 and 3/4	18
Cecilia	*Ah, che dici?* (C)	Tempo d'attaco	G maj	4/4	40
	Sento una forza indomita (P)	Cantabile	G maj	3/4	40
	Lo sguardo suo si vivido (C)		C maj	4/4	50
	Ma deh! che a me non		E maj	4/4	34
	tolgasi (C)		E maj	3/4	18
	Or vanne / Addio (C+C)	Tempo di mezzo	E maj	4/4	15
	Instrumental				

While scholars have attributed Gomes' omission of the *cabaletta* to his desire to move away from the operatic style of Italian composers,[80] they overlook the fact that the *cabaletta* had been outdated since the 1850s.[81] Gomes, then, follows his contemporaries such as Verdi in showing a preoccupation with dramatic development over strict form. He does not completely abandon the *cabaletta,* but rather incorporates its distinct rhythmic features into places where it makes sense dramatically. For example, during Cecilia's response to Pery (in the *cantabile*), the vocal lines are accompanied by rhythmic figures typical of a *cabaletta* (Example 2.2). These rhythmic pattern features a syncopated sixteenth and eighth-note pattern in the upper voices while the lower voices play eighth notes that place the root on the downbeat and the rest of the chord on the upbeat. I would argue, then, that Gomes modified the typical formula of the *Scene e Duetto*—in the same way his Italian contemporaries did—not to move away from Italian structures, as some have suggested, but rather to align himself with the latest developments in Italian opera. In a letter

[79] Powers, "La solita forma," 65-66.
[80] See, for example: Lauro M. Coelho, *A Ópera Italiana Após 1870* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2002), 45.
[81] David Kimbell, *Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 551.

to d'Ormeville, Gomes even discussed the *Scene e Duetto* in terms of Verdi and Meyerbeer, placing his composition (and his use of the *cabaletta*) within European trends: "I think that not Verdi nor Meyerbeer ever wrote such a furious cabaletta."[82] Pery's scene then, is a clear reference to "Europeanness"—he couches his development of the Pery figure within a completely Italianate musical setting, one that renders the indigeneity represented by Pery as quasi-European. Thus, the "Brazilianness" constructed through Gomes' opera is one in which the "Brazilian Self" (Pery) is characterized as in line with Europe, while the "Brazilian Other" (the Aimoré) are posited as antithetical to it.

Example 2.2. Gomes' *Il Guarany,* "*Che al furor…"* (Act I Scene 5).



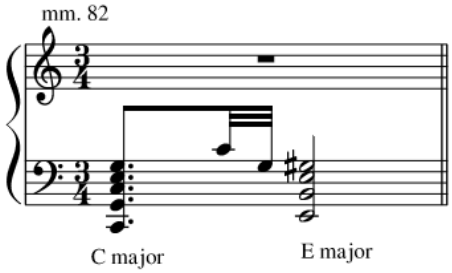
The original overture of the opera also functions to musically juxtapose the Pery and Aimoré characters—Gomes introduces the various themes associated with Pery, the Cacique, and the Cacique's war cry.[83] João Itiberê da Cunha has identified each of these themes in the overture and traces their reoccurrence throughout the opera, noting their uses as markers for entrances and

[82] "parece-me que nem Verdi nem Meyerbeer jamais escreveram uma cabaletta tão furiosa." [Mi sembra soltanto che ne Verdi ne Meyerbeer abbia mai scritto uma cabaletta cosi furiosa!"] Letter from Carlos Gomes to Carlos d'Ormeville, dated 24 September 1869, cited in Gaspare Nello Vetro, *Antonio Carlos Gomes, Carteggi Italiani II* (Brasília: Thesaurus Editora, 1998). Translation by author.

[83] The famous Protofonia for which *Il Guarany* is known today was not written by the time it premiered in Milan or in Rio. For that reason, I use the original version of the overture—sometimes referred to as the Prelude—for my analysis here. See original manuscript for *Il Guarany,* "Partitura de *Il Guarany* Atto 1º," in Coleção Carlos Gomes, Serie Partituras, in the Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, BR. See also, Itiberê da Cunha, "Il Guarany," 137.

important references to characters.[84] Pery's "leitmotif", as da Cunha calls it, appearing here as a simple harmonic progression in the lower instruments of the orchestra, is marked by a somewhat unusual relationship between its two chords (see Example 2.3a). The theme begins on a C major triad and moves to E major. Though not closely related keys, the two chords share a common tone—the E—making them chromatic mediants with parsimonious voice-leading. This chordal relationship was common throughout Romantic repertoire,[85] making its use here, in characterizing Pery, a reference to "Europeanness."

Example 2.3a. Gomes' *Il Guarany,* Pery's theme (Overture).

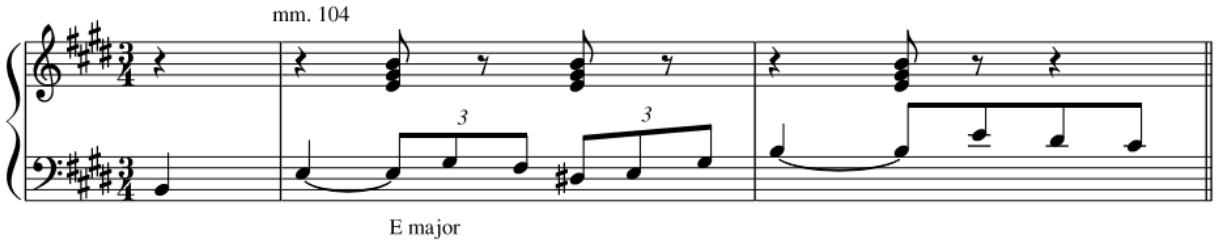


Pery's "Europeanness" becomes especially clear when considered alongside the "Cacique leitmotifs," which are harmonically static and rhythmically repetitive. In the Cacique theme identified by da Cunha, all pitches are diatonic—the upper voices play a repeated E major triad while the lower voices play a moving line that stays within the key of E (see Example 2.3b). Immediately following the Cacique theme is the war cry (see Example 2.3c). This leifmotif, described both as "primitive" and a "beautiful passionate moment" by da Cunha,[86] moves

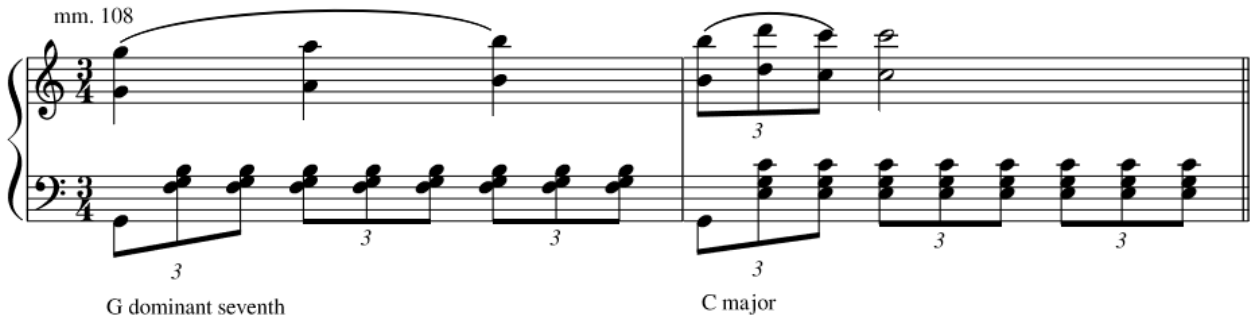
[84] Itiberê da Cunha, "Il Guarany," 137-138.
[85] Bruce Benward and Marilyn Saker, *Music in Theory and Practice, Vol II* (New York: Mc-Graw Hill, 2008), 201-204.
[86] Da Cunha writes that the war cry is "*primitivo"* ('primitive"), but also represents "*um belo ímpeto de paixão"* ("a beuatiful passionate moment"). Given that da Cunha was writing in the 1930s, his reference to the music as "primitive," especially considering that he is Brazilian and writing about the opera from a Brazilian nationalist perspective, is revealing of the effect Gomes' musical characterization of the Aimoré had and how it was received by a Brazilian audience. See: Itiberê da Cunha, "Il Guarany," 138.

harmonically between a G dominant and a C major triad (a V-I relation). Over these commonplace chords, the bass voices present repeated triplets, the repetition a reference to "primitivity" that gets developed in the Aimoré material in Act III. While Pery's theme is composed as Italianate and evocative of "Europeanness," the music Gomes used for the Aimoré does quite the opposite—the repetitive and harmonically simple material representative of the "savage" Indians positions them as "non-European," or "Other." The "Brazilian Self" that Pery embodies, then, becomes one that is situated within a European discourse: he is presented as quasi-European, even characterized by Europeanate musical material. As Pery becomes whiter and more European in this sense, the "Brazilianness" constructed by the mixed-race couple itself becomes progressively whiter and more conflated with Europe. Meanwhile, the indigenous past that is excluded from the "Brazilianness," the obviously non-European Aimoré, are further rendered as the "Brazilian Other," that which has no place in contemporary Brazilian identity, nor in Brazilian history.

Example 2.3b. Gomes' *Il Guarany,* Cacique's theme (Overture).



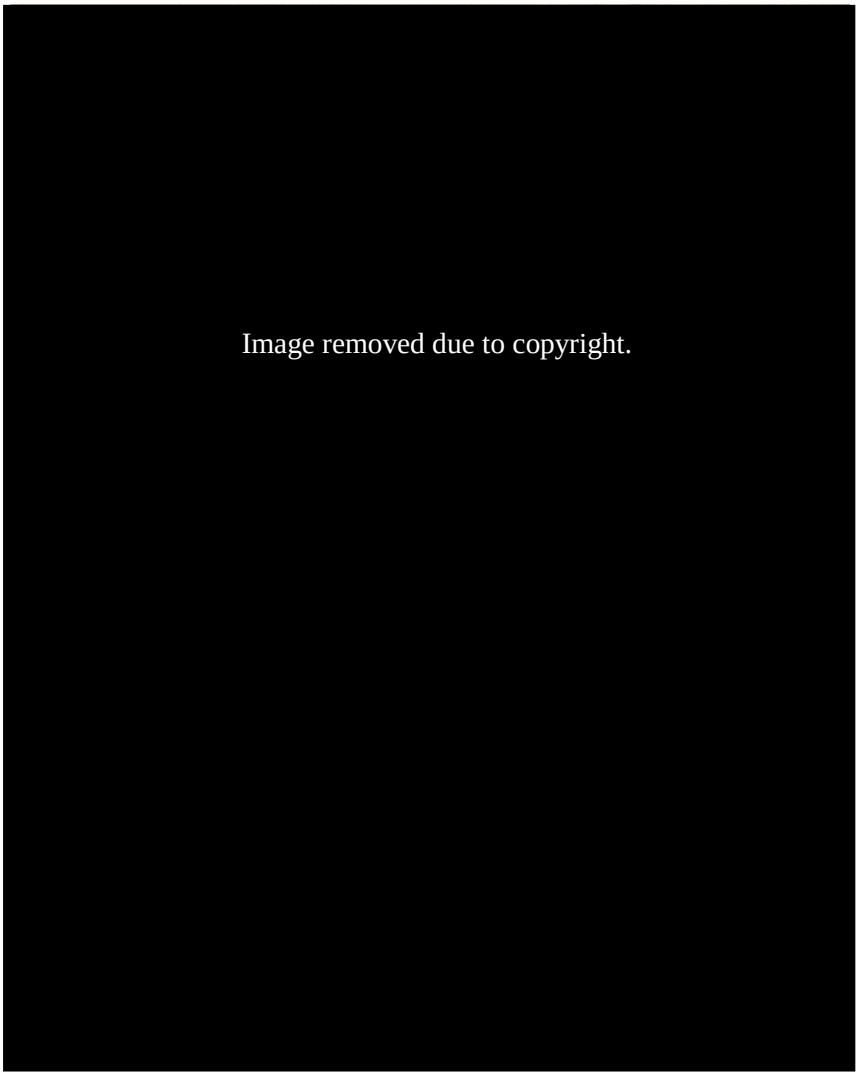
Example 2.3c. Gomes' *Il Guarany,* Cacique's warrior cry (Overture).



Gomes' use of visual material in *Il Guarany* similarly positions the Aimoré antithetically to Pery. While both the Aimoré and Pery are indigenous and, thus, presented in stereotypically "Indian" clothing and costumes, there is a clear distinction between the visual aspects of the two indigeneities. Between 1870 and 1885, Gomes had two small statues made for his home in Milan—he worked with a sculptor to get figures made to represent Pery and the Aimoré Cacique. These statues (pictures in Figure 2.2a and 2.2b) represent the two opposing indigeneities that *Il Guarany* constructed. The Cacique (Figure 2.2a) is wearing indigenous dress—a feather skirt and an animal-skin coat—and is crowned by a feather-laden headdress. He is also adorned with a significant amount of bone jewelry and is armed, seen with a knife at the waist and with a club in-hand. Pery (Figure 3.2b), on the other hand, is depicted as wearing more conservative clothing; he is covered by a cloak that covers his torso and much of his upper legs. Though armed with what appears to be a bow and a quiver of arrows, Pery lacks several of the markers of primitivity that characterized the statue of the Cacique, namely feathers and obscene amounts of bone jewelry. These statues are in line with many of the early performances of *Il Guarany*, where the Aimoré performers were offered far less clothing than Pery was.[87]

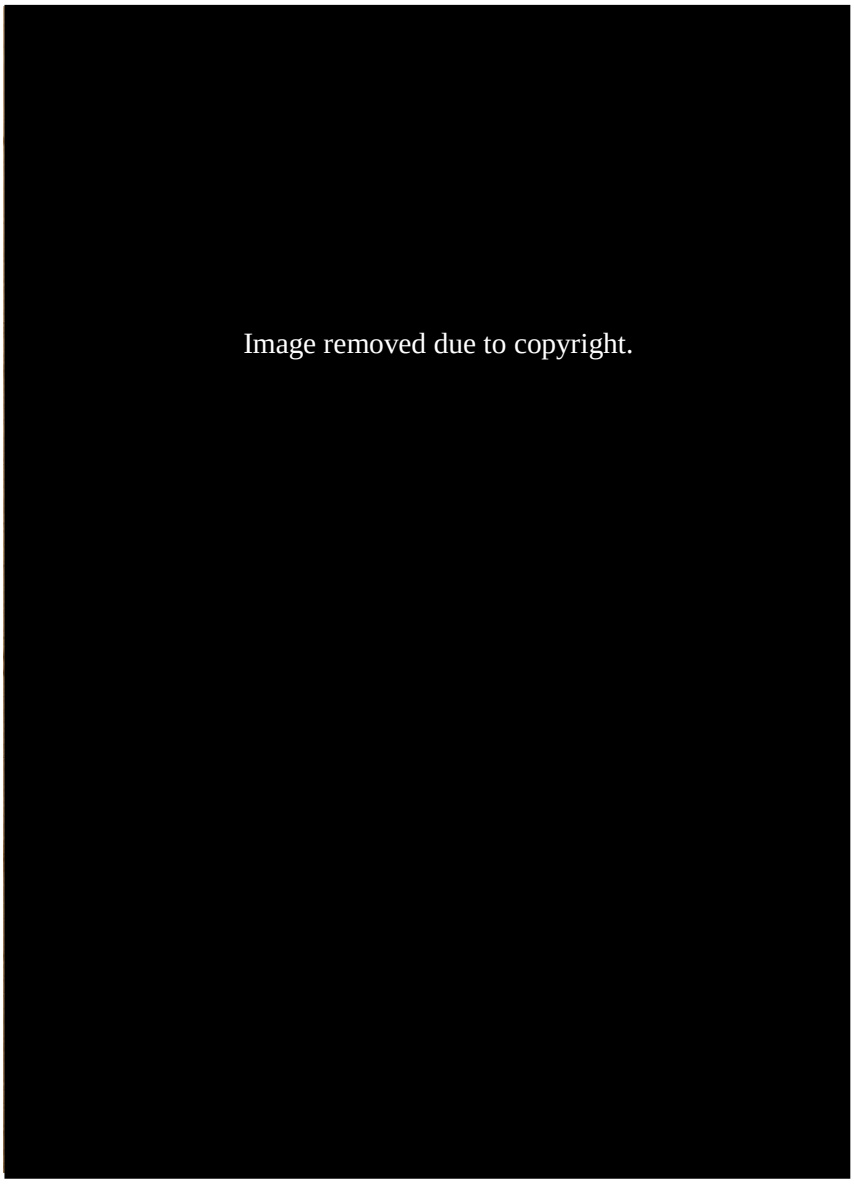
[87] Virmond and Nogueira, "Iconografia e Exotismo," 381.

Figure 2.2a. Statue of the Cacique from *Il Guarany.*[88]



[88] See "Image of the Cacique, *Il Guarany."* Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), Série Iconográfica (CGic), Museu Nacional Histórico in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

Figure 2.2b. Statue of Pery from *Il Guarany.*[89]



The stances of the two figures is also significant (and undoubtedly an intentional artistic choice made by the sculptor). The Cacique is standing defiantly—he has his head and chest raised and appears to be ready to fight, revealing his supposedly aggressive nature. Further, his stance is

[89] See "Image of the Pery, *Il Guarany."* Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), Série Iconográfica (CGic), Museu Nacional Histórico in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

perhaps a reference to his resistance to Portuguese colonialism and, therefore, European influence. In contrast, Pery represents a receptivity to foreign ideals. His statue features him opening his cloak and bearing his chest, evocative of vulnerability. This can be interpreted as him being the "submissive" and "tamed" indigenous figure that accepts Christianity and European influence. While the "untamed" Cacique is insolent and challenging to the European ideological imports, Pery is open to them. In fact, throughout the opera, Pery demonstrates a proclivity towards the Portuguese and an assiduous aversion to the very idea of indigeneity, one that is consistently antagonized. Through dramatic, visual, and musical characterizations of Pery and the Aimoré, Gomes brings the "tamed" and "untamed" dialectic into sharp relief—one portion of Brazil's indigenous past is primitivized and antagonized while the other is idealized, though with a Euro-centric gaze. Thus, although Gomes' "Brazilianness," as constructed in *Il Guarany,* is one that is built on indigenous roots, the opera is careful to dictate exactly which side of the indigenous dichotomy Brazil is claiming as its own.

The "tamed vs. untamed" binary under which Gomes composed defined two oppositional indigeneities, one antithetical to Europe and one receptive to it. The symbolic and climactic finale makes it clear which of these indigneities has a place in "Brazilianness," that which is whitened and Christianized. This racialized reading of the opera was informed in part by the racialized discourse that was espoused by all sides during the Paraguayan War. In keeping with the elite's discourse surrounding Brazil's racial makeup and the *questão indio,* Gomes' "Brazilianness" facilitates an erasure of indigenous identity in favor of a more whitened, European one, represented best by Pery's own denouncing of his Guarany heritage and beliefs and his adoption of European Christianity. This is perhaps reflective of the composer's own dealings with his racial identity—though he proudly touted labels such as "*o selvagem da opera"* ("the savage of the opera") as a

reference to his mixed-race indigenous background, he ended up abandoning Brazil in favor of Milan for most of his life. What we see, both in his *Il Guarany* and in his own life, then, is a harsh dissonance between embracing indigenous roots and modern European sensibilities.

Gomes, Brazil, and Europhilia: Towards a Definition of the "Brazilian Self"

The "Brazilian Self" explored by Gomes in his opera was defined not just in terms of which indigeneity was being claimed as "Brazilian," but also which European identity was being offered a place in "Brazilianness." Besides the fetishized struggle between the Aimoré and the Portuguese (and Pery), the opera also features a conflict between the Spanish "adventurers" and their Portuguese counterparts. In the same way that Gomes' musical, dramatic, and visual characterizations drew distinctions between the two indigenous groups, his characterizations of the Spanish and the Portuguese function to antagonize the first. Thus, while the Portuguese become part of the "Brazilian Self," evidenced perhaps most explicitly by Cecilia's role in the founding couple, the Spanish are placed within the discourse of the "Brazilian Other." Here, we see the dialectic of the "Self" and "Other" once again used to shape notions of "Brazilianness" and define which identities are "Brazilian" and, conversely, which are not.

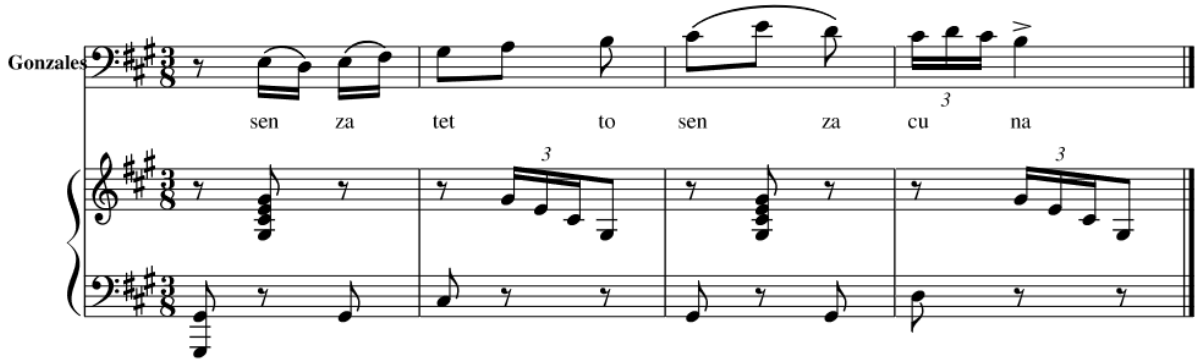
The dramatic developments of the opera inherently pit the Portuguese and the Spaniards against one another—Gonzales and his men plan to betray Don Antonio and abduct Cecilia, eventually teaming up with the Aimoré to attack the Portuguese castle. However, Pery intuits this treachery and confronts the Spaniards. During this confrontation, the opera's libretto vilifies and antagonizes the Spanish characters, who are depicted as merciless and without morals. Even after Gonzales, disarmed by Pery, promises that he will cease his plots against the Portuguese, he does not keep his oath and plans to kill Pery and the Portuguese hidalgo: "I must swear, but I will not

keep my oath; and the promise he exacts my dagger shall cancel. To the will of adverse fate only momentarily will I cede. Then powerful and unexpected on him will I fall."[90] Gonzales and the Spaniards are here positioned antithetically to Pery, who acts with nobility, courage, and honor. In contrast, the Spanish are willing to act dishonorably in order to accomplish their goals and take what they want (Cecilia).

Gonzales' musical material further places him outside of a "Brazilian," or even "Portuguese," sphere of discourse. Composed along the lines of the conventional baritone villain of 19th-century Italian opera, Gonzales is presented with mostly Italianate musical structures, but with exceptions. In the character's theme ("*senza tetto, senza cuna…"*), which appears in Scene 5 of Act II, one can see Gomes' clear attempt to present a lightness and bounce characteristic of a "Spanish style" of music (see Example 2.4). In the theme, the baritone sings a diatonic melody over a C-sharp minor accompaniment. The accompaniment here is marked by alternations between the upper and lower voices, with the lower voices punctuating the stronger, first beat of each measure, creating a lighter and feel. Though this rhythmic and stylistic feature is not actually derivative of any traditionally Spanish-music, it is reminiscent of the "Spanish style" used by Verdi to characterize Ibero-American or Spanish characters in his operas *La Forza del Destino* or *Don Carlo.* Here, we see Gomes' construction of the Spanish identity as predicated upon European (non-Spanish) notions of Spain—he curates his presentation of "Spain" to cater to Italian and Brazilian (since the elite were consumers of Italian opera) visions of "Spanish music."

[90] "Giurar debbo, ma la fede a costui non serberò; la promessa ch' ei mi chiede col pugnale infrangerò. Alla man dell' empio fato sol per poco io cederó. Più potente e inaspettato sovra lui piombar saprò." Gomes and Scalvini, *Il Guarany,* Act II Scene 3. Translation by author.

Example 2.4. Gomes' *Il Guarany*, "*senza tetto, senza cuna…*" (Act II Scene 5).



The opera's musical and dramatic renderings of the Spaniard Gonzales serve to position him as opposite to the Portuguese, or at least place him outside of "Portuguese" or "European" discourse and effectively "Other" him. Thus, the Spanish are antagonized and situated in the "Brazilian Other," while the Portuguese, such as Cecilia, are presented as part of the "Brazilian Self" and therefore claimed as a root of "Brazilianness." While the Spanish-Portuguese conflict is no doubt significant, Gomes' renderings of Pery and the Aimoré allow for a yet more important insight into the opera's construction of the "Brazilian Self." In *Il Guarany's* discourse surrounding its indigenous character, that which is entrenched in a "tamed" and "untamed" dialectic, the indigeneity that is given a place within "Brazilianness" is the one that is continually whitened and characterized as quasi-European. In terms of musical, dramatic, and visual material, Pery is consistently portrayed as being in line with European notions of "civility." The opera's considerations of the *questão indio* contribute to a larger argument that can be made regarding its constructed "Brazilianness": "Brazil" is portrayed as being part of the cosmopolitan world stage, one in which it is imagined alongside European cities such as Paris and Milan. What I argue here is that Gomes' *Il Guarany* presented an image of Brazil to its Brazilian audiences that catered to elite fantasies of the time, those in which the nation was seen as a European country, but within a

South American context. The Europhilia that the Brazilian elite engaged with informed the "Brazilian Self" that Gomes projected with his opera. In turn, the "Brazilian Self" shown to Brazilians functioned to reify elite (white) notions of the nation. Political ideology and musical production are seen here as mutually constituted forces that work to inform and reproduce each other, while propagating rhetoric that further marginalizes communities that are denied "Brazilianness."

The Europhilic "Brazilian Self" reproduced in *Il Guarany* is tied inherently to the Brazilian nation-building project. Such notions of Brazil as "modern" and, therefore, "European," can be traced back to the independence period in the first part of the 19th century. When Dom João VI, the King of Portugal, arrived in Brazil in 1808, the Portuguese monarch encountered a side of Brazil with which he had no familiarity—he saw first-hand the lack of development and infrastructure that colonial rule had left in Brazil.[91] These revelations would lead the monarch to embark on a relentless pursuit of Europeanization in Brazil, one that would consume him and his political efforts for the remainder of his time in the country. Indeed, this desire for a Europeanization of Brazil would become a recurring theme in Brazilian history, one that saw a search for "modernity" rooted in Brazil's European roots. Prior to the noble family's arrival in Rio de Janeiro—admittedly João VI's first encounter with the colony—Brazil was subjected to an array of colonial rules and policies that, perhaps inadvertently, stifled its development. For example, prior to 1808, printing presses and all typographical activities (newspapers, books, etc.) were strictly forbidden in Brazil.[92] This was done in order to restrict the circulation of information to the ruling classes, themselves restricted to reading material imported from Europe. The few

[91] Irati Antonio, "Impression of Music: Periodical Press and Documentation in Brazil," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 39/3 (December 1992): 235.
[92] For a full discussion of the history of press and typography in Brazil, see Lawrence Hallewell, *Books in Brazil: A History of the Publishing Trade* (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1982).

libraries that existed belonged to the Jesuit societies. However, Rubens Borba de Moraes writes that clandestine private collections were established by subversive thinkers who smuggled in material from other countries.[93] Nonetheless, the lack of printing presses and education infrastructure outside of the religious orders left a mark on João, who arrived to what he perceived as a "backwards" and "under-developed" colony.[94]

This perception, though also a judgement rooted in a colonial framework, led João and the aristocracy to initiate a modernizing mission in Brazil. The monarchy, concerned with developing the colony now that the metropole had been invaded, opened the Brazilian ports to trade with foreign powers (previously restricted to trade only with Portugal) and lifted the ban on printing.[95] In their search for a European Brazilian society, the monarchy found a model in French culture. He began the French Artistic Mission, which, with its beginning in 1817, saw the importation of French artists, writers, and architecture (in hopes of bringing European culture to the colony). As Thomas Skidmore writes, this effort would have a wide-reaching impact on Brazilian society and eventually lead to the establishment of the Brazilian Academy of Fine Arts, a clear example of European influence in the developing colony.[96] Further, João called for the establishment of schools, libraries, museums, and other institutions that would represent "civility." This discourse on Brazil as a "civil" and "modern" nation, especially manifested in the monarchy's attempt at appropriating European arts and culture, became a hallmark of both João's rule and that of his successors, Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II.

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[93] Rubens Borba de Moraes, *Livros e bibliotecas no Brasil colonial* (Rio de Janeiro: SCCI, 1979), 8-22.
[94] Anyda Marchant, "Dom João's Botanical Garden," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 41/2 (1961): 272-274.
[95] For a discussion of the opening of Brazil's ports and their significance to Brazil's economic development, see: Leslie Bethell, "Britain and Brazil (1808-1918)," In *Brazil: Essays on History and Politics* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2018), 57-92.
[96] Thomas Skidmore, "Lévi-Strauss, Braudel and Brazil: A Case of Mutual Influence," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 22/3 (July 2003): 341.

Brazilian development throughout the 19th century was marked by a strategic pursuit of "Europeanness." Cristina Magaldi writes: "[Brazilians] fantasized about European culture for the opposite reasons that Europeans exoticized their Other; their embodiment of European culture reflected a candid urge 'to be included,' to be aligned with what they perceived to be more 'civilized.'"[97] The monarchy's early penchant for the European, one that would continue well into the second Empire represents a desire to align Brazil with the countries of the "modern world." However, the contradictions of quotidian life in colonial Brazil made this fantasy for the European seem more like an elaborately constructed façade to the elite, who grew to resent the lack of sanitation systems and blatant poverty that served as a backdrop to the French and Italian architecture that characterized Rio.[98] This elite disposition only led to more fervent pushes for Europeanization in the colony, seen perhaps most in the aristocracy's obsession with European arts, particularly opera. Thus, art and music became a way for the Brazilian elite to fantasize about their proximity to Europe and position themselves, if only through artistic rhetoric, as heirs to the rich European tradition of civility and modernity.

This tradition of Europhilia—and a related conflation of "Europeanness" with modernity—provides ample context for our analysis of *Il Guarany's* significance within Brazilian history. The operatic art form itself, as Magaldi discusses, was one through which the Brazilian elite could imagine themselves as living in a European metropole.[99] Additionally, its Italianate sound and Italian libretto made the opera "European"—advertisements for *Il Guarany's* premiere even classified the opera as an "*opera italiana,"* as opposed to a national or Brazilian one. Gomes' language choice also reified the social stratification inherent in the operatic genre, as only the elite

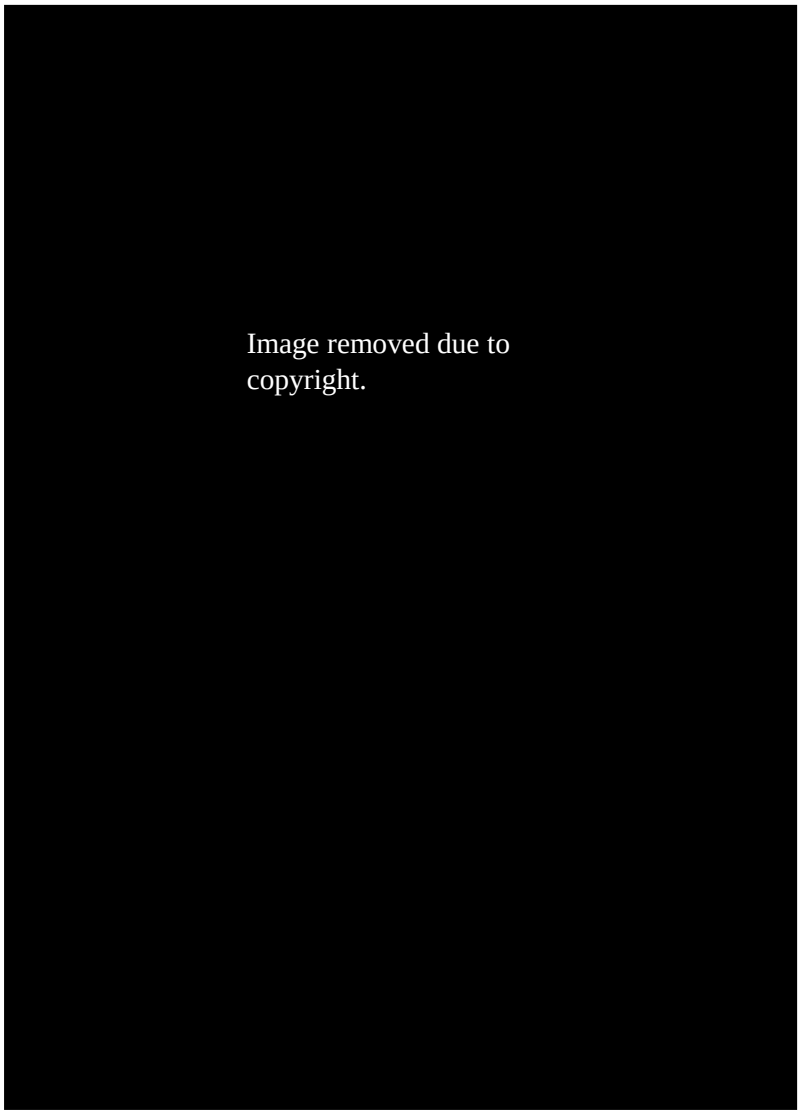
[97] Magaldi, *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro*, xi.
[98] *Ibid*, xvi.
[99] *Ibid*, 6-10.

Brazilians would have had the means to understand an Italian libretto, let alone afford an operatic production in the first place. Common operatic productions in the Rio theater, throughout the mid-19th century, included such productions as Verdi's *La Traviata* and *Il Trovatore*, two staples of the Italian Grand Opera style that reveal the Brazilian elite's taste for European art forms.[100]

Therefore, it should be clear that the "Brazilianness" read by *Il Guarany's* Brazilian audience was one in which a proximity to Europe was emphasized, if not celebrated. This reading would explain why Brazilian newspapers proudly touted the opera's connection to Verdi, who commented on Gomes' "musical genius" and Gomes' similarity to himself. This explicit association with Verdi (and, by extension, with Europe) was one that continued well after the opera's premiere. For example, a 1936 issue of the *Diario da Tarde* newspaper ran a cover page that proudly used Verdi's quote as its headline: "This Young Man Begins Where I Have Left Off!" ("*Este Rapaz Comeca Por Onde Eu Acabo!*") (Figure 2.3). Rhetoric like this drew connections between *Il Guarany* and the European music world, reifying the Europeanized "Brazilianness" represented by Gomes' famous opera. While the "Brazilian Other" was antagonized and rejected from forming part of the contemporary Brazilian nation, or "Brazilianness" more broadly, the "Brazilian Self" was modified and idealized. It was manipulated in a way that intentionally positioned it within European spheres of discourse and highlighted any connections to or derivations of Italy, Europe, or "Europeanness." A nation-wide, century-long development of Europhilia provides one context in which the reception of *Il Guarany* after its Brazilian premiere can be understood.

[100] Luís A. Giron, *Minoridade Critica* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2004): 130-131.

Figure 2.3. Cover page for *Diario da Tarde*, 10 July 1936, Recife, BR.[101]



Contestations of *Il Guarany's* "Brazilianness" in Brazil and Beyond

The imagined "Brazilianness" projected to Brazilian audiences is clearly different from that which was presented to Italian audiences. Whereas the image of "Brazil" in Italy reduced the nation and its people to primitivity, catering to exoticist fetishes, the "Brazilianness" constructed

[101] See "Revista *Diário da Tarde*," Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), Serie Recortes de Jornais (CGrj), housed in the Museu Histórico Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, BR.

in Brazil engaged in a negotiation of the elements comprising the "Brazilian Self." The nation was represented as a direct result of *mestiçagem,* depicted by the primordial mixed-race couple of Cecilia and Pery, but was necessarily whitened and Europeanized in order to appeal to the Brazilian elite discourse of the time. This reading of *Il Guarany*, however, has been contested in the years since the opera's premiere. As part of the 1922 Week of Modern Art in São Paulo, for example, music critic and modernist Mário de Andrade proclaimed:

> Carlos Gomes is horrible. All of us have felt it ever since we were children. But since it is a question of one of the family glories, we all swallow all those tunes in *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo*, which are inexpressive, artificial and heinous…It is true! It were better that he had written nothing…. from one success to another our man managed to denigrate his country in the most profound way—…through 'Peris,' who donned tea-colored leotards and feather dusters to bellow…indomitable might in horrid scenarios.[102]

Such a statement might seem contradictory to all the celebration and mythicization that has surrounded Gomes and his music, even well into the 20th and 21st centuries. The Brazilian modernists of the 1920s, however, saw Gomes and his "Brazilianness" as contradictory to the idea of nationalism or national art. In 1922, a group of Brazilian artists launched the Week of Modern Art (*Semana da Arte Moderna*), an art festival that ran through February 10-17 and showcased a new wave of uniquely Brazilian art, marketed as Brazilian modernism. Among these artists were painters Tarsila do Amaral, Lasar Segall, and Anita Malfatti, and critics and writers Mário de Andrade and Oswaldo de Andrade, all members of the *Grupo dos Cinco* ("Group of Five"). The mission of Brazilian modernism was simple: the artists sought to promulgate a unique "Brazilian" style of art, one that set itself apart from the influences of European or North American genres.[103]

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[102] Reported in the *Correio Paulistano,* cited in Cesetti, *"Il Guarany* for Foreigners," 102 and Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 95. Translation theirs.

[103] For more on the Week of Modern Art, Brazilian modernism, and its far-reaching implications, see: Saulo Gouveia, *The Triumph of Brazilian Modernismo: The Metanarrative of Emancipation and Counter-Narratives* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Gillian Sneed, "Anita Malfatti and Tarsila do

Thus, as Cristina Magaldi notes, "the dominance of European culture was then interpreted as a manifestation of colonial shame that needed to be excised."[104] Gomes' notion of "Brazilianness," one that celebrated Europeanness and claimed a whitened indigenous past, was obviously seen as an articulation of such colonial frameworks and rejected by the modernist artists. Modernist critics, including the Andrades, Menotti del Picchia, and Graça Aranha, set out to lambast Gomes' work, referring to it as "inexpressive, fake, and corrupting, which were all attributes associated with opera's artificiality and conventionality with blushed tenors falling on stage in final scenes, and fat sopranos strangulated with lyrical hypocrisy."[105]

These critics took particular issue with Gomes' engagement with indigeneity, especially the manner in which he idealized Pery and created a "noble savage" figure to act as the roots of Brazil. For critics like Oswald de Andrade, this represented an explicit and abhorrent example of colonialist influence in the defining of modern Brazil. Instead, Andrade offered an alternative indigeneity from which to define "Brazilianness" and build a nationalist movement: the cannibal. Published in 1928 as part of the *Revista de Antropofagia* magazine, Andrade's famous "Manifesto Antropófago" outlined what he saw as the path forward for national Brazilian art. He proposed that *antropofagia,* or "cannibalism," formed the basis of Brazilian artistic thought—he pilloried the Europeanized indigenous figures of Gomes for imitating foreign, colonialist influence and instead argued that Brazilian art should "devour," like cannibals, the theories, forms, and discourses of foreign art, absorbing them to create something new and uniquely Brazilian.[106] The

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Amaral: Gender, "Brasilidade" and the Modernist Landscape,: *Woman's Art Jounral* 34/1 (3013): 30-39; Sarah Tyrell, "M. Camargo Guarnieri and the Influence of Mário de Andrade's Modernism," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 29/1 (2008): 43-63; Sarah Hamilton-Tyrell, "Mário de Andrade, Mentor: Modernism and Musical Aesthetics in Brazil, 1920-1945," *The Musical Quarterly* 88/1 (2005): 7-34.

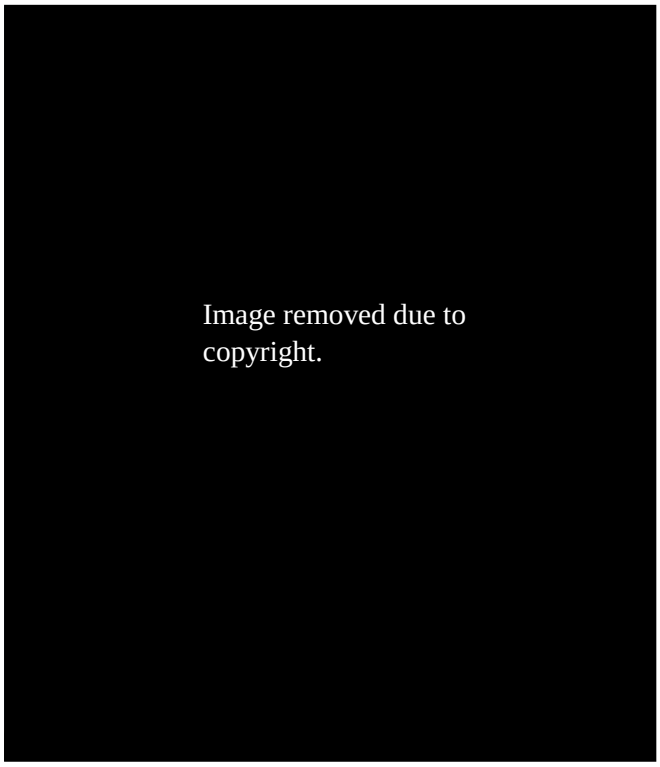
[104] Magaldi, *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro,* x.

[105] Oswald de Andrade, "Semana de Arte Moderna," *JC*, 12 February 1922, cited in Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 153.

[106] Oswald de Andrade, "Manifesto Antropófago," *Revista de Antropofagia* 1/1 (1928): 3.

cover piece for Andrade's original "Manifesto" was an original painting by his then wife, Tarsila do Amaral (Figure 2.4). The painting, originally unnamed, came to be called *Abaporu* by Andrade, who borrowed the name from the Tupí-Guaraní word meaning "eater of man."[107] Quintessentially representative of *antropofagia*, Amaral's painting presented the distorted image of a *sciapod,* a cannibalistic monster from indigenous myth,[108] and utilized an artistic approach that was assiduously refutative of any European style (i.e., cubism, impressionism, pointillism, etc.).

Figure 2.4. *Abaporu* (1928) by Tarsila do Amaral.[109]



Conspicuously implied by the title of Andrade's proposed aesthetic, the indigenous figure that modernists positioned at the center of their imagined "Brazilianness" was the opposite of Pery.

[107] Tarsila do Amaral, "Confessions," *Jornal de Letras II* 18 (1950).
[108] Jorge Schwartz, "Tarsila and Oswald in the Wise Laziness of the Sun, " in *Tarsila do Amaral,* Amaral et al., ed, Madrid: Fundacíon Juan March, 2009): 93-103, esp. 101.
[109] *Abaporu* by Tarsila do Amaral, completed in 1928. Painting currently in closed, private collection. Image from web (public domain).

It was instead a figure that was free from the European influences of Christianity and civilization: a "pure" Indian, a "savage cannibal." This figure, according to Andrade's manifesto, was supposed to remain untouched by European civilization, a symbolic resistance to colonialism. Indigenous groups that behaved antagonistically towards European settlement, such as the Aimoré, became the archetypal "cannibal" past from which modernism's "Brazilianness" drew. In the manifesto, Andrade explicitly decried Gomes' work: "We were never catechized. What we really made was Carnaval. The Indian dressed as a Senator of the Empire. Pretending he's [William] Pitt. Or performing in Alencar's operas, full of worthy Portuguese sentiments."[110] "Alencar's operas," clearly in reference to *Il Guarany's* adaptation of Alencar's novel, functioned to launch a scathing critique of both Gomes' "Brazilianness" and that of the preceding *indianismo* movement, both of which claimed the Europeanized, "Portuguese" Indian as the central root of modern Brazil. Andrade's manifesto positioned the Brazilian modernist movement as against the whitened "Brazilianness" of Gomes and his *Il Guarany*, seen as appropriated and un-Brazilian: "We are against the torch-bearing Indian, the Indian son of Mary, godson of Catherine de Medici, and son-in-law of D. Antonio de Mariz."[111] Andrade declared himself and the modernists as against Gomes and the romanticized Indian, the European Indian, the Christian Indian, and any idyllic form of indigeneity that placed "Europeanness" anywhere within reach of "Brazilianness." The nationalism propagated by the 1920s modernism was thus one in which "Brazilianness" antagonized Europe—including Portugal—and flipped Gomes' "Self" and "Other" dialectic on its

[110] "Nunca fomos catequizados. Fizemos foi Carnaval. O índio vestido de Senador do Império. Fingindo de Pitt. Ou figurando nas operas de Alencar cheio de bons sentimentos portugueses." Pitt, here, is in reference to William Pitt, a Bristish diplomat that played a large role in the colonialist project in India. The reference here acts as a critique of colonialism and Brazilian art's previous penchant for the colonialist influence of European art forms. See: de Andrade, "Manifesto," 5. Translation by author.

[111] "Contra o índio de tocheiro. O índio filho de Maria, afilhado de Catarina de Médici e genro de D. Antônio de Mariz." See: *Ibid*, 7. Translation by author.

head: Pery became the "Brazilian Other" whereas the resistant Aimoré would become the "Brazilian Self."

It is important to note, however, that the modernists' attack on Gomes and his reputation was not representative of all Brazil. On the contrary, their critiques of Gomes and his music were met with great hostility by Brazilian audiences that saw *Il Guarany* as a national opera. For example, Ernani Braga describes the public's riot-like reaction to critic Graça Aranha's denunciation of Gomes during the Week of Modern Art:

> Graça Aranha was dethroning the old idols one after another. All the giants, Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, successively fell. The public enjoyed the demolition finding the demolisher [Graça Aranha] funny. But when he, an irreverent iconoclast raised his sacrilegious hand to overthrow the idol Carlos Gomes, that was it. It was all right to overthrow the demigod of the Oratory, of the Symphony, and of the Tetralogy. It was just an innocent joke. But to deride Guarany's father, the paulista from right there in Campinas! No Mr. Graça Aranha. This was spite and deserved punishment. The audience booed tremendously and formidably; it was a hellish noise or something from another world. ... It is said that the police intervened to cool down the exalted people in the galleries.[112]

For many Brazilians, claims that Gomes and his *Il Guarany* were anti-Brazilian were simply unacceptable. Gomes remained a prominent figure in the Brazilian musical canon and has been celebrated as a turning-point in Brazilian national music since the 19th century. Nevertheless, the critiques launched by Oswald de Andrade and other modernists raised important questions—

[112] [""Graça Aranha foi demolindo, um após outro, os ídolos antigos. Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, todos esses gigantes foram caindo sucessivamente. O público ia se divertindo com a demolição e achando engraçado o demolidor. Mas quando ele, iconoclasta irreverente, levantou a mão sacrílega para derrubar o ídolo Carlos Gomes, foi a conta. Que Graça Aranha pusesse abaixo o semideus dos Oratórios e o das Sinfonias e o da Tetralogia, estava muito direito. Era uma brincadeira inocente. Mas bulir com o pai de Guarani, paulista ali de Campinas! Não "seu" Graça Aranha, isso era desaforo, e merecia castigo. Foi uma vaia tremenda, formidável, uma coisa do outro mundo, um barulho de todos os infernos. … Consta que houve intervenção da polícia para conter os exaltados das galerias."] Ernani Braga "O que foi a Semana de Arte Moderna em São Paulo …" *Presença de Villa-Lobos* vol. 2: 68-9, cited in Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 153-154. Translation hers.

regarding Gomes and his "Brazilianness"—that would go on to influence nationalist articulations in other composers' music throughout the 20th century.[113]

The "Brazilianness" presented by *Il Guarany* has been contested or interpreted differently in other contexts as well, particularly in its more recent foreign premieres. In September of 2009, the opera was staged at the Teatro Municipal Ignacio A. Pane in Asunción, Paraguay, under the direction of Italian conductor Francesco Grigolo. In July of 2010, the same production took place in Resistencia, Argentina, at the Teatro del Domo. These productions were the result of a collaboration between Brazilian and Paraguayan musical and administrative groups, involving performers and musicians from all three countries. The premiere in Paraguay was performed by the Orquestra Sinfónica Nacional (OSN) de Paraguay while the premiere in Argentina was an enterprise that combined performers of the OSN with those of the Resistencia orchestra.[114] Supported in part by the Fundação Nacional das Artes (FUNARTE; National Foundation for the Arts) and the Brazilian embassies in both Paraguay and Argentina, the events were hailed as "true spectacles of international cultural integration" by the Brazilian ambassador.[115]

While the opera was advertised as a Brazilian opera—and having been written by a Brazilian composer[116]—it was not exactly received as one. The marker of "Brazilianness" that was so celebrated at the Brazilian premiere (and throughout the subsequent century) was obfuscated

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[113] One notable example of a composer that was influence by Andrade and the modernists was Heitor Villa-Lobos, who was also involved in the 1922 week of modern art. His compositions *Uirapuru* (1934) and *Amazonas* (1934), for example, discuss the untouched and "primitive" indigenous figure as the root of Brazilian nationalism. For more on Villa-Lobos and "Brazilianness," see: Gerard Béhague, *Heitor Villa-Lobos: The Search for Brazil's Musical Soul* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); and Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape."

[114] "La ópera *Il Guarany* se estrena en la Argentina," *45 Ultima Hora*, 19 July 2010, Web. https://www.ultimahora.com/la-opera-il-guarany-se-estrena-la-argentina-n340614.html

[115] "verdaderos espectáculos de integración cultural." Quote by Eduardo dos Santos, Brazilian Ambassador to Argentina. Quoted in "La ópera Il Guarany llega al Municipal de Asunción," *45 Ultima Hora*, 2 September 2009, Web. https://www.ultimahora.com/la-opera-il-guarany-llega-al-municipal-asuncion-n251520.html . Translation by author.

[116] See either "La ópera *Il Guarany* se estrena en la Argentina" or "La ópera Il Guarany llega al Municipal de Asunción."

by Paraguayan and Argentinian audiences. Instead, *Il Guarany* was seen as a cultural marker of all of Latin American identity, not just a Brazilian one. Grigolo noted, for example: "Directing *Il Guarany* in this country is the principal reason for which I am over here, because it is very important. This work speaks of a people through its hero and represents the story of Latin America."[117] At these South American premieres, "Brazilianness" was replaced by a broader "Latin-Americanness." As one reviewer noted, *Il Guarany* was a signifier of cultural pride for Paraguayans and Argentinians, those who saw their "roots" in the protagonist Pery and his quest to found Brazil.[118]

This notion of "roots" is rather complicated. If the opera recounts the heroic arc of the Indian that founds Brazil, how did Argentinians and Paraguayans find themselves in this foundational fiction? I hesitate to use the term "Pan-American" to describe this interpretation of the opera—perhaps inadvertently implied by Grigolo's statement—because it was a cultural marker for a specific set of Latin-American countries, those that shared an association with the Guaraní community. Instead, I contend that *Il Guarany's* cultural significance for Paraguayan and Argentinian audiences was predicated on an identification with "indigenousness"—other South American audiences saw Pery's struggle to find love and overcome perils as indicative of their own indigenous roots. Presumably, these audiences overlooked the fact that his love interest (Cecilia) was Portuguese and focused on the fact the Guaraní chief was a foundational figure in Latin American, not Brazilian, history. Although read by Brazilian audiences as a myth of national foundation for Brazil, Paraguayans saw it as a Paraguayan foundational myth while Argentinians saw it as an Argentina one. "Brazilianness" was contested and replaced by celebrated and imagined

[117] "Dirigir Il Guarany en este país es la primera razón por la que estoy acá, porque es muy importante. Esta obra habla de un pueblo a través de su héroe y representa la historia de Latinoamérica." Quote by Francesco Grigolo, cited in "La ópera Il Guarany llega al Municipal de Asunción." Translation by author.
[118] *Ibid.*

constructions of "Paraguayanness" and "Argentinianness," all predicated on a similarly romanticized claim of an indigenous, Guaraní past.

Conclusion

In today's Brazil, *Il Guarany*—and Gomes himself—remains a characteristic and important marker of "Brazilianness." Statues and monuments of Gomes throughout Brazil proudly tout his contributions to Brazilian art and society, positioning him as one of the great proponents of Brazilian national identity, both at home and abroad. Gomes' music is similarly used to elicit patriotic sentiments from Brazilian citizens. Since the 1930s a daily government radio program, A Voz do Brazil (The Voice of Brazil), has opened its segment everyday by playing the first several lines of *Il Guarany's* Protofonia. The program was started by President Getúlio Vargas as part of his larger campaign to instill a united sense of Brazilian nationalism, which he called "*Brasilidade*" ("Brazilianness"), in the Brazilian populace.[119] Despite its Italianate musical material, *Il Guarany* became (and continues to be) a foundational piece of music in the Brazilian canon, one that represents Brazil and its history. As Magaldi points out, this appropriation of Gomes' opera for a patriotic radio program signals its nationalist significance. Although the Protofonia does not present sonic markers of "Brazilianness," Magaldi notes that "the choice of Gomes' Protofonia in A Voz do Brasil has little to do with the music per se but rather reflects the state's recognition of the significance of *Il Guarany's* plot within the historical process of constructing a Brazilian

[119] For more on *A voz do Brasil* and the debate surrounding the program today, see: "A Distante Realidade," *O Estado de São Paulo,* 15 September 2001.

national identity."[120] Therefore, *Il Guarany* functions as a projection of "Brazilianness" today in the same capacity in which it functioned at its Brazilian premiere in 1870.

Within the Brazilian context, the "Brazilianness" that was projected to audiences was one that was inherently tied to the political and social contexts, as well as the elite ideological discourse in which Gomes' audience engaged. Brazilian fantasies for "Europeanness," of being a "modern," "civilized," and cosmopolitan nation, manifested themselves in the "Brazilian Self" curated by Gomes. This "Self," one in which the Western qualities of whiteness were emphasized and celebrated, not only reified such Europhilic fantasies, but antagonized the "savage" indigenous past that was seen as incompatible with Europe. As Guzmán has rightly argued, such antagonizations, though ostensibly celebrating a certain indigeneity (Pery), worked to further marginalize and antagonize the actual indigenous communities present in Brazilian society.[121] The discourses surrounding indigeneity that Gomes (and his modernist detractors) engaged in used and manipulated the figure of the Indian and ideas regarding "Indianness" not to discuss or represent actual indigenous peoples, ideas, or cultural productions, but rather as a stand-in for Brazil, "Brazilianness," and Brazilian peoples, ideas, and cultural productions.[122] Somewhat paradoxically, however, these "Brazilian peoples" implicated in Gomes' construction of "Brazilianness" were exclusively the largely white and male elite class. *Il Guarany's* racial, national, and ideological discourse, then, was mutually constituted with the official elite's discourse—the ideologies and ideas of the elite regarding the Brazilian race, nation, and history

[120] Cristina Magaldi, "Two Musical Representations of Brazil: Carlos Gomes and Villa-Lobos," In *Brazil in the Making: Facets of National Identity,* ed, Carmen Nava and Ludwig Lauerhass Jr (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, 2006), 205-206.
[121] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil*, 72-73.
[122] *Ibid*, 96.

informed Gomes' opera, which, in turn, functioned to affirm the elite's notions and contribute to the marginalizing rhetoric espoused by the intellegencia and Brazilian nobility.

As we have seen, *Il Guarany's* various premieres have evoked different notions of identity, ranging from "Brazilianness" to "Argentinianness." Even within "Brazilianness," dialectics of "Self" and "Other," directly tied to the ideological contexts in which the audiences found themselves, influence the reception of the opera. These seemingly disparate interpretations of Gomes' work are in line with Carl Dahlhaus's considerations of music, nationalism and reception. Dahlhaus, working with European romanticism, argued that musical nationalism was more a matter of reception and audience interpretation than internal musical features—what matters more is "the meaning invested in a piece of music or a complex of musical characteristics by a sufficient number of the people who make and hear the music."[123] Expanding on Dahlhaus's ideas, Gerard Béhague writes: "The thorny question of authenticity [and nationalism] of attitude in relation to folk cultures and, hence, of the type of use of folk or folk-like materials, also has direct relevance to whether or not the listeners of a piece of music perceive it to be national in character."[124] In plainer terms, what makes a piece of music nationalist is not the music itself, but rather how audiences receive the music. This would explain why Gomes' *Il Guarany,* although not explicitly Brazilianate or even "Latin-American" in terms of musical material, became such a culturally significant piece of music in South America, and especially in Brazil. Although Gomes does not make use of any local, traditional, or indigenous Brazilian musical traditions in *Il Guarany,* it still became known as a nationalist—or representative of national identities—by audiences who invested national and cultural significance in its characters, plots, melodies, and rhythms.

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[123] Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism, Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 85-88.
[124] Béhague, *Heitor Villa-Lobos,* 148.

What this and the preceding chapter have also demonstrated is the importance of a transnational examination of *Il Guarany* to our understanding of the opera and its historical significance. As has been discussed, previous scholarship on Carlos Gomes has been limited to a Brazilianist perspective. That is, scholars have examined *Il Guarany's* significance purely within the Brazilian context, inadvertently neglecting its premieres in Italy, the United States, and in other parts of Latin America. Scholars' discussions of *Il Guarany* as a Brazilian cultural artefact are not unfounded—in fact I would argue that they are essential to understanding the larger cultural and political implications of the piece. However, these scholars fell short of seeing the transnational musical dialogues in which *Il Guarany* can be placed. Here, I have discussed *Il Guarany* within this critical musical junction, one that follows its significance along more than a century of music consumption. In doing so, the various images of "Brazil" and "Brazilianness" constructed and disseminated by Gomes' music in different contexts can be situated within their appropriate cultural, political, and ideological contexts, and contributions of Carlos Gomes to the world's music stage can be elucidated.

CHAPTER 3

"The Glorious Composer of Abolition!": *Lo Schiavo*, Modernity, and the Construction of Race in Brazil

Ecco! Su me già piombano. Ebbri d'ira e furor! Sotto la scure, la vittima sarà solo Ibere. Vengano pure…la fredda spoglia trovran d'un Re!

Here! Onto me they already fall. Full of hate and fury! They are close, but the victim shall only be Iberê. Let them all come and find the cold bare cadaver of a King![1]

—Iberê, *Lo Schiavo* Act V Scene 10

The public fervor that surrounded *Il Guarany's* Brazilian premiere in 1870 was repeated in 1889, when Carlos Gomes returned to Rio de Janeiro with another operatic debut. Prominently featuring the Brazilian nation as its subject, *Lo Schiavo* ("The Slave") premiered on 27 September 1889 in the Teatro Lírico Fluminense. The opera depicts another foundational mixed-race romance, this time between the Brazilian-born Américo, son of a Portuguese hidalgo, and his indigenous maiden Ilára. Ostensible similarities to the plot of *Il Guarany* abound, making *Lo Schiavo* appear to be a parallel narrative, only with flipped gender roles.[2] Like Pery and Cecilia, Américo and Ilára escape numerous perils, including a threat from the rival indigenous tribe.

[1] Carlos Gomes and Rodolfo Paravicini, *Lo Schiavo,* 1889 Act V Scene 10.

[2] As Doris Sommer notes, gender roles in foundational fictions are important ways to mark "dominance" and "subservience." In most mixed-race couples, the indigenous figure is a woman, immediately marking her as more subservient and submissive than the European male counterpart. *Il Guarany/O Guaraní* present an interesting exception, in that the indigenous figure is a male. However, Gomes/Alencar still manage to mark him as subservient to the European figure. See: Sommer, *Foundational Fictions.* For an example of an *Indianist* work that presents a more traditional gender relation (similar to *Lo Schiavo*), see: José de Alencar, *Iracema* (Rio de Janeiro: B.L. Garnier, 1865).

However, their love affair is helped by Iberê, Américo's indigenous slave, who sacrifices himself for the couple's survival.

In the years following *Il Guarany*, Gomes composed and premiered several operas—*Fosca* (1873), *Salvator Rosa* (1874), and *Maria Tudor* (1879)—but was never able to replicate the success he achieved with his operatic adaptation of Alencar's *Indianist* novel.[3] *Lo Schiavo*, a return to his musical considerations of *indianismo* and Brazilian indigeneity, was his first opera in nearly a decade. Thus, elite Brazilians were eager to hear the newest piece from their national hero and responded with an indisputable fanfare. Though only scheduled for four performances at the Rio theater, *Lo Schiavo* was performed eight times within just two weeks.[4] Its premiere, which corresponded with the birthday of Dom Pedro II's daughter, Princess Isabel, earned Gomes a nomination as a Grand Dignitary to the *Ordem da Rosa* (Order of the Rose), a promotion for the accolade he received following *Il Guarany's* success.[5] According to André Rebouças, who was in attendance, the opera was met with "great acclaim and much enthusiasm" at each one of its performances.[6] Many critics went so far as to label *Lo Schiavo* as Gomes' "most perfect opera," and a "symbol of enormous cultural patrimony and the foundation of Brazilian citizenship."[7] *Lo Schiavo's* significance in a Brazilian context is clearly important. It was met warmly by a Brazilian

[3] Though his operas in the 1870s were moderately successful, both in Milan and Brazil, they did not receive nearly the international acclaim that *Il Guarany* did. As a result, Gomes' ended up being in considerable debt throughout the 1880s, as he often had to use personal finances to fund performances or travels between Italy and Brazil. *Lo Schiavo's* success, however, allowed Gomes to pay off his remaining debts. See: Ítala Gomes Vaz de Carvalho, *A Vida de Carlos Gomes* (Rio de Janeiro: A Noite, 1937), 190.

[4] In his diaries, André Rebouças documented the eight dates on which the opera was performed in 1889: 27 September, 28 September, 2 October, 3 October, 5 October, 8 October, 10 October, 12 October. See "Diários de André Rebouças," Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Correspondências, in the Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, BR.

[5] A letter dated 2 October 1889, signed by Barao de Loretto (Frankin Américo de Meneses Dória), declares Dom Pedro II's nomination of Carlos Gomes to the Order of Rose, to the rank of the Grand Dignitary. See letter in the Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), serie Correspondência (CGcr), in the Museu Nacional Histórico, Rio de Janeiro, BR.

[6] "grande ovação e muito entusiasmo." See "Diários de André Rebouças," Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Correspondências, in the Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, BR. Translation by author.

[7] Fernando Bicudo, "Viva Carlos Gomes, Viva o Brasil!!!" In *O escravo. Drama lírico em quatro atos,* by Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay and Rodolfo Paravacini, 2-4 (Maranhao: Governo do Estado de Maranhao, 1988).

public and read as another allegory for the Brazilian nation—a marker of "Brazilianness," similar in many ways to *Il Guarany*.

Gomes dedicated his opera to Princess Isabel, who, only a year before its premiere, had promulgated the *Lei Aurea* ("Golden Law"), abolishing slavery and declaring the immediate freedom of all slaves.[8] Thus, in 1888, Brazil joined the ranks of other Western nations and became the last major country to end the practice of slavery. Gomes' dedication of the opera, as well as its plot, led many to interpret *Lo Schiavo* as a political act—audiences read Gomes' idealization of the "noble slave," Iberê, as a direct critique of slavery, one in which he was humanizing those who had been historically abused and treated as property. Gomes' dedication letter perhaps influenced this reading, as he explicitly referenced the *Lei Aurea* (also referred to as "13th of May") and Isabel's commitment to "the eternal joy of freedom." In his letter to Princess Isabel, he wrote:

> Madam,
> I beg Your Highness to accept this drama in which a Brazilian has tried to represent the noble character of the indigenous slave.
>
> On the memorable date of May 13th, in favor of many others similar to the main character in this drama, Your Highness, with gentle and patriotic spirit, had the glory of changing slavery into the eternal joy of freedom. Thus the word slave in Brazil belongs only in the legend of the past. Therefore, it is as a token of deep gratitude and homage that, as a Brazilian artist, I have the great honor of dedicating this work of mine to the Serene Princess in whom Brazil venerates the same high spirit, the same greatness of soul of Dom Pedro II, and the same generous support that I pride myself of having had bestowed upon me by the August Father of Your Imperial Highness.
>
> Today, the 29th of July, the day in which Brazil salutes the birthday of the August Regent, I bring to the feet of Your Highness this 'Escravo' - perhaps as poor as the thousands of others who bless Your Highness with the same effusion of gratitude with which I do, of your Imperial Highness, Faithful, and Reverent Subject.[9]

[8] For a discussion of the political factors leading up to abolition, see: Jaime Reis, "Brazil: The Peculiar Abolition," *Ibero-amerikanisches Archiv* 3/3 (1977):esp. 292-294.

[9] "Senhora. Digne-se Vossa Alteza acolher este drama no qual um brasileiro tentou representar o nobre caráter de um indígena escravizado. Na memorável data de 13 de maio em prol de muitos infelizes semelhantes ao protagonista deste drama, V. Alteza, com animo gentil e patriótico, teve a gloria de transmudar o cativeiro em eterna alegria da liberdade. Assim, a palavra Escravo no Brasil pertence simplesmente à lendo do passado. É, pois, em sinal de profunda gratidão e homenagem que, como artista brasileiro, tenho a subida honra de dedicar este meu trabalho à

Gomes thus became associated with the abolitionist current that had been steadily gaining ground at the end of the 19th century. His opera, described by the composer himself as representing "the noble character of the indigenous slave," became hailed as the anthem of abolition. Even prominent abolitionists embraced the anti-slavery message of the work. For example, abolitionist leader, André Rebouças, characterized Gomes' opera as "the true apotheosis of abolitionist propaganda."[10] He consequently attributes abolition, at least to some degree, to Carlos Gomes and his music, especially *Lo Schiavo.* In a letter to his friend and fellow abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco, Rebouças writes: "Abolition in Brazil was done with the parliamentary eloquence of Joaquim Nabuco and the dramatic music of Carlos Gomes."[11] Further, writer, journalist, and abolitionist, José do Patrocínio, nicknamed Gomes "*o glorioso maestro da abolição"* ("the glorious composer of abolition"),[12] recognizing his important contribution to the abolitionist struggle.

Such grandiose statements, whether true or not, have influenced the early and recent historiography of Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* as many scholars have highlighted or celebrated the opera's supposed contributions to the abolitionist movement. Scholars such as Jorge Alvez da Lima, for example, highlight the abolitionist politics presented in *Lo Schiavo:* "Carlos Gomes, with an ensemble of sublime harmonies, sang the liberating and redemptive glory of a marvelous and noble

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Excelsa Princesa em quem o Brasil reverencia o mesmo alto espirito, a mesma grandeza de animo de D. Pedro II e eu a mesmo generosa proteção que me glorio de haver recebido do Augusto Pai de Vossa Alteza Imperial. Hoje, 29 de julho, dia em que o Brasil saúda o aniversario da Augusta Regente, levo aos pés de Vossa Alteza este "Escravo," talvez tão pobre como os milhares de outros que abençoam a Vossa Alteza na mesma efusão do reconhecimento com que sou." Correspondence dated 29 June 1888, sent from Carlos Gomes to Princes Isabel, from Milan to Rio. Cited in Alves da Lima, *Carlos Gomes,* 140-141. Translation by author.

[10] "verdadeira apoteose à Propaganda Abolicionista." A note of translation: the word "Propaganda" in Portuguese translated best to "propaganda" in English. Though the mean the same thing, the word in Portuguese does not carry the same negative connotation that it does in English. See "Diário de André Rebouças," entry dated 28 September 1889, in the Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Correspondências, in the Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, BR. Translation by author.

[11] "A abolição no Brasil foi feita com a eloquência parlamentar de Joaquim Nabuco e a música dramática de Carlos Gomes." Letter from André Rebouças to Joaquim Nabuco, dated 21 November 1896, see Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Correspondências, in the Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, BR. Translation by author.

[12] José do Patrocínio, quoted by Alvez da Lima, *Carlos Gomes,* 139. Translation by author.

people."[13] Other scholars, those that do not explore the opera's association with abolition, still refer to the piece using language suggestive of such political ties—Volpe characterizes it as an "anti-slavery opera," while Nogueira calls it an "abolitionist opera."[14] I would suggest, however, that such discussions of the composition present historical misinterpretations or, in some cases, explicit hagiographies of Gomes. *Lo Schiavo* premiered in 1889, a full year *after* abolition. To say, then, that *Lo Schiavo* provided the musical backdrop for Abolitionist would be erroneous—the opera's premiere would have had little effect on abolitionist sentiment and could not have impacted the actual legislation of the *Lei Aurea.* The music critics who reacted to *Lo Schiavo's* premiere with some hesitation also raised an important concern regarding the piece's so-called "abolitionist" message. For instance, Oscar Granadaliso, commenting on issues with the plot, lamented:

> This work beckons the responsibility of national men of letters…. Even if we disregard the time frame, the drama is bad and the libretto awful….Carlos Gomes saw only one thing—the national question; the Tamoio, the rancher, the bamboo flute, the savage tribes in the forests . . . . The Brazilian savages are monotonous . . . ; the African is more passionate, more alive and more melodious than the inhabitants of the Brazilian jungles.[15]

Here, Granadaliso points out what he perceived as a missed opportunity for Gomes—in an opera about slavery, Gomes chose to feature indigenous characters as opposed to Black ones, supposedly "more passionate, alive, and melodious." Racial essentializations aside, Granadaliso raises an important point: how could an abolitionist opera, one critiquing the practice of slavery, not feature a single Black or Afro-descendant character?

In this chapter, I present a revisionist approach to Gomes' *Lo Schiavo.* Placing it within the context of the movement for abolition and the racial thought that characterized the 1880s, I

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[13] "Carlos Gomes, num conjunto de harmonias sublimes, cantou a gloria libertaria e redentora de um maravilhoso e nobre povo." Alvez da Lima, *Carlos Gomes,* 139. Translation by author.
[14] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 161; Nogueira, *Muito além do melodramma,* 251.
[15] Oscar Granadaliso, "Diversões: Teatro Companhia Lyrica Italiana—*Lo Schiavo*," *O Pais,* 29 September 1889, 2-3. Cited in Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 92-93. Translation hers.

examine the racial and national notions of "Brazilianness" that are present in the opera. I argue that, although presenting an ostensibly anti-slavery and therefore democratizing discourse, *Lo Schiavo* implicitly reifies elite ideas regarding Brazil and its racial makeup. These ideas of "Brazilianness" were informed by the discourse of nation-building: the *pensamento social brasileiro* ("Brazilian social question") and the ideal of *branqueamento* ("whitening"). I also situate *Lo Schiavo* within the modernizing project that propelled the nation-building process to search for a whiter and more European country. In this context, the opera is only abolitionist in nature insofar as to free Brazil from the "backwardness" of slavery, not to actually liberate Afro-descendants. Additionally, Gomes' treatment of indigenous characters and themes contributes to such 19th-century racial thought, presenting elite listeners with a musical articulation of *"a raça brasileira."* Tracing Gomes' development of a more "Brazilianate" sound through his minor compositions of the 1880s, I argue that *Lo Schiavo* is a site of mediation—notions of a Brazilian past and a European modernity are negotiated. *Lo Schiavo's* "Brazilianness" therefore becomes one in which a nation's cosmopolitan desires are juxtaposed with tense racial considerations and a fantasy for whiteness.

Towards a "Brazilianate" and "Modern" Sound: Carlos Gomes in the 1880s

In March of 1879, Gomes' opera *Maria Tudor* debuted in La Scala Theater in Milan. Gomes, who was expecting nothing less than a standing ovation, was surely disappointed at audience's reaction—the work was a failure, and all additional performances were cancelled.[16] Lenita Nogueira attributes the negative critical reception to Italy's familiarity with Gomes. Because Gomes had more operatic performances in La Scala than any other composer (even

[16] Appelby, *The Music of Brazil*, 73.

Verdi), Nogueira argues that Italian audiences had grown bored of the Brazilian composer and wanted someone new.[17] A far more likely explanation, however, is that Italian audiences were dispirited by the lack of "exotic" and "savage" elements in the Brazilian composer's work. *Maria Tudor, Fosca,* and *Salvator Rosa,* all of which feature the typical Italian Opera plots exploring English regents, French countesses, and Italian romances, were met with lukewarm or negative reviews.[18] *Il Guarany,* the composer's portrait of an exoticized Brazilian land and people, was the only of his operas to reach such heights in the European music world. The exoticist trends in Italian opera, those in which Gomes cemented himself with his *Il Guarany,* made it difficult for his more "Europeanate" operas to find success.

Weighed down by debt and self-doubt, Gomes returned to Brazil in 1880. He had considered *Maria Tudor* his best piece to date, so its failure affected him greatly.[19] This musical setback, along with personal losses (such as a divorce from his wife), deeply affected the composer's motivation to compose another opera—it was not until 1889 that he would premiere a new one. His time back in Brazil, however, was spent composing smaller pieces, some for regional events and others for his own musical development. These pieces presented, however subtly, a return to the Brazilian subject, or at least an attempt to appeal to a Brazilian public. In these pieces, Gomes progressively moves towards a more "Brazilianate" sound, one that, although ostensibly European, began to incorporate more traditionally Brazilian musical elements, setting his style apart from European classical styles. Whereas *Maria Tudor* features music and a libretto that

[17] Lenita W.M. Nogueira, "O *Progresso* e a produção musical de Carlos Gomes entre 1879 e 1885," *OPUS: Revista da Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Música (ANPPOM)* 10 (2004): 37.
[18] His opera *Salvator Rosa* was met with the most positive critical reception, though it still did not rival *Il Guarany's.* Gomes, however, remained disappointed by *Salvator Rosa* because he considered it a step backwards, musically and dramatically. He was not satisfied with his composition and was in some ways upset by the Italians' positive embrace of the opera. However, the opera's success gave him the financial means to stay in Italy and compose *Maria Tudor.* See: Appelby, *The Music of Brazil,* 71-73; Nogueira, "O *Progresso*," 378-39.
[19] Nogueira, *"*O *Progresso*," 39.

sounded as if it was written by Verdi, Gomes' Brazilian compositions of the 1880s approached a more Brazilianate sound, while still engaging with the ideals of modernity and nationalism that were first presented in *Il Guarany.*

The first of Gomes' Brazilian compositions—and perhaps the most explicitly Brazilianate—was completed in May of 1884. "Conselhos" ("Advices"), a short piece for voice and piano, was subtitled "*canção popular brasileira*" ("Brazilian popular song") on the original manuscript,[20] making clear the composer's desire to place it within a Brazilian context. The vocal part is set to a poem by Velho Experiente that features ideas and sentiments typical of the patriarchal structure of 19th-century Brazilian society.[21] The narrator is telling a girl how to be a good wife; that she should obey her husband and let him do as he pleases, as he could easily end up beating her:

Menina, venha cá, veja o que faz...	Honey, come here, look at what you are doing…
Se por seu gosto o casamento quer,	If you want your marriage to be good,
A vontade ao marido há de fazer	Your husband's will you must obey
Que este dever o matrimonio traz.	For this is the duty that marriage brings.
Se o homem velho for, ou se ainda rapaz,	Whether he is old, or still young,
Tome a lição que ele quiser lhe dar.	Take the lesson that he chooses to give you.
Se funções, contradanças não quiser,	If you obey, contradictions there shall not be,
Também não queira, para não brigar	Nor should you want, to avoid fighting.
Procure de agradar, sem contrariar,	Strive to please, to not contradict,
Sempre disposta e prometa a obedecer,	Always available and promise to obey,
Tenha cuidado de ele com amor...	Take care of him with love…
Enquanto ao resto, deixe lá correr.	And as for the rest, let him do as he pleases.
Se ainda muito moço e arrebatado for;	If he is still young and passionate;
Nada de ciúmes, que seria pior;	No jealousy, for that would be worse;
A mulher só faz o homem bom e mal:	The woman only makes a man good and bad;
Que assim com dá pão, pode dar pau![22]	For with what he gives bread, he can give wood!

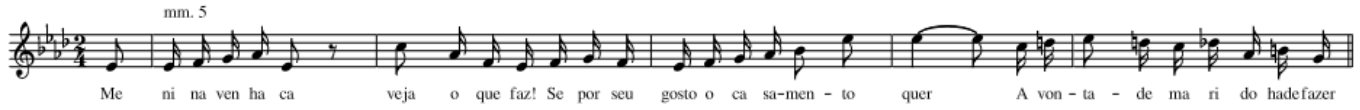
[20] See original manuscript for "Conselhos," in Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Partituras, in the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, BR. Translation by author.

[21] Velho Experiente appears to be a pen name or pseudonym, as no scholar has been able to confidently affirm his identity. It very possible that this is a poem that Gomes wrote himself, or that it could have been a friend of his who wished to remain anonymous.

[22] See original manuscript for "Conselhos," in Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Partituras, in the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, BR. Translation by author.

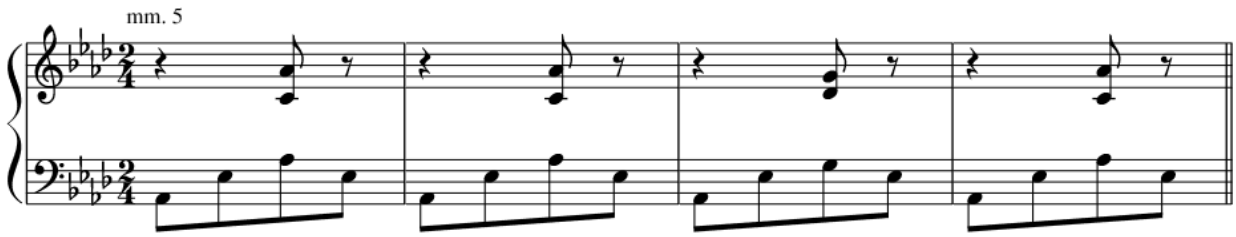
"Conselhos" is Gomes' version of a Brazilian *modinha*, a genre of music common in 19th-century Brazil. The *modinha* is characteristically romantic—in common vernacular, the word "*modinha*" has become synonymous with "*canção romântica*," or "love song."[23] The poem to which Gomes set his composition, then, fits this typical discussion of romance and marriage, situated firmly within the patriarchal norms of the 19th century. Musically, "Conselhos" similarly conforms to many of the *modinha's* habitual qualities. As Gerard Béhaque notes, the *modinha* of the Second Empire (1822-1889) is distinguished by a flowing and arabesque accompaniment (typically by a guitar or cavaquinho), a sentimental melodic line with many intervallic skips, heavy use of arpeggios (or simple harmonic material), and a Brazilian waltz form (ABACA).[24] He also describes the typical modinha tempo as being similar to a slow polka, or a *schottische.*[25] These features are all found, though some in modified form, in Gomes' "Concelho's." The melodic line features intervallic skips (Example 3.1a), and the harmonic accompaniment is flowing and arpeggiated (Example 3.2b). Additionally, Gomes' composition is in a 2/4 duple meter, as were most of the *modinhas* performed in the 19th century.[26]

Example 3.1a. Gomes' "Conselhos," vocal melody (mm. 5-9)



[23] Martha Tupinambá de Ulhôa, "Música romântica in Montes Claros: Inter-Gender Relations in Brazilian Popular Song," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 9/1 (2000): 13.
[24] Gerard Béhague, Charles L. Boiles, Lincoln B. Spiess and E. Thomas Stanford, "Inter-American Musical Research," *College Music Symposium* 7 (1967): 106.
[25] Behague, Boiles, Spiess and Stanford, "Inter-American Musical Research," 106.
[26] Tupinambá de Ulhôa, "Musica romantica in Montes Claros," 13-14.

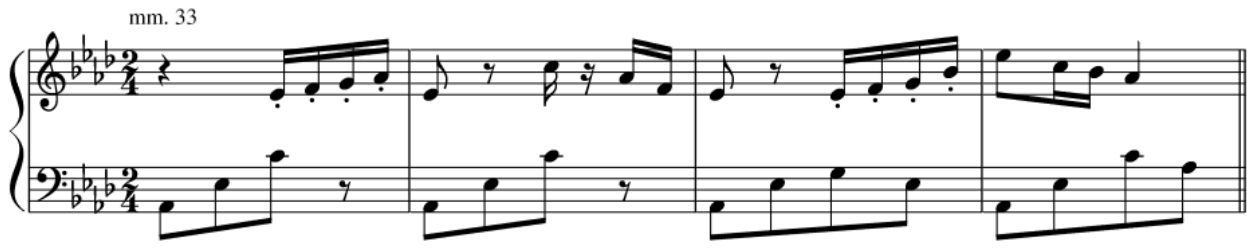
Example 3.1b. Gomes' "Conselhos," piano accompaniment (mm. 5-8)



However, certain aspects of the *modinha* are either modified or absent in "Conselhos." Firstly, Gomes' composition is scored with piano accompaniment, something that would not have been common in traditional *modinhas.* Additionally, although it begins with an accompaniment that parallels that of the guitar on typical *modinhas,* "Conselhos" transitions into an increasingly ornate piano part, one that uses more complex rhythmic patterns. For instance, in the *come prima* section ("*procure de agradar…*"), the piano plays an accompanying pattern that features a rhythmic, counter-melodic figure in the right hand, which is considerably more involved than the accompaniment at the beginning of the piece (Example 3.1c). "Conselhos" also does not conform to the ABACA "Brazilian waltz" form, but instead features a loose ABAC structure that could be better described as through-composed. Through-composed forms were common amongst European art songs of the 19th century,[27] making Gomes' *modinha* one in which traditionally Brazilian styles were juxtaposed with European techniques. Thus, "Conselhos" contructs a notion of "Brazilianness" echoes that of *Il Guarany* but begins to explore explicitly Brazilian musical forms.

[27] James Webster, *Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in his Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 7.

Example 3.1c. Gomes' "Conselhos," piano accompaniment (mm. 33-36)



Gomes' experiments with Brazilian popular music such as the *modinha* did not last long, however. In fact, "Conselhos" might be Gomes' only known composition that can be so closely tied to a vernacular Brazilian genre.[28] His other 1880s compositions, such as "Ao Ceará Livre!" (1884) and "Progresso" (1885), were composed in a Western Classical style. These compositions built upon the "Brazilianness" presented in "Conselhos" and reproduced notions of modernity and "Europeanness," though within a Brazilian context. Their premieres and association with Brazilian development served to further such ideological constructions. His so-called "*marcha popular*" ("popular march"),[29] "Ao Ceará Livre!" ("For Free Ceará!"), was composed following the abolishment of slavery in the northern province of Ceará on 25 March 1884.[30] This landmark event

[28] Unlike later composers, Carlos Gomes' compositions were largely limited to the Western Art Music style. His major pieces were composed as either operas or symphonic tone poems, and his smaller ones were marches or fanfares. Other composers, however, began to incorporate more vernacular styles in symphonic or operatic compositions in the early 20th century. Villa-Lobos, for example, incorporated samba and *modinha* rhythms into his *Suite Popular Brasileira* (1908-1912) and his famous *Chorô* compositions, which incorporated the traditional music genre of the chorô, often played as street music in Rio de Janeiro.

[29] In the original manuscript for "Ao Ceará Livre!," Gomes labeled it a "*marcha popular*." Such language also appears in André Rebouça's diaries. See "Ao Ceará Livre!," Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Partituras, in the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, BR. Translation by author.

[30] Abolition was declared in Ceará nearly four years before the nation-wide abolition of slavery, much to the satisfaction of abolitionists and Republicans throughout Brazil and abroad. This abolition was the result of a number of political and economic factors, such as the movement of an army base and the large landless populace in Northern Brazil. For a full discussion of abolition in Ceará, see: Celso Thomas Castilho, *Slave Emancipations and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), esp. 104-136.

in the Brazilian move towards complete abolition resonated with Gomes and his abolitionist friends Taunay and Rebouças. As a result, Gomes composed his march as an ode to the abolitionist struggle, premiering it in December of 1884.[31] Though musically the composition features no Brazilianate musical material and instead is written in the style of a typical military march, "Ao Ceará Livre!" further represents Gomes' desire to engage with Brazilian subjects and write for a Brazilian audience. Further, the piece affirms the composer's preoccupation with political discourse and his commitment to Brazil's progress and development.

Such a commitment to Brazilian progress was exemplified (in an overt manner) by Gomes' "Progresso" ("Progress"), a piece for chorus and orchestra that premiered in December of 1885 for the opening of the agro-industrial exposition in his hometown of Campinas. Originally titled "Coro Triunfal ao Povo Campineiro" ("Triumphant Anthem for The *Campineiros*"), Gomes had intended for the piece to not only honor Campinas, but to represent the city and its people.[32] In his letter accepting the commission of the piece, Gomes expressed gratitude at the opportunity to compose for his hometown, writing: "O Tonico of 1836[33] is getting old, but the *caipira* heart is always young enough to love Campinas and the people of its homeland. Accept, then, Campinas, in these humble harmonies, the homages and expressions of a vibrant and sincere love."[34] Gomes' desires were fulfilled, as in 1994 Campinas declared "Progresso" to be the official *Hino da Cidade de Campinas,* or the municipal hymn. Like "Ao Ceará Livre!," "Progresso" shows deep

[31] There is very little information on "Ao Ceará Livre!," but Rebouças diaries place its premiere in December of 1884. According to the diaries, the first draft of the composition was completed and sent to Rebouças in October of 1884. See "Diários de André Rebouças," in Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Correspondência, Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, BR.
[32] Nogueira, "O *Progresso,"* 39.
[33] "Tonico" was Carlos Gomes' childhood nicknamed, derived from his first name, Antonio.
[34] "O Tonico de 1836 já está meio velhote, mas o coração do caipira é sempre moço para amar Campinas e o povo de sua terra natal. Aceite, pois, Campinas, do filho ausente, nessas pobres harmonias, as homenagens e as expressões de vivo e sincero amor." Letter from Gomes to Tolugo Duantre, accepting the commission for "Progresso." Cited in Sílio Boccanerra Jr., *Um artista brasileiro* (Bahia: Typographia Bahiana, 1913), 118-119. Translation by author.

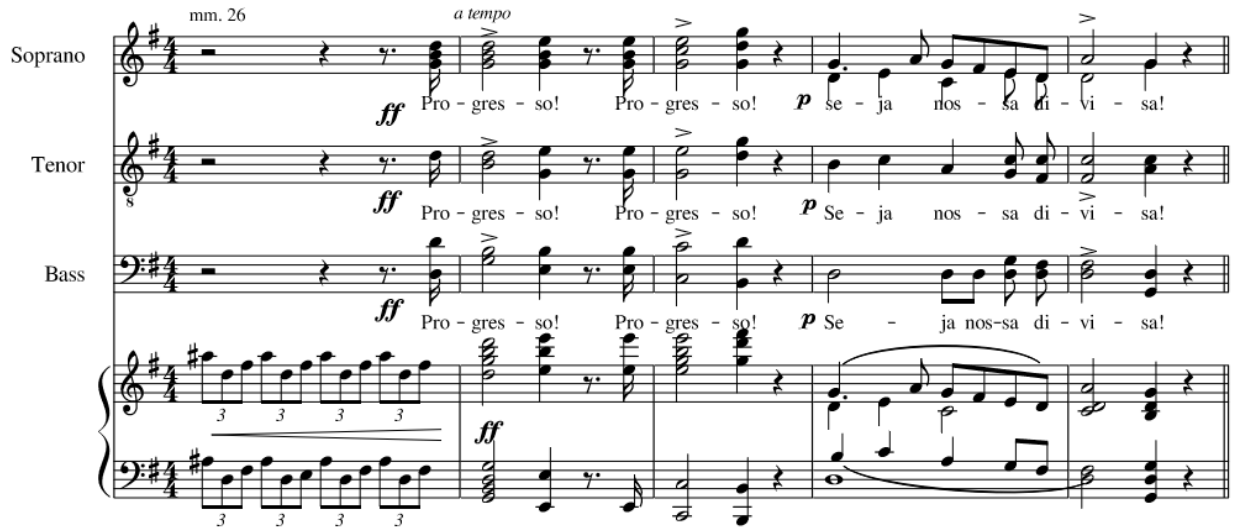
commitment to the development of not only the Brazilian nation, but of Gomes' hometown—the lyrics celebrate notions of progress, modernization, and industrialization and posits them as essential elements to Brazil's (and Campinas's) glory. Excerpted from the famous novel *Alcyones* by Campinas journalist Carlos Ferreira, the lyrics read:

Progresso! Progresso!	Progress! Progress!
Seja a nossa divisa.	Be our slogan.
Porvir!	Destiny!
Das industrias no enorme congresso,	From the industries in the enormous congress,
Precisamos galhardos agir.	We need to gallantly act.
Progresso! Progresso!	Progress! Progress!
Honra ao povo que sabe os louros da gloria colher!	Honor to the people who know how to reap the laurels of glory!
E co'a alma de luzes sedenta, a luz do trabalho vai colher!	And with a thirsty soul of lights, the light of labor will reap!
Vamos todos com fronte incendiada,	Let us all go with ignited brows,
Honra e fama conquistar!	To conquer honor and fame!
Progresso! Progresso![35]	Progress! Progress!

"Progresso" presents lyrical material that is triumphant and proud—the song sings of the Brazilian nation in terms of progress, especially in industry. These lyrics are fitting, given that the song opened the agro-industrial exposition in 1885. The musical material in "Progresso" supports the celebratory tone—the opening section begins with a triumphant fanfare in D major that alternates between the winds and the strings. This fanfare only crescendos, with ascending lines and vibrant melodies, until the entrance of the chorus, singing the unmistakable refrain (Example 3.2). Although the remainder of "Progresso" features modulations in key and orchestration, the piece never loses the triumphant and exultant tone. The second half of "Progresso" moves to a C major key and the orchestration becomes more sparse, but *staccato* figures and brisk tempo keep the celebratory tone until the fanfare returns with a crescendo that leads once more into the refrain.

[35] Lyrics as printed on the original manuscript for "Progresso." See "Progresso-Partitura," Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Partituras, in the Museu Carlos Gomes, Campinas, BR. Translation by author.

Example 3.2. Gomes' "Progresso," choral refrain (mm. 26-30)



The song celebrates modernity, reaffirming the elite notions of Brazil as a modern, industrial nation. In this piece, Gomes echoes the "modern" Brazil that he musically constructed in his *Il Guarany.* However, "Ao Ceará Livre!" and "Progresso" present an even more explicitly "modern" Brazilianness than did *Il Guarany.* Where the opera implicitly suggested a move away from a "savage" past, Gomes' compositions from the mid-1880s engage with important national and regional events in such a way that explicitly suggests themes of modernity. Celebrating the 1884 abolition in Ceará and the 1885 agro-industrial exposition in Campinas, for example, Gomes' pieces provide a musical narration for the development of Brazil. What we see in Gomes' musical production of the 1880s, then, is a "Brazilianness" that increasingly emphasizes modernization, placing Brazil within the company of the other modern (i.e., European) nations. These ideas were widespread among not only the Brazilian elite, but the public as well—the ideology of positivism, first proposed by the French philosopher Auguste Comte in the 1820s, had firmly taken hold in

Brazilian thought since the 1870s, when Miguel Lemos and Raimundo Teixeira Mendes founded the Positivist Church of Brazil.[36]

The development of positivism in Brazil provides fertile context for the present analysis of Gomes' imagined "Brazilianness," especially as it developed throughout the 1880s. The ideology emerged as a counter to the speculative philosophies that characterized theological thinking. Instead, positivists argued that the natural and social sciences—"empirical science" as Comte declared—were the only real sources of knowledge.[37] Positivists in Brazil largely considered themselves to be Republicans—they criticized outdated institutions such as the monarchy, the Catholic Church, and slavery as being stifling obstacles to Brazil's development.[38] Positivists were therefore chiefly concerned with this idea of progress and saw science and logic as the only path through which Brazil could become a modern nation.[39] It should be noted that the positivist ideology attracted followers with varying degrees of commitment. On the extreme end were the religious orthodox positivists, who organized an official church and eventually became so radical that they rejected the positivist Mother Church in Paris.[40] Most widespread, however, were the casual and "heterodox" positivists. They read Comte and embraced his general notion regarding

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[36] For Comte's discussion of Positivism, or "positive philosophy" as he first called it see: Auguste Comte, *A General View of Positivism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). See also: H.B. Acton, "Comte's Positivism and the Science of Society," *Philosophy* 26/99 (1951):291-310; Arturo Ardao, "Assimilation and Transformation of Positivism in Latin America," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 24/4 (1963): 515-522; Johan Heilbron, "Auguste Comte and Modern Epistemology," *Sociological Theory* 8/2 (1990): 153-162.

[37] Acton, "Comte's Positivism," 291-292.

[38] Frederic Amory, "Euclides da Cunha and Brazilian Positivism," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 36/1: (1999): 88.

[39] This notion of progress was so important for positivist Republicans that the flag of the Brazilian Republic in 1889 portrayed the positivist slogan *"Ordem e Progresso"* ("Order and Progress"). This slogan is still found on the Brazilian flag today. See: Amory, "Euclides da Cunha," 89-90.

[40] Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 11-12. See also: João Camillo de Oliveira Tôrres, *O Positivismo no Brasil,* 2nd ed (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1957) and João Cruz Costa, *O Positivismo na República* (São Paulo: Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, 1956).

the importance of science and reason, sometimes accepting his other theories as well, but rejecting the idea of the ideology as an organized religion.[41]

Although Gomes was friend of the monarchy, his allegiance was more personal than ideological. A staunch abolitionist, the composer was surely influenced by the positivist ideals of progress and modernity. Thus, as his musical constructions of "Brazilianness" developed through the 1880s, they became increasingly preoccupied with notions of Brazil as a modern and developed nation. While they were informed by the positivist discourse of the Brazilian elite (those with whom Gomes associated himself), his musical compositions served not only to reproduce the ideology, but to reaffirm and reify the ideas and notions so deeply held by his audience. This ideology, as we will see, formed the basis for the racial thought with which Gomes' *Lo Schiavo* engaged.

Lo Schiavo: The Abolitionist Anthem That Was Not

Positivist thought provided an ideological basis for abolitionist arguments—slavery was seen as a practice that was rooting Brazil in the past, preventing it from becoming a truly modern world nation.[42] Thus, the ideals of modernity became thoroughly entrenched in the discourse surrounding slavery and abolition. The actual process of abolition, however, was long and drawn out. Prior to the 1888 *Lei Aurea,* which completely abolished slavery, a number of smaller proclamations began to slowly dismantle the slave-based economic system that had become so ingrained in Brazilian society—the *Lei do Ventre Livre* ("Law of the Free Womb"), for example,

[41] Skidmore, *Black into White,* 11. See also: Tocary Assis Bastos, *O Positivismo e a realidade brasileira* (Belo Horizonte: Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos, 1965).
[42] Celso Thomas Castilho, "Performing Abolitionism, Enacting Citizenship: The Social Construction of Political Rights in 1880s Recife, Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 93/3 (2013): 385. See also: José Murilo de Carvalho, "Cidadania: Tipos e Percursos," *Estudos Históricos* 9, no. 18 (1996): 340 – 42.

declared free all children born to slaves after 1871, while the Sexagenarian Law of 1885 afforded freedom to all slaves after the age of sixty.[43] Thus, abolition in Brazil can be described as a gradual process in which the state was cooperative, to a degree. While the mounting popularity of abolitionist sentiment no doubt provided some impetus for the movement towards abolition, it is also important to acknowledge the importance of slave agency in the struggle. As a number of scholars have noted, slave resistance, both organized and individual, encouraged a mobilization of abolitionist within public circles which, in turn, emboldened and further radicalized slaves' resistance.[44]

Lo Schiavo was composed and premiered in the midst of this political climate and changing social situation. As Marcos Pupo Nogueira notes, the creation of *Lo Schiavo* was far more troubled than that of any of Gomes' other operas.[45] The opera was originally completed for an 1887 premiere in Bologna, set to a libretto written by Gomes' friend Taunay. The Italian impresario funding Gomes' production, however, removed *Lo Schiavo* from the schedule as he predicted the opera to be a failure. Gomes then set out to modify the libretto, this time working with Taunay and Italian librettist Rodolfo Paravicini. A number of changes were made to the plot and setting in this version, though it has been debated who is most responsible for them.[46] However, due to a series of legal battles over the rights to the libretto, Gomes was forced to either hand the libretto over to Paravicini and cede all rights, or take the production elsewhere.[47] Choosing the latter option,

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[43] Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1972), 210-217. See also: Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and* Antislavery (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009).
[44] João José Reis and Herbert S. Klein, "Slavery in Brazil," in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*, ed. Jose C. Moya (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011), 196. Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado, " 'Teremos grandes desastres, se não houver providências enérgicas e imediatas': A rebeldia dos escravos e a abolição da escravidão," in Grinberg and Salles, *O Brasil Imperial*, vol. 3, 376 – 98. See also: Castilho, "Performing Abolition," 383.
[45] Nogueira, *Muito além de melodramma,* 252.
[46] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 93.
[47] Nogueira, *Muito além de melodramma,* 253.

Gomes planned to produce his *Lo Schiavo* in Brazil. Timing, however, prevented him from being able to revise the opera and have it performed until September of 1889. In amending his composition, Gomes worked again with Taunay. More notably, however, Gomes consulted frequently with Rebouças on the content and aesthetics of the opera. Rebouças' diary entries from 1888 and 1889 reveal a significant involvement in the process of composing *Lo Schiavo*—they frequently discussed the plot, reviewed character and scenography sketches, and even visited various locations around Rio de Janeiro together for inspiration.[48] The abolitionist leader's engagement with Gomes' piece reveals the importance *Lo Schiavo* holds for Brazilian history. However, it also further complicates some of the aesthetic choices made by the opera's producers, especially in regard to characters.

While the Black slave played a fundamental part in the abolitionist movement, it did not figure as prominently (or at all) in the so-called "abolitionist anthem" *Lo Schiavo.* The opera is composed in four acts (in the Italian Grand opera style). Informed in part by Taunay's own experience in the Paraguayan War, much of the libretto's plot is drawn loosely from José Gonsalves Magalhães' poem "A Confederação dos Tamoios*"* (1856).[49] The opera is set in 1567 Rio de Janeiro, where Count Rodrigo owns a farm on which the indigenous Iberê and Ilára are enslaved. Américo, Rodrigo's son, decides to free Iberê, who vows an eternal loyalty to the Portuguese heir. At the same time Américo is engaged in an intense love-affair with Ilára. Upset

[48]For example, the diary entry from 6 August 1889 reveals that Gomes and Rebouças travelled to he outskirts of Rio de Janeiro to research a potential scenography for *Lo Schiavo:* "Com o amigo Carlos Gomes, procurando fotografias da Serra da Órgão para o cenário da opera 'Lo Schiavo.'" ["With my friend Carlos Gomes, looking to photograph the Serra da Órgão for the staging of the opera 'Lo Schiavo'"] See "Diário de André Rebouças," various entries from 1888 and 1889, in the Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Correspondências, in the Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, BR. Translation by author.

[49] Nogueira, *Muito além de melodramma*, 251-252. See also: Danilo Jose Zioni Ferretti, "A Confederação dos Tamoios como escrita da história nacional e da escravidão," *Historiografia, Ouro Preto* 17 (2015): 171-191.

by this, Rodrigo sends his son to join the military resistance against the native Tamoio uprising, while arranging for the marriage of Iberê to Ilára.

While away in Niterói (Rio's neighboring city), Américo meets the French Countess of Boissy, who shows a romantic interest in him. She, the new master of Iberê and Ilára, suddenly decides to free all her slaves (supposedly because of her own benevolence). This obvious reference to the contemporary abolitionist movement allows for the indigenous couple to live together in freedom. However, Ilára tells an infatuated Iberê that she cannot love him, as she has taken an oath of fidelity for Américo. Iberê, now enraged with Américo, joins the Tamoio to fight against the Portuguese. However, when the Portuguese heir is eventually captured and taken to the Tamoio camp, Iberê remembers his oath and frees Américo. When Américo and Ilára escape to be together, the Tamoio notice and plan to go after them (and further seek vengeance on the Portuguese). However, Iberê, still in love with Ilára, sacrifices himself in exchange for the mixed-race couple's freedom. In the climactic finale, as Américo and Ilára run off into the cliched sunset together, Iberê declares "Come and let them find the cold bare cadaver of a King" as he dramatically plunges a knife into his chest.[50]

Lo Schiavo's plot features a number of parallels to the story featured in Gomes' *Il Guarany*: a mixed-race couple, unsupportive European family members, a savage native tribe, and a large-scale war between indigenous and Portuguese factions. In fact, such parallels led some critics to accuse Gomes of choosing *Lo Schiavo's* subject matter only to try and repeat the success of his first *Indianist* opera.[51] Nevertheless, the opera's foregrounding of enslaved characters, as well as the abolitionist climate in which it premiered, provides an interesting vantage point from which to

[50] Carlos Gomes and Rodolfo Paravicini, *Lo Schiavo*, 1889 Act V Scene 10. Translation by author—original text in epigraph to this chapter.
[51] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil*, 93.

consider *Lo Schiavo's* ideological rhetoric. The opera was declared by the composer himself to be "abolitionist"—his dedicatory letter made clear Gomes' political intentions.[52] Abolitionist leaders Nabuco and Rebouças, in agreement with Gomes' appraisal of the opera, thus adopted *Lo Schiavo* as the anthem to abolition. Rebouças, for example, posited Gomes and his music and central figures in the struggle for abolition; without Gomes, abolition may never have occurred. In a letter to Nabuco, Rebouças wrote:

> Effectively, when Joaquim Nabuco incited his philanthropic propaganda in the Parliament in 1880, in the theater and in concert, in Bahia, in Rio de Janeiro, in Sao Paulo and in all of Brazil, those enslaved were liberated by the enthusiasm for the music of Carlos Gomes.
>
> Ceará, on 25 March 1884, positioned itself at the forefront of Brazil by liberating its territory; Carlos Gomes celebrated it with the beautiful 'Popular March for Free Ceará.' The blessed work of Abolition was finished on 3 May 1888; on 28 September 1889, on the 18th anniversary of the Initiating Law of Paranhos, from the Visconde do Rio Branco,[53] the opera 'Lo Schiavo' was presented in a great gala, dedicated by the Maestro to the Redeeming Princess Isabel.[54]

Statements by such important figures in Brazilian abolition undoubtedly merit a weighty consideration.[55] Here, Reboucas is explicitly crediting Gomes with the mobilization of abolitionist sentiment and the eventual promulgation of the *Lei Aurea.* The anthem of abolition, *Lo Schiavo,* was especially important according to Rebouças. While such might have been the original intention of Gomes and his abolitionist partners, the opera was only premiered *after* the final

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[52] See my introduction to Ch 3.

[53] "the Initiating Law of Paranhos, from the Visconde de Rio Branco," is in reference to the *Lei do Ventre Livre*, which was promulgated in 1871 by the Visconde do Rio Branco, José Maria da Silva Paranhos.

[54] "Effectivamente, quando em 1880 Joaquim Nabuco incitava no Parlamento sua filantrópica propaganda, no teatro e no concerto, na Bahia, no Rio de Janeiro, em São Paulo e por todo o Brasil libertavam se escravizados no entusiasmo pela música de Carlos Gomes. O Ceará, a 25 de Marco de 1884, pôs-se à frente do Brasil libertando seu território; Carlos Gomes mandou o com a bela "Marcha Popular ao Ceará Livre." A obra santa da Abolição ficou terminada a 13 de Maio de 1888; a 28 de Setembro de 1889, no 18 anniversario da Lei Iniciadora de Paranhos, visconde do Rio Branco, representava se em grande gala "Lo Schiavo," dedicado pelo grande Maestro à Princesa Redentora." see Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Correspondências, in the Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, BR. Translation by author.

[55] For more on Rebouças and his role in abolition, see: Stephanie Dennison, *Joaquim Nabuco: Monarchism, Panamericanism, and Nation-Building in the Brazilian Belle Epoque* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006), esp. 77-101.

proclamation of abolition, thus weakening—or negating—the political impact of *Lo Schiavo.* Even "Ao Ceará Livre," which was composed in 1884, would have had little to no effect on abolition—there is one documented performance of the piece, and any additional circulation would have been limited to elite circles of Gomes' friends, many of whom were already abolitionists.[56] While various political, social, and economic factors led to the abolition of slavery in Brazil, one can say with a definitive certainty that Gomes' music made no contributions.

The political impact of *Lo Schiavo* was further attenuated by his choice of characters—his preference for indigenous slaves over Black ones. Many scholars have noted that the original libretto for Gomes' opera, intended for an 1887 premiere in Italy, featured Black and mulatto slaves and was set in the 19th century.[57] These scholars attribute the decision to use indigenous slaves to the Italian Paravicini, who wanted to appeal to the sensibilities of an Italian grand opera style. In 1988, Fernando Bicudo, then director of the Brazilian Opera company in Maranhão, attributed the decision to Paravicini's racial prejudices towards Black and Afro-descendant individuals.[58] However, others have questioned this position, contending instead that the inclusion of Iberê and Ilára was actually Gomes' decision. Marcus Goés has provided what may be the most concrete piece of evidence for this argument: he observed that, in the margins to the original draft for *Lo Schiavo,* Gomes wrote: "Tamoio sou; Tomorio morrer quero" ("I am Tamoio; Tamoio I will die").[59] According to Goés, *Lo Schiavo* was abolitionist, "but not too much."[60]

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[56] In Rebouças' diaries, he cited one performance of the piece, happening in November of 1884. Given that he frequently wrote about Gomes' premieres, it is unlikely that the piece was performed professionally without him documenting it. See "Diários de André Rebouças," Coleção Carlos Gomes, serie Correspondências, in the Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, BR. Translation by author.
[57] See for example: Nogueira, *Muito além de melodramma,* 251.
[58] Bicudo, "Viva Carlos Gomes," 2.
[59] Góes, *Carlos Gomes,* 374.
[60] *Ibid.*

To call *Lo Schiavo* "abolitionist," as various scholars have done, presents an essentialist view of the political ideologies implicated in Gomes' opera. Though the composer himself refers to the opera as abolitionist—and, in fact, references abolitionism in the plot—his political engagement with liberation and equality is only superficial. If we are to consider *Lo Schiavo* to be an "abolitionist" piece, we must interrogate the brand of abolitionism that Gomes was engaged with (and thus, featured in his opera). In choosing to eclipse Afro-Brazilian identities in favor of indigenous and white ones, the composer aligns himself more closely with the elite abolitionism of the positivist, that which, according to Emília Viotti da Costa, saw slavery as the backwards practice holding Brazil back from modernity. According to Viotti da Costa, the ideal of abolitionism reflected the elites' "desire to free Brazil from the problems of slavery rather than . . . a wish to emancipate the slaves."[61] Gomes' opera reproduces this ideal—*Lo Schiavo* presents slavery as the problem but makes no mention of the centuries of oppression endured by African and Afro-descendant slaves. Nor does it, in any ostensible way, provide a call for the liberation of Black individuals. These abolitionist ideals, supported by Gomes and Dom Pedro II, were implicitly tied to a notion of "Brazilianness" that celebrated modernity, broadly defined. Gomes' rather explicit denunciation of slavery in *Lo Schiavo* demonstrates this commitment, as it presents an image of Brazil in line with the slavery-free nations of Europe and North America. *Lo Schiavo's* engagement with modernity, however, can be additionally examined through the opera's racial overtones and, like *Il Guarany*, be situated in the racial discourse of nation-building.

[61] Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories*, rev. ed. (1985; Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2000), 170.

In Search of Race: Racial Thought in the Nation-Building Project

In the socially and politically tumultuous years of the 1880s, Brazilian intellectuals were concerned with the recently reopened questions regarding Brazilian identity. Though such discussions were temporarily solved under the firm guiding hand of Dom Pedro II and the Conciliação in the 1850s, the Paraguayan War made space for the political disillusionment and dissent that sprouted Republican and anti-monarchy ideals.[62] The increasing positivist current facilitated such critiques of the "old-world" monarchy. As Thomas Skidmore asserts, "the new ideologies of progress and science were strong and attractive medicine for young minds in a nation whose social structure and mental heritage could hardly have been more different from the scenes of material progress in western Europe and North America."[63] However, these social reformers believed that change required a new and defined view of Brazilian identity.[64] Thus, these scientifically progressive ideas of positivist thought influenced the development of Brazilian social thought—*pensamento social brasileiro.* As Skidmore makes clear, they led social thinkers, primarily comprising Brazilian elite, to draw comparisons between Brazil and the so-called "civilized world" of Europe and North America.

The discourse of the Brazilian intelligentsia regarding *pensamento social* provides an important context in which to place the music of Carlos Gomes, given that his compositions were both informed and attended by members of the cultural elite. At the end of the 19th century, such discussions of Brazilian identity focused on the idea of the "*caráter nacional"* ("national character"), a general term for the factors that made Brazil and its people unique, especially when compared to European nations. This line of questioning was based largely in the German

[62] Barman, *Citizen Emperor,* 250; Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 78-79.
[63] Skidmore, *Black into White,* 13.
[64] Jeffrey Needell, *A Cultural Bell Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1987), 1-22.

philosophical debates over the *Volksgeist* hypothesis, that which explored the construction of a "national spirit," put forth by in the 1760s by Justus Möser and Johann Gottfried Herder and revised in the 1800s Friedrich Carl von Savigny.[65] In Brazil, discourse surrounding the Brazilian *volksgeist* was propagated largely by the *"geração de 70"* ("1870s generation"), or the Recife School, a group of intellectuals centered around the Recife Law School in Pernambuco.[66] The Recife School separated into two camps of thought: geographical determinism and racial determinism. Whereas geographical determinists, influenced largely by the writings of Montesquieu, argued that a nation's natural environment—its topography, natural resources, and climate—would shape its national identity, the racial determinists asserted that the potential for "cultural evolution" was predicated upon the country's racial composition.[67]

Given the effects of the racialized Paraguayan War and the increasingly diversity brought by waves of immigration, the ideologies of racial determinism took hold within the country's elite classes, who saw the scientific model of race as a viable justification for discrimination along racial lines.[68] Predictably, then, racial determinism posited the "superiority" of some races over the "inferiority" of others. Given the positivist zeal for progress and the fantasy for a European "modernity," it only makes sense that Brazilian racial determinism looked to Europe as the basis for the formation of their racial thought. As Dain Borges notes, Brazilian racial thought adapted European theories regarding degeneration, a broad catch-all term that, although conflated with color and race, could be better described as "a psychiatry of character, a science of identity, a social

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[65] For a discussion of *Volksgeist* in German intellectual development, see: George W. Stocking, *Volksgeist as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).
[66] Rezende Mota, "A geração de 70," 10.
[67] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 15. For a discussion of Montesquieu and geographical determinism, and their influence in Brazilian social thought, see: Roberto Ventura, *Estilo tropical, história cultural e polêmicas literárias no Brasil, 1870-1914* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1991), 19-43.
[68] Dain Borges, "'Puffy, Ugly, Slothful, and Inert': Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25/2 (1993): 235.

psychology."[69] Borges describes a "medicalization" of racial thought—owing to positivist ideology, the Brazilian intelligentsia used science, or pseudo-science at the very least, to critically assess and compare communities and individuals along racial lines.[70]

Chief among the European proponents of degeneration theory was Arthur de Gobineau, a French minister and diplomat to Brazil whose 1853 *On the Inequality of Human Races* laid out a stark and stratified racial vision. Gobineau argued that some races were "pure" and "superior" whereas others were "sullied" and therefore inferior, and that racial mixing was a process through which the pure and "conquering" races gradually lost their special qualities.[71] Gobineau, familiar with Brazil and its racially diverse population, regarded the country as living proof of his ideas—he asserted that Brazil was culturally stagnant and backwards as a result of unchecked racial miscegenation, which had left the country with a predominantly Black (over 50 percent) population.[72] Further, he attributed objectively negative qualities to Blackness in Brazil. For example, he wrote: "Everyone is ugly here, unbelievably ugly, like apes."[73] Like Paraguay's attacks on Brazil's Black population in the 1870s, Gobineau's racist indictment of Brazil struck a chord with the nation's elite, cementing in their imaginations an ideological rationale for the classification of Black as "inferior" and White as "superior."

Gobineau's theories did not map on perfectly to the racial situation in Brazil—there existed far too diverse a racial spectrum to apply Gobineau's essentialized reading of race as "Black" or "White." Instead, Sílvio Romero, a Brazilian historian and intellectual, and member of the Recife School, posited perhaps the most important consideration of the Brazilian racial question in his

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[69] Borges, "'Puffy, Ugly, Slothful, and Inert,'" 235-236.
[70] *Ibid,* 236-239.
[71] Arthur de Gobineau, *On the Inequality of Human Races* (New York: GP Putnam's Sons, 1967), 25.
[72] Skidmore, *Black into White,* 29-30.
[73] Jean Gualmier, "Au Brésil, Il y a un Siècle…Quelques Images d'Arthur Gobineau," *Bulletin de Faculté des LEttres de Strasbourg* (1964), 497. Cited in Skidmore, *Black into White,* 31.

História de Literatura Brasileira (1888).[74] While Romero agreed with Gobineau's basic premise of racial superiority and inferiority, and cited racial makeup as a foundational factor in the development of Brazilian national culture and identity, he offered a revised view of race in Brazil. Romero's assertion of what he called "*a raça brasileira"* ("the Brazilian Race") conceptualized Brazil's contemporary racial makeup as the product of three races—the European (White), the African (Black), and the Indian.[75] Romero's discourse was foundationally essentialist; he argued that the Indian race had contributed little to Brazilian cultural development and thus sat "lowest on the ethnographic scale," whereas the Black race had been "totally defeated" and had never founded a civilization.[76] The White race, according to Romero, was culturally, physically, and even psychologically superior to the "degenerate" Black and Indigenous races. However, Romero was quick to note that the branch of Europe that had populated Brazil via the Portuguese, the "Greco-Latin strain," was inferior to the Germanic and Nordic strains of the Aryan race. Thus, he wrote: "We are a people descended from the degenerate and corrupt branch of the old Latin race, to which were added two of the most degraded races in the world—the coastal Negroes and the American redskins. The senility of the Negro, the laziness of the Indian, the authoritarian and

[74] It should be noted that Romero's views on the racial question in Brazil were worked out primarily in between 1869 and 1881 and were published in smaller formats (essays and periodicals) within those years. His 1888 publication was a summary of his major arguments. See: Skidmore, *Black into White,* 32.

[75] This view of the Brazilian race as coming from three racial streams—White, Black, and Indigenous—had far-reaching implications in Brazilian society. It was not only the basis of Romero's racial thought, but also of Gilberto Freyre's sociological analysis of Brazil's racial composition, that which led to the propagation of the "myth of Racial Democracy" in the 1930s. The Racial Democracy of which Freyre spoke posited the Brazilian race as fundamentally miscegenated, such that all individuals were thus equal and so that racism no longer played an important role in Brazilian society. This myth is still invoked in today's discourse to downplay or dismiss notions of racism, discrimination, and marginalization in contemporary Brazil. See: Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala* (1933) and Skidmore, *Black into White.*

[76] Romero uses the term "ethnographic scale" to refer to his hierarchy of races, determined by physical and psychological traits that, according to him, were derivative of an individual's race. For Romero, the White race was positioned at the apex of his scale, followed by the Black race and, finally, the Indian race. Romero's use of such a scale to categorize races on supposed qualities bears resemblance to the European theories of scientific racism, in which "superior" and "inferior" characteristics were seen as inherent parts of race. See: Borges, "'Puffy, Ugly, Slothful, and Inert,'" 237-238. See also: Skidmore, *Black into White,* 34-37.

miserly talent of the Portuguese had produced a shapeless nation with no original or creative qualities."[77]

Perhaps Romero's most radical and far-reaching idea was that the "*raça brasileira"* was completely miscegenated, such that no pure racial type was left in Brazil.[78] In plainer terms, the "Brazilian race" existed in and of itself as a race. There were no pure White, Black, or Indigenous individuals, only *mestiços* that exhibited varying degrees of mixture between these three races. In Romero's racial thought, however, Gobineau's racial determinism could still be applied to Brazil's *mestiço* population—individuals with more European descendance were seen as "superior" to those with more African or Indigenous descendance.

Naturally, Romero's "ethnographic scale"—his term for an imagined racial hierarchy—translated over to his view of Brazil's racial and cultural future. It was here in his discourse surrounding Brazil's racial development and the importance of miscegenation that he broke most markedly with Gobineau's racial determinist theory. Whereas Gobineau—and most European intellectuals, for that matter—posited racial mixing as a mechanism by which White races cede their superior characteristics, Romero saw it as a beneficial process. For Brazil, Romero theorized miscegenation, or *mestiçagem,* as the inverse; he saw racial mixing as a process by which the "degenerate" races could ascend to whiteness and attain at least some semblance of racial "superiority." Influenced by the French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, Romero theorized miscegenation as a process that did not produce "degeneration," but rather would "forge a healthy mixed population growing steadily whiter, both culturally and physically."[79] He wrote:

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[77] Sílvio Romero, *Literatura brasileira e a critica moderna* (Rio de Janeiro, 1880), 72. Quoted in Skidmore, *Black into White,* 36.
[78] By "pure racial type," I am referring to the racial streams first discussed by Romero, the Black, White, and Indigenous races. See: Skidmore, *Black into White,* 35.
[79] Skidmore, *Black into White,* 65. For a discussion of Lamarck's work, see Nancy Leys Stepan, *"The Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

> My argument is that future victory in the life struggle among us will belong to the white. But the latter, in order to achieve this victory in the face of the hardships of the climate, will have to capitalize on the aid the other two races can furnish, especially the black race with which it has mixed most. After having rendered the necessary help, the white type will continue to predominate by natural selection until it emerges pure and beautiful as in the old world. That will come when it has totally acclimatized on this continent. Two factors will greatly contribute to this process: on the one hand the abolition of the slave trade and the continuous disappearance of the Indians, and on the other hand European immigration![80]

Romero's discussion of the "Brazilian race" here is important for a number of reasons. It asserts the "Brazilian race" as a mix of three races in which each contributes something to Brazil's racial and psychological identity. Notably, however, Romero places the white race at the top of his "ethnographic scale" and asserts that it has contributed the most to a Brazilian identity and "will continue to predominate." Perhaps more important is Romero's apparent preoccupation with the future of Brazil and its identity. Influenced by positivist discourse regarding modernity and the future, he envisions the "Brazilian race" as becoming progressively whiter as Brazil moves into modernity. For Romero, the abolition of the slave trade and the continual influx of (white) Europeans via immigration contribute to his vision of a whitened Brazilian race. Romero was particularly interested in German immigration, as such individuals would instill in Brazil the necessary blood to move the race in the direction of the supposedly "superior" strain of the Aryan race, writing: "The future of Brazilian people will be an Afro-Indian and Latino-German mixture if, as is probable, German immigration continues alongside Portuguese and Italian."[81]

Romero's brand of racial determinism and his musings concerning "*a raça brasileira*" formed the basis of the ideology of *branqueamento* ("whitening"). For the Brazilian intelligentsia and the elite, predominantly white classes, *branqueamento* provided a feasible path towards

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[80] Romero, *Literatura brasileira,* 53. Cited in Skidmore, *Black into White,* 37.
[81] Sílvio Romero, *História de literatura brasileira,* Vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro, 1888), 68. Cited in Skidmore, *Black into White,* 37.

Romero's whitened "Brazilian race" and, thus, a whitened Brazil. The ideology, which was popularized in the late 1880s, especially in the aftermath of abolition, imagined racial intermarriage and miscegenation as a path towards a whiter and more European population.[82] This was, in part, due to Brazil's fluid racial system in which mobility was possible between generations, as Brazilian artist Modesto Brocos' *A Redenção de Cam* (1895) demonstrates (Figure 3.1).[83] In this painting, a Black grandmother is depicted thanking God for her grandchild—the product of a mixed-race couple—being born white, clearly demonstrating *branqueamento's* vision for a progressive whitening of Brazil. The *branqueamento* ideology also pervaded Brazilian politics and policy. As Jeffrey Lesser notes, at the end of the 19th century, the Brazilian government, clearly influenced by Romero's ideas, actively encouraged immigration from European countries—there were campaigns to incentivize individuals from Germany, Portugal, and Italy to seek their fortunes in Brazil, thereby contributing to a more European population.[84] Through this increase in white immigrants from Europe, in tandem with racial miscegenation and the gradual disappearance of Black and Indian races, Brazil was set to move towards a whiter and thus "superior" population.

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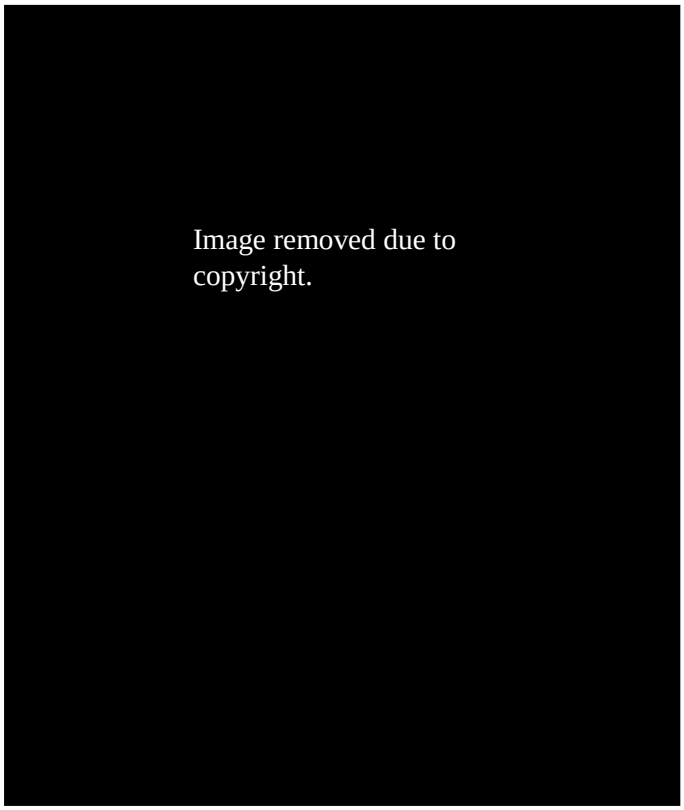
[82] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 95. For other scholars that discuss *branqueamento* and whitening, see: Skidmore, *Black into White;* Sales Augusto dos Santos and Laurence Hallewell, "Historical Roots of the 'Whitening' of Brazil," *Latin American Perspectives* 29/1 (2002): 61-82; Dante Morreira Leite, *O caráter nacional brasileiro: história de uma ideologia,* 5th ed (Sao Paulo: Atica, 1954/1992), esp. 250-255; and Renato Ortiz, *Cultura Brasileira e Identidade Nacional,* 5th ed (Sao Paulo: Brasiliense, 1985/1994), esp. 22-27.

[83] For a discussion of skin color and racial fluidity in Brazil, see: Edward E. Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), esp. 3-6, 218-238.

[84] Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 13-14, 60-65.

Figure 3.1. *A Redenção de Cam* ("Ham's Redemption") by Modesto Brocos y Gómez, 1895[85]



Branqueamento and its associated policies and ideological precepts formed an important part of the nation-building project. As Peter Wade argues, whitening projects are inextricably tied to notions of nation—they present ideologically constructed concepts of a national past and future in which the past is associated with "backwardness" and the future with "modernity."[86] In the case of Brazil, *branqueamento* reveals the tense and nuanced relationships between theories of race, nation, and progress, where certain races are associated with the past and others with the future. Whitening, for an elite class that was deeply anxious over questions of national and racial identity and Brazil's place on the world stage, provided a clear path towards what they wanted more than anything else—to be more like Europe. For them, a whiter population was indicative of civility,

[85] Painting housed in the Museu de Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro, BR.
[86] Peter Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 11-12.

progress, and, of course, modernity. Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* an opera whose creation was informed by Brazil's intelligentsia and whose premiere was directed towards Brazil's elite, can be placed within the problematic discourse of nation-building. To examine the racial and national anxieties betrayed by Gomes' opera is to examine the anxieties of a national elite who, themselves wishing to be considered alongside European nations, saw Brazil's racial makeup as an obstacle to modernity. Within such discourse, *Lo Schiavo* can be interpreted along two discursive axes. First, it presents an engagement with the elites' notion of a so-called "*raça brasileira*," particularly in the way Brazil's racial future is negotiated and constructed with regards to indigeneity. Secondly, *Lo Schiavo* is a site of negotiation between constructions of the national pasts and futures implicated by the racial ideologies—the opera reveals and attenuates the potential discordance between the elite's romanticization of an Indian past with their relentless pursuit of European modernity.

"*A Raça Brasileira*": Musical Constructions of Race and Indigeneity

Race figured as an important theme in Gomes' *Lo Schiavo.* Racial tension, especially, characterized many of the relationships in the opera—Ilára and Iberê were enslaved by the Portuguese Count Rodrigo, the indigenous Tamoio held a deep-seated resentment for their white colonizers, and Américo's family was disapproving of his love for an indigenous woman. Like *Il Guarany* almost two decades earlier, *Lo Schiavo* presents a foundational myth for the nation of Brazil, one that is represented as the product of an archetypal mixed-race couple. The opera is set in 1567, a year that does not correspond to any major event in Brazilian history, and much of the action takes place in the "Serra dos Órgãos," an unspecified region outside of colonial Rio de Janeiro. The temporal and geographic ambiguity of the opera's setting creates a "uchronic"

rendering of Brazilian history, one that contributes to the Brazilian historical imagination.[87] This setting allowed Gomes' opera to simultaneously engage with notions of a national past and national future, and comment on the state of race in the mythicized foundation of the Brazilian nation.

Lo Schiavo features—either explicitly or implicitly—each of the three "racial streams" discussed by Romero. While the White and Indian races are represented prominently by characters such as Américo and Iberê, the Black race is problematically implied by the opera's engagement with slavery and abolition. The exclusion of any actual Black characters is noteworthy, however, as it alludes to the exclusion of Blackness and African descendance from the discourse of *branqueamento* that characterized the ideological context in which the opera premiered. Gomes' various representations of indigeneity further support his reproduction of the whitening motif—through carefully rendered indigenous characters, each a performance of some type of imagined indigeneity, Gomes adds to the musical construction of "*a raça brasileira"* presented in *Lo Schiavo.* Thus, the composer's various representations of indigenous characters provide an important vantage point for exploring his construction of an imagined "Brazilian indigeneity" and its implications for a "Brazilian race." Doing so reveals the ideological importance of Gomes' opera to the elite cultural groups—nobility, political leaders, moneyed landowners, and intellectuals—in which it circulated.

Indigeneity is rendered in various ways by Gomes' opera, and such characterizations are supported by musical, visual, and dramatic material. Like in his *Il Guarany,* Gomes uses his indigenous characters to forge a spectrum of indigeneity, one in which two native groups are antithetically opposed to one another based on their openness to European cultural norms (read:

[87] For a discussion of "uchronic" narratives, see: Portelli, "Uchronic Dreams," 46-48.

whiteness)—whereas Pery accepts Christianity and befriends the Portuguese, his indigenous rivals remained staunchly opposed to colonialism and European influence. These categories of indigeneity can be applied to *Lo Schiavo,* where Ilára would represent receptivity to Europe (and whiteness) while the Tamoio are hostile and reluctant. Such considerations of indigeneity in *Lo Schiavo,* however, can be expanded to include categories of indigeneity that appear both on and off the stage, further elucidating the opera's complex engagement with the contemporary ideological notion of a national race with which the opera's elite audiences were familiar. In Gomes' opera, the following five tropes are represented or implied:

1. The Assimilated Christian, represented by the figure that openly accepts and converts to Christianity and is open to the influence of European colonialism (Ilára)
2. The Romantic Hero, or the "Noble Savage,"[88] represented by the figure that performs some heroic deed, involving self-sacrifice (Ibêre)
3. The Savage Cannibal, represented by the figure that shows hostility and violence to the European colonizers, often characterized by violent or barbaric actions (the Tamoios)
4. The Future, represented by the implied child of the mixed-race couple that will be descendant of both Portuguese and indigenous blood (Américo and Ilára)
5. The Absent, "Real" Indigenous Peoples, not represented on the stage but constantly in the back of the audience's mind as they watch fictionalized, imagined natives.

These five motifs for indigeneity—the Assimilated Christian, the Romantic Hero, the Savage Cannibal, the Future, and the "Real" Indian—represent the various concepts of indigenous life that were held by the country's elite classes, most of whom would have had no ostensible contact with any actual indigenous communities.[89] Thus, the urban elite's notions of Brazilian

[88] For my discussion of the "Noble Savage" trope in Brazilian literature and Gomes' music, see my Ch. 2.
[89] For much of the 19th century, urban elite classes had very little contact with individuals outside of their immediate spheres of residence (that is, urban centers like Rio de Janeiro). They often exoticized ("voyeurized" might be a better term) classes or communities on the peripheries of their "civilization," such as indigenous populations or favela-dwellers. Popular literature (popular at least within elite, literate circles) was one such method of learning

Indians were shaped exclusively by literary, artistic, and, of course, musical constructions of the *índio* ("Indian"), a figure that, for audiences, was read as both fictitious and real. Here we see clearly the influence of the midcentury Indianism movement, where writers Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães, José de Alencar, and Antônio Gonçalves Dias promulgated national and allegorical tales that contrived what Devine Guzmán calls a "spectrum of 'Indianness,'" one in which native peoples are imagined as "good" and "evil" and only the "good" ones may contribute to the development of Brazilian civilization.[90] This paradigm for "Indianness," reproduced in 1870's *Il Guarany,* was further reinforced by *Lo Schiavo.* However, such discourse took on a new layer of meaning within the context of *branqueamento* and abolition.

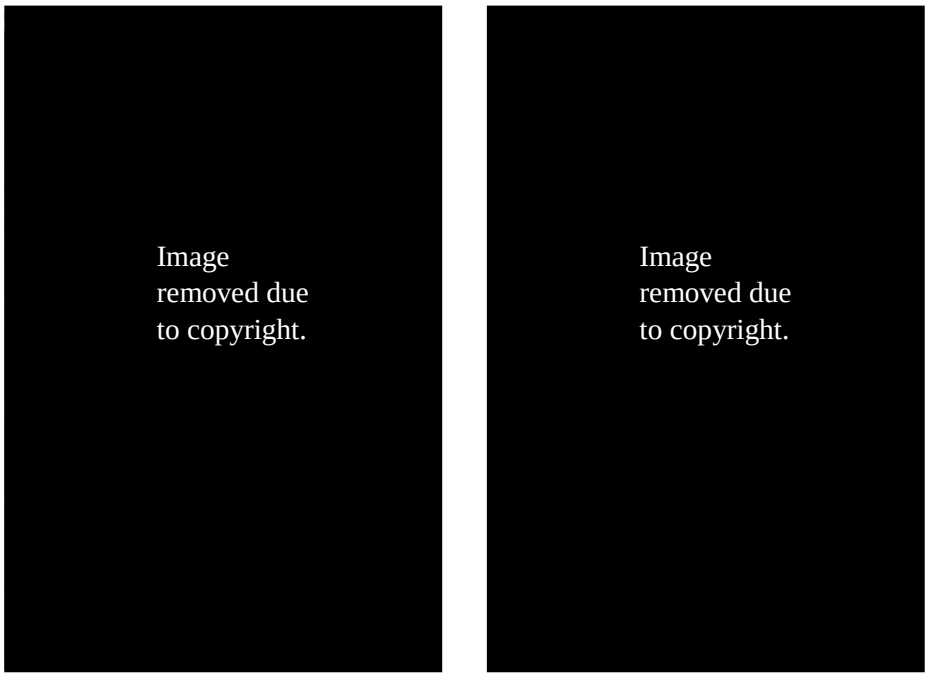
In *Lo Schiavo* the central and fundamental dialectic lies between those natives considered "good" and those deemed "bad." The "tamed vs. untamed" binary I discussed with regards to *Il Guarany* applies here. Ilára, the indigenous woman who accepts Europe's influence and marries a white man, is worthy of contributing to Brazil's development, whereas the savage Tamoio tribe is not. This opposition is reinforced simply through the character's appearance, revealed by a series of character sketches that the composer had commissioned prior to the opera's premiere. These sketches illuminate Gomes' Indianist characterizations of the contrasted indigeneities. The Tamoio warriors, depicted in a number of sketches of *coro indigena* ("indigenous chorus") are presented as hostile, violent, and savage—they are all armed with bows or clubs, are dressed in various

about communities in these societal peripheries, though in an exoticized fashion. For example, Aluísio Azevedo's 1890 novel *O Cortiço* ("The Slum") described life within the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Another prominent example of this literature is Euclides da Cunha's 1902 novel *Os Sertões* ("Rebellion in the Backlands") describes the events of the Canudos Rebellion in the 1890s and the resistance that the *sertanejos* ("backlands-dwellers") offered. Both of these novels involved racialized and exoticized depictions of groups residing outside of the dominant urban centers. For more on Azevedo's novel, see: Lúcia Sà, "Zola in Rio De Janeiro: The Production of Space in Aluísio Azevedo's 'O Cortiço'," *Portuguese Studies* 26/2 (2010): 183-204. For more on *Os Sertões* or Canudos, see: Lori Madden, "The Canudos War in History," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 30/2 (1993): 5-22 and Adriana M.C. Johnson, "Subalternizing Canudos," *MLN* 120/2 (2005):355-382.

[90] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 39.

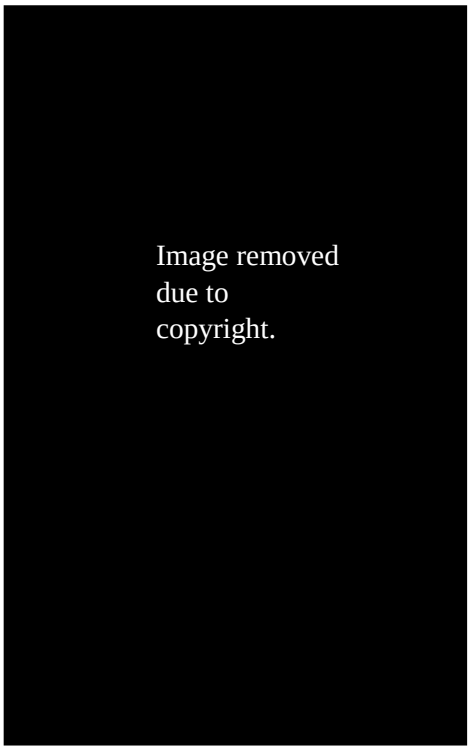
animal skins, and feature numerous tattoos (Figure 3.2). Most importantly, the Tamoio figures are all presented in stances or with facial expressions that betray arrogance and malice, certainly characteristics that an elite, "civilized" audience would read as "untamed." Such renderings cater to the early, sensationalized writings of the European explorers who described with great detail the "savage" and "grotesque" peoples they encountered.[91]

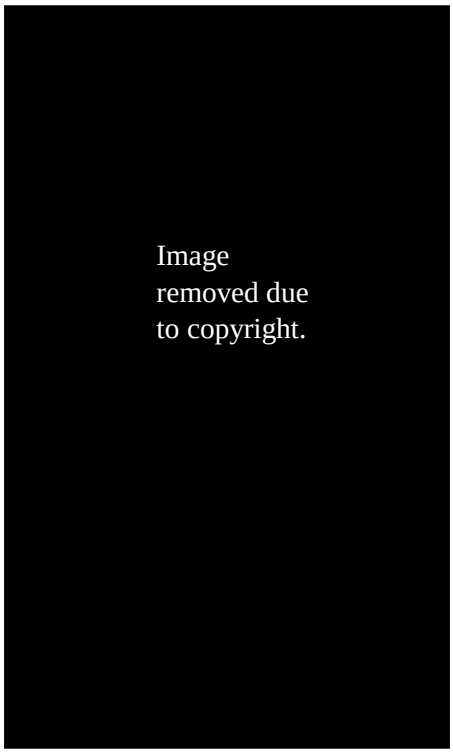
Figure 3.2. Tamoio warriors in the *coro indigena*, from *Lo Schiavo* character sketches[92]



[91] This is discussed in my Ch. 1. See: de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil,* and Forsyth, "Three Cheers for Hans Staden."

[92] According to Musuem records, these sketches were commissioned by Gomes to be completed by Luigi Bartazego. Although the exact date is unknown, they are estimated to have originated in the early 19th century, perhaps shortly before the premiere of Gomes' opera. See sketches in the Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), serie Iconográfica (CGic), in the Museu Nacional Histórico, Rio de Janeiro, BR.

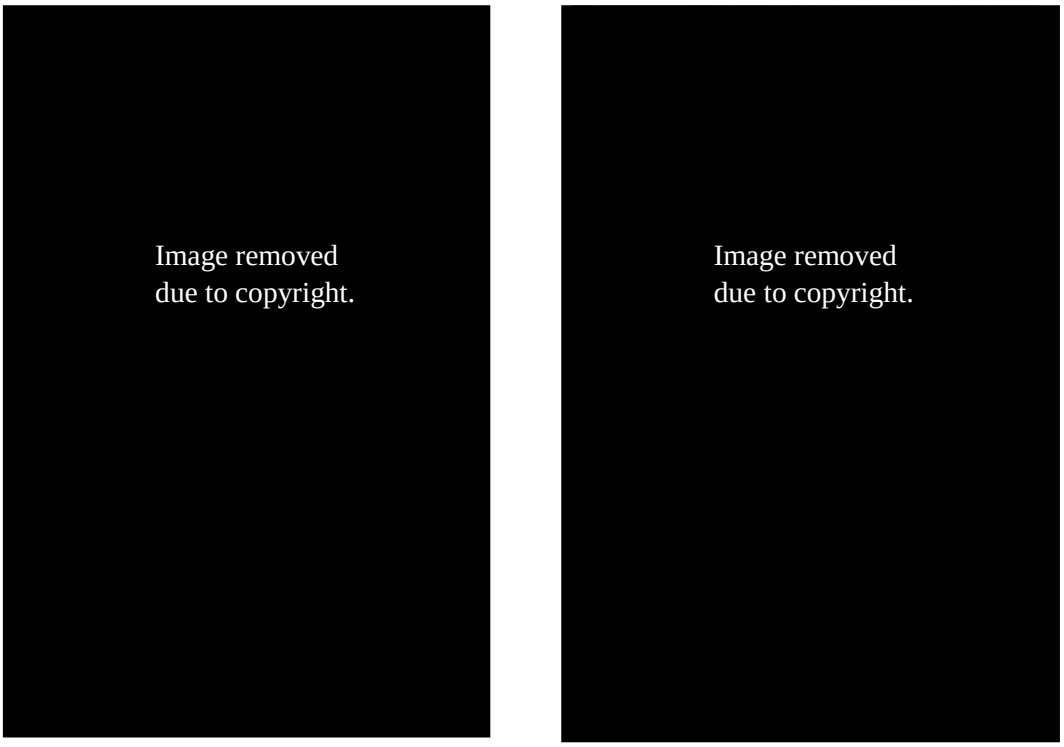




Ilára, on the other hand, is presented wearing clothing and in stances that would make her more palatable to the elite Brazilians watching her on stage (Figure 3.3). She, representative of the motif of the Assimilated Christian, is pictured wearing full-length dresses with luxurious and delicate embroidery (despite her social position as a slave). She has European features and is physically positioned so that she embodies the effeminate notion of womanhood that permeated 19th-century Brazilian society. Noteworthy is the inclusion of stereotypically "Indian" elements in the depictions of Ilára, including the decorative feathers, positioning her at a safe distance from whiteness and still within the realm of "Indianness." One of the most striking (and telling) differences between Ilára and the Savage Cannibal figures, however, lies in the skin colors of the various figures. In all of the sketches, the Tamoio warriors are depicted with darker skin—almost black—compared to Ilára, whose fairness implies a comparative proximity to whiteness. Such racial characterizations reflect the scientific racism that influenced Romero's brand of racial determinism—darker skin was associated with backwardness whereas lighter skin and whiteness

with ideals of progress and modernity.[93] That Ilára forms one part of the foundational mixed-race couple is symbolic, as her quasi-Europeanate features will influence Brazil's development and contribute to the pursuit of modernity, while the "backwardsness" of the darker skinned Tamoio are left behind.

Figure 3.3. Ilára, in Act I (left) and Act III (right), from *Lo Schiavo* character sketches[94]



In *Lo Schiavo*, the indigenous figure that is closer to whiteness—Ilára—is the one that is deemed the "good" Indian and is given a place in Brazil's future. In this sense, the opera's

[93] See, for example, Afono Celso's 1908 treatise *Porque me ufano do meu país,* where he discusses "Brazil's superiority" with regards to its three racial antecedents: "The American savage, the black African, and the Portuguese." In discussing the indigenous contribution to a Brazilian race, he argues that Indians are superior to Africans, partly because of their proximity to whiteness. He emphasized, for example, the apparent similarities between native populations and the ancient Germans, depicting indigenous peoples as "light skinned" or "albino." As I argue, such discourse attributes "superior" qualities—strength and bravery, for example—to lighter skin while associating darker skin with the inverse. See: Afonso Celso, *Porque me ufano do meu país* (Rio de Janeiro: Laemert, 1908), Ch. 14 and Ch. 17.

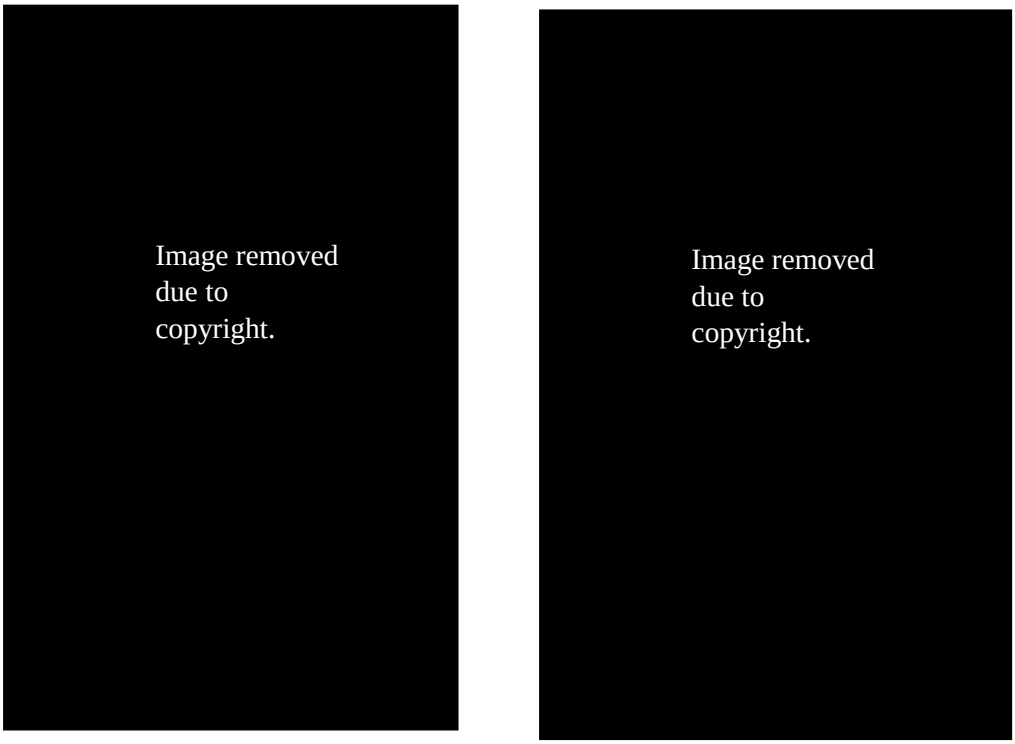
[94] See sketches in the Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), serie Iconográfica (CGic), in the Museu Nacional Histórico, Rio de Janeiro, BR.

discourse on indigeneity and "Brazilianness" mirrors that of *Il Guarany.* The elite audience's new enthrallment with the ideas of racial determinism and *branqueamento,* however, resulted in an even more deeply racialized reading of *Lo Schiavo,* one in which a rhetorical connection is drawn between whiteness and modernity. Essentially, to be white and European is to be modern. Inversely, to be dark is to be backwards, as is seen with the Tamoio characters. The motif of the indigenous Romantic Hero, Iberê, adds to these racial associations and reifies the opera's engagement with Brazil's whitening ideology. This character complicates the foundational "tamed vs. untamed" dialectic that shaped *Il Guarany's* ideological discourse, given that the Iberê figure operates within both spheres. In *Il Guarany,* the motif of the Romantic Hero is presented through Pery, who heroically rescues Cecilia. However, Pery is also the Assimilated Christian, accepting of his colonizer's religion and beliefs. In *Lo Schiavo,* these roles are split between Ilára and Iberê, the latter existing only to complicate and eventually facilitate the mixed-race romance that proves foundational for the development of the nation.

In *Lo Schiavo,* Iberê is another love interest of Ilára's, potentially interpreted as an obstacle to the foundational-mixed race romance. His characterization teeters between the "tamed" and "untamed" categories propagated by Indianist interpretations of Brazilian identity. At the beginning of the opera, Iberê is a submissive slave, loyal to Amêrico—at one point he even offers his eternal faithfulness to his white master. After being freed by the French Countess, however, Iberê reconvenes with the Tamoio tribe and integrates back into the native culture. Here, the Iberê figure assumes the mantle of opposition to European colonialism, becoming part of the "untamed" collective of indigenous peoples. The two sides of Iberê's indigenous characterization—as initially "good" but later "bad"—are reinforced visually through dress (Figure 3.4). While a slave (Acts I and II), Iberê is dressed correspondingly—although the stereotypical markers of "Indianness" are

present in the form of feathers and furs, he is dressed modestly in a plain tunic. However, when Iberê joins the Tamoios (Act III), visual signifiers of "Indianness" are ostensibly amplified as the figure is given a full feather headdress and dressed in more revealing animal furs. An important feature to note in the characterizations of Iberê is his skin color—he is depicted with a significantly darker skin tone than Ilára, placing him outside of the realm of whiteness that Ilára is placed in, by virtue of both her skin color and her relationship with the Portuguese Américo.

Figure 3.4. Iberê, Act I/II (left) and Act IV (right), *Lo Schiavo* character sketches[95]



Iberê claims his role as the indigenous Romantic Hero at the end of the opera, when, keenly aware that the only path for Ilára's survival is through Américo, he sacrifices himself to placate the angry Tamoios who are after the mixed-race couple. By doing so, Iberê allows Ilára and Américo to escape the savage Tamoios and contribute to the newly *mestiço* Brazilian population.

[95] See sketches in the Coleção Carlos Gomes (CCG), serie Iconográfica (CGic), in the Museu Nacional Histórico, Rio de Janeiro, BR.

This sequence of events—the climax of the opera's plot—is symbolic and important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it presents Iberê turning against his Tamoio compatriots, rejecting his own indigeneity to side with the Portuguese and Europeans and reprising his role as the "tamed" and "good" Indian. Secondly, *Lo Schiavo's* plot presents *mestiçagem*—what Romero theorized as the foundation of a "Brazilian race"—as only possible at the cost of indigenous life. Essentially, Iberê must die for Ilára and Américo's love to thrive, thus privileging the mixed-race relationship (Ilára and Américo) over the fully indigenous one (Ilára and Iberê). Of the two potential relationships, it is only the mixed-race relationship that constitutes *mestiçagem* and, by extension, a whitening of indigenous identity. Further, by presenting an indigenous death as a prerequisite for this *mestiçagem,* Gomes presents his audience with a literal eclipsing of indigeneity—it is only through indigenous demise that a whitened identity (represented here by the mixed-race relationship) can take form.

The above interpretation of *Lo Schiavo's* plot complicates classifications of the opera as "Indianist."[96] Gomes' opera is Indianist in that it posits an indigenous past and a Native-European alliance as the root of the Brazilian nation and of "Brazilianness."[97] However, *Lo Schiavo's* racial discourse would be better placed within that of 1880s *branqueamento,* an ideology that was derivative of and influenced by Indianism's romanticization of Brazil's indigenous roots but placed greater emphasis on an ideal of whiteness and modernity. Instead of building the imagined Brazilian nation on indigenous roots, *Lo Schiavo* constructs Brazil upon an idealization of whiteness, one that carefully selects indigenous qualities to claim as precursors to Brazilian

[96] For scholars that have referred to *Lo Schiavo* as "Indianist" or discussed the resonances of literary Indianism within the opera, see: Regis Duprat, ""Evolução da historiografia musical brasileira," *Opus 1* (1989): 32-36, and Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape."

[97] For discussions of Indianism with regards to race and nation, see: Sommer, *Foundational Fictions,* 158-171 and David Brookshaw, *Race and Color in Brazilian Literature* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1986). For a more outdated work, see David Miller Driver, *The Indian in Brazilian Literature* (New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1942).

identity, but privileges whiteness nonetheless. The opera's selective exclusion of Black and Afro-descendant characters further places Gomes' racial vision for "Brazilianness" within the ideology of *branqueamento.* While the fluid concept of race was applied to intermarriage with indigenous peoples, it was not readily applied to individuals of mixed European and African descendance—in many cases, it was seen as unlikely or even impossible that Black individuals could ever achieve whiteness, despite countless generations of *mestiçagem.*[98] The opera's use of indigenous—as opposed to Black—slaves, then, reifies this deeply held tenant of *branqueamento*. By depicting a mixed-race couple using indigenous woman, Gomes makes possible the erasure of indigenous, non-white identities in a way that would not have been possible had he used African/Black characters.

The racial discourse that surrounds the figure of the Romantic Hero, as well as his relationships with the Assimilated Christian and the Savage Cannibal, culminates in the opera's implied indigenous motif of the Future, the mixed-race child of Ilára and Américo. While their child is never shown on the stage, it is insinuated that the child is close to white and, as I have already argued, that its very existence is predicated on the literal death of indigeneity. The Future is a figure that is descendant of indigeneity, but is closer to being European, given that its mother is already portrayed as quasi-European and its father is of purely European descent. This child, then, is a symbolic representation of the nation of Brazil, one that also represents the erasure of indigeneity that *branqueamento* ideologists posited as foundational to the Brazilian pursuit of modernity.

It is worth restating that *Lo Schiavo's* characterizations of indigeneity were, in many ways, based in gross essentializations, stereotypes, and biased racializations—Gomes and his librettist

[98] Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal, "Mestizaje and the discourse of national/cultural identity in Latin America, 1845-1959," *Latin American Perspectives* 25/3 (1998): 23.

collaborators, with the exception of Tauney, had no known contact with any actual indigenous populations.[99] Even then, if Tauney's memoirs serve as any indication, his engagement with indigeneity was radically sensationalized and racially biased.[100] As Alcida Ramos notes about such racial discourse, which she calls "indigenism," the depiction of "Indians" by non-Indians infantilizes and demeans them at every turn.[101] Compounding to this issue of representation, as Guzmán argues, is that such depictions of "Indianness," when presented to audiences unfamiliar with indigenous communities, were (and still are) taken as authentic—the racially biased "Indians" presented in popular media shape the urban notions of actual indigenous Brazilians.[102] Applying this critique to *Lo Schiavo*, it becomes clear how the manipulated, romanticized, and primitivized motifs of the Assimilated Christian, the Romantic Hero, and the Savage Cannibal shape the opera's implication of the fifth and final motif, that of the "Real" Indian, or the notion that the elite audiences held of actual indigenous populations, populations that were simultaneously exoticized and idealized. By extension, *Lo Schiavo* contributed to or reified the audiences' ideas regarding Brazilian history, the Brazilian nation, or the "Brazilian race," all factors that influence the not-so-abstract concept of "Brazilianness." According to Ramos, such is the power of popular depictions of indigeneity: they shape non-indigenous conceptions of race and lead to fabricated or mythicized

[99] There is no indication that Gomes, Scalvini, or Paravicini ever had any actual contact with indigenous populations. Tauney, co-lbrettist for *Lo Schiavo*, would have been the only one to meet indigenous Brazilians, which he wrote about in his recollections of his time in the Paraguayan War. Presumably, Gomes would have been informed by early writings regarding indigenous populations, but most largely by the Indianist literature of Alencar and Dias.

[100] In his memoir, Tuaney describes the indigenous Paraguayan soldiers he encountered as being "savage" amd "uncivilized." He devotes dozens of pages to carefully recounting incidents in which these indigenous soldiers committed grotesque acts of violence, thus sensationalizing his encounters with indigenous peoples in the same way early European explorers did. See: Tauney, *A retirada da Laguna*, and my Chapters 1 and 2.

[101] Specifically, Ramos critiques the way in which representations of "Indians" are presented primarily to children, as parts of childrens books and songs, or as popular education. Such depictions, she argues, infantilizes actual indigenous communities and reduces them to childrens' playthings. See: Alicida Ramos, *Indigenism: Ethnic Politics in Brazil* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 249-276. See also: Alcida Ramos, "The Commodification of the Indian," *Série Antropologia* 281 (2000):2-17.

[102] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 195.

notions of a national past.[103] I would add, however, that such constructions of Brazilian indigeneity not only shape notions of "*a raça brasileira*" or of the contemporary Brazilian nation, but also conceptions of the nation's future, both racial and otherwise.

Musical Negotiations of "Brazilianness" and Modernity

The racial ideologies advanced by proponents of the *branqueamento* project made salient various notions of a national past and a national future. On the one hand, *branqueamento* and the associated "*raça brasileira"* invoked a sense of shared history among all Brazilians, supposedly all descendant from the same three historical racial streams. Romero's writings seem to assert a certain equality among Brazilians, given that the Brazilian identity—or race, as he would say—was built upon contributions from Africans, Europeans, and indigenous peoples.[104] On the other hand, *branqueamento* idealized a particular national future, one in which racial equality was not as ubiquitous as some would have pretended it to be. In fact, *branqueamento* and racial determinism were built upon an ideologically constructed racial hierarchy in which certain individuals were prescribed "superiority" or "inferiority" based on racial characteristics.[105] These notions of a Brazilian past and a Brazilian future, although simultaneously implicated in the discourse of *branqueamento*, reveal potential ideological dissonance—*branqueamento* claims a romanticized non-white national history as the root of a Brazilian national identity ("Brazilianness") that will eventually develop into a whitened national future.

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[103] Ramos, *Indigenism,* 249-250.
[104] This argument would go on to form the basis of Freyre's *"democracia racial"* ("racial democracy") in the 1930s, where miscegenation is theorized as a mechanism for equality—if all Brazilians are the same race, then racism cannot exist. This argument has since been discredited. Skidmore, *Black into White,* 32. For Freyre's discussion of race and the Racial Democracy, see Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala,* 1933.
[105]Skidmore, *Black into White,* 33-35.

Over the course of the nation-building project, the Brazilian cultural elite were forced to negotiate these potentially contradictory constructions of national pasts and futures. Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* composed and premiered in the midst of discussions regarding "Brazilianness," race, and modernity, acts as a compelling case study for examining how these tensions were handled, attenuated, or even embraced by the nation's cultural power-brokers. *Lo Schiavo* has been praised by some as Gomes' most complete and flawless composition,[106] and by others as his most perfect encapsulation of Indianist ideology.[107] Agreeing with such claims, Ciro Flamarion Cardoso points to *Lo Schiavo* as an opera that exudes "Brazilianness," despite ostensibly Italianate (or "non-Brazilianate," to use his words) musical and aesthetic material.[108] This characterization, however, elucidates some of the same contradictions that were found in the ideology of *branqueamento*. How could *Lo Schiavo* present itself as a musical hallmark of "Brazilianness" while using an Italian libretto and the standard conventions of European opera? Situating the opera within the dissemination of the ideology of *branqueamento,* it becomes clear that this was exactly the intention of Gomes' *Lo Schiavo*—it presents a notion of "Brazilianness" that straddles national past and future, being at once rooted in an indigenous Brazilian past and a white, European future.

As can be said of any of Gomes' operas, *Lo Schiavo* is ostensibly Italian. It is set to an Italian language libretto and follows the standard organizational structure of the Italian Grand Opera genre (with an overture and four acts).[109] Contemporary critics praised in particular Gomes'

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[106] See, for example, João Itiberé da Cunha, "Lo Schiavo," In *Carlos Gomes: Uma Obra em* Foco (Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE, 1987), 187-194.

[107] Volpe not only considers *Lo Schiavo* to be an Indianist opera, but argues that it presents Gomes' most well developed musical construction of Indianist ideology. In particular, she discusses the opera with regards to the topos of Landscape, i.e. how the musical material in the opera conveyed a sense of Brazil's natural environment. See: Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 242.

[108] Ciro Flamarion Cardoso, "A Construção da 'Brasilidade' na Opera *Lo Schiavo* (*O Escravo*), de Carlos Gomes," *Sociedade em Estudos, Curitiba* 1/1 (2006), 133-134.

[109] For a discussion of the Grand Opera structure, see Nicolaison, *Opera in Transition,* and my Ch 1.

refined use of melody and orchestration.[110] However, as can also be said (problematically) of Gomes' music, *Lo Schiavo* was characteristically "Brazilian," at least to contemporary audiences and critics. As Volpe, notes, Gomes' critics recognized and lauded musical renderings of "Brazilianness" in Gomes' compositions, especially in *Lo Schiavo.* Rodrigues Barbosa, for example, wrote: "Knowing how to orchestrate superbly due to his mastering of each instrument, Gomes' scores contain descriptive pages full of the most beautiful effects, always with a stamp of Brazilian originality."[111] Elsewhere, Italian-Brazilian critic Vincenzo Cernicchiaro commended Gomes' command of orchestration, particularly in the way he musically presented Brazil. He wrote:

> Carlos Gomes is the great artist whose daring, terrible, threatening, austere, delicate, elegant and colorful orchestration does not fear comparison. Orchestrator by excellence, from the simple bombardão to the difficult violin, each instrument is masterly managed and shows the composer's knowledge of technique, range and effect equal to any skillful performer; this is a quality that not all *maestros* have, even if this is indispensable to all who dedicate themselves to the symphonic and dramatic genres, and face the challenge of bringing forth calculated effects from each instrument's properties, which according to Boury, were made to idealize nature's sounds. The finely and skillfully orchestrated descriptive music of Carlos Gomes' Prelude to Act IV, Scene 4 is a splendid proof of his ability to idealize nature's sounds. This musical piece shows with beautiful, charming effects the sea's murmur, the waves of which break against the stoned shore in the middle of night's profound silence as another phrase preluding with varied sounds prepares the Brazilian dawn with all its majesty; the warring inubia's sound is heard from the far away Tamoyo's camp. Clarions hit at the dawn contrasting with the cuckoo's lament and the sabia bird's trills. The orchestral effect remains rich, daring and varied. A progression beginning in pianissimo prepares a grandiose crescendo, an effect of utmost sonority in which the dominant phrase seems a grandiose anthem to the first sunray that kisses the incomparable land of Guanabara. [Gomes is] a highly skilled colorist.[112]

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[110] Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 145.

[111] "Sabendo orquestrar admiravelmente, pelo conhecimento que adquiriu de cada instrumento, as suas partituras contêm páginas descritivas, cheias dos mais belos efeitos, sempre com um cunho de originalidade brasileira." JC, 17 Aug. 1894, p. 1, T&M [by Rodrigues Barbosa], article on the performance of Carlos Gomes' *Lo Schiavo*. Cited and translated in Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 146. Translation edited slightly by author.

[112] "o grande artista, cuja instrumentação ousada, terrível, ameaçador, austera, delicada, elegante e colorida, não receia comparação. Orquestrador por excelência, desde o simples bombardão até o difícil violino, cada síngulo instrumento é manejado por ele com mão de mestre, conhecendo neles ao par de qualquer provecto executante, técnica, extensão e efeito; qualidade esta que nem todos os maestros possuem, ainda que indispensável para todos

Barbosa's invoking of a "Brazilian originality" and Cernicchiaro's discussion of Gomes' musical rendering of Brazil, make clear the composer's reception as utterly Brazilian. The above statements present a shift from the earlier reception of Gomes as essentially European—and his operas as "*operas italianas*"[113]—to his being regarded as a fully Brazilian/Brazilianate composer. Additionally, Cernicchiario's comments allude to a major feature of Gomes' *Lo Schiavo* that, as the critic argued, contributes to the opera's "Brazilianness": musical references to landscape. As Volpe has discussed, landscape is one of the major themes that constitutes Gomes' compositional paradigm—his musical renderings of Brazil's natural resources contributed to the development of a nationalist genre of Brazilian musical composition.[114] In *Il Guarany,* the composer's musical engagement with Brazil's natural environment served to construct an exoticized image of "Brazil" for a European audience. In *Lo Schiavo,* however, such representations evoke images of a national past, set in the unique environment that has shaped and propelled Brazil's trajectory as a nation.

Gomes' musical depictions of Brazilian flora and fauna are temporally set in an undefined past, but in a clearly Brazilian environment—the Serra dos Órgãos lies outside of 16th-century Rio de Janeiro. As Cernicchiario's review of the opera notes, *Lo Schiavo,* and especially the prelude

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aqueles que se dedicam ao gênero melodramático e sinfônico, cujo problema a resolver é o de saber tirar efeitos calculados, pondo assim em evidência as virtudes e as propriedades dos instrumentos, que na opinião de Boury, foram feitos para idealizar os sons da natureza. // A este respeito uma prova esplêndida nos oferece o maestro Carlos Gomes no Preludio do IV acto, scena IV, cuja música descritiva, fina e habilmente instrumentada, mostra com bonitos e encantadores efeitos o rugido do mar, cujas vagas, no profundo silêncio da noite, rompem-se contra a beira pedrosa, enquanto outra frase, preludiando com sons muito variados, prepara o aparecimento da aurora brasileira em toda sua majestade, e ao longe ouve-se o som da Unubia [sic; instead of Inubia] guerreira no campo Tamoyo. Os clarins tocam a alvorada e contrastam com o lamento do cuco e com os trinados do sabiá. // O efeito orquestral continua rico, audacioso e variado. Uma progressão, que começa com pianissimo, prepara com um grandioso crescendo, um efeito de máxima sonoridade, em que a frase dominante parece um hino grandioso ao primeiro raio de sol que beija a incomparável terra do Guanabara. (...) colorista muito hábil." JC, 15 Aug. 1894 p. 2, "Carlos Gomes e a sua opera Lo Schiavo," special contribution by V[incenzo] C[ernicchiaro]. Cited and translated in Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 146. Translation edited slightly by author.

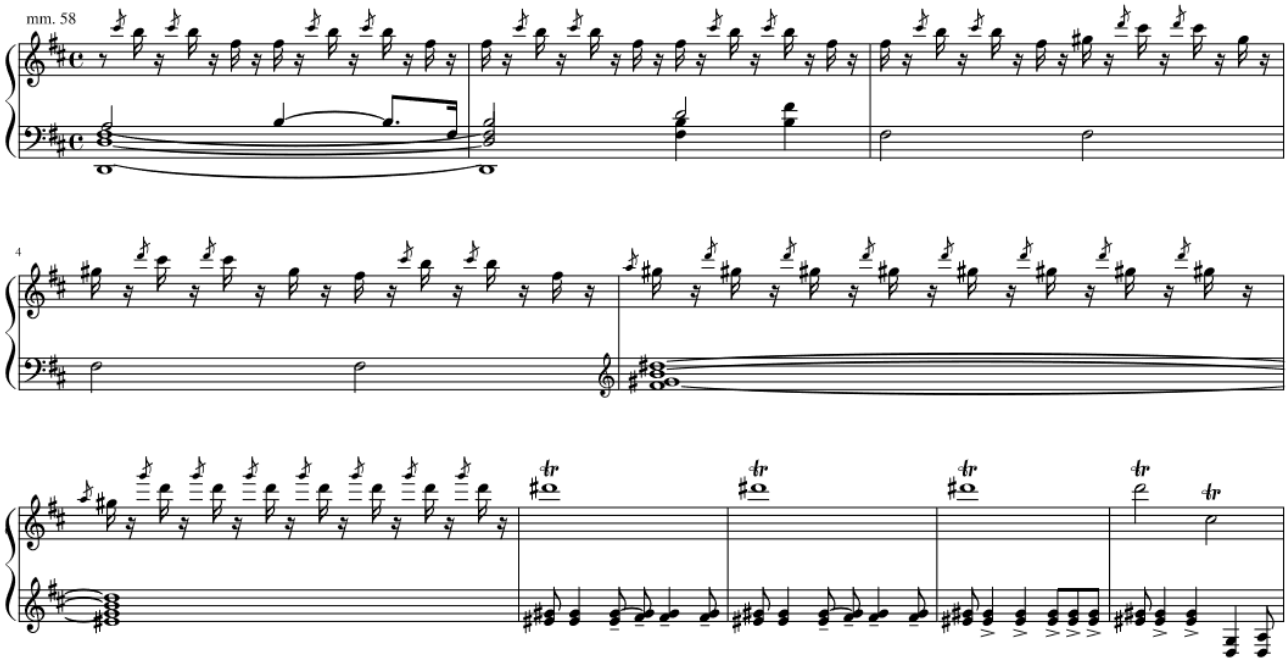
[113] See my Ch 1.

[114] Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 225-228, 236-241.

to Act IV Scene 4, "Alvorada,"[115] was replete with references to Brazil's natural splendor—Gomes' presents the sounds of ocean waves, tranquil forest nights, and, of course, the Brazilian *sabiá* birdcall. In "Alvorada," the Prelude opens with extended passages of descriptive music that, as contemporary criticism informs us, was meant to evoke a sunrise over Brazil. In this passage, Gomes musically depicts Brazil's *sabiá* bird and its distinct calls, represented by short, high-pitched staccato figures that build into an extended trill over a C-sharp ninth harmony (Example 3.3). Although this was not Gomes' first attempt at integrated bird calls into his operas (he did so in "Pery's Scene" in *Il Guarany*), this was undoubtedly his most developed and refined use of orchestration to convey images of Brazil's national birds. This also, as Volpe notes, represents the first instance of the *sabiá* birdcall in music.[116] According to Ronald Carvalho, the *sabia* was a staple motif of Brazilian Romantic writers and poets, as its lyrical songs were seen as uniquely Brazilian and reflect of the country's natural and cultural beauty.[117] Therefore, Gomes' use of this call here invokes Brazilian Romantic thought, that which idealized a national, indigenous past as a root for "Brazilianness."

[115] "Alvorada" is an orchestral intermission in the middle of Act IV of *Lo Schiavo.* It is one of the most well-known and performed parts of the piece, often features as a stand-alone feature in concerts. For that reason, I present "Alvorada" as a characteristic passage in Gomes' *Lo Schiavo*.
[116] Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 250.
[117] Ronald de Carvalho, *Pequena História da Literatura Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: F. Briguiet, 1925), 155.

Example 3.3. Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* "Alvorada" (Act IV Sc 4), *sabiá* bird calls (mm. 58-63)

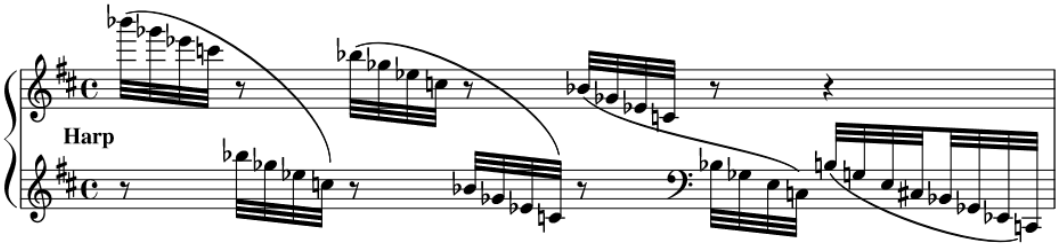


As Cardoso notes, the opera's plot—and its clear reference to Magalhães' poem "A Confederação dos Tamoios*"*—stands as one of the strongest indicators of "Brazilianness" in *Lo Schiavo*.[118] Musical, visual, and dramatic depictions of Brazil's colonial history and its indigenous inhabitants resonated with an audience that relished romanticized constructions of Brazil's past. Like in *Il Guarany,* presentations of an untapped, natural land in which brave, strong, and sometimes savage peoples struggle and thrive parallel the Indianist discourse surrounding indigeneity and landscape. In using his music to depict elements of Brazil's natural environment, such as will the bird calls or the ocean waves (Example 3.4), Gomes creates a strong rhetorical connection between Brazil's land and the historical site at which the opera's narrative is unfolding. As Claudia Valadão Mattos writes regarding the visual arts, there exists an intrinsic connection

[118] Cardoso, "A Construção da 'Brasilidade,'" 117-118.

between images of landscape and the nation's history.[119] If we are to apply this argument to *Lo Schiavo,* it becomes increasingly clear that Gomes' musical renderings of the Brazilian landscape, something to which the entirety of the prelude "Alvorada" is dedicated, are intended to reproduce or reify images of a national past.

Example 3.4. Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* "Alvorada" (Act IV Sc 4), ocean waves (mm. 31)

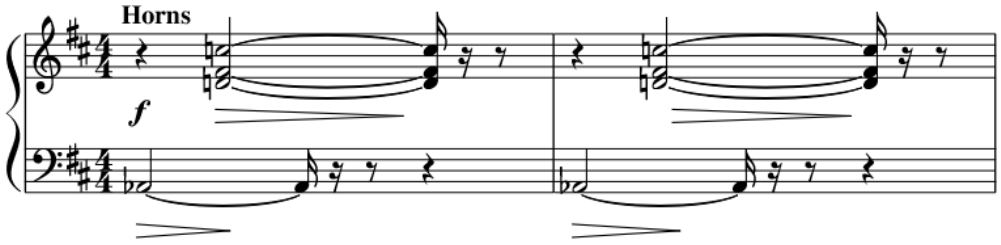


Gomes' use of landscape to invoke discourse surrounding "Brazilianness" and a Brazilian past are strengthened by his use of indigenous and *mestiço* characters, both explicit or implied. Staged dances and arias featuring Assimilated Christians and Savage Cannibals narrate, albeit in a fabricated fashion, this history of Brazil and provide a case for the foundation of "Brazilianness." Throughout the opera, however, this "Brazilianness" is attenuated and tempered by numerous references to a non-Brazilian modernity, one rooted in "Europeanness." In the "Alvorada" prelude, for example, explicit "Brazilianness" is juxtaposed and contrasted with Europeanness. The Tamoio warrior horn call ("inubia guerreira") is placed in sequence with the Portuguese mariner horn call ("toque de alvorada"). The passage begins with the Tamoio warrior calls, referenced by Cernicchiario in his review of *Lo Schiavo,* first marked *piano* (mm. 26-28) and then *fortissimo* (mm. 32-33). This call is characterized by a harsh sounding dominant harmony—G sharp dominant seventh with a raised eleventh (G#7 #11)—in the lower register (Example 3.5a). Shortly after (mm.

[119] Claudia Valadão Mattos, "Imagem e Palavra," In *O Brado do Ipiringa,* CeciliaHelena de Salles Oliveira and Claudia Valadão Mattos, eds (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, Museu Paulista and Imprensa Oficial, 1999), 101-103.

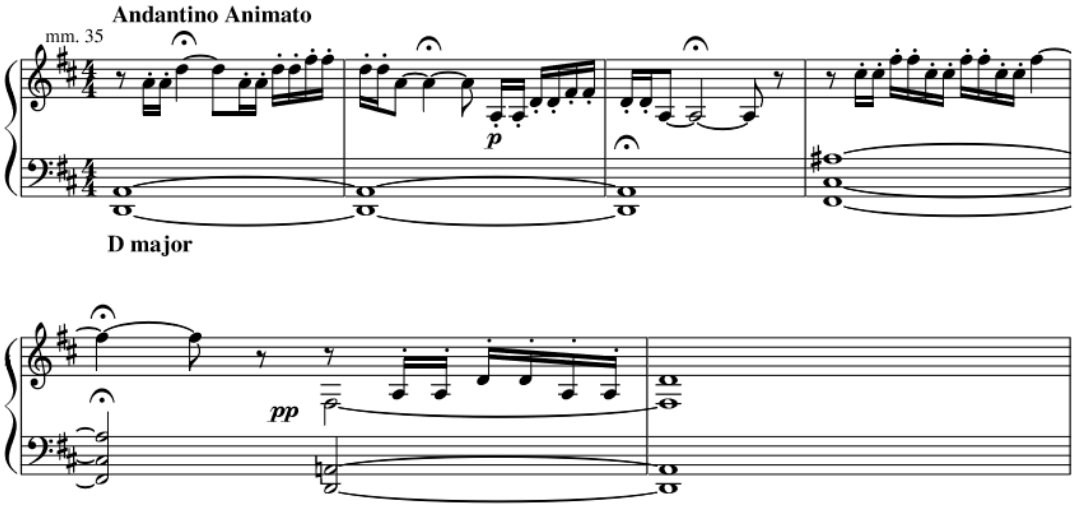
35), the score is marked "*sul mare, in distanza, si vede schierata la flotta Lusitana in asseto di guerra"* ("on the sea, in the distance, we see the Portuguese fleet deployed for war"), marking the beginning of the Portuguese mariner horn call.[120] This call, played over a D major harmony, features a clear and regal sounding European trumpet call, reminiscent of a bugle/brass fanfare (Example 3.5b). As Volpe notes, these two calls are a tritone apart (G sharp to D), such that their juxtaposition represents the clash between European and indigenous cultures.[121] I would add to this, however, that the juxtaposition of the Tamoio and Portuguese calls can be representative, in an almost literal way, of the dissonance that arises in the negotiations between a "Brazilianness" based in a non-white (indigenous) past and a modernity based in a whitened future.

Example 3.5a. Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* "Alvorada" (Act IV Sc 4), Tamoio warrior horn call (mm. 26-27-horns transposed to C)



[120] See "Lo Schiavo," Score, ca. 1889, housed in the Loeb Music Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, United States.
[121] Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 258.

Example 3.5b. Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* "Alvorada" (Act IV Sc 4), Portuguese mariner horn call (mm. 35-40-horns transposed to C)

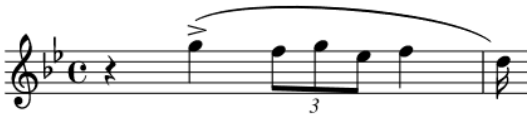


References to a European modernity—or at least one that is derivative of Europe—appear in other parts of *Lo Schiavo,* not least of which is the opera's climactic finale where the darker indigenous man must die such that a whitened "Brazilianness" must flourish. Musically, *Lo Schiavo* presents a far more explicit engagement with the European musical trends that were in vogue at that point. In particular, Gomes' compositional style makes extensive use of Wagnerian leitmotif.[122] Gomes emphasizes two primary leitmotifs, that of Iberê (Example 3.6a) and Ilára (Example 3.6b). These leitmotifs appear throughout the opera, marking important scenes in which the characters are involved or are referenced, and are used to symbolically represent certain themes or ideals. In one such instance, in the Ilára's aria in Act III Scene 1 ("Alba dorata…O ciel di Parahyba"), Ilára's leitmotif is played by the upper voices while a modified version of Iberê's is

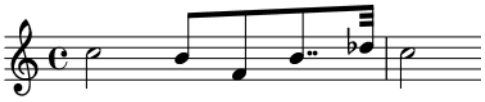
[122] The leitmotif, defined as a musical phrase that is meant to represent a larger theme or idea, did not originate with Richard Wagner, as it had been in use for over a century of musical composition before him. However, in modern scholarship, Wagner is the composer most closely associated with the idea of the leitfmotif, as he widely used and developed the idea throughout his musical career. His 1869 opera *Der Ring des Nibelungen,* for example, used hundreds of different leitmotifs for characters, objects, and ideas. See: Barry Millington, *The Wagner Compendium: A Guide to Wagner's Life and Music* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 234-235; J.P.E. Harper-Scott, "Medieval Romance and Wagner's Musical Narrative in the *Ring,*" *19th-Century Music* 32/3 (2009), 211-234.

sounded by the lower voices (mm. 9-12). Marked *andante languido,*[123] these iterations of Gomes' leitmotifs imply the languish and suffering that the indigenous characters are experiencing. That Ilára's leitmotif is played over Iberê's is also significant, as it represents the ascension of one indigenous figure—the assimilated and quasi-European one—over the other.

Example 3.6a. Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* "Alba dorata..." (Act III Sc 1), Ilára leitmotif



Example 3.6b. Gomes' *Lo Schiavo,* "Alba dorata..." (Act III Sc 1), Iberê leitmotif



Gomes' use of leitmotif is significant particularly because of the convention's association with Wagner. Although this is not the first instance in which Gomes used character-driven motifs in his compositions, *Lo Schiavo* presents its most involved use, especially given his symbolic and rhetorical manipulation. This shift in compositional style for Gomes was perhaps in response to the increasing popularity of Wagnerism in Brazil. As Brazilian composers and audiences became increasingly enthralled with the aesthetics of Wagnerism (in the late 1880s through the early parts of the 20th century), Gomes had no choice but to begin to adapt to a compositional formula to which he was originally opposed.[124] *Lo Schiavo's* use of Wagnerian leitmotifs, however, is particularly important because of Wagner's discourse on the so-called "music of the future"—

[123] See "Lo Schiavo," Score, ca. 1889, housed in the Loeb Music Library of Harvard Univeristy, Cambridge, MA, United States.
[124] See my discussion of Gomes and Wagnerism in Ch 1.

Wagner saw his musical aesthetics, particularly that of his "musical dramas" (his term for operas) as contributing to the continual development and progress of music as an art form.[125] In other words, proponents of Wagnerism saw his music as synonymous with progress and modernity, as opposed to the styles of Italy and France that were stuck in the past. In the context of Brazil's 19th-century discourse on race and nation, musical references to Wagnerism in *Lo Schiavo* can be read as allusions to a European modernity, one that he is superimposing on indigenous identities (those of Ilára and Iberê).

Gomes' musical invocations of modernity and his references to a Brazilian past are most seamlessly juxtaposed in his use of the sunrise as a rhetorical symbol, a theme that appears at various points of the opera. "Alvorada," for example, is a musical interlude intended to depict the natural beauty of the Brazilian sunrise. The score reads: "*L'orchestra, preludiando, descrive lo spuntare dell'aurora brasiliana e va crescendo sempre in variati suoni*" ("The orchestra, in prelude, describes the dawning of the Brazilian sunrise and is always growing with varied sounds").[126] As Volpe argues, the sunrise scene is another reference to Brazilian Romantic literary conventions. She cites poets such as Gonçalves Dias ("Third Canto," 1857) and abolitionist Castro Alves ("América," 1883) as having used the metaphor of sunrise and dawn to present the

[125] Wagner was also an important polemicist and cultural critic, having authored a number of books and essays proposing his theories on music, art, and European society. Most notably were his essays "The Artwork of the Future" (1949), "Opera and Drama" (1851), and "Art and Revolution" (1849). In his writings he attacked Italian, French, and even German opera as being derivative, repetitive, and clumsy. In particular, he lamented the Italian tradition for its use of "formulaic" arias and recitatives, which, for Wagner, impeded the development of drama and narrative. Wagner saw Beethoven's compositions as the farthest and most advanced development in the musical tradition and argued that Italian and French composers were still stuck in Beethoven's style, refusing to push music any further. Wagner argued that his compositions, "musical dramas," were decentering the stagnant traditions of Italy and France and were indeed developing music beyond what had already been done—thus, they were the "music of the future." His "musical dramas" rejected notions of structure that were adopted by the Italian composers and favored a freer, continuous development of narrative. See: Richard Wagner, *The Art-Work of the Future, and other works*, translated by Ashton Ellis (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1993). See also: William Gibbons, "Music of the Future, Music of the Past: Tannhäuser and Alceste at the Paris Opéra," *19th-Century Music* 33/3 (2010), 323-346.

[126] See "Lo Schiavo," Score, ca. 1889, housed in the Loeb Music Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, United States.

burgeoning Brazilian nation and its dedication to progress.[127] Alves' poem, part of his 1883 collection *Os Escravos* ("The Slaves"), presented a particularly timely use of the Brazilian sunrise as a literary symbol—he associates the sunrise with the calls for freedom that he sees in the future of Brazil.[128]

Gomes adopts this idea of the sunrise as a metaphor for Brazil's future in the "Inno Della Libertà" ("Hymn to Liberty") from Act II Scene 6 of *Lo Schiavo.* In this scene, the French Countess, accompanied by a chorus of singers, plans to release her slaves—she sings of the ideals of liberty and freedom that characterize the abolitionist movement. Perhaps influenced by Alves' poetic imagery, *Lo Schiavo's* libretto compares freedom to "a splendid star" that "rises in the skies":

Un astro splendido	A splendid star
Nel ciel appar,	Rises in the skies,
Ravviva, illumina	It awakens, illuminates
Foresta e mar!…	Forests and seas!...
E da quell'astro	From that star
S'innalza un grido,	Sounds a cry,
che in ogni lide	On every beach
Echeggerà!	It echoes!
È l'inno eterno	It is the eternal anthem
Che non morrà,	That will not die,
Il grido unanime	The unified clamor
Di libertà.	For freedom.[129]

Like in "América," Gomes' libretto established a connection between the rising son and the rising tide of abolition. For Volpe, *Lo Schiavo* posits sunrise as a metaphor for "Brazil as a young nation to awake for a future freed from slavery."[130] From a perspective of intertextuality,

[127] Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 259-260.
[128] For Alves' poem, see: Castro Alves, *Obras Completas de Castro Alves, vol. I: A cachoeira de Paulo Afonso, Os Escravos*, revision and preface by Agripino Grieco (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Editora Zelio Valverde, 1947).
[129] Gomes and Paravicini, *Lo Schiavo,* 1889, Act II Scene 6. Translation by author.
[130] Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 262.

Lo Schaivo's use of the sunrise metaphor takes on added significance. As Volpe alludes to, it represents the future of Brazil, one in which the ideologies of abolition have moved Brazil to be more in line with the liberated nations of Europe and North America. This reference to modernity, however, is superimposed upon a Brazilian literary motif from Brazilian Romanticism and Indianism, genres that first began to explore notions of "Brazilianness." The sunrise, then, as depicted in the "Hymn to Liberty" and in "Alvorada," brings together notions of Brazil's romanticized past with idealizations of a modern future to narrate the development of the young nation.

Conclusion

Carlos Gomes' anti-abolition opera has remained one of his most popular and praised compositions, both by Brazil and by foreign audiences. The opera continued to enjoy success in its Brazilian premieres throughout the end of the 19th and into the 20th century but began to face criticism by those aligned with Wagner's ideas.[131] As Cernicchiario argued, Gomes' opera remained an important piece in Brazil's musical cannon: ""whether [his critics] want it or not, Carlos Gomes is and will always be to the Brazilian school what Glinka was to the Russian, Massenet to the French, Brahms to the German, and Verdi to the Italian, and his name as well as his work will survive from the first to the last artistic evolution."[132] The rise of alternative compositional styles such as Wagnerism did not diminish Gomes' renown throughout Brazil and his operas continued serving as bastions for Brazilian nationalism and "Brazilianness."

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[131] Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 149.

[132] "E assim, queiram ou não queiram os tais répteis Carlos Gomes é e será pela escola brasileira o que foi o Glinka pela russa, o Massenet pela francesa, Brahms pela alemã e Verdi pela italiana, e o seu nome, como também as suas obras, hão de sobreviver desde a primeira até a última evolução da arte"(JC, 15 Aug. 1894, p. 2, "Carlos Gomes e a sua opera Lo Schiavo," special contribution by V[incenzo] C[ernicchiaro]) Cited and translated in Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 150.

This reception of Gomes' opera as fundamentally "Brazilian," as I have demonstrated in this chapter, underlines the complex and seemingly tense relationships between the various schools of thought that influenced Brazil's ideological landscape in the late 19th century. The discussions and questions regarding a national identity that arose following the Paraguayan War in the 1870s were reopened with the dawn of positivism and racial determinism. João Cardoso de Menezes Souza's influential 1875 publication *Teses sobre Colonização do Brasil: Projeto de Solução as Questões Sociais, Que se Prendem a Este Difícil Problema* ("Thesis on Brazilian Colonization: Solutions to the Social Question Related to this Difficult Problem")[133] posited some of the central questions that characterized the *pensamento social brasileiro* that provided the intellectual context for abolitionism. Social thought, in the decade of abolition, regarded questions of race, modernity, and nationalism as one in the same—Brazil's identity as a nation was intrinsically tied to its ascent into Western modernity, which was predicated on questions of race.

The slippery and problematic discourse regarding these questions took hold within the Brazilian elite imaginary. Gomes, a member of this privileged class, composed *Lo Schiavo* within this ideological landscape—the opera presents themes of race and progress in the context of a gripping narrative of foundational fiction. Brazil's past and future are narrated within a two-hour work of music and drama. By analyzing *Lo Schiavo* within the context of Brazilian social thought and its associated ideologies—*branqueamento*, racial determinism, and positivism—it becomes clear the place that art held within the nation-building process of 19th-century Brazil. Using *Lo Schiavo* and its reception as a case study, we see the way in which elite cultural production dialogues with dominant ideological currents; Gomes' opera is reflective of the Europhilic pursuit of modernity that characterized *branqueamento* and social thought in the years following abolition.

[133] João Cardoso de Menezes Souza, *Teses sobre Colonização do Brasil: Projeto de Solução as Questões Sociais, Que se Prendem a Este Difícil Problema* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1875), 403-426.

Further, the dissemination of Gomes' opera and libretto within Brazil's elite circles would have reified notions of race and nation for those familiar with *branqueamento* ideolgoies, or introduced concepts of whitening and progress to members of the audience who had not read Gobineau or Romero's works.

By placing Gomes' opera within the dominant ideological debates of the time period, I highlighted the importance of erudite music to elite cultural ideologies. Like with *Il Guarany*, I argue that *Lo Schiavo* maintained a mutually constitutive relationship with Brazilian politics—ideologies were influential in shaping the composition of the opera, which, in turn, reinforced the relentless pursuit of "Europeanness" (i.e., whiteness and modernity) that predominated elite thought. Additionally, in using racial determinism and *branqueamento* as the foundation for analyzing Gomes' so-called "abolitionist" discourse, it becomes clear the way marginalizing and discriminatory societal structures were propagated and reified through Gomes' music. Although *Lo Schiavo* outwardly presents a call for freedom and what seems like racial equality, it implicitly supports a dominant discourse based in scientific racism, racial hierarchies, and white supremacy. As I stated in the introduction to this chapter, Gomes' *Lo Schiavo* was only abolitionist in so far as that he saw slavery as something that tied Brazil to a backwards past. Moving past slavery, as Romero argued, would eventually allow Brazil to whiten its population and integrate itself with the modern and cosmopolitan nations of Europe and North-America. These cosmopolitan desires, as we will see, shaped Brazil's trajectory and Gomes' musical production for the remainder of the 19th century. Although the Brazil of the New Republic (1889—) would never be the same Brazil of the Second Empire (1822-1889), Gomes remained an important figure in the development of a Brazilian national music and a Brazilian national identity— "Brazilianness"—whether he wanted to or not.

CHAPTER 4

Once More on the World Stage: The First Republic, *Colombo,* and Brazil's Cosmopolitan Desires

A ve, o terra occidental, nel tuo ciel l'alma aurora folgorò! Agli sguardi dei mortali tetro vel annebbiare il ver non può.

Oh you, oh Western land, in your heaven the dawning soul flashed! To the eyes of mortals gloomy and full of fug you look not.

—Isabella, *Colombo* Part IV[1]

On 15 November 1889, shortly after the successful debut of *Lo Schiavo,* Carlos Gomes was back in his native Campinas, visiting his friends José Teixeira Nogueira and Alda Camargo Nogueira for dinner. At some point in the evening, the group received the news that the Emperor Dom Pedro II had been deposed and the monarchy had fallen. In its place had risen the First Brazilian Republic.[2] On this occasion, Gomes found himself in the company of Republicans—both Nogueiras were staunchly opposed to the monarchy, and Alda was head of the Republican Party of Campinas. Gomes, close friend of Dom Pedro II, was immediately saddened by the news, reportedly pacing in silence for minutes before complaining of the difficulties his professional career would face now that his patron, the Emperor, had been removed from power.[3]

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[1] Carlos Gomes and Albino Falanca, *Colombo,* 1892, Part IV.

[2] Scholars agree that a number of factors led to the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the First Republic. The growing tide of positivism, for example, provided an ideological basis for the rejection of the "old world" monarchy. Many scholars also attribute the political tumult to abolition, an act by which Dom Pedro II alienated the moneyed, conservative landowners, one of his most stable group of supporters. Without the support of these landowners, the monarchy fell out of favor and gave way to Republicanism. See: Robert G. Nachman, "Positivism and Revolution in Brazil's First Republic: The 1904 Revolt," *The Americas* 34/1 (1977), 20-39.

[3] This version of events was told by Heitor Penteado Filho, the grandson of José and Alba Nogueira, to Jorge Alves de Lima. See: Alves de Lima, *Carlos Gomes,* 151-152.

Indeed, the initial years of the First Republic were disastrous for Gomes and his musical output. Disappointed by the political situation in Brazil, Gomes left for Milan in January of 1890. His faith in Brazil was not completely tarnished—Dom Pedro II, avid supporter of Gomes' music, had promised the composer that he would be appointed director of the Musical Conservatory of Rio de Janeiro, the premier musical institution in Latin America. Gomes' dream to lead the conservatory in which he had studied (under Francisco Manuel da Silva) was destroyed, however, by the new political administration that impeded Gomes' appointment and instead nominated Leopoldo Miguez to the coveted directorship.[4] In the first months of 1890, when Gomes was invited—due to popular demand—to write the new national anthem for the budding Republic, his disdain for the new administration led him to refuse the offer despite the large commission.[5] Gomes, now finding himself in a state of financial ruin, wrote back to the Nogueiras in April of 1890 to lament the unjust treatment handed to him by the Republic:

> I remember perfectly the kind and patriotic words spoken to me by the meritorious and esteemed Alda Teixeira Nogueira, in the days following the Revolution of November 15. The formal and solemn promise [of directorship] made to me in Rio de Janeiro by my illustrious fellow countrymen Dr. Campos Salles…is proof that my dream was one of an artist. Committed, therefore, to the promise of the men of the government; committed also to the encouraging words of the many people of Campinas and Rio de Janeiro, I left for Milan.
>
> Counting on the promised assistance, I liquidated all of my obligations in the Milanese world, left unprepared [to lose directorship]. My disaster is complete and I am forced to immediately abandon Italy. On the 15th [of May] I will be obligated to embark for Campinas, where, God willing, I hope to die soon.[6]

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[4] Vaz de Carvalho, *A Vida de Carlos Gomes*. See also: Alves de Lima, *Carlos Gomes*, 159-160.

[5] *Ibid.*.

[6] "Lembro-me perfeitamente as bondosas palavras de patriota a mim dirigidas pela benemérita e exma. Amiga Senhora Alda Teixeira Nogueira, nos dias depois da Revolução de 15 de novembro. A promessa formal e solene a mim feita no Rio de Janeiro pelo ilustra conterrâneo Dr. Campos Salles ... [é] prova de que o meu desejo foi um sonho de artista. Fiado, porém, na formal promessa dos homes do Governo; fiado também nas palavras animadoras de tantas pessoas gradas de Campinas e do Rio de Janeiro, parti para Milão. Contando com o auxilio prometido, liquidei as minhas obrigações no Mundo Milanês, ficando desprevenido. O meu desastre é completo e sou forcado a abandonar imediatamente a Itália....A 15 [de Maio] serei obrigado a embarcar para Campinas, onde, se Deus quiser, espero morrer logo." Correspondence from Carlos Gomes to Jose Teixeira Nogueira, dated 15 April 1890. See letter in the Coleção Carlos Gomes, Correspondências, in the Museu Carlos Gomes in Campinas, BR.

Gomes' disparaging outlook changed shortly thereafter, when he was invited to compose an opera for La Scala's 1891 season. In November of 1980, with only three months to complete a new opera, Gomes finished *Condor,* an Orientalist opera in three acts detailing the Queen Odalea and her reign.[7] *Condor* premiered in February of 1891 to generally positive reviews, saving Gomes from his impending financial ruin. When he returned to Brazil to premiere his newest opera, however, Gomes was met with disappointment—the production in Rio's Teatro Lirico saw little commercial success and the Sao Paulo premiere was cancelled.[8] Defeated, Gomes declared: "I left Rio destroyed, like one who flees a firecracker!"[9] Gomes' sadness was only compounded by the sudden death of Dom Pedro II, exiled to Paris, in December of the same year.

The years after *Lo Schiavo* were tumultuous for the aging composer, leading to a number of sudden changes in his life, both musically and personally. He left Brazil in self-exile after the fall of Dom Pedro, only to return with his new composition *Condor*. This piece is a particularly interesting development in Gomes' musical aesthetic in that it presents a complete departure from the Brazilian subject matter that characterized much of his other work (*Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo*, for example). Instead of depicting dancing natives and colonial romances, as he had so characteristically done in the past, Gomes' newest opera detailed the story of an exoticized, oriental queen, not unlike Verdi's *Aida. Condor* made no reference to Brazil, leading the Brazilian public, who had by now come to expect operas that could be considered uniquely "Brazilian," to dismiss the piece.

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[7] For a discussion of Gomes' *Condor* and its Orientalist aesthetic, see: Marcos Virmond and Irandi Daroz, "Orientalismo e discurso dramático-musical no "Notturno" de *Condor,* de Carlos Gomes," *Revista Brasileira de Música* 24/1 (2011), 61-70.

[8] Marcos Marcondes, ed, *Enciclopédia da Música Brasileira*, 2nd. Ed (São Paulo: Art Editora and Itaú Cultural, 1998), 628.

[9] "Sai do Rio esfogueteado, como quem foge de buscapé!" Written in a letter from Carlos Gomes to Emílio Henking, dated 4 March 1892. See letter in the Coleção Carlos Gomes, Correspondências, in the Museu Carlos Gomes, in Campinas, BR.

By the 1890s, Gomes' musical direction was shifting. In fact, his works after *Lo Schiavo* presented markedly different musical aesthetics and stylistic experimentations for the composer. Again residing in Brazil, Gomes' contempt for the Brazilian Republic faded and he composed a piece for the 1892 competition that would select the work to be performed at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago to represent Brazil.[10] *Colombo*, a symphonic-poem in four parts, was inspired by his time in Genoa, the birthplace of Italian explorer Christopher Columbus. The piece depicted the supposed heroic and perilous journey that Columbus endured to discover and conquer the New World.

Colombo premiered on 12 October 1892 in Rio's Teatro Lírico. By many accounts, the premiere was a failure. Music historian Luis Heitor Correa de Azevedo, for example, attributes the cold reception to Gomes' declining public favor, as many critics and composers considered him "archaic and outdated."[11] Other critics argued that a poor execution by a badly-trained vocal and symphonic ensemble ruined the premiere and led to the public's distaste for the piece. One newspaper review, for example, stated: "[*Colombo*] was unsuccessful due to the coldness of the audience…the vocal/orchestral ensemble was very bad…and the concert was terribly executed."[12] Whatever the cause, the work's negative reception—and its subsequent exclusion from the Columbian Exposition—has led many scholars to dismiss the piece, making it perhaps Gomes' most understudied composition. What little scholarship does exist on *Colombo* is largely outdated, having been written in the early 20th century.

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[10] Azevedo, "A música brasileira e seus fundamentos," 27.
[11] Luis Heitor Correa de Azevedo, *150 anos de música no Brasil; 1800-1950* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1956), 26,
[12] "[*Colombo*] foi insucesso porque o público é de uma frieza glacial ... o conjunto vocal/orquestral era muito ruim ... e o concerto foi mal executado." (*Revista Ilustrada* 651, Oct. 1892, p. 3) Cited in Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 133. Translation by author.

In this chapter, I examine *Colombo* within the nation-building project that Brazil's First Republic sought to continue. The piece provides an important perspective from which to consider the Brazilian pursuit of modernity and the cosmopolitan desires (to invoke the title of Mariano Siskind's 2014 monograph[13]) that characterized the Brazilian elite's nation-building. Based clearly in hagiography and a celebration of the imperial imaginary, Gomes' *Colombo* was an ode to Europe's project in the Americas, one that brought "civilization" to those previously without. The fact that the piece was composed for the Columbian Exposition and was intended to represent Brazil on the world stage only caused the work to take on added significance. Interrogating the piece alongside the other forms of cultural production that represented Brazil at the Exposition (i.e., visual art, music), I argue that *Colombo* reveals the uncomfortable mediation between the national and the non-national, as necessitated by Brazil's search for a cosmopolitan modernity. Using this dialectic as a starting point, I discuss the construction of an exported image of "Brazil" to which *Colombo* contributes and the universal, cosmopolitan notion of "Brazilianness" that the composition presents. In doing so, I highlight the radical opposition between periphery and metropole in which the ideological enterprise of nation-building was based.

Of Peripheries and Margins: The Intricacies of Nation-Building and Cosmopolitanism

In 1900, Brazilian diplomat and politician, Joaquim Nabuco, one of the foremost public intellectuals of the Empire and of the Republic and a prominent abolitionist in the 1880s, published his memoir and autobiography, *Minha Formação* ("My Formative Years"). In a particularly compelling passage regarding his interest in worldly affairs, he writes: "My curiosity or my interest always focuses on the most complicated or intense part of the action in the contemporary universal

[13] See: Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires.*

drama. I am more a spectator of my century than of my country; for me, the play is civilization, and it is staged in all great theaters of humanity, now conveyed connected by the telegraph."[14] Nabuco's cosmopolitan discourse captures the central paradox that intellectuals grappled with during nation-building. On the one hand, the ideological project sought to forge and emphasize a unique national identity, in this case built upon a romanticized indigenous past. On the other hand, the Brazilian cultural elite saw as their mission the immediate integration of Brazil into the cosmopolitan, "civilized" Western world.

Nabuco's cosmopolitan self-representation embodies the fundamental opposition between the idea of nation—Brazil—and the idea of the non-nation, or the cosmopolitan. His statement is grounded in the dialectic that places his country ("meu país") and global humanity ("a civilização") at odds. For Silviano Santiago, Nabuco is characterizing himself as a marginal witness to the rest of the world, mediating Brazil's position on the world's periphery with his own desires to become an actor in global affairs. Santiago writes:

> Living in a provincial country, [Nabuco] is far from the stage where the great play is being performed, but he can be a spectator from his comfortable location thanks to modern media like the telegraph. The opposition between his country of origin and his times signifies his preference for the [Empire's] crisis of representation, to the detriments of his young country's search for a national identity.[15]

[14] "Minha curiosidade, o meu interesse, vae sempre para o ponto onde a ação do drama contemporâneo universal é mais complicada ou mais intensa. Sou antes um espectador do meu século do que do meu país; a peça é para mim a civilização, e se está representado em todos os teatros da humanidade, ligados hoje pelo telégrafo." Joaquim Nabuco, *Minha Formação* (Rio de Janeiro: Garneir, 1900), 33-34.

[15] "Morando em um país provinciano, [Nabuco] está distante do palco onde a grande peça se desenrola, mas dela pode ser espectador no conforto do lar em virtude dos meios de comunicação de massa modernos, no caso o telegrafo. A oposição entre país de origem e século, e a preferencia pela crise da representação [do Imperio] e não pela busca de identidade nacional da jovem nação." Silviano Santiago, *O cosmopolitismo do pobre* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2004), 12-13. Cited and translated in Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 4.

Antonio Candido has described this perhaps contradictory pattern in thought as a "synthesis of particularist and universalist trends,"[16] a characterization that I would apply additionally to Brazil's nation-building process.

Nabuco's writing serves as a point of departure for the present discussion of nation-building, both in theory and in practice. His cosmopolitan discourse, or self-representation, is, as Mariano Siskind writes, "an omnipotent fantasy, a strategic, voluntaristic fantasy that is nonetheless very effective in opening a cosmopolitan discursive space where it is possible to imagine a non-nationalistic, nonanthropocentric path to modernization that is set against the horizon of abstract universality."[17] In plainer terms, cosmopolitanism, for Latin American intellectuals such as Nabuco, was an ideology in which nationalisms were dismissed in favor of the universal, the global, and the humanistic. Nabuco exhibits what Siskind calls *desejos do mundo/deseos del mundo* ("desires for the world"), an epistemological structure invoked by Latin American writers and intellectuals "as a signifier of abstract universality or a concrete and finite set of global trajectories traveled by writers and books."[18] The ideology of cosmopolitanism, in this epistemology, seems fundamentally contradictory to Brazilian nationalism. If the search for

[16] "una síntese de tendencias particularistas e universalistas." Antonio Candido, "Para uma critica latino-americana: Entrevista de Beatriz Sarlo a Antonio Candido," *Punto de Vista* 3/8 (1980), 12. Cited and translated in Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires,* 4.

[17] Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires,* 6-7.

[18] Siskind goes on to argue that these cosmopolitan desires permitted an alternative ideology to the nationalist cultural formulae that had previously dominated Latin American literary traditions (i.e., Brazilian Romanticism and *indianismo,* in the case of Brazil). Further, cosmopolitanist discourse gave writers the ability to create a "horizontal" discursive field in which their work was placed on equal terms to the European and Western metropoles that they sought to undermine, challenge, or, in many cases, join. In other words, by representing themselves, their work, and their ideas as cosmopolitan and "worldly," they engaged in a strategic legitimization and valorization of their work in relation to the hegemonic nature of European and North American literature. See, Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires,* esp. Introduction and Chapter 1. See also: Carlos J. Alonso, *The Burden of Modernity: The Rhetoric of Cultural Discourse in Spanish America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Sylvia Molloy, "Lost in Translation: Borges, the Western Tradition and Fictions of Latin America," In *Borges and Europe Revisited,* edited by Evelyn Fishburne (London: Institute for Latin American Studies, University of London, 1999).

modern, cosmopolitan identity lie at the center of Brazil's nation-building enterprise, what was to become of the nationalist thought that had ideologically constructed notions of past and future?

This question lies at the heart of the discourse of nation-building, both in Brazil and the rest of Latin America. I argue that, contrary to what scholars like Santiago have suggested, notions of nationalism and cosmopolitanism were not necessarily opposed, but did require careful ideological mediation. More specifically, the ideologies of nationalism and Latin Americanism—an abstract connectedness between Latin American countries—were not only compatible, but interdependent. To apply this discussion of cosmopolitanism to Brazil's cultural production and Gomes' music in the 1890s, it is necessary to trace and elucidate the relationship between these ideas.

Cosmopolitanism arose in 19th-century Europe, though the exact origins of the idea are difficult to pin down. Indeed, the contradiction presented in Nabuco's writing characterized the initial discussions of cosmopolitan thought, that which was seen as counter to the nationalist projects of European nations like Russia and Germany. Studies in cosmopolitanism approached the ideology from this angle, focusing on the weakening idea of nation and national identity and the emergence of alternative, non-national identities— "world citizenship," as Jacques Derrida called it.[19] Early historians of Europe adhered to this perception of cosmopolitanism and fundamentally opposed the idea of nation—many, in fact, argue that cosmopolitanism was ended in the 18th century by the French revolution and the idea of *la nation.*[20] In this interpretation, nation—*la nation*—and cosmopolitanism are incompatible. More recent scholars, however, have revised the historiography of cosmopolitanism, asserting instead that the idea is not only

[19] Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness.* Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes, translators (London: Routledge, 2001).
[20] Thomas J. Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Funtion in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790* (Notre Dame, IN.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 132-133.

compatible with nationalism, but that the two are mutually reinforcing ideologies. Daniel Malachuk has proposed the term "nationalist cosmopolitans" to describe the major proponents of the nation-idea in the 19th century that nationalism and cosmopolitanism and parallel, supportive positions—these intellectuals argued that individuals should direct their energies towards a single nation and that this, in turn, would allow for the global realization of a "greater human purpose."[21] The two positions, then, should be examined together, rather than as opposite ideologies.

Cosmopolitanism—"non-nationness," if you will—is the same as nationalism in that it is an ideology based in the subjective experience. Typically theorized in (exceedingly) abstract terms, cosmopolitan thought is often described in relation to Kantian moral philosophy; to be cosmopolitan is to be concerned with those other than the self, or with those outside of the traditional bonds of kinship or nation.[22] Siskind, in his discussion of cosmopolitanism, takes a Lacanian approach, concerning himself with individual subjectivity and what he calls the "cosmopolitan subject." Siskind argues that a Latin American cosmopolitan intellectual "derives his specific cultural subjectivity from his marginal position of enunciation and from his certainty that this position from the global unfolding of a modernity articulated outside a Latin American cultural field saturated with the nationalistic or peninsular that determine its backwardness."[23] Siskind's characterization of cosmopolitanism is that of a split subject described by Judith

[21] Malachuk cites writers such as Giuseppe Mazzani, Walt Whitman, and George Eliot. Daniel Malachuk, "Nationalist Cosmopolitics in the Nineteenth Century," In *Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future,* Diana Morgan and Gary Banham, editors (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 139-162.
[22] See: Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006); Martha Nussbaum, *For Love of Country?* Edited by Joshua Cohen (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996). For my discussion of subjectivity—Self and Other—in Brazilian nationalism, see my Chapter 2.
[23] Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 9. Siskind bases his discussion in the discourse of Lacan and the idea of desire. See: Jacques Lacan, *The Ego in Freud's Theory and in the Technique of Psychoanalysis, 1954-1955.* Edited by Jacque-Alain Miller, Translated by Sylvana Tomaselli, Notes by John Forrester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Butler[24]—the desire for universality, or to be included in global modernity, is impeded by a place on the margins of society, on the periphery of the global stage.

Siskind's discussion of the cosmopolitan subject invokes the dialectic of the metropole and the periphery. The cosmopolitan subject exists only because of this dialectic. The metropole countries—France, England, and the United States, European and North American powers—exert power and influence over the world peripheries, in this case Latin America, and shape the subjective experiences of those in the margins. To exist in the periphery, then, is only possible because of the uneven distribution of power that exists in the global dialectic. Further, to be cosmopolitan, or to have cosmopolitan desires, is, at least in Siskind's view, an ideological challenge to a dialectic that affords cultural and political hegemony to the metropoles. As Siskind puts it, "cosmopolitanism is a story cosmopolitan subjects tell themselves to make sense of their traumatic experience of marginality in the order of global modernity."[25] Therefore, the parallel cosmopolitan and nationalist discourses espoused by the nation-building projects in Latin America, I argue, are not necessarily contradictory, but merely two interwoven ideological responses to the exclusion felt by Latin American intellectuals and elites. In the case of Brazil, nationalism provided intellectuals with a rhetorical basis for an "imagined community," as Benedict Anderson would say, that allowed for expedited national development.[26] Furthering this development was the cosmopolitan policies and discourse promulgated by the Brazilian intelligentsia, which sought to put Brazil on even ground with the European metropoles of Paris and Lisbon. These two strategies—nationalism and cosmopolitanism—when taken together,

[24] See: Judith Butler, *Subjects of Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
[25] Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires*, 10.
[26] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 48-49.

afforded Brazilian intellectuals an ideology (or a set of ideologies) that paved a clear path towards a place in global modernity.

A clarification (or problematization) of my application of Siskind's theory to my discussion of cosmopolitanism in Brazil's nation-building project, however, is necessary. Siskind writes about cosmopolitanism as a method of undermining or challenging the metropole-periphery dialectic, such that it also undermined the underlying epistemology that afforded metropole countries power over others.[27] In the case of Brazil, the intellectuals—moneyed elite men of privilege—did not use their cosmopolitan policies and ideologies to undermine the epistemology of the dialectic, but rather valorize it. The Brazilian elite believed in the power disparities inherent to the dialectic, but simply sought to integrate themselves, and Brazil, into the ranks of the metropole North-Atlantic region.[28]

It should also be noted that the transnational dynamics formed between regions and nations were not just between metropolises and peripheries, as was the case between Rio de Janeiro and Paris for example, but also between regions and nations within Latin America.[29] In these relationships, forged among nations together at the edges of the world's theater, Latin American spaces and actors were of paramount importance. These transnational bonds, part of the rhetoric of Latin Americanism, were predicated on commonalities in national histories and cultures, as perceived by the involved nations and by foreign metropoles. As Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo argues, the idea of "Latin America," or Latin Americanism, was built upon the imperial imagination, or

[27] Siskind writes about the metropole-periphery relationship as based in a hegemonic power distribution in which the metropole has power, authority, and influence over the countries in its peripheries, either through commercial or cultural (i.e., media) relations. Building on this, I discuss the metropole-periphery relationship as based in a Eurocentric epistemology—a way of seeing the world—in which the Western, metropole is privileged over the non-Western periphery. See: Siskind, *Cosmopolitan Desires,* 6-7.
[28] Guzmán, *Native and National,* 193. Volpe, "Indianism and Landscape," 90-91.
[29] Salvador Rivera, *Latin American Unification: A History of Political and Economic Integration Efforts* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2014), esp. 84-120.

the metropolitan gaze towards the nations that it once controlled. More specifically, Tenorio-Trillo proposes that Latin Americanism be considered the combination of two geopolitically racialized European views towards the Latin American region, the Spanish *iberismo* and the French *latinité.*[30] Thus, Latin America's view of itself as a geopolitically linked region was contingent on the Western nations' idea of Latin America.

The idea of "Latin America" as a geopolitical project arose in the early 19th century and grew in the subsequent decades, largely as a response to the North American and French military interventions in Mexico.[31] Juan Pablo Scarfi notes that Latin American intellectuals, at the end of the 19th century, used the growing notion of Latin Americanism to assert Latin American sovereignty against US expansion.[32] Latin Americanism, which argued for a political and cultural unity among the various nations of Central and South America (and to some extent the Caribbean[33]), was based in the foundational discourse of the South American independence leader Símon Bolívar, to whom many scholars trace the original assertion of an American union. At the 1836 Conference of Panama, Bolívar suggested the creation of a league of American republics.[34] Though this league was never created, Bolívar's assertion of a Latin American unity formed the

[30] Maricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Latin America: The Allure and Power of an Idea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017). See also: Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005).
[31] Michel Gobat, "The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race," *The Latin American Historical Review* 118-5 (2013), 1345-1375; Mónica Quijada, "Sobre el origen y difusión del nombre 'América Latina' (o una variación heterodoxa en torno al tema de la construcción social de la verdad)," *Revista de Indias* 58/214 (1998), 602.
[32] Juan Pablo Scarfi, "La emergencia de un imaginario latinoamericanista y antiestadounidense del orden hemisférico: de la Unión Panamericana a la Unión Latinoamericana (1880-1913)," *Revista Complutense de Historia de America* 39/0 (2013), 81-104.
[33] In the early and late 19th century, the Caribbean was largely excluded from the discussions surrounding "Latin America." However, the growing tide of anti-imperialist thought in the late 19th century led to the inclusion of the Caribbean, especially Cuba and it's struggle for independence against the United States and Spain, in the discussions of Latin Americanness. See: Oscar Terán, "El primer antiimperialismo latinoamericano," In *En busca de la ideología argentina* (Buenos Aires: Catálogos Editora, 1986), 73.
[34] Rivera, *Latin American Unification.*

basis of the Latin Americanist discourse that intellectuals and writers began articulating later in the century.

On the surface, it seems that Latin Americanism and cosmopolitanism, much like nationalism and cosmopolitanism, are contradictory ideologies. Latin Americanness posits an opposition to foreign, largely European and North American, influences, perhaps undermining the concepts of universality asserted by cosmopolitan intellectuals like Kant and Derrida. As more contemporary scholarship has demonstrated, however, ideologies of Latin Americanism, cosmopolitanism, and nationalism were placed in dialogue with one another, created nuanced relationships of interconnected that were anything but fundamentally contradictory. In my use of the term "Latin Americanism," I argue that the assertion of a connectedness between the various Central and South American nations provided artists, writers, and intellectuals with a common regional legitimacy that afforded them a space in the global conversations about cosmopolitanism and universality. That is, Latin Americanism and cosmopolitanism (and therefore nationalism) were interdependent—Latin Americanism was an intellectual strategy that facilitated cosmopolitan ideologies and worldy desires (Siskind's *desejos do mundo*). As Michele Greet has noted, however, Latin Americanism, at least in art, was built upon European imperial categorizations of Latin America that subscribed to a cultural subordination to Europe, or "Europeanness."[35] In sum, Latin Americanism was used by Latin American intellectuals to fuel their search for cosmopolitanism, which, as I have already asserted, valorized a European cultural superiority. As we will see, in the Brazilian context, cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan policies manifested themselves in a project to "civilize" (or "Europeanize") Brazil and its urban centers.

[35] Michele Greet, *Transatlantic Encounters: Latin American Artists in Paris Between the Wars* (New Haven: Yae University Press, 2018).

Additionally, the nation's cosmopolitan desires revealed themselves in curated attempts to present an image of "Brazil" to the North Atlantic world.

The 1893 World Columbian Exposition and an Exported Image of "Brazil"

Nicolau Sevcenko has characterized *fin de siècle* Brazil as an era of "aggressive cosmopolitanism."[36] Indeed, the government policies of rapid urban reform can be best described as "aggressive"— Rio de Janeiro embraced initiatives that, within a period of twenty years, would remake the city in the image of the Parisian capital. The Avenida Central (Central Avenue), modeled after Paris's wide, paved avenues, was inaugurated in 1905 and the new Teatro Municipal (now in Rio's Cinelândia square) was completed in 1909. Both of these new urban centerpieces were rendered quite symbolically in the style of French architecture, embodying the Brazilian elite's aspirations for a European modernity.[37] The popular slogan "o Rio civiliza-se" ("Rio civilizes itself"), coined by Figueiredo Pimental and used widely in the contemporary newspapers, captured the public's amazement with Rio's whirlwind cosmopolitanizing, but also conveys the national association of "Europeanness" with civilization and modernity.[38]

Cosmopolitanizing Brazil was not just an internal, national project, rather an international one—in order to truly integrate themselves into the "civilized" modern world, the Brazilian elite had to convince the Western nations that they were truly a cosmopolitan nation, challenging European categorizations of South America as "developing." In the early 1890s, Brazil found itself in a particularly precarious position as the coup of 1889 produced international hesitation regarding

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[36] "cosmopolitanismo agressivo." Nicolau Sevcenko, *Literatura como missão; tensões sociais e criação cultural na Primeira República*, 1983 São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1999), 30.
[37] Benicio Viero Schmidt, "Modernization and Urban Planning in 19th-Century Brazil," *Current Anthropology* 23/3 (1982), 255-262.
[38] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 117-118.

the First Republic, which now appeared politically and socially unstable. This had a serious financial impact on the nation, as foreign capital was withdrawn and many business owners sent gold and silver abroad for safekeeping, at least until the country could return to stability.[39] Brazil's image abroad only worsened with the financial crash of 1892, when unsustainable economic growth resulted in unchecked inflation and uncertainty. The country's economic problems fomented the domestic criticism of the Republic's president, Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, and the Minister of Finance, Rui Barbosa. As more and more Brazilians grew unhappy with the Republican government's handling of financial matters, so too did foreign onlookers, who began to question Brazil's supposed progress and modernization.

The unsavory image of Brazil abroad prompted Republican officials to search for ways to improve the West's perception of their nation. For Brazil to truly be cosmopolitan, as nation-building necessitated, not only did Brazilians have to see themselves as such, but so too did the rest of the world. International expositions proved to be an effective way to present Brazil—or an imagined "Brazil"—to foreign audiences, one with which the country had previously been successful—Imperial Brazil participated in the 1867 Parisian international exhibition and the 1889 World's Fair, also held in Paris.[40] Although in these venues the nation had been successful in cultivating an image of itself as both "exotic" and "familiar" to Western audiences,[41] the economic and political instability of the 1890s required a more carefully curated presentation of "Brazil," one that would help enliven the North Atlantic's perception of Brazil. The new Republican government's participation in the 1893 Columbian Exposition, set to take place in Chicago,

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[39] John Schulz, *A crise financeira da Abolição: 1875-1901* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo and Instituto Fernand Braudel, 1996), 82.

[40] For a discussion of Brazil's participation in 1889, see: Lilia Mortiz Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador: D. Pedro II, um monarca nos trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998).

[41] Livia Rezende, "Of Coffee, Nature and Exclusion: Designing Brazilian National Identity at International Exhibitions (1867 and 1904)," In *Designing Worlds: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization,* Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei, editors (Brooklyn, NY.: Berghahn Books, 2016), esp. 262-266.

revealed the negotiations of nationalism and cosmopolitanism that the Republican enterprise of nation-building was engaged in—strategically organized displays of Brazil's architecture and fine arts captured the burgeoning Republic's desire to align itself with the North Atlantic's tenets of civility and modernity. It was as if, as Volpe notes, "highbrow culture would redeem Brazil's from the stigmas of a nation recently emerged from its Colonial, monarchical, and slaver-holding past."[42]

At the Columbian Exposition, the Brazilian representatives displayed a total of 109 items in the areas of the plastic arts—pieces included brass and marble sculptures, carvings, engravings, and paintings by the country's most famous artists.[43] However, the Republic, relatively nascent in 1893, had little art that was itself representative of the First Republic. As a result, many of the artists included were products of the Empire's fine arts academies, themselves modeled after the schools in France. Artists such as Vítor Meireles, Pedro Américo, and Rodolfo Amoedo were selected to showcase their work at the Chicago exhibition, presenting global audiences with a window into the arts and sculptures of Imperial (and to a lesser extent, Republican) Brazil. Some displays, however, were dedicated to the First Republic. For example, Brazil's representatives displayed an oil portrait of the first Republican president Deodoro da Fonseca by Henrique Bernadelli, and a bronze bust of Republican political theorist Benjamin Constant by Rodolfo Bernadelli.[44] The bust of Constant is particularly striking—a Swiss-French theorist and writer, Constant was one of the few individuals to be included in portraiture or sculpture that was not Brazilian. His writings on Liberalism, Republicanism, and independence had a great influence on

[42] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 90.
[43] *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section at the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: E.J. Campbell Printer, 1893), 103-108. As Cited in Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 91.
[44] *Ibid.*

various independence and Republican movements, including Brazil's 1889 coup.[45] The inclusion of Constant within Brazil's exhibition at the Columbian Exposition, then, reveals an engagement with Constant's ideas of "Modern Liberty"—his discussion of Liberalism in the modern world[46]—and a desire to be included in the continuing discourse of modernity and politics at the global stage.

Architecturally, Brazil's participation at the Columbian Exposition echoed the aspirations of modernity and "civility" demonstrated by the bust of Benjamin Constant. The Brazilian Building, the pavilion in which much of the fine art was housed, was modeled after the *École des Beaux-Arts* (School of Fine Arts) in France.[47] Rendered with grandiose marble columns and exquisite gold and silver plating, the Brazilian Building was a clear attempt to align Brazilian art with European—and particularly French—art and culture. The marble sculptures inside—many of them by Rodolfo Bernadelli—themselves resembles the Greek-like marble sculptures housed in the École or in other notable European art museums. The image of "Brazil" produced by these sculptures and the building was on in which "Brazilianness" was clearly cosmopolitan, not aligned to a unique national style but rather to the universal aesthetic of high-brow, elite art.

Other Brazilian items displayed in the Columbian Exposition presented images or ideas that were more explicitly tied to notions of nation, or nationalism. These paintings, however, still betrayed the cosmopolitan desires of the Brazilian intelligentsia—their inclusion in the Exposition touched on both a unique, national identity but also on an international, metropolitan discourse.

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[45] John Christian Laursen and Anne Hoffman, "Benjamin Constant on the Self, Religion, and Politics: An Introduction," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 28/3 (2002), 311-319; Bryan Garsten, "Religion and the Case Against Ancient Liberty: Benjamin Constant's Other Lectures," *Political Theory* 38/1 (2010), 4-33.

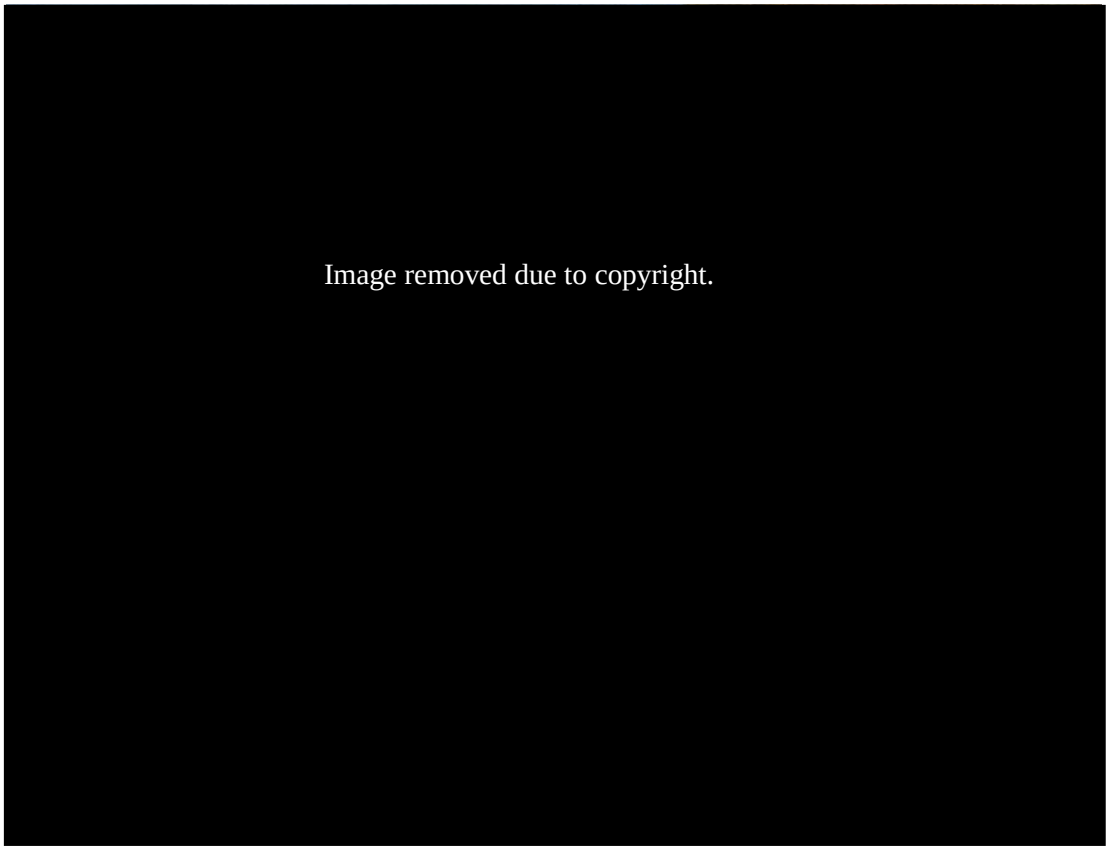
[46] In his arguments, Constant posits "Modern Liberty" as fundamentally oppositional to "Ancient Liberty." The so-called "Liberty of the Moderns," in contrast to that of the ancients, was based in civil liberties, the rule of law, and limited state interference. These doctrines were heavily influential in numerous Liberal movements, such as in Brazil, which sought to depose old-world authoritative monarchies and install free Republics based on law and individual liberty. See: Benjamin Constant, *Fragments d'un ouvrage abandonné sur la possibilité d'une constitution républicaine dans un grand pays.*

[47] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 90.

Such was the case with the Indianist paintings of Rodolfo Amoedo or Vítor Meireles. Meireles' painting *Primeira missa no Brasil* ("First Mass in Brazil") was a highlight of Brazil's artistic participation in Chicago and today continues to be emblematic of a Brazilian national identity (it is housed in Rio's National Museum of Fine Arts). The painting, completed between 1859 and 1861, depicts the first mass celebrated in Brazil (Figure 4.1). The scene, based in part on the letter sent by Pedro Vaz de Caminho to the King of Portugal in 1500, places the Portuguese Friar Henrique de Coimbra in the center, presiding over a mass of semi-clothed, primitivized natives. Besides the friar is the Portuguese battalion, also sharing in the first Catholic mass to take place in the newly discovered Brazil. Lilia Mortiz Schwarcz discusses the ideological resonance of the piece, paying close attention to the representation of the indigenous figure. She writes: "Everything is symbolic in this painting, with the Church at the centre, the State at its side, the Indians gathered around and, finally, nature itself in a form reminiscent of a cathedral. As the 'burden of civilization', the Empire both imposed itself through its representation of the Indian and also *upon* Indian, its great victim."[48] In short, Meireles' *A Primeira missa no Brasil* applies a European imperial gaze on the natives of Brazil, but within a framework of national foundation. While the piece's aesthetic style can be situated in the naturalist trends of 19th-century European art, the artwork engages with a national history that is itself foundational. This juxtaposition of the European with the American—the imperial with the native and natural—captures the nuanced interconnectedness between the cosmopolitan and the nationalist that characterized Brazil's nation-building.

[48] Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, "A Mestizo and Tropical Country: The Creation of the Official Image of Independent Brazil," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies/ Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos e del Caribe* 80 (2006), 32-33. Emphasis in original.

Figure 4.1. *A Primeira missa no Brasil,* Vítor Meireles (1859-1861)[49]

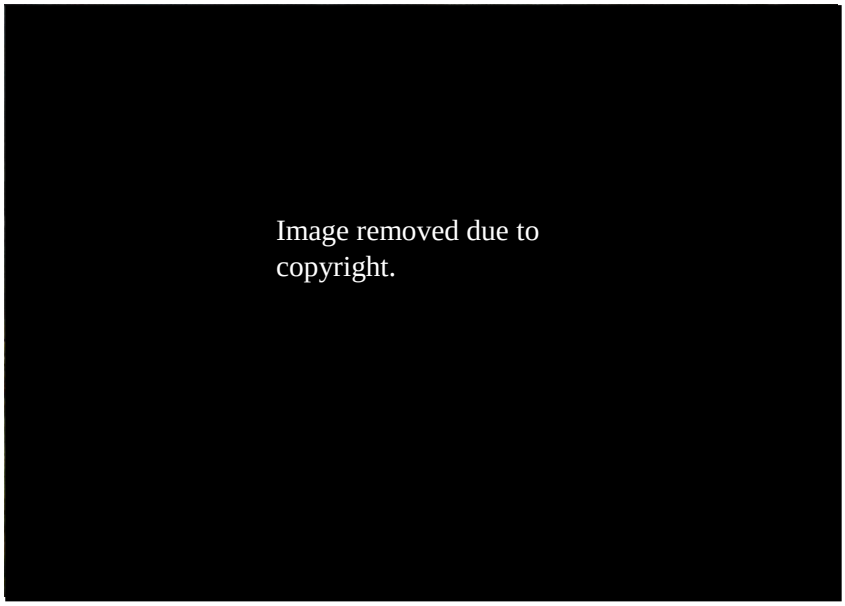


Another exposition centerpiece was Amoedo's painting *Marabá*, today housed in Rio's *Museu Nacional de Belas Artes* (National Museum of fine Arts), which reflected the fantasies of national foundation espoused by the mid-19th-century Indianist movement (Figure 4.2).[50] *Marabá,* painted by Amoedo in 1882 while he was living in Paris, was inspired by an 1851 poem by Gonçalves Dias, also titled "Marabá." The painting depicts the main protagonist of the poem, a naked *mestiça* who is sad and lonely, rejected by the native tribes of Brazil for her inclination towards the world of the white man.[51] The painting is based in the standard Indianist paradigm:

[49] *Primeira missa no Brasil* by Vitor Meireles, completed between 1859 and 1861. Painting housed in the *Museu Nacional de Belas Artes,* Rio de Janeiro, BR. Imaged received from web (public domain).
[50] See my Chapter 2.
[51] Gonçalves Dias, "Marabá," In *Últimos Cantos,* 1851 (São Paulo: LEP, 1951).

the native—in this case an individual of mixed-race descent—is surrounded by the lush, vibrant nature of Brazil's forest. Here, the Brazilian indigenous figure is presented passively, in line with Indianist ideological currents—though depicted as part of the Brazilian landscape, she has no power over the land nor the Europeans.[52] *Marabá's* connection with Dias' poem is also significant in that it presents symbolically the whitening of Brazil and the country's growing penchant for European culture. Where the native protagonist has fallen in love with the white man and his world, so too has Brazil as a country, as Republican officials work tirelessly to establish a place for themselves in the North Atlantic world of cosmopolitanism. *Marabá,* then, presents the complex negotiations between nationalism and cosmopolitanism around which nation-building was based. On the one hand, the painting engages with the nationalist precepts of the Indianist ideology. On the other, the narrative behind *Marabá* reveals a country that is moving away from its indigenous past and towards a future of whiteness, Europeanness, and, by extension, "civility."

Figure 4.2. *Marabá,* Rodolfo Amoedo (1882).[53]



[52] Schwarcz, "A Mestizo and Tropical Country," 37.
[53] *Marabá,* by Rodolfo Amoedo, completed in 1882. Painting housed in the *Museu Nacional de Belas Artes,* Rio de Janeiro, BR. Image received from web (public domain).

The artwork presented as part of the Columbian Exposition, namely Meireles' *A Primeira missa no Brasil* and Amoedo's *Marabá,* highlights the role the arts—and in this case the plastic arts—played in the reflecting and reifying national ideologies. The high-brow nature of these works and of the fine arts more generally in Brazil served two functions. First, it allowed the circulation of these ideologies within elite circles, confining power to the moneyed few that could afford to attend these exhibitions.[54] Secondly, and more importantly, the display of high-brow art, rendered in the image of European romantic and naturalist paintings, at the Exposition allowed the Brazilian curators to project an image of "Brazil" that was itself elite, modern, and above all cosmopolitan. The nature of these paintings, many of them dealing with uniquely Brazilian subject matter, allowed the Brazilian government to emphasize its unique, national roots, but within a framework that was decidedly non-Brazilian. In fact, this framework was not tied to any nation in particular—as Schwarcz notes, although Brazil focused much of its energy on emulating France, the painting styles of these 19th-century artists drew inspiration from a number of European and North American trends such as the Hudson River School, naturalism, and realism.[55] The non-national style of the art's aesthetics, juxtaposed with the national nature of the works' content, signifies an important negotiation between the ideas of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, one that found its way into the "Brazil" presented to foreign audiences.

The music of the Columbian Exposition discloses similar mediations between cosmopolitan and nationalist discourses. According to the Exposition catalogue, the Brazilian

[54] My assertion here draws from Bourdieu's argument that taste in art can be used to articulate social status, power, and privilege. Hence, a preference for the high-brow work of artists like Meireles and Amoedo demonstrates an important display of status among members of the elite circles that would frequent exhibitions that displayed this art. See: Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.*
[55] Schwarcz, "A Mestizo and Tropical Country."

delegation presented performances or stagings of more than 200 works by prominent Brazilian composers, including Francisco Braga, Leopoldo Miguez, Carlos de Mesquita, and Carlos Gomes.[56] According to Volpe, many of the pieces included in the Exposition were piano pieces for salons or musical theater, many of which were renditions of nationalized dance styles such as the valsa or the Brazilian tango.[57] The national, or "Brazilian" character of these pieces was juxtaposed with pieces that were composed exclusively in the European style, such as the lyrical piano compositions of Miguez. The Brazilian delegation included performances of works by Carlos Gomes—*Il Guarany* (protofonia), *Lo Schiavo* (overture), and *Fosca* (overture)—despite his well-known connections to the monarchy.[58] The perceptions of his pieces as quintessentially "Brazilian," especially *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo*, made his compositions especially important for creating an image of Brazil as cosmopolitan and erudite.

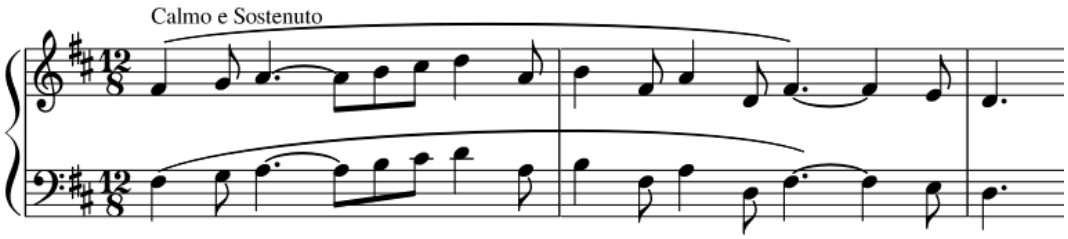
The delegation, however, also wanted to highlight works by composers that were more closely tied to the first Republic, as relying too heavily on Gomes might betray a nostalgia for the old monarchy. One such composer was Francisco Braga, who studied in Paris under the support of the Republic.[59] Braga's work, like the paintings of Amoedo or Meireles, captured the tension between the cosmopolitan and national desires articulated by the architects of nation-building. The delegation performed Braga's symphonic prelude *Paysage* (1892), a work which, according to Volpe, demonstrated the Republic's cosmopolitan outlook on musical education, as Braga was sent to study in Paris to keep up with trends in European art music.[60] The piece, although not identified as particularly nationalist by Brazilian audiences, was a symphonic exploration of

[56] *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section*, 103-108.
[57] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 92.
[58] *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section*, 103-108.
[59] Azevedo, "A música brasileira," 130.
[60] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 93.

Brazil's landscape—the various themes that Braga presented signified different aspects of Brazil's topography and resources, from the mountains of Rio to the pastures of Brazil's southernmost regions. For example, one theme, in 12/8 time and heavily influenced by French musical romanticism, depicts the rolling pastures of Sao Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul (Example 4.1). While many contemporary critics praised Braga's "effulgent brilliance" in composing landscapes, they did not connect the piece explicitly with Brazil—instead, the piece was seen as an echo of the Romantic subjectivity that characterized French symphonies during the *belle époque*. One critic, for example, was moved by Braga's use of landscape, but made no mention of Brazilian, nationalism, or "Brazilianness":

> Francisco Braga describes his inspirations with rare eloquence. One feels landscape as the composer paints it with sounds: the rustic simplicity, the effulgent brilliance of his profoundly blue sky, the openness of a wide horizon that loses itself far away, the resplendence of an immense nature that exhales a delicious, inebriating perfume... One feels and enjoys all that when listening to this enchanting music.[61]

Example 4.1. Braga's *Paysage,* prelude, pastoral theme.[62]



[61] "Francisco Braga foi de uma eloquência rara na maneira de descrever-nos as suas inspirações./ Aquela paisagem sente-se assim como ele no-la pinta em sons: a simplicidade rústica, o brilho fulgurante de um céu profundamente azul, o vago de um horizonte vasto que se perde lá ao longe, a resplandecência de uma natureza imensa que exala um delicioso perfume inebriante.../ Tudo isso sente-se e goza-se escutando essa música encantadora" Review in *Jornal de Commércio,* 23 Jan. 1901, p. 4, T&M. Cited and translated in Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 233-234.

[62] Francisco Braga, *Paysage,* 1892.

Despite the Republican government's attempt to showcase composers who were supported by the Republic, Gomes' pieces became the musical centerpieces of the Brazilian display in 1893. Gomes, already successful in the Italian and European opera circuits, was easily one of the most internationally visible composers Brazil could garnish for the Exposition, so the performances of his music garnered the country increased respectability in the eyes of foreign onlookers. His operas *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo,* then, were once again used to present concepts of "Brazilianness" to audiences, this time in the United States. This chapter, however, does not concern itself with his two most famous operas—like in Italy, they presented a "Brazil" in which "Brazilianness" was primitivized and sensationalized, and in which connections to Europe were emphasized and celebrated.[63] Rather, I am interested in the piece he composed especially for the Colombian Exposition: *Colombo.* Intended for foreign—and especially North American—audiences, *Colombo* is undoubtedly Gomes' most far-reaching and cosmopolitan musical imagining of "Brazilianness." Examining the composition alongside the exported "Brazil" created by the other displays presented in the Columbian Exposition, it becomes clear that *Colombo* itself is a musical negotiation of the shifting ideals of nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

A Shift in Paradigm: *Colombo,* Cosmopolitanism, and a Universal "Brazilianness"

Despite the Rio premiere's failure, *Colombo* arrived with great fanfare in Brazil—journals, newspapers, and advertisements created an air intrigue surrounding Gomes' latest composition and an excitement for the work's debut performance. The *Jornal do Commércio*, for example, announced the spectacle as a celebratory event for the discovery of America that the Republic's vice-president would attend:

[63] See my Chapters 1 and 2 for a discussion of the primitivized "Brazil" of *Il Guarany* in Italy and the Europeanized "Brazil" of *Il Guarany* in Brazil.

> Tomorrow for the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America there will be a great spectacle in the *Teatro Lirico,* one that will be attended by Marechal Floriano Peixoto, vice-president of the Republic. The lyrical spectacle, which promises to be grand, will be divided into three parts: first will be heard the National Anthem, followed by the great opening symphony of *Il Guarany* and finally *Colombo,* Gomes' symphonic poem in three parts to be premiered for the first time…. The theater will be well adorned and illuminated…. *Colombo* will be interpreted by Adalgisa Gabbi, Gubrielesco, Câmera, and Wulmann.[64]

Another article in the *Jornal do Commércio* echoed the sensationalized advertising of the premiere, spelling out in more detail the composition's plot. This time, however, *Colombo* was referred to as an "oratorio," one that depended not on grandiose staging and scenography, but rather on the audience's imagination and engagement with the narrative:

> This is the first time that a concert piece in the genre of the great oratorios is displayed on stage, a genre so appreciated in the European capitals. The new musical piece, loyal to the genre that it represents, does not have changing scenography nor grandiose costumes, common to opera or lyrical drama. The spectacle must take place in the imagination, in accordance with the development of the musical action and singing.[65]

Gomes' *Colombo* presents an intriguing shift for the composer—whereas his prior works, especially *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo*, had dealt explicitly with Brazil and "Brazilianness," his newest work took a more explicitly transnational turn. The dancing natives and fatal mixed-race romances that had come to characterize the "Gomes paradigm," as Volpe calls it,[66] were replaced by a story about the discovery of America. *Colombo* presented an aesthetic shift in terms of the

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[64] "amanhã por ocasião do 400 aniversário da descoberta da América haverá espetáculo de gala no teatro lírico, a que assistira o Sr. Marechal Floriano Peixoto, vice-presidente da República. O espetáculo lírico, que promete ser imponente, se dividirá em três partes: em primeiro lugar será escutado o Hino Nacional, depois a grande sinfonia de abertura de Guarany e finalmente o Colombo, poema sinfônico de Carlos Gomes pela primeira vez exibido e dividido em três partes. ... O teatro estará bem enfeitado e iluminado... O Colombo será interpretado por Adalgisa Gabbi, Gubrielesco, Câmera e Wulmann." *Jornal do Commercio,* " Novidades Teatrais," Oct. 11, 1892.

[65] "É a primeira vez que se exibe em cena ... uma peça de concerto no gênero dos grandes oratórios, tão apreciados nas principais capitais européias. A nova peça musical, fiel ao gênero que representa, não tem movimento de encenação nem os grandes vestuários, comuns à ópera ou ao drama lírico. o espetáculo deve ter na imaginação, de acordo com o desenvolvimento da ação musical é cantante, a ação dramática." *Jornal do Commercio,* "O Colombo de Carlos Gomes," Oct. 14, 1892.

[66] Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape,"

musical material and arrangement, becoming his first major work to not be composed in the standard operatic genre. *Colombo* was described by Gomes and his contemporary critics as a "symphonic vocal-poem" in four acts, but also as an oratorio.[67] More recently, scholars have classified the piece as a four-part cantata.[68] Other have argued that the work was an attempt at composing a Wagnerian musical-drama, one that emphasized motion and continuity over arbitrary breaks in the narrative.[69] Nonetheless, *Colombo* marks uncharted territory for a composer who had built his reputation around being Brazil's most famous operatic composer.

Indeed, *Colombo's* clear difference to Gomes' operatic style may have been one of the reasons that the piece was not chosen to represent the country at the Columbian Exhibition. After all, presenting a piece by Latin America's most successful opera composer that was categorically *not* an opera might have been perceived as idiosyncratic. While it is unclear as to what exactly led to the delegation's rejection of *Colombo,* some scholars have suggested that the composer's allegiance to the deposed monarchy—well-known both in Brazil and abroad even in the 1890s—was the main factor.[70] The Republican government had intended to use the Chicago Exhibition to ameliorate the deteriorating international image of Brazil. Clearly, using a composer that was so involved with Dom Pedro's reign was not the most effective way to boost trust in the new Republic. This argument is inconsistent, however, as the Exhibition's delegation still performed a number of pieces composed by Gomes, namely his *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo.*[71] While they tried to balance

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[67] Salvatore Ruberti, "Colombo (1892): Análise Musical do Poema," *Revista Brasileira de Música* 3, 2 (1936), 203.
[68] Jürgen Maehder, "Cristóbal Colón, Moctezuma II Xocoyotzin and Hernán Cortés on the Opera Stage—A Study in Comparative Libretto History," *Revista de Musicologia* 16/1 (1993), 146-184.
[69] Maehder, "Cristóbal Colón," 152. For discussions of Wagner's musical aesthetic, see: J.P.E. Harper-Scott, "Medieval Romance and Wagner's Musical Narrative in the *Ring,*" *19th-Century Music,* 32/3 (2009),211-234; Steven Vande Moortele, "Form, Narrative and Intertextuality in Wagner's Overture to 'Der fliegende Holländer,'" *Music Analysis* 32/1 (2013), 46-79.
[70] This argument has been made both by Volpe and Azevedo. See: Azevedo, "A música brasileira," 27; Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 94.
[71] Volpe notes that the delegation identified lyric opera as the highlight of the Exhibition since, in the catalogue, operas (all Gomes') were some of the only pieces identified by title. Other pieces, such as symphonic compositions

the inclusion of a monarchy-era composer with the presentation of Republican composers such as Leopoldo Miguez, Gomes' works became Exhibition highlights. I would argue, then, that *Colombo* was excluded from the Exhibition not because of Gomes' association with Dom Pedro II, but because of the lack of association the piece had with Brazil. Whereas *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo* were indubitably representative of "Brazilianness," *Colombo* was not, at least at first glance.

Themes of Europhilia and European aspirations had been implicated in many of Gomes' earliest compositions—*Il Guarany*, for example, situated Brazilian myth within the context of European art and culture, in order to construct an imagined Brazil that was aligned with European cultural norms and values. The model became paradigmatic for Gomes and Brazilian nationalist composers more broadly, as juxtapositions of Brazilian and European cultural forms created an epistemology of Brazilian identity in which Brazilian history and identity was construed as "European."[72] *Colombo* is such a significant development in Gomes' musical production precisely because of this paradigm. Gomes' newest composition similarly betrayed feelings of Europhilia—as the *Jornal do Commércio* announcement emphasized, Gomes composed in the style of an oratorio, a traditionally European musical genre, as the foundation for *Colombo.* However, the composer stripped his piece of the expected association with Brazil—nowhere in the piece is there a Brazilian character, nor a reference to Brazil as a land or a nation. Rather, the narrative laid out by *Colombo* presents a truly hemispheric vision, one in which all of the Americas—North, South, and Central—are tied together in a construction of internationalism. In this musical construction of the Americas, "Brazilianness" is not unilaterally discarded, but rather placed in dialogue with the nationalist discourse of other Latin American and North American nations. In the spirit of

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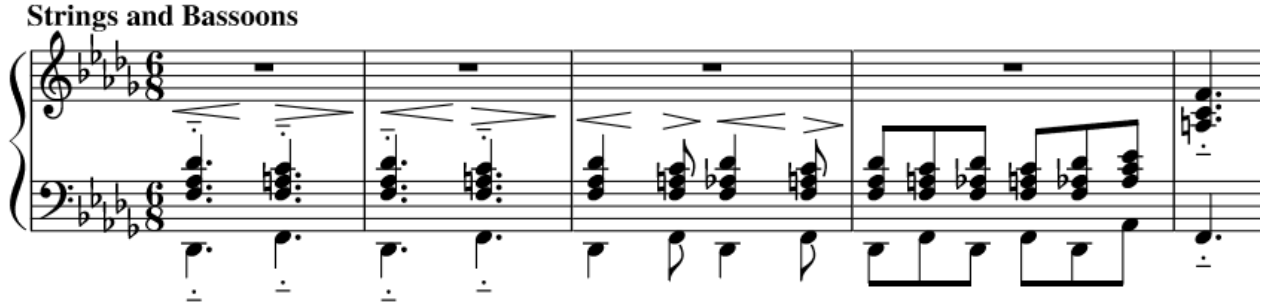
or piano pieces, were only identified by author and year. See: Volpe, "Indianismo and Landscape," 93. See also: *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section,* 103-108.

[72] For my discussion of *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo* along these lines, see my chapters 2 and 3, respectively.

Malachuk's "nationalist cosmopolitans," then, nationalisms coalesce to create a universal feeling of hemispheric unity, or cosmopolitanism.[73]

A close musical analysis of *Colombo's* dramatic and musical development is useful in revealing the cosmopolitan vision in which Christopher Columbus's journey is situated. *Colombo* begins outside the Ravida convent in Southern Spain, where Columbus intends to ask the friar for his help in influencing the Spanish court to finance his proposed journey to the New World. The score reads: "Cold and dark night. The wind blows in intervals. Murmurs of the sea in the distance."[74] Musically, the first scene opens with an ominous sounding orchestration of strings and bassoons—all playing in the lower register—with crescendos and decrescendos that imply the ocean of the sea (Example 4.2). The lack of an overture or formal prelude, typically characteristic of the Italian Grand Opera genre, as well as the abandonment of the grandiose scenography that graced the stages of *Il Guarany,* for example, forms the aesthetic base of Gomes' newest piece. There, as the *Jornal do Commércio* announcement stated, *Colombo* relied on the audiences' imaginations and engagements with the vivid musical material, rather than on intricate visual materials such as backgrounds and costumes.

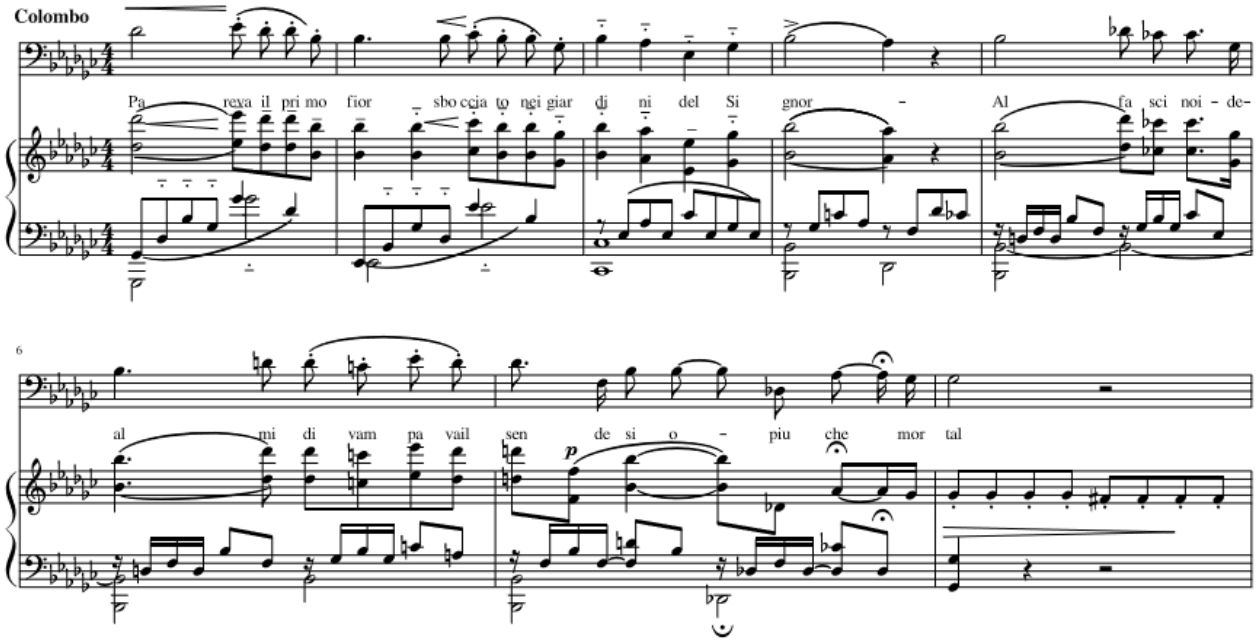
Example 4.2. Gomes' *Colombo,* Part I, mm. 1-4.



[73] Malachuk, "Nationalist cosmopolitics," 139-142.
[74] "Noite fria e escura. O vento sopra com intervalos. Murmúrio do mar à distancia." See: Score for *Colombo,* Coleção Carlos Gomes, Partituras, Museu Nacional Histórico, Rio de Janeiro, BR. Translation by author.

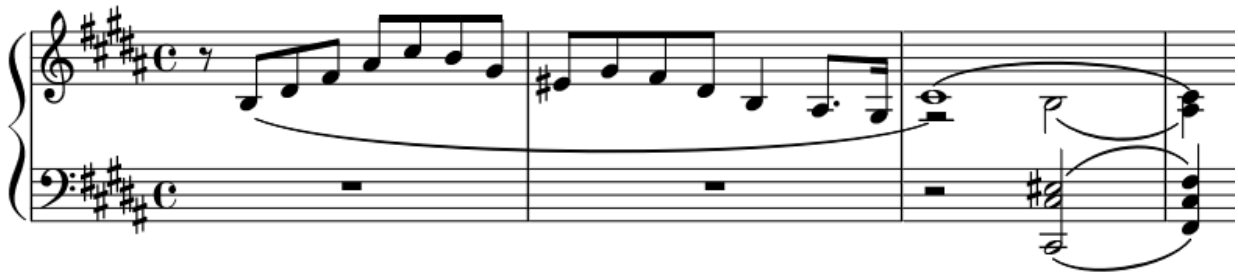
The dark and foreboding nature of the opening descriptive passage contrasts with Columbus's romantic aria at the end of Part I. Romance, a driving force in all of Gomes' operas, appears in *Colombo* as Columbus excitedly sings about his love, but also about the *mundo novo* ("New World") that his dreams drive him to discover. The inclusion of this romantic aria, accompanied by a jubilant and complex orchestration (Example 4.3), serves to paint Columbus as a desperate lover who must nobly—for the good of humanity—abandon his search for love and instead begin his search for the new world. At the core of *Colombo's* Part I is this contrast between the ominous opening and the fervently passionate aria. The melancholic strings that characterize the descriptive prelude are musically representative of the Old World, filled with grief and anxieties, at least for Columbus. In contrast, the urgency that the composer imbued into the aria alludes to the passionate New World that Columbus hopes to find—the vibrant orchestration represents the vibrancy of the continent the explorer hopes to discover. Gomes, then, creates a dichotomy between the dull Old World, Europe, and the New World, full of life. Therefore, it is only natural that Columbus hopes to leave his current situation for the promises of the American content, that which has yet to be discovered.

Example 4.3. Gomes' *Colombo,* Part I, Colombo's Romantic Aria



After Columbus secures the support of the Spanish crown, he prepares three ships to sail for the New World. The beginning of the journey is marked with serenity—a melodic phrase in the violins marked *legatissimo* and the rising and falling arpeggios give the impression of waves, slowly undulating (Example 4.4). Unlike the descriptive prelude, which also represented the sea, this phrase is in a major key, providing a lighter, serene feeling. The phrase moves from a B major arpeggio to descending C major seventh arpeggio, repeating this harmonic motion in the next measure. This phrase forms the motivic foundation for the first portion of Part III—the melody is passed around the orchestra, first appearing in the violins, then the bassoons, then the clarinets and oboes. This calmness, however, is interrupted by a violent storm, one that threatens to destroy Columbus's dreams of a *mundo novo.* The orchestra plays feverishly, the brass and woodwinds intervening with harsh, dissonant entrances that simulate flashes of lightning. Once the storm passes, however, the opening motif once again becomes the principal idea, signaling a return to the gently moving waves that are propelling Columbus towards the New World.

Example 4.4. Gomes' *Colombo,* Part III, maritime motif

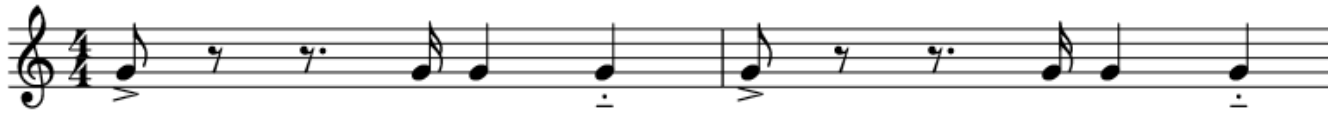


Colombo's Part III portrays the archetypal maritime quest—the hero must navigate dangerous waters that are keeping him from his dream, in this case the new continent. Our hero, of course, overcomes these trials to make landfall in the *mundo novo.* Part IV begins with the European's arrival to the New World, at first a small island populated by indigenous peoples. The encounter is characterized by juxtaposed musical material, one part—the "danza indígena"—representing the natives of the New world, and the "danza espagnolla" representing the Spanish sailors.[75] The "danza indígena," supposedly based in "indigenous rhythms,"[76] uses "primitivized" musical structures—repetition, simplicity, and dissonance—to represent native identities. Similarly, "Danza Espangnolla" uses the characteristic habanera rhythm (Example 4.5a)—a rhythmic structure typically associated with Spain that emphasizes the first and fourth beats—to present the Spanish sailors who are coming into contact with Americans for the first time: the cornet plays a solo melodic line over a string accompaniment figured in the rhythm of the habanera (Example 4.5b).[77] The first portion of Part IV concludes with a return to the indigenous theme as

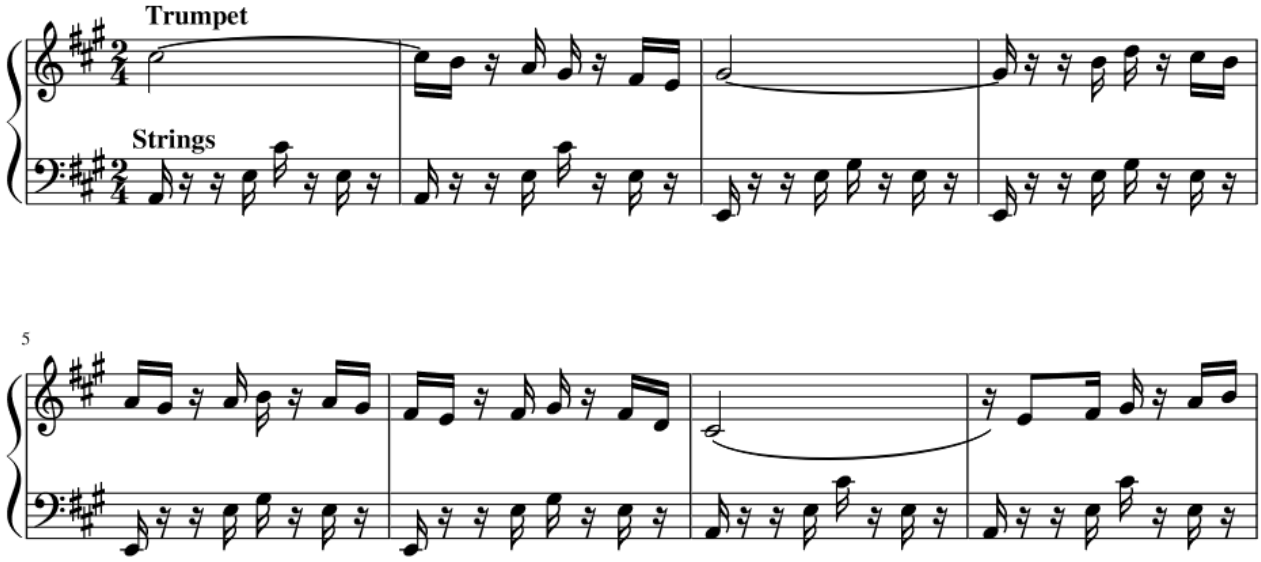
[75] The opening of Part IV is maked "dança indígena" and a subsequent part is marked "danza espagnolla." See score for *Colombo,* Coleção Carlos Gomes, Partituras, Museu Nacional Histórico, Rio de Janeiro, BR.
[76] Ruberti has referred to this passage in this way. "Colombo," 211.
[77] The habanera rhythm used in *Colombo* is a variant of the tresilla rhythm which had as its origins Cuban and Spanish rhythm. This particular rhythmic figure was used heavily in European art music to allude to Spanish, Cuban, or Hispanic identities. Other compositions that used this figure include Bizet's *Carmen* (1874) and

the Spanish sailors board their ships and prepare to return to Spain, bearing news of the *mundo novo.*

Example 4.5a. Typical habanera rhythm, as used in European art music



Example 4.5b. Gomes' *Colombo,* Part IV, "danza espangnolla"



This island encounter—an idealized musical rendition of the colonial encounter—is revealing of Gomes' cosmopolitan vision for the Americas. The discovery of America is presented as a racially harmonious affair—although there is obvious tension between the natives and the Spaniards, the two groups join in executing their characteristic musical material. The history of

Gottschalk's *Le nuit des tropiques* (1860). See: Ned Sublette, *Cuba and its Music: From the First Drums to the Mambo* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2008).

the Americas—the colonial encounter—is romanticized, as if genocide and conquest were not at the core of the Columbus's discovery. Gomes' *Colombo,* then, becomes itself a myth of national foundation, only, in this case, it is not tied to a specific nation. Rather, Gomes' piece presents a foundation myth for the discovery of the region, one that includes Brazil, but also Mexico, Colombia, and the United States. This is reified by the unspecified location onto which Columbus lands. Whereas other operas or compositions that proudly (and problematically) narrate discovery and conquest of the Americas often tie the drama to? a specific national narrative (oftentimes Mexico),[78] Gomes' *Colombo* avoids all mention of nations, with the exception of Spain. Thus, the foundational myth unraveled in *Colombo* becomes a myth for all of America, not just Brazil.

This Pan-American foundational myth presented in the piece concludes with Columbus's return to Europe, where he is greeted as a hero by the Spanish King Fernando and Queen Isabel. All of Spain joins in singing the famous "Himno ao Mundo Novo" ("Ode to the New World"), the grand finale to a symphonic poem that was itself an ode to the New World. Though *Colombo* celebrates America, it does so within a European framework, one that is firmly based in the imperial imaginary. The American identity that is constructed as a result of the foundational myth is predicated upon European intervention in the American hemisphere—had Columbus not arrived and discovered the continent, argues *Colombo,* then the civilization the region enjoys today would not have possible. Of course, America is portrayed as coming from partially indigenous roots. However, the piece propagates the problematic narrative in which Europe, those with writing, culture, and technology, bring "civilization" to the savages.[79] Gomes' score, in fact, refers to the

[78] For a full list of compositions of Columbus, see: Thomas F. Heck, "Towards a Bibliography of Operas on Columbus: A Quincentennial Checklist," *Notes* 49/2 (1992), 474-497.

[79] The colonial encounter has been theorized by some as a clash between literate and non-literate cultures. See, for example, Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques* (Paris: Editorial Plon, 1955). For a critique of Lévi-Strauss and the ethnocentrism of this interpretation of the colonial encounter, see Jacques Derrida, "The Violence of the Letter," in *Of Grammatology,* translated by Gayatri Spivak (Baltimore, MD.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976). See also:

indigenous characters and motifs as "selvaggi" ("savages") throughout.[80] This narrative is furthered by the genre in which *Colombo* is written: the oratorio style in which Gomes composed reveals the aspirations for "Europeanness" in which Gomes' vision for the Americas was situated. This genre, however, also adds to the cosmopolitan, non-national aesthetic of *Colombo.* Whereas Gomes' previous operatic enterprises were composed in the Italian Grand Opera style, a genre tied explicitly to a certain nation (Italy), the compositional style of *Colombo* was not associated with a specific national tradition, but rather European art music more broadly.

The tensions and ideologies that lie at the heart of *Colombo's* foundational narrative mirror those that characterized Brazilian nation-building. To properly understand the ideological implications of Gomes' last piece, it is essential to put his American vision in dialogue with the notions of "Brazilianness" and cosmopolitanism that were espoused by contemporaries in the 1890s, such as in the artwork and musical curation that was displayed at the 1893 Columbian Exhibition. In pieces such as *Marabá* or *Primeira missa no Brasil,* the Brazilian intelligentsia's cosmopolitan desires are presented either within Brazilian contexts or juxtaposed with Brazilian themes. "Brazilianness," in the work of Amoedo or Meireles, is explicitly stated in an effort to cultivate a positive national image abroad. On the contrary, "Brazilianness" is conspicuously absent from Gomes' *Colombo*, perhaps one of the reasons it was excluded from the Exhibition. Rather Gomes' "Brazilianness" is implied, a part of a larger network of nation-building projects that come to create America. The cosmopolitan Americanism presented by Gomes' work is one in which "Brazilianness" is depicted as modernized and quasi-European, but it is situated alongside

Patricia Seed, "'Failing to Marvel': Atahualpa's Encounter with the Word," *Latin American Research Review* 26/1 (1991), 7-32.

[80] See score for *Colombo,* Coleção Carlos Gomes, Partituras, Museu Nacional Histórico, Rio de Janeiro, BR.

the other nation-nesses that make up America: "Mexicanness," "Uruguayanness," Cubanness," and "North Americanness," for example.

The cosmopolitan discourse of *Colombo* is clearly at odds with that of the rest of Brazil's 1890s cultural productions. For Gomes, to be Brazilian is not to be unilaterally tied to the nation of Brazil. Rather, to be Brazilian is to be part of something larger—"Brazilian" becomes "American." In other words, Gomes' "Brazilianness" is universalized. This negotiation of nationalism and cosmopolitanism echoes the "nationalist cosmopolitans" of the early to mid-19th century, those that saw national projects as an important foundation for global development. To devote oneself to the nation, Whitman argued, was to devote oneself to humankind.[81]

The cosmopolitan construction of America and its history, as depicted in *Colombo,* could be seen as ahead of its time. "Pan-Americanism" as a concept was first popularized in the early 20th century by champions of integrationism (largely commercial) in the Americas.[82] However, early notions of a Pan-American—or Latin-American—connectedness began to develop in the late 19th century, culminating in the first International Conference of the American States, held in Washington D.C. in 1889. This had been built upon even earlier notions of Latin American unity first espoused by Bolívar and adopted by anti-imperial intellectuals throughout the 19th century.[83] Gomes' *Colombo* and its Pan-American vision, then, is not as radical as it may seem as first glance,

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[81] Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas in Poetry and Prose,* edited by J. Kaplan (New York: Library of America, 1982). Cited and discussed in Malachuk, "Nationalist Cosmopolitics."

[82] For one of the first studies of Pan-Americanism, see: David Y. Thomas, "Pan-Americanism and Pan-Hispanism," *The North American Review* 217/808 (1923), 327-333. For studies of the rise of Pan-Americanism in the early 20th century, see: Dennison, *Joaquim Nabuco*; Richard Cándida Smith, *Improvised continent: Pan-Americanism and cultural exchange* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017); Samuel Guy Inman, *Inter-American conferences, 1826-1954: history and problems* (Washington: University Press, 1965); Antenor Orrego, *El pueblo continente: ensayos para una interpretación de la America Latina* (Santiago de Chile: Ercilla, 1939). For a discussion of the role of commercialism and markets, see: Fernando Degiovanni, *Vernacular Latin Americanisms: War, the Market, and the Making of a Discipline* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018).

[83] José Martí, *Argentina y la Primera Conferencia Panamericana,* edited by Dardo Cúneo (Buenos Aires: Editores Transición, n.d.)

but rather a development of previous theorizations and reflections on Latin America and its place in the hemisphere.

Conclusion

It is unclear exactly what led Gomes to develop the cosmopolitan "Brazilianness" that he did with *Colombo.* Whether he was interested in the debates surrounding the International Conference of the American States or the anti-imperial deliberations of Latin American intellections cannot be determined. However, his tenuous relationship with the Brazilian nation in the 1890s and his mistrust for the Republican government may provide clues as to why he decided to move away from the Brazilian subject. Having grown to resent the new government, that which had "abandoned him," it is possible that Gomes' American turn was done out of necessity. It is also possible, however, that Gomes' hemispheric perspective was influenced more by the theme if the 1893 Exhibition, which was celebrating the 400th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the Americas. Either way, his internationalist focus continued post-*Colombo*, as his final musical composition, started in 1896, was titled *América.*[84]

América, an opera in three parts, was set in Puebla, Mexico, in 1822. The opera revolved around the protagonist, América, and based on a libretto of unknown authorship.[85] However, the opera was left unfinished, like a number of other works, when the composer died of deteriorating health conditions in 1896. For that reason, the opera's plot and ideological precepts are largely unknown—it is possible that the opera would take on a similar cosmopolitan aesthetic to *Colombo* or develop down another route altogether. It is unclear, then, if *Colombo's* American identity—

[84] See Carteggi Italiani I, Carta 241: (Biblioteca do Conservatório de Música – Veneza), Milan, 28 October 1895.
[85] See Carteggi Italiani I, Carta 242: (Biblioteca do Conservatório de Música – Roma), Milan, 25 Novemeber 1895. The original manuscript for *América* is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

and universalized "Brazilianness"—was itself an ideological conviction of the composer, or an aesthetic choice necessitated by social and political contexts. Regardless, the present analysis of *Colombo* has brought to light important and sometimes paradoxical relationships between ideologies of nationalism and cosmopolitanism during the nation-building project in Brazil.

This chapter has uncovered a little-studied and perplexing history in Gomes' musical career, illuminating his aesthetic and ideological development after the fall of Dom Pedro's monarchy. Specifically, this chapter has provided a contrasting analysis of "Brazilianness" as constructed in *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo*, and shows how notions of cosmopolitanism—or abstractly, the non-national—came to manifest themselves in music and cultural production during the enterprise of nation-building. Cosmopolitanism, nationalism, and Latin Americanism, in 19th-century Latin America, were engaged in tense and sometimes uncomfortable discussions by elite intellectuals. These ideologies were often used to justify or delineate nation-building processes which simultaneously sought to define individual, independent national identities and integrate themselves into the global cosmopolitan ranks of the world's "civilized" countries, namely those in the North Atlantic. Indeed, musicologist have thoroughly examined nationalist ideologies in musical traditions of Europe and Latin America in both the 19th and 20th centuries.[86] As Dana Gooley—in his critical reflection on the state of the discipline—observes, the ideas of cosmopolitanism have also been invoked in musicology and ethnomusicology, but only recently.[87] These studies focus primarily on the 20th and 21st centuries, dismissing the 19th century largely

[86] See, for example: Alejandro Madrid, *Sounds of a Modern Nation: Music, Culture, and Ideas in Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008); Charles Hiroshi Garrett, *Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music and the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Joachim Braun and Kevin Karnes, *Baltic Musics/Baltic Musicologies: The Landscape since 1991* (London: Routledge, 2008); Barbara Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds: Musical Constructions of German National Identity, 1848-1914* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012).

[87] Dana Gooley, "Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848-1914," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66/2 (2013), 523-550.

because of its reputation as the century of nationalism and nation-building, both in Europe and Latin America.[88] Cristina Magaldi, for example, has examined musical cosmopolitanism in Rio's vibrant musical scenes, but focuses exclusively on the musical practices that developed after 1900.[89]

Gooley's discussion of musicology and its apparent privileging of nationalisms (at least historically) highlights the perceived tensions between the notions of the national and the universal. He proposes important questions regarding music's role in mediating, negotiating, or reinforcing such tensions: "Did these formations and institutions submit passively to the nationalist ideology in the nineteenth century, or might they have remained cosmopolitan, evading national inflection? Might music have the capacity, perhaps an exceptional capacity, to shed national markers?"[90] Gomes' *Colombo* acts as a compelling case study that affirms Gooley's convictions, demonstrating that music does have a unique capacity to develop, communicate, and disseminate cosmopolitan aesthetics. In the case of *Colombo,* Gomes broke with the trend of a nationalized music (one could argue that this is a trend that he started), and instead created something that, in the words of Gooley, "shed national markers." However, the political, social, and cultural contexts in which the piece was composed and premiered gave *Colombo* national implications. Situating the piece within the national project of nation-building, it becomes evident that the piece was reflective of the cosmopolitanizing discourse that pervaded the Brazilian elite circles. In that sense, *Colombo* reveals an elite imaginary in which nationalism was balanced quite precariously with global, cosmopolitan desires.

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[88] These scholars no doubt take influence from Anderson's *Imagined Communities,* which argued that ideas of nationalism and nation were conceived of and developed in the 19th century. Most studies of cosmopolitanism, in contrast, posit the early 1900s as the birthplace of cosmopolitan thought, despite many scholars arguing that the ideology grew in tandem with nationalism. For example, see: Malachuk, "Nationalist Cosmopolitics."

[89] Cristina Magaldi, "Cosmopolitanism and World Music in Rio de Janeiro at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 92/3 (2009), 329-364.

[90] Gooley, "Cosmopolitanism," 525.

CONCLUSION

A arte une, a política divide

Art unites, politics divides

—Carlos Gomes[1]

"Art unites, politics divides." So declared Brazilian composer Antônio Carlos Gomes, at least according to his biographer Jorge Alves da Lima, who was among the ranks of scholars to classify Gomes' music as staunchly "apolitical." The aim of this study has been, in part, to challenge this claim, instead teasing out the intricate and nuanced ways that Gomes' music operated within political spheres. I argued that Gomes' music can and should be examined within the social and political context of Brazilian nation-building, asserting that his compositions engaged in various ways with notions of Brazilian national identity, or "Brazilianness." Not only did his music reflect the elite ideological discourses surrounding "Brazilianness," but it also worked to reproduce and disseminate concepts of race and nation among the concert-going social circles in Brazil's upper classes. In this way, I have posited music—especially opera—as being mutually constitutive with politics: political discourse, in the form of racial or national ideologies, influenced and shaped the composition of Gomes' pieces, which, in turn, reified such notions as the "*raça brasileira"* or the *pensamento social brasileiro.*

[1] Biographer Jorge Alves da Lima attributes this phrase to Carlos Gomes, claiming that it was his "mantra," but it is unclear exactly how often—or if at all—the composer would make such statements. Alves da Lima, *Carlos Gomes,* xvii.

Though "Brazilianness" served as a guiding thread with which to structure my analysis, and indeed, this thesis, the principal aim of this study has been to use Gomes' music as a perspective from which to examine the larger trends in Brazilian nation-building, particularly surrounding the issue of national identity as defined both within Brazil and without. I asked: How did notions of national identity—"Brazilianness"—develop over the course of the 19th century? How were the various racial identities that constituted Brazil's national population invoked in the discourse of nation-building? How did Brazil hope to define its own identity, both to its own citizens and to foreign onlookers? And finally, how were erudite musical practices implicated in debates regarding race, nation, and ideology in *fin de siècle* Brazil?

The answers to these questions are, of course, endlessly complex and resist easy reductions. As Chapters 1 and 2 demonstrated, Gomes' *Il Guarany* served as a signifier of "Brazilianness" in both Italian and Brazilian contexts. In each case, however, Brazilian identity was read differently. In Italy, "Brazilianness" was essentialized and, subsequently, primitivized: Gomes' archetypal depictions of Brazil's people—primarily natives—and lands were engaged in a strategic auto-exoticization, one that took advantage of the composer's own position as a Brazilian in Europe to accrue success within the Orientalist and exoticist musical practices that were popular in 1870s Europe. In contrast to this projection of an "Other" directed towards Italian audiences, *Il Guarany* very much served as a reaffirmation of the "Self" in its Brazilian context. Here, the opera relayed to Brazilian audiences the quintessential myth of national foundation, invoking Indianist ideologies that were read as allegories for the Brazilian nation and national identity. The "Brazilianness" constructed around *Il Guarany,* though built on an indigenous past, is whitened and "Europeanized," reflecting the intelligentsia's aspirations to define the nation as being part of the Western, European tradition. As chapter 3 demonstrates, a similar paradigm is produced in *Lo*

Schiavo—"Brazilianness" is presented as a mix of indigenous and European roots (clearly favoring the European), occluding Afro-descendant identities that had contributed so much to Brazilian society. In this rendering of "Brazilianness," Brazil is conceptualized as progressive—its abolition of slavery being a marker of modernity—but nonetheless white and European. In both *Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo,* indigeneity is idealized, but placed safely in a historical discourse that neglects current indigenous populations and instead favors a whitened notion of Brazilian identity. Despite the large and visible population of Afro-descendants living in Brazil, blackness is ignored, as if it had no place in "Brazilianness." Finally, Chapter 4 again discussed the construction of this "Brazilianness" abroad, this time in the United States. Gomes' *Colombo,* composed for a North American premiere, demonstrated the tensions between discourses of nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and modernity. I assert that these ideologies are in fact not contradictory, but rather interconnected and integral parts of the Brazilian nation-building process, especially in the 1890s. *Colombo* illustrates the role that national identity had in Brazil's cosmopolitan vision of itself, one that sought to build a nation around aspirations to join North Atlantic circuits of modernity.

Though I see this study as an important addition to the already sparse scholarship on Carlos Gomes, it also serves as a critical intervention into larger areas of research, those that regard questions of nation-building, identity, and issues in Latin American musicology. In this conclusion, then, I wish to discuss the implications that the arguments and interpretations presented in this thesis have for other areas of scholarship. First, I contend that scholars should consider carefully the place of Carlos Gomes within the Brazilian cultural imaginary, as his music and myth continue to be invoked in discussions of race, nation, and "Brazilianness." Second, I offer this

study as a case-study that demonstrates how nation-building—or nationalism in general—is inherently a process built on exclusion.

Carlos Gomes and the Brazilian Cultural Imagination: 1936 and Today

Carlos Gomes has become lionized in the pantheon of Brazilian composers as one of the greatest composers in the nation's history, perhaps second only to Heitor Villa-Lobos. Despite Gomes' difficult and tragic life, marked by periods of poverty, illness, and estrangement from his native Brazil, Carlos Gomes become posthumously characterized as a treasured and celebrated national symbol.[2] From the end of the 19th century, politicians, intellectuals, and elite Brazilians embraced Gomes as representative of Brazil's cultural promise. In 1936, the centenary of Gomes' birth, Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas sponsored a nation-wide celebration of the composer, his work, and his legacy. The festivities featured a number of events, including a special conference of the Brazilian Society of Letters, primary school curricula, an international conference held by the Universidade de Rio de Janeiro, the construction of a monument for Gomes in his hometown of Campinas,[3] and a 500-page special issue of the *Revista Brasileira de Música* honoring the composer and his works.[4] Guilherme Fontainha, director of the National Institute of Music in Rio,

[2] Mario de Andrade, "Fosca," *Revista Brasileira da Musica* 3/2 (1936), 251-263; Goés, *Carlos Gomes*; Arthur Imbahassy, "Carlos Gomes: Alguns traços episódicos do homem e do artista," *Revista Brasileira da Música* 3/2 (1936), 104-116.

[3] The monument in Campinas was commissioned and supported by Campinas politician—and close friend of Carlos Gomes— César Bierrenbach. In the Museu Carlos Gomes, founded by Bierrenbach, a number of correspondences between the politician and local government administrators details the construction and dedication of the monument. Across the plaza from the monument is also the mausoleum that holds the remains of the composer.

[4] The conference, originally scheduled to take place in Montevideo, Uruguay, was moved to the Universidade do Rio de Janeiro (later the Universidade Federal) to coincide with the centenary of Gomes' birth. Due to a number of external (and most likely financial) factors, however, the conference was canceled and never held. See: Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 65. See also, on the *Revista*: Fontainha, "Prefacio."

praised the celebrations as the "grandest event…in the world of Brazilian music" and argued that Gomes should have his own national holiday.[5]

The hallmark of the 1936 celebrations was a commemorative concert held in Rio de Janeiro. The event, which of course opened with the Protofonia to Gomes' *Il Guarany*, was attended by Brazil's most powerful social, political, and cultural elite. Those in the audience included important ministers of the state, the federal press and diplomatic corps, high-ranking military officials, and select circles of Brazil's moneyed elite.[6] Also in attendance was President Vargas and his first lady, Darcy Sarmanho Vargas. The celebrations were not limited to Brazil. In fact, as the New York Times reported, similar centenary celebrations took place in Italy, France, and even Germany[7]—adoring fans all over the world could celebrate the legacy of Brazil's brightest star. Although the *Día do Carlos Gomes* that Fontainha wished for never actually came to fruition, the events of 1936 represent the continued idealization and mythicization of Carlos Gomes that took place within the Brazilian cultural imaginary.

The centenary celebrations of 1936 also reveal the way the figure of Carlos Gomes was invoked in the name of particular nationalist and ideological agendas. Vargas, serving as interim president following the Revolution of 1930 and then as constitutional President in 1934, had continued the project of nation-building into the 20th century: he favored ideologies of nationalism, political centralization, and populism.[8] His authority would eventually be consolidated when he

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[5] Fontainha, "Prefacio," 78.
[6] H. Viera, "O romance," 39-40.
[7] *Ibid.* See also: Sérgio Augusto, *As penas do oficio: Ensaios de jornalismo cultural* (Rio de Janeiro: Agir, 2006).
[8] On Vargas and issues of nationalism and populism, see: Boris Fausto, *Getúlio Vargas: o poder e o sorriso* (São Paulo: Companhia de Letras, 2006); R.S. Rose, *One of the Forgotten Things: Getúlio Vargas and Brazilian Social Control, 1930-1954* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 2000); Alejandro José Groppo and Ernesto Laclau, *The Two Princes, Juan D Peron and Getulio Vargas: A Comparative Study of Latin American Populism* (Villa María, Córdoba, Argentina : EDUVIM, Editorial Universitaria Villa María, 2009); Thomas D. Rogers, "I Choose This Means to Be With You Always': Getúlio Vargas's *Carta Testamento*," In *Vargas and Brazil: New Perspectives*, edited by Jens R. Hentschke, 227-255 (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

declared himself dictator of the Brazilian *Estado Novo* (New State) in 1937, a nationalist, authoritarian regime modeled after Antonio Salazar's *Estado Novo* in Portugal.[9] The guiding ideology behind Vargas' regime was a strong sense of Brazilian nationalism, based in a unified Brazilian national identity, or *brasilidade* ("Brazilianness"), as he called it. Many of the Vargas' policies—both before and after the declaration of the *Estado Novo*—were aimed at defining and consolidating this new *brasilidade*: he used the production of radios and propaganda to espouse nationalist rhetoric, but also took advantage of popular culture, such as music and soccer, to build national unity.[10] Intellectuals also partook in this new wave of patriotism and nationalism—Gilberto Freyre, for example, used his work *Casa Grande e Senzala* to champion the notion of "racial democracy" and *brasilidade.*[11]

The 1936 celebrations of Carlos Gomes, then, can be placed directly within this patriotic nationalism that Vargas saw as the way forward for Brazil. On the eve of the *Estado Novo,* the centenary festivities brought Brazilian citizens together to praise Carlos Gomes, his music, and its projected ideals. Clearly, for Vargas and his elite and popular supporters, Gomes' music had a nationalist value, as it was used to invoke notions of *brasilidade* and national unity. However, the focus on Gomes' most explicitly Indianist operas—*Il Guarany* and *Lo Schiavo*—should be deeply troubling. Although much of Gomes' work did not deal at all with indigeneity or native Brazilians,

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[9] The *Estado Novo* in Portugal was an authoritarian regime that ran from 1933 to 1974, first lead by Antonio Salazar, and later by Marcelo Caetano. The regime was far-right conservative, with policies and moral stances based in Catholic values, often encapsulated by the slogan *"Deus, Patria, e* Familia: (God, Country, and Family"). See: José Luis García, editor, *Salazar, o Estado Novo, e os media* (Coimbra: Edições, 2017); David Corkill and José Carlos Pina Almeida, "Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The 'Mundo Português' Exposition of 1940," *Jounral of Contemporary History* 44/3 (2009), 381-399.

[10] For discussions of Vargas' use of popular culture and nationalism, see: Gabriel Ferraz, "Heitor Villa-Lobos e Getúlio Vargas: Doutrinando crianças por meio da educação musical," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 34/2 (2013), 162-195; Carmen Nava, "Lessons in Patriotism and Good Citizenship: National Identity and Nationalism in Public Schools during the Vargas Administration, 1937-1945," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 35/1 (1998), 39-63; José Sergio Leite Lopes, "Class, Ethnicity, and Color in the Making of Brazilian Football," *Daedalus* 129/2 (2000), 239-270.

[11] For a more in-depth discussion of Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala,* and "racial democracy," see my Introduction.

it is precisely for his depictions and characterizations of indigenous peoples that he became famous and was celebrated for. As Tracy Devine Guzmán notes, the celebrations that Vargas sponsored made "harmonious and markedly Brazilian processes of miscegenation popular entertainment for select audiences at home and abroad."[12] Idealized indigenous figures and whitened conceptions of the nation continued to be strengthened and propagated in processes of nation-building. In using Gomes' music to support his search for *brasilidade,* Vargas forged a national identity built upon a privileging of whiteness and on an exclusion of black and indigenous identities.

The pervasive use of the Gomes figure and his music continues today. His music and myth carry with them the same implications for "Brazilianness" and for ideologically-constructed notions of race and nation today as it did in 1936. Although many Brazilians citizens today are not familiar with his music or do not listen to it, knowledge of the composer and of his importance for Brazil is ubiquitous. Streets, *praças* (plazas), and buildings are named after him in every major city, and monuments can be found in Rio de Janeiro, Campinas, São Paulo, and Belém (among others). The monument that lies in the Praça Ramos de Azevedo, adjacent to the Teatro Municipal in the center of São Paulo, is especially indicative of Gomes' national importance.[13] The statue, which features a seated Carlos Gomes presiding over a structure that resembles Rome's Trevi fountain, has smaller statues that surround the complex, each alluding to a different opera or element of Gomes' compositions. In the front of the structure stand two statues, one of a Guaraní

[12] Guzmán, *Native and National In Brazil,* 66.

[13] A funny story about the statue: Built in 1922, the monument to Carlos Gomes was designed by Italian sculptor Luiz Brizzolara. Apparently, Brizzolara was never given (or potentially) refused to use a reference of the composer's countenance, so, when the statue was revealed in 1922, it was noted that the man in the composer's chair was not Carlos Gomes, nor did he bear any resemblance to him. Brazilians, predictably outraged and horrified, demanded that the statue be redone to actually represent Gomes, but these changes were not done until some years later. Original pictures of the statue will feature the random man that was supposed to be Gomes, but today, the statue has been corrected and presents an accurate likeness of the composer. This story is not found in any official histories, but is a popular story told by *Paulistanos* (residents of São Paulo). I confirmed this story with an early picture of the 1922 reveal of the sculpture that I found in the Museu Nacional Histórico in Rio de Janeiro.

native—armed with a bow and adorned with feathers—and the other of a Portuguese explorer. The monument, which has become a centerpiece of São Paulo's Republica neighborhood and a staple sight for concertgoers, represents the composer and, of course, his ideal for "Brazilianness," a combination of indigeneity with Europeanness. We see that even in monuments to the composer, then, that discourses of race and nation cannot be separated from the myth or legacy of Gomes.

Gomes, his music, and ideals continue to be invoked even in contemporary politics. In his 2019 *discurso de posse* (inaugural address), recently appointed Minister of External Relations Ernesto Araújo—part of the new administration under President Jair Bolsonaro—articulated a desire to return to 19th- century discourses of race and nationalism. He declared: "We [as Brazilians] must read less New York Times and more José de Alencar and Gonçalves Dias."[14] Immediately after, Araújo reaffirmed Carlos Gomes to be a "staple" of Brazilian culture.[15] It may (and should) seem odd to place one of the most reputable journals in the world next to two 19th-century Brazilian Romantics, but this juxtaposition (and condemning of *The New York Times*) makes sense considering the Bolsonaro administration's stances on race and indigenous rights in Brazil. Araújo's mention of Gomes and the Indianist authors (who influenced Gomes) serves to invoke a particular rendering of "Brazilianness" and nationalist sentiment that involves a whitening and erasure of indigenous and black identities. This is on brand for Bolsonaro, who has repeatedly presented himself as in favor of dissolving indigenous communities and lands—he has gone so far as to deny that indigenous peoples are actually indigenous at all.[16] He and his administration, then, embraces the "Brazilianness" put forward by Gomes, bringing up the

[14] "Vamos ler menos *The New York Times*, e mais José de Alencar e Gonçalves Dias." Ernesto Araújo, as quoted in Elaine Brum, "O chanceler quer apagar a história do Brasil: Como o ideólogo do governo Bolsonaro usa José de Alencar para pregar a assimilação dos indígenas e justificar a abertura de suas terras para o agronegócio," *El Pais*, 16 January 2019. Web. Translation by author.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] Brum, "O chanceler quer apagar a história do Brasil."

composer's legacy to legitimize his political positions as part of a tradition that has already been cemented in the Brazilian cultural imaginary.

I mention these historical and contemporary episodes—the 1936 celebrations, the São Paulo monument, and Bolsonaro's administration—to demonstrate a particular point: that the figure of Carlos Gomes has been fixed within the cultural imaginary of Brazil and associated with themes of nationalism and "Brazilianness." Continually, this figure has been evoked to serve nationalist ends. In 1936, Vargas used the Gomes myth as part of his nationalist populism. Today, the monument in São Paulo serves to present images of a racialized Brazilianness to citizens, tourists, and concertgoers. Even contemporary politics and the new Bolsonaro administration has invoked the "Brazilianness" of Gomes to justify and legitimize policy stances that carry with them racial and nationalist implications. These instances all represent ways that the politically powerful and influential have used Gomes and his music to crystalize and disseminate the projected ideals. Further, from a Gramscian perspective, these instances all present examples of media—in this case Gomes and his music—sustaining and reinforcing systems of hegemony. Gomes' political and ideological importance, then, extends far beyond the 19th century, the time period that this thesis has explored. I argue that scholars—and Brazilian citizens in general—should carefully scrutinize the continuing use of Gomes and his music to further certain racialized and nationalist discourses of "Brazilianness."

Music, Inclusion and Exclusion, and Nation-Building

The various uses of Gomes' myth and music I outline above allude to a larger point I wish to make with this study. Throughout this thesis, I have demonstrated the ways in which Gomes'

compositions engaged with elite discourses of race and nation, and the way elites have engaged with Gomes' music to further their own ideologies. Gomes' music, in its projection of imagined concepts of "Brazilianness," highlights the inherently exclusionary nature of nation-building in 19th-century Brazil. The project of defining a national Brazilian identity involves deciding who *is* Brazilian and who *is not*. As demonstrated by policies such as *branqueamento* and racial fantasies such as *Indianismo* and Brazilian Romanticism, "Brazilianness" was constructed along racialized lines.[17] Though construed as a mixture of indigenous and European roots, "Brazilianness" is consistently rendered as white and European—indigeneity, as an ideal, is present, but gradually eclipsed by whiteness. Of the three racial streams that were posited as national roots, it is only the European that is proudly claimed as belonging both in Brazil's past and Brazil's future. Blackness and indigeneity, according to 19th-century national identity projects, had no place in "Brazilianness."

The exclusionary nature of Brazil's nation-building is not limited to the 19th century. Rather, I contend that the continuous development of Brazil and the search for "Brazilianness" and *brasilidade* that extends well into today have also been characterized by a discourse of exclusion. The *modernistas* of the 1920s, for example, also sought to use art and cultural production to establish a unique Brazilian identity. Though Oswald de Andrade's "Manifesto Antropófago" posited this new "Brazilianness" as distinctly separate from Europeanness, there was little mention of African roots of Afro-descendant Brazilians anywhere in the events or products of Modern Art Week.[18] The nationalized Brazilian music of the 20th century, too, operated within an exclusionary

[17] See: Sidmore, *Black into White;* Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil*; also see my Chapter 3.

[18] de Andrade, "Manifesto Antropófago." See also: Beth Joan Vinkler, "The Anthropophagic Mother/Other: Appropriated Identities in Oswald de Andrade's 'Manifesto Antropófago,'" *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34/1 (1997), 105-111. See my chapter 2.

rendering of nationalism. Composers such as Heitor Villa-Lobos and Francisco Braga, recognized for their patriotic, musical espousals of "Brazilianness" (or *brasilidade* in the case of Villa-Lobos), limited their nationalist discourse to only indigeneity and whiteness. Blackness, throughout much of the nationalisms of the 19th and 20th centuries, has been conspicuously neglected at best, or deliberately erased at worst.

A bizarre series of correspondences from the mid-20th century reveals that even the identity of Carlos Gomes, at this point a celebrated contributor to the project of Brazilian nationalism, was (and is) a site of this racially exclusionary rhetoric. In 1945, Benjamin Grosbayne, a North American academic, wrote to a Dr. Ramos, then director of the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. Curious as to Gomes' racial and ethnic descendance, Grosbayne wrote: "I am planning an article on American Music and want to know whether Gomez (Condor, Lo Schiavo, Il Guarany, etc.) was wholly or partly Negro. I should be grateful for any data. Those to whom I have written thus far refer me to others."[19] After several, the letter made its way to Itala Vaz de Carvalho, the composer's daughter, who was asked by the Biblioteca to research and respond to Grosbayne's inquiry. Almost indignantly, she responded:

> Never have I had any knowledge of any black ascendance in the *direct* family of my father, as I have said before in the "biographical book" that I authored—*A Vida de Carlos Gomes* ["The Life of Carlos Gomes], the one that you cite in your card and probably have not had the opportunity to read closely.[20]

Vaz de Carvalho is quite direct in denying the possibility of an African heritage for Gomes, and on implying that Grosbayne has not been completely thorough in his research. She is very

[19] Letter from Benjamin Grosbayne to the Biblioteca Nacional, dated 25 August 1945. See letter in the Colecao Carlos Gomes, Correspondências, Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, BR.

[20] "Nunca eu tive conhecimento de alguma ascendência negra na família *direta* de meu Pai, como atesto no "libro-biografia" de minha autoria: "*A vida de Carlos Gomes*," que o senhor cita em sua carta e que não teve provavelmente a oportunidade de ler minuciosamente." Letter from Itala Vaz de Carvalho to Benjamin Grosbayne, dated December 1945. See letter in the Coleção Carlos Gomes, Museu Carlos Gomes, in Campinas, BR. Emphasis original, translation by author.

explicit in asserting that her father was of mixed indigenous and Portuguese descent. The rest of her letter to Grosbayne, however, reads as a racial diatribe. Regarding Gomes' skin color, she writes: "My father nonetheless had a skin color that was *light-brown-red*, very characteristic of indigenous Brazilians, and very different from the *brown-yellow* color of the black-African descendants."[21] She continues: "In all of the great artistic-musical works of Carlos Gomes…*never* do you find EVER , the rhythms of black-African 'folk-lore' in any melodic or dance-like form."[22] For his daughter—and in fact, most of Brazil—Gomes' music and thus his "Brazilianness" is predicated only on indigenous and European roots. Blackness is clearly unwelcome in any formulation of national identity.

Vaz de Carvaho's letter continues, only reifying this exclusionary model of "Brazilianness." Regarding Afro-descendants and Brazilian history, she writes:

> It is necessary to make with [illegible] clear the difference between the indigenous Brazilian, man of bronzed color, belonging to multiple tribes spread throughout Brazil, and the mixed descendants of the black-African, that was brought to Brazil as a slave and here he acclimated alongside many other races of explorers of the South American continent, but is still not absolutely of Brazilian origin.[23]

Gomes' daughter, then, posits Afro-descendants as "not completely Brazilian," whereas the races of "explorers"—Europeans, obviously—are the true bearers of "Brazilianness." She continues, attempting to make a racial comparison between Brazil and the United States:

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[21] "Meu Pai tinha alias a cor da pele *moreno-claro-vermelha*, bem característica dos indígenas brasileiros, muito diferente da cor *moreno-amarela* dos descendetes do negro-africano." Letter from Itala Vaz de Carvalho to Benjamin Grosbayne, dated December 1945. See letter in the Coleção Carlos Gomes, Museu Carlos Gomes, in Campinas, BR. Emphasis original, translation by author.

[22] "Em todo o grande cabedral artístico-musical de Carlos Gomes...*nao* se encontra NUNCA, o ritmo do "folk-lore" negro-africano sob nenhuma forma melódica ou dançante." *Ibid.* Emphasis original, translation by author.

[23] "E necessário fazer com [illegible] a diferencia entre o indígena brasileiro, homem de cor bronzeada, pertencente as múltiplas tribos espalhadas pelo Brasil, e os descendentes mesclados do negro-africano, que foi trazido para o Brasil como escravo e que aqui se aclimatou ao par de outras tantas raças de exploradores do continente Sul-Americano, mas que todavia não são absolutamente de origem brasileira." *Ibid.* Emphasis original, translation by author.

> Understand then that the Brazilian Indian compares to the *Red-Skinned-Indian* of North America, just like our [Brazil's] *blacks* equal the *blacks* that were also enslaved and taken to the United States by the first colonizers of North America.[24]

Vaz de Carvalho then returns to the matter at hand, convincing Grosbayne of Gomes' "Brazilianness"—or, lack of blackness. She writes:

> Be sure, then, Sir, that the *ancestors of Carlos Gomes are very Brazilian, they are indigenous peoples of are forests,* like is therefore very evident in his *musical style,* completely lacking the musical rhythms of the African descendants that are so frequently recognized in the music of almost all other composers of the two Americas.[25]

Of course, she ends her letter by making clear that she is in no way racist, and, in fact, would be proud to have an Afro-descendant father:

> This I say only in the name of the truth and without any intention of revealing any racial prejudice, for if Carlos Gomes was a black descended from Central Africa, I would be just as overjoyed to be the daughter of a great black, just like I pride myself in being the daughter of a great and talented artist of *indigenous-Brazilian race.* I wish, then, to relay these necessary and exact facts to whom requested them, and I hope you receive my attentive compliments.[26]

Vaz de Carvalho's card, as explicitly prejudiced as it is, is revealing of a number of issues. She makes very clear the fact that her father is *"bem brasileiro,"* very Brazilian. *Bem brasileiro,* however, means of indigenous and European descent. Afro-descendants, not completely Brazilian according to her, have no place in the "Brazilianness" of Carlos Gomes. In fact, it is this very lack

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[24] "Compreenda-se assim que o Indio Brasileiro compara-se ao *Indio-Pele-Vermelha* da America do Norte, assim como os nossos *negros*, equivalem aos *negros* que também foram escravizados e levados para os Estados Unidos pelos primeiros colonizadores da America do Norte." See letter in the Coleção Carlos Gomes, Museu Carlos Gomes, in Campinas, BR. Emphasis original, translation by author.

[25] "Tenha pois certeza o Senhor, de que os *ancestrais de Carlos Gomes são bem brasileiros, são indígenas de nossa florestas,* como alias resulta bem evidente do seu *estilo musical,* inteiramente albeio aos ritmos musicais dos descendentes africanos que se reconhecem frequentemente na música de quase todos os compositores das duas américas." *Ibid.* Emphasis original, translation by author.

[26] "Isto eu digo em prol da verdade sem nenhuma intenção de fugir a qualquer preconceito de diminuição racial, pois se Carlos Gomes fosse um negro retinto do Centro Africano, eu me regozijaria igualmente de ser filha de um negro genial, como vanglorio de o ser de um grande talentoso artista da *raça indígena-brasileira.* Queira, pois, dar estas necessárias e exatas indicações a quem as pediu e receber meus atenciosos cumprimentos." *Ibid.* Emphasis original, translation by author.

of blackness that she says makes his music unique. Vaz de Carvalhos indignant denial of any Afro-descendance in her father's identity is indicative of the exclusionary "Brazilianness" that was constructed both in Gomes' music, and in the elite ideologies of nation-building. Further, the fact that this letter was sent in 1945 demonstrates the pervasive and continuous nature of this exclusionary "Brazilianness"—it was not only a product of 19th-century nation-building, as this study demonstrates, but a notion that continued throughout the 20th-century and continues today, as the Bolsonaro administration's rhetoric shows. I should also note that indigeneity, though mentioned and included in Vaz de Carvalho's letter, is included in "Brazilianness" in a problematic and idealized manner. As Guzmán astutely points out, Gomes and his audiences had no meaningful interactions with actual indigenous Brazilians, and nowhere in the 500-page *Revista Brasileira da Música* dedicated to Gomes in 1936 was actual indigeneity discussed or even referenced.[27] Although indigeneity of a time long past had a place in nation-building's "Brazilianness," real indigenous communities were neglected, eclipsed, and erased.

The exclusionary constructions of nationalism that I have discussed with regards to 19th-, 20th-, and 21st-century Brazil are not purely Brazilian phenomena. Indeed, nationalisms and nation-building projects all over the world, both in historical contexts and today, are based in practices of exclusion. In defining the "imaginary community"—to return to Benedict Anderson's concept—that forms the base of national consciousness, in-groups and out-groups must be defined.[28] In other words, boundaries between "Self" and "Other" must be established and drawn. This study, then, is only a case-study in a larger issue of nation-building, intending to demonstrate that any process that involves defining national identities is inherently plagued by an exclusionary element. In Mexico's nation-building period at the turn of the 20th century, Mexican intellectuals defined

[27] Guzmán, *Native and National in Brazil,* 65-66.
[28] Anderson, *Imagined Communities.*

mexicanidad in racial terms, privileging white and mixed-indigenous Mexicans over those of completely indigenous or black descent.[29] José Vasconcelos' *La raza cosmica* (1925) went so far as to define *mexicanidad* as a "5th race," one that was characterized by *mestizaje* but also built upon the erasure of indigenous and black identities.[30] The United States has a similarly troubled history of exclusion, one that extends into the modern day. President Donald Trump's rhetoric of division, racism, and xenophobia serves to paint "American" identity as something white and European—blackness, indigenousness, and anything else, to him, is un-American and unwelcome.

What I hope to convey with this study is that national identities are not to be taken lightly. Rather, nationalisms and national consciousnesses—*brasilidades, mexicanidades,* etc.—are to be carefully scrutinized and examined as sites of tension. In defining oneself, one must also define the "Other." As history has shown us, this categorizing of the "Other" has consistently led to policies of inequality, inequity, and division. What I suggest, then, is that we as scholars and citizens continue to deeply problematize our own national loyalties, affiliations, identities, and nationalisms. How have we, as North Americans, Mexicans, Brazilians, etc., unintendedly supported rhetoric of exclusion? How have we helped to construct ideological "Others"? This thesis, obviously, is not an answer. Rather, I hope to have contributed to the body of scholarship that highlights this concerning historical pattern of exclusion, marginalization, and difference.

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[29] For examples of intellectuals writing about indigeneity, *mexicanidad*, and race, see: Antonio García Cubas, *The Republic of Mexico in 1876: a Political and Ethnographical Division of the Population, Character, Habits, Costumes, and Vocations of its Inhabitants*, trans. George F. Henderson (Mexico City: La Enseñanza, 1876); Francisco Pimentel (Conde de Heras), *Memoria sobre las causas que han originado la situación actual de la raza indígena de México y medios de remediarla, Dos Obras de Francisco Pimentel* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Cien de México, 1995).

[30] José Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica* (Mexico City: Espasa Calpe SA, 1948).

EPILOGUE

On the Musicological Canon and Exclusion

Some years ago, musicologist Alejandro I. Madrid was asked to contribute to a journal volume on diversifying music academia. In the first page of his piece, he wrote, rather surpisingly:

> Do we need more Ibero-American music in the music history sequence we teach at our institutions? Maybe I was invited to be part of this discussion under the assumption that my answer would be "Yes, of course we do. That goes without saying." However, since most of the people attending the session that originated this article were Ibero-Americanist, Latin-Americanists or a variation of those two labels, I thought such an answer would lead into a conversation that could quickly become an instance of preaching to the choir. Instead, my answer to that question was (and is) "No, we do not need more Ibero-American music in the music history sequence."[31]

Madrid's point here was not to suggest the Ibero- and Latin American musics do not belong in the academy. Rather, he was raising an important concern about the whole point of the academy, critiquing the very structure of Music Studies. He continues:

> The reformist view that argues for such practice is informed by a belief that the sole presence of marginal musics in a revised canon is positive. Nevertheless, the canon has a political reason to exist in the form it does, and arguing for its expansion could only mean two things: the trivialization of the canonic fantasy by belittling the reason why it exists in the first place or the use and re-evaluation of the marginal musics used to expand it in order to reproduce the values and ideologies that control the shaping and re-shaping of that canonic fantasy. At any rate, expanding the canon to include Ibero-American music or Chinese music or Indonesian music would defy the canon's raison d'etre. In its current form, as an outcome of musicology as an arm of colonialist and imperialist European projects, the canonic fantasy (expressed in the form of music history surveys or music appreciation classes) works as propaganda and music programs as indoctrination agencies with an underlying mission of producing the next generation of concert audiences.[32]

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[31] Alejandro I. Madrid, "Diversity, Tokenism, Non-Canonical Musics, and the Crisis of the Humanities in U.S. Academia," *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 7/2 (2017), 124.
[32] *Ibid,* 125.

Madrid alludes to the very foundation of the academy, the musical canon, those works we as musicologists, theorists, and ethnomusicologists deem so important as to merit continued study and teaching. Introductory university courses on music always discuss the canonic staples: Mozart's and Verdi's operas, Beethoven's symphonies, 19th-century concertos, piano pieces by Schubert and Chopin, Brahms string quartets, the occasional modernist or post-modernist piece, and so forth. Introductory music theory courses are always based in Western theory, and use the very same repertoire to discuss theoretical concepts. In this thesis, I have used music as a lens from which to study the exclusion-based practices of nation-building and nationalisms. However, this very lens can be applied reflexively—how has music, or at least how we consider it academically, itself been construed in a way that breeds exclusion and emphasizes difference?

Nationalisms, as I have argued, are built upon epistemologies, ways of understanding the world, in which lines between "Self" and "Other" are defined, drawn, and sustained. The musical canon, though always changing and being updated with new works and composers, can also be conceptualized as an epistemological construction of sorts. It is a way of understanding music history that privileges certain aesthetics and provides a particular historical narrative of musical development. In this regard, Madrid considers the canon to be "more an ideology that a specific repertory."[33] When we look at this narrative of music history, it is clear (or I hope it is clear) which identities and cultures are privileged. The canon, then, is based on an ideology of exclusion—to be European is to be canonical, to be anything else is to be excluded. Bringing in Ibero-American musics, as Madrid fears, will only serve to legitimize the canon and the underlying epistemology. In what he called "musical tokenism," the inclusion of one (or a few) Latin American composers

[33] Madrid, "Diversity, Tokenism, Non-Canonical Musics," 125.

would give the appearance of diversity but would still support an epistemology that in many cases occludes the musical practices that originate in Latin America or elsewhere.

The very structure of music's subdisciplines reifies this system of exclusion. In many cases, we divide music scholarship between what is considered "musicology," and what is considered "ethnomusicology." Though for some, this distinction is a methodological one—with musicology denoting historiography and ethnomusicology engaging in ethnography—, the two disciplines are often construed in a "West and the Rest" paradigm. Musicology encompassed European and European-derivate music, whereas ethnomusicology concerns itself with everything else. Linguistically, this division is problematic: how is everything European considered "music" whereas everything else (Latin American, Asian, African, etc.) is considered "world music" (or worse, "ethnic music")? By qualifying non-European music's with "world," we are setting them apart as fundamentally different from true, unqualified "music" and thus removing them from the narrative of musical development that forms the basis for the canon.

These divisions do not exist—to the degree they do here—in other disciplines. Historians of the North Atlantic are historians just the same as historians of Latin America; there are no "ethnohistorians."[34] Similarly, there are no "ethnophilosophers" or "ethnoanthropologists." The music academy, however, has felt a need to draw distinctions between those studying the West, and those studying everything else. Of course, as I said, some will argue that these divisions are methodological. However, one can find many self-proclaimed "musicologists" doing ethnographic work and many "ethnomusicologists" doing historiographical work. While this methodological division is at least true in a historical sense, today's music studies are prone to blending

[34] I should qualify and say that there is such thing as "Ethnohistory," but it is a methodological approach that engages in ethnography/historical ethnography and draws heavily from ethnographical studies. Ethnohistory does not denote a particular region of interest, and historians of Latin American, for example, are still called historians.

methodological lines of inquiry. The distinction, then, seems to be drawn along geographic lines, lines that emphasize an inherent difference between that which is "true music" and that which is "world music."

Scholarly publishing outlets reinforce this construction of difference. The Journal of the American Musicological Society (JAMS), "one of the premiere journals in musicology" (at least according to itself), provides a window into the exclusionary nature of the music academy. The most recent issue of JAMS (Vol. 71, No. 3), for example, offers not a single article on a non-Western music practice. There is a piece on contemporary popular culture, one on musical borrowings in European modernist music, an article on Haydn, another on neoliberalism and music in the United States, and, of course, an article on Beethoven.[35] Previous issues offer the same representation, with a handful of Latin American art music or other non-Western topics thrown in. For the most part, JAMS's articles explore topics that can be mapped onto European or North American musical practices, largely neglecting those that lie outside of the North Atlantic's geographical bounds. Madrid's fear truly rings true here: is it possible that the limited inclusion of non-Western musics is only a form of tokenism?

This may very well be no fault of JAMS and its editorial board, but rather a reflection of the field of Music Studies (and I realize using this term is itself contentious). This, I would contend, is a symptom of the structure of the music academy, what Madrid characterized as "an arm of colonialist and imperialist European projects."[36] We teach students to engage with music within a

[35] Danielle Ward-Griffin, "As Seen on TV: Putting the NBC Opera on Stage," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 71/3 (2018), 595-684; Nicholas Mathew, "Interesting Haydn: On Attention's Materials," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 71/3 (2018), 655-701; David Metzer, "Repeated Borrowing: The Case of 'Es ist genug'," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 71/3 (2018), 703-748; William Robbin, "Balance Problems: Neoliberalism and New Music in the American University and Ensemble," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 71/3 (2018), 749-793; Steven M. Whiting, "Beethoven Translating Shakespeare: Dramatic Models for the Slow Movement of the String Quartet Op. 18, No. 1," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 71/3 (2018), 795-838.

[36] Madrid, "Diversity, Tokenism, Non-Canonical Musics," 125.

framework that is inherently exclusionary—music and composers from Europe and North America are privileged, oftentimes required material, whereas courses on non-Western topics are offered as "electives," if even offered at all. In many institutions, the premiere, flagship ensemble is the symphony or orchestra—non-Western ensembles (jazz groups, gamelan ensembles, etc.) are small and lamentably underfunded. Madrid pointed to the outcome of this: "we are producing the next generation of concert audiences."[37] I would add, however, that we are producing the next generation of musicologists, theorists, and music scholars.

Just as was the case of Brazil's nation-building project in the 19th century and its defining of "Brazilianness," the defining of the field of Music Studies partakes inadvertently in a politics of exclusion. Some identities are considered truly "music," while others are qualified, set apart, by the term "world." Just as with my thesis, what I am offering here is not a solution, nor an alternative. Rather, I am only hoping to bring the conclusions of this thesis to bear on the current state of our field. Thankfully, important work is being done in this area, working towards a new model of "Music Studies" that collapses these exclusionary disciplinary boundaries. PhD programs in Musicology and Ethnomusicology have moved towards a more wholistic approach to music, in which the traditional disciplinary boundaries are blurred, or even erased altogether (as is the case with Brown University's recent establishment of a single PhD in Music). Academic societies are moving towards models of inclusivity—the Society for American Music, for example, is making efforts to embrace a more inclusive definition of "American." However, as the JAMS articles demonstrate, there is still a need to move towards a perhaps radical restructuring of the academy, one that abandons the ideologies that support the musical canon.

[37] Madrid, "Diversity, Tokenism, Non-Canonical Musics," 125.

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