Just as Sweet The Second Time Around: The Re-popularization of the Baião in Pernambuco, Brazil

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Introduction

Since the post World War II era, rapid urbanization and modernization in Pernambuco has placed the realms of rural and urban in direct daily contact as the coastal cities swelled with rural immigrants, small interior farming communities merged into small towns, and small backland towns grew into small cities. The interpenetration of these two realms produced a unique "third realm" of social existence that encapsulated the dichotomous relationships of urban/rural, modern/traditional, new/old, and global/local. Life in this realm, geographically and socially, presented unique challenges to individual identity processes and ongoing collective cultural maintenance. Defining oneself in this environment, in many cases, is more a question of personal philosophy than of geographical location. While conducting research on forró music and identity in Pernambuco during the nineteen nineties, I became aware of a steady increase in young, urban-based bands which drew from rural music traditions to craft their music. The resultant music was representative of the "third realm" and straddled the eroding line between the urban and rural worlds without being one or the other. The commercial success of Antonio Nóbrega, and the bands Mestre Ambrósio, Cascabulho, and Chão e Chinelo epitomizes the *re-valuation* of traditional music by urban consumers and, in many ways, the re-popularization of the baião, a music form made popular by Luiz Gonzaga in the mid forties. As part of the recent musical trend of "returning to the roots" of Pernambucan music, such bands assert an identity statement amidst the changing social environment fueled by tourism, mass media, and technological advancement. While aptly representing the changing social environment and reflecting the current

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psychological state of Pernambucanos living with "one foot in the city and the other in the countryside" (Crook 1991, 31), the music also is imbued with meaning derived from the shared cultural knowledge of local traditions. While some critical purists claim that this music lacks authenticity and is merely an appropriation of traditional genres for commercial exploitation, my experience with the people of Pernambuco has shown me that its authenticity lies in its very existence, as I shall explain.

In this paper, I look at the music of the above-mentioned musicians as a refashioning of the stereotypical image of local music and as an icon of the "third realm." Through comparing select musical examples of post war baião and forró, and of the "third realm," I will illustrate the continuity of traditional rural elements in current urban music, and the iconic relationship of the musics to their respective socio-economic periods. Writing about music can providing interesting descriptions of less than familiar topics. However, even the most skillfully crafted prose is inherently void of the one thing that is central to the study, the music itself. Therefore, attempting to embrace existing technology and explore the boundaries of multi-media pedagogy, a CD of musical examples accompanies this paper in order to provide the reader with the opportunity to aurally discern the main points of this study. Since song lyrics provide a wonderful source of primary cultural information, but consume too much space in the body of the text, the complete lyrics and translations to each song are reprinted in the Appendix of this paper.

Theoretical Considerations

In looking at this topic I find myself confronting some long held theories and underlying beliefs in cultural studies regarding issues of authenticity, and tradition. While concepts of authenticity can still be found at the center of many folk culture studies, we must acknowledge that it is a "modern" concept of philosophical delimitation that implies a superior position in terms of validity, and deems all deviations as bastardized, less valuable outgrowths. A philosophy that espouses strict definitions of authenticity links itself to dated preservationist thinking that encourages the misuse of the term "authentic" as a modern commodity. It is naïve to expect cultures to remain stagnant and conveniently locked in so that when we have the whim to "visit" them, they are still

reminiscent of a fading past, or the romantic and exotic Other. The changes that occur within a tradition must be viewed as being congruous with the natural trajectory of the respective society. More often than not, musical change reflects societal change, and the musical change brought on by the interfacing of rural and urban realms provides an accurate reflection of the local social environment. I have therefore found it helpful to repel the lure of ethnomusicological exoticism and desist from making external value judgements about authenticity in musical culture.[1] Increasing global interactions will undoubtedly continue to produce changes in local cultures. The argument of authentic vs. inauthentic becomes a symptomatic issue, a by-product of inevitable societal transformation. I argue that authenticity, if the concept can be applied effectively at all, is found in the daily methods through which local culture articulates transformation while maintaining its sense of identity. Studies concerning authenticity should embrace change as the *authentic dynamic* of cultural development and must strive to understand cultural change, and its source, without the unnecessary baggage of "authentic vs. inauthentic." Authenticity exists when the producing culture considers the product authentic.

Dealings with any music culture force the researcher to consider the concept of tradition, and how it applies to the study at hand. The word itself has its etymological roots in Latin, where *trado* means to deliver, or to hand over (*Webster's New International Dictionary*, 3rd ed.). In general terms, tradition can be described simply as the transmission of cultural elements from one generation to the next, usually through oral means, or a time-honored practice. Most concepts of tradition fit loosely into one, or both, of these two categories. In either case, it is the conscious passing on, or continuity, of an accepted practice that is the unifying concept. This approach centralizes the role of the individual who consciously re-creates, adapts and maintains the tradition through transmission and "time honored practice." In applying the concept of tradition to studies of music it is important to safeguard against the innate impulse to contrast the term with concepts of modernity. Through this line of reasoning, we come to accept the terms tradition/old, and modern/new, as being equivalent. If so, then we must ask ourselves at what point along the timeline do we accept an enduring "modern" change in a tradition, as a tradition. In seeking a definition of tradition for my work, I found that my concept of tradition is more in line with that of Larry Crook who sees tradition as "a set of signs

habitually reproduced through social practice" (Crook 1991, 10). These signs manifest in songs, festivals, clothing, art, crafts, or any number of cultural artifacts. With tradition defined along these lines, it is possible to draw closer to an understanding of how modern adaptations of traditional music become accepted as part of the local tradition within a few years of social practice. By allowing tradition to occupy an extended time line running alongside and intersecting freely with cultural development, it becomes possible to avoid some of the pitfalls normally associated with time delineation concerning tradition and modernity. Tradition exists, when the actors *decide* to maintain a cultural behavior over time.

For background and visual aid of the time period in question, I have included an illustration in figure 1 below that is essentially a graphic representation of this study.

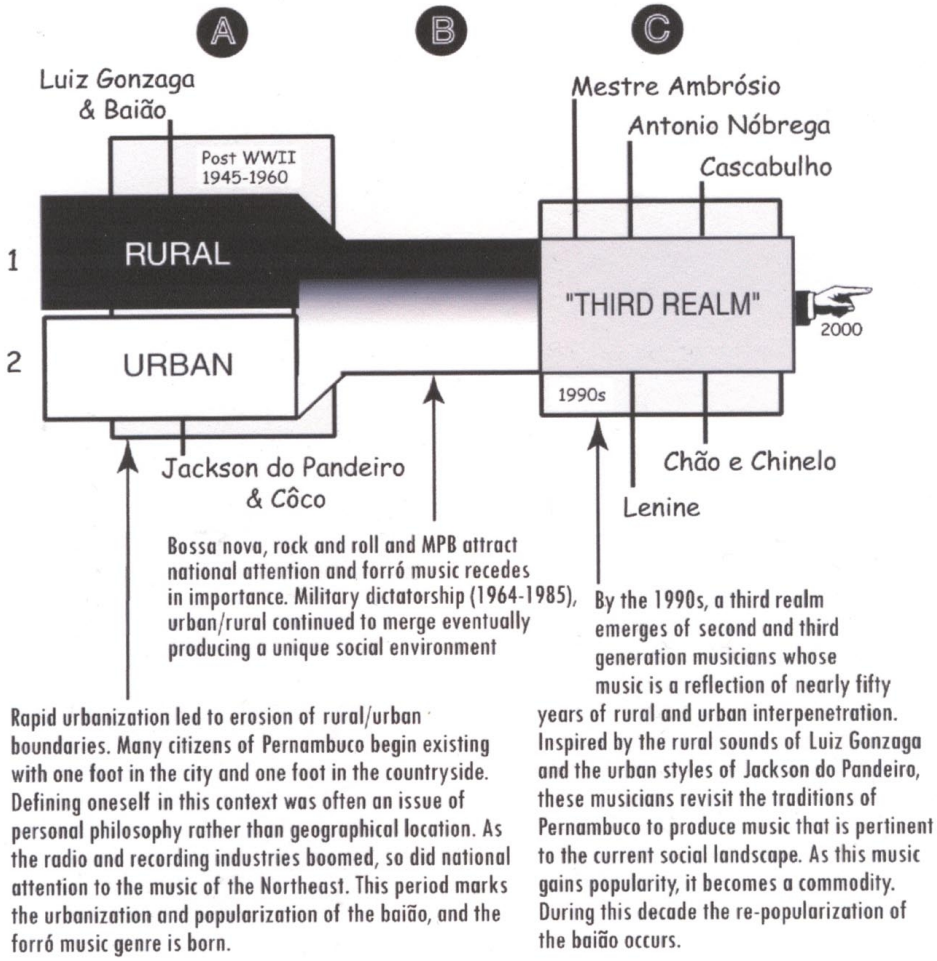

Figure 1

This "chart" represents the changing social dynamic of community life over the last half of the twentieth century. In phase "A" the realms of rural and urban, (1 and 2 respectively), begin a very rapid co-mingling as urbanization flourishes during the post World War II years. In phase "B" the borders of rural and urban continue to erode as Brazil enters military dictatorship from 1964 to 1989. This period also sees the flourishing of the recording industry and the urbanization of the baião. In phase "C," or the 1990s, along with a rigorous national policy on cultural tourism and a renewed interest in traditional music, forró has experienced revitalization and is being articulated by a new generation of musicians that represent the "third realm."

Forró, A Story of Transformation

Speaking in regard to Brazil, the ethnomusicologist Gerard Béhague stated, "The main vehicles through which folk and urban popular manifestations become diffused and commercialized in a large scale throughout the country are mass media and tourism" (1986, 57). Both forces have had dramatic effects on the natural trajectory of the baião and forró music, as we shall see in this section. Forró music is an outgrowth of the rural zabumba tradition in Pernambuco (Crook 1991, 268). The zabumba tradition was brought to Brazil from Portugal during the Colonial period and was adapted to the Brazilian social environment (Cascudo 1984, 807). Although several variations are possible, the typical zabumba band consists of a *zabumba*, (a shallow double-headed bass drum), two *tarois* (military-style drums), cymbals, and two *pífanos* (cane flutes) (see figure 2). Sometimes called banda de pífanos, or simply *a zabumba* (the zabumba), the bands were intrinsically enmeshed with the religious life of the rural population, and served an integral role in the privately organized supplication events known as *novena de casa*. The novenas are day long events in honor of patron saints which consists of a procession, prayer time, and secular party time in the late evening. Frequently, trios of accordion, zabumba, and triangle replaced the pífano bands during the secular time for highly animated events known as forrós.[3]

Figure 2
Zabumba band

The forrós were lively parties marked by drinking, dancing, promiscuity, and subsequently fighting. As the boundaries of rural and urban continued to decay, forró trio music became closely associated with encroaching modernization and urban secular life, while zabumba bands remained tightly linked to existing traditions and folk catholicism of the rural population. Characterized by its energetic, improvisatory, accordion rhythms played over the syncopated rhythms of the *zabumba* and the triangle, the emergence of the forró trio, is iconic of the effects of urbanization on the rural zabumba music tradition. Named for its geographical origin in the interior highlands, the trio format, known as *pé de serra* (foot of the sierras), is considered the most traditional style of forró. Other instruments such as the *rabeca* (hand-crafted violin), *reco-reco* (scraper), or the pífano are often added to the basic trio context, but the accordion, zabumba and triangle is a staple of rural northeastern musical culture.

While the trio is culturally derived from the zabumba tradition, it is musically grounded in the tradition of baião. While a complete history of the transformation of the baião over the last one hundred years provides a very interesting tale, it lies outside the boundaries of this study. It is however, necessary to revisit some key moments in order to follow the study at hand. The baião was a rhythm and a popular dance in the rural northeast of Brazil during the nineteenth century (Cascudo 1979, 96). Baião is thought to

have evolved from the music and dance of the African lundu being played in the rural zones of the Northeast (Tinhorão 1974, 209). The origin of the term baião is shrouded by dispute, although one source refers to the baiano as early as 1842 (Giffoni 1973, 35). On one side it is believed to be a corruption of the word *bailão*, which means a big dance. On the other, it is thought to have derived from the baiano, a vivacious dance, marked by improvisation. In either case, the terms have come to be accepted as synonymous when speaking of northeastern rhythms. According to various sources, the baião also developed as a rhythm played by the *violeiros* (guitarists) as a prelude to the *desafios* (challenge songs), and as an interlude between the improvisatory verses[2] (Cascudo 1979, 96-97; and Phaelente 1996, 2). During the early forties this rhythm was used as the foundation for a new form of popular music being ushered in by the *sanfoneiro* (accordionist) Luiz Gonzaga. Gonzaga drew his influence directly from the patterns of the violeiros to create a hybrid-urbanized version of the baião. According to Cascudo, Gonzaga achieved his new sound through mixing the baião, unconsciously, with the local sambas, *côcos*, and Cuban congas (1979, 97). In his own words Gonzaga puts to rest all speculation as to the rhythms used to create this "new" music.

> O ritmo que o cantador aplicava à viola, a introdução que era feita para entrar na cantoria, chamava-se baião, e eu achava aquele mistura ritmo-melódica interessante. E começamos a desenvolver nossos temas, eu achei que o baião era a pedida certa" (Phaelante 1996).

> The rhythm that the singer applied to the guitar, the introduction that was made in order to enter the cantoria, it was called baião, and I found that rhythmic-melodic mixture interesting. And we began to develop our themes, I thought that the baião was the right choice (my translations).

Gonzaga was a sanfoneiro, and although he played the baião on his instrument, much the way the violeiros did as musical interludes, the baião rhythm in his music was most prevalent in the poly-rhythms produced between the two heads of the zabumba as shown in the transcription in figure three.

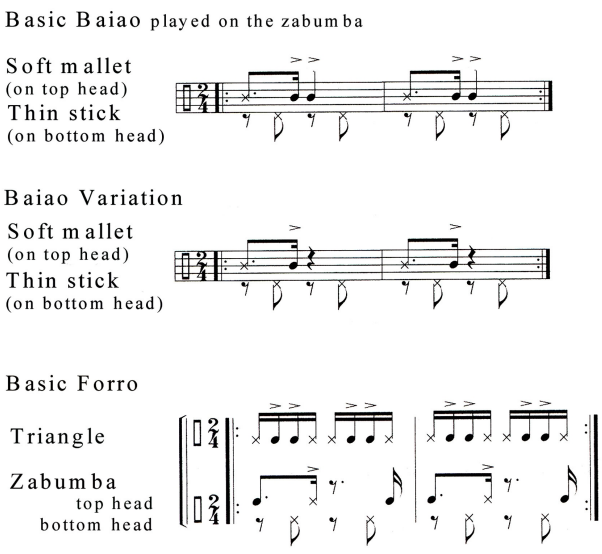

Figure 3
Basic baião

In the basic baião rhythm, the initial strike of the soft mallet (the dotted eighth note with the 'x' notehead) is muffled by holding the mallet head against the head after striking. The following two strokes are accented by letting the head ring. A crisp counter-rhythm is created by striking and holding the bottom head with a thin stick on the up-beat. (Any percussiveor accompaniment, such as scrapers or shakers, would also accent the up-beat). The triangle plays a rhythmic pattern based on sixteenth notes which is produced by the opening and closing of the fingers of the hand holding the triangle while the other hand taps out a steady sixteenth note beat. The two instruments in combination produce a surprisingly thick percussive layer as support for the ornamentations of the accordion.

During the post World War II years, amidst rapid urbanization, the influx of foreign music, and an increase in nationalist ideology, Gonzaga officially brought the baião out of the *sertão* (backlands) and into the urban realm via the studios of Rádio Nacional in Rio de Janeiro (Phaelante 1996). In his 1946 hit, simply titled "Baião," Gonzaga demonstrated the rhythm of the Northeast to the rest of Brazil as he proclaimed the virtues of the dance (listening example #1 on CD). The basic baião rhythm is very observable in the zabumba part on this example. The overall sound heard on "Baião" set the standard for accordion music of the period, and Gonzaga was dubbed "o rei do baião" (the king of baião). Through the use of the typical cangaçeiro[4] leather hat and vest,

Gonzaga's persona reinforced a stereotypical image of the nordestino as simple farmers, "rustic," backward people of mixed race left behind in the dust of southern industrialization (see figure four). Musically, the pé de serra trio style carried connotations similar to the concept of "hillbilly music" in the United States. The lyrics of the songs, often written and sung with incorrect Portuguese, referenced the persistent illiteracy among the rural underclass, while painting a romantic picture of the daily life and legend of the northeastern people. This backward image is readily displayed in the baião from 1952 "ABC Do Sertão" (listening example #2 on CD). In this tune Gonzaga tells the urban world about the backward nature of the northeastern *caboclo*, a rural person of Portuguese and Amerindian racial decent. It is from the caboclo culture of land locked peasantry that the traditions of zabumba, baião, forró and cantoria have risen.

Figure 4
Trio pé de serra

Gonzaga's accordion music was iconic of the interpenetration of the rural traditions and the urban mechanisms of mass media. It indexed the positive growth and changing social environment of the mid-twenty-first century. With the onset of rapid advancements in recording technologies, it also represented the urban industrialization of the rural baião. The baião craze came during the height of urbanization and the migration

of northeasterners to the metropolises of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and the nation's new capital Brasília. The commercial success of baião was due, in part, to the presence of large migrant communities of northeasterners in these cities providing the recording industry with a built in consumer base. Eventually, the spectrum of accordion music from the Northeast such as the xôte, xaxado, baião, forró, toada, maxixe, côco de roda, and others became marketed under the generic term of forró. Much of the literature available on northeastern Brazilian culture traces the term back to the nineteenth century communal dance celebration known as *forrobodó* (Cascudo 1979, 345). Conversely, personal testimonies and some written sources, support the popular belief that forró is derived from the English terms "for all." This version claims that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the English railroad companies that were in northeastern Brazil, threw large social parties "for all" to attend. These terms were Brazilianized into forró. Since the double 'R' is pronounced like an 'H' and the accent is on the last syllable, (faw hó), and given Brazil's history of adapting foreign models, it is easy to see how this has become the popular legend. In either case, the term evolved from communal festivities of music and dance, which actually existed concurrently for a period of time. It therefore seems most probable that the term comes from neither one nor the other, but from a combination of the two. Although the forró is also a syncopated rhythm built on the "modernized" variant of the baião, the term was chosen by the record industry more to represent the performance context of the music played in the forrós (dance halls) than the rhythms themselves. In the final listening example from this period, we hear the forró rhythm as the foundation of the song (listening example #3 on CD forró). In many cases, the forró rhythm is produced by omitting the quarter note on the top head, (in the second beat of the basic baião pattern, see figure 3), and decorating the off beats on the bottom head. This style of playing was considered more "modern" and "urbanized" versions of the baião. Through mass media, the forró was disseminated throughout Brazil and had its heyday as a national craze from the mid-forties until the beginning of the sixties. In the early sixties, the global craze of bossa nova and rock and roll dethroned forró as a national passion, and by the mid sixties Música Popular Brasileira, or MPB, pushed it further out of fashion. Forró music receded to the role of

June festival music where it animated the rural São João celebrations of the northeast for the next thirty years.

Along with the rural/urban confluence, over the next three decades foreign and national musical elements fused freely in Brazil. This global-local mixture was the essence of bossa nova, and MPB. The socio-music movement of the late sixties Tropicália, was a culmination of deliberate attempts at fusing world musical elements with traditional Brazilian styles. In direct conflict with the xenophobia of the military's nationalist sentiments, the movement was suppressed and its leaders Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil exiled to London. Although the tropicália movement was short-lived, it had a profound effect on the evolving mix of Brazilian musical identity as it opened the gate for future experimentation with rock and roll, disco, funk, axé, reggae, rap, hip hop, and techno. Via urban superstars who were once from the Northeast, the humble forró continued to make sporadic appearances in the national arena of MPB, and its influence eventually trickled down through the generations to younger artists like Marisa Monte who draws regularly from the accordion traditions. In the eighties, urban musicians began to fuse the rhythms of the forró with other elements to produce hybrids genres like forrock (forró+rock), forreggae (forró+reggae), and foxé (a mix of forró and Bahian axé music). This type of music was labeled Oxente music and represented the urban interpretation of traditional music in a post-modern sense. Although these music forms drew attention initially, they lacked sufficient depth to retain discerning audiences over time reducing them to "pulp" products produced mainly to capitalize on seasonal activity.

The nineteen nineties brought unique challenges to individual identity processes as the national, state and local tourist administrations stepped up their focus on cultural aspects of tourism. In Pernambuco this meant forró music and culture, especially during the month of June. With the initiation of Embratur's Article 3 in 1991, the number of tourists to the state during the June festivals has risen annually, cresting at five hundred thousand in 1999.[5] On the heels of tourism (and mass media), forró music moved back toward the mainstream of popular culture and expanded its seasonal context to include year round performances in the countryside and the city. Concurrently, or perhaps consequently, there existed a resurgence of interest in the music traditions of Pernambuco among younger urban musicians. Previously influenced by global trends and MTV pop

culture, these musicians began "discovering" the richness of their musical heritage. Progressive rock bands like Chico Science e Nação Zumbi, emerged as the voice of a global/local musical fusion.[6] On the other hand, Antonio Nóbrega and bands like Mestre Ambrósio, Cascabulho, and Chão e Chinelo, artfully crafted their music as an extension of the local traditions refashioned to reflect the current social landscape.

Departing a bit from the strict rural sense of tradition, the composer/musician Antonio Nóbrega builds his music from the public domain and influences of Pernambuco's musical history. Giving his recordings the name of Brazilian musicologist Mario de Andrade's unpublished work on northeastern traditional music made in 1927 and 1928, *Na Pancada do Ganzá* (Volumes I and II), Nóbrega portrays the image of the young urban based musician/researcher presenting a glimpse of an era gone by. More than any other musician of the "third realm," he epitomizes the resurgence of interest in traditional music. "*Na Pancada do Ganzá é uma reunião de cantos tradicionais do povo brasileiro, canções minhas e de outros compositores pernambucanos*" (Na Pancada do Ganzá is a reunion of traditional songs of the Brazilian people, my songs, and those of other Pernambucan composers) (Antonio Nóbrega 1996, Liner notes). Through fusing his own compositions, saturated with national and local traditional influences, with long forgotten northeastern folk songs now in the public domain, he established himself as a cultural ambassador to younger generations, passing on age-old traditions cloaked in the fabric of modernity. In his composition "Chegança," Nóbrega demonstrates the "rustic" nature of his "modern" sound by mimicking a banda de pífanos (listening example #4 on CD). The baião rhythm is very prominent in the percussion throughout this example. Nóbrega's main instrument is the rabeca and it was he that almost single-handedly brought the creaking sound of the home-made instrument out of obscurity and into the recording studio. While, as stated, his music overall does not draw specifically from rural traditions, his influence on the musicians of the "third realm" was pivotal in their formation and therefore deserves mention here.

The influence of tradition is strong among the musicians of the "third realm." This is obvious in the prevalence of traditional instruments like the zabumba, accordion, rabeca, cavaquinho, and pandeiro over the electric instruments and drum sets of technoculture, although the latter are often involved. These musicians are linked by a

common desire for renovating the northeastern popular sound, bringing it up to date, without abandoning it. Rather than fusing the local with the global, they consider themselves as giving an injection of vitality to local musics that have been ignored by the popular music industry (Murphy 1997, 168). The vitality mentioned above, is the voice of the "third realm," the expression of fifty years of cultural confluence, and the result of discovering one's musical heritage and social identity. According to Murphy, Mestre Ambrósio achieves self-discovery by "carefully sorting out their own musical history and influences" (1997, 168). The articulation of this discovery has emerged amidst a smear of invented traditions, commoditization, appropriations, and commercialized "pulp" musical products, to be the voice of the age, fashioning a valid new image of the "modern" cosmopolitan nordestino, rooted in "tradition." As mentioned, traditional forró is called pé de serra. Adaptations of traditional forró with urban popular sounds have come to be known as forró *pé de calçada* (sidewalk forró) (Murphy 1997, 166). Although this term was coined with Mestre Ambrósio in mind, it is applicable to all of the musicians under consideration here. In the song "Pé de Calçada," Mestre Ambrósio acknowledges the influence the rural forró and its transference to the urban realm (listening example #5 on CD). The lyrics of the song construct an imagery that wavers between the rural and urban, and testifies to the absorption of rural traditions by urban musicians until the calçada becomes a forró pé de serra. In this example, the rabeca takes the lead as the traditional baião rhythm is established on the zabumba and placed alongside the samba rhythm of the cavaquinho. The melding of these two rhythms is iconic of the melding of the two realms. The sound produced falls somewhere in between. It is more than urban music with a rural sentiment, it is imbued with cultural knowledge that indexes the over fifty years of social interpenetration that have produced the "third realm." The musical identity of this realm is established throughout Mestre Ambrósio's repertoire and asks for a re-evaluation of the northeastern *matuto* (hillbilly) stereotype.

Reasonably recent on the scene are the bands Cascabulho and Chão e Chinelo. Deeply rooted in Pernambucan tradition, these bands continue to stretch the boundaries of the "third realm." Perhaps the perfect mixture of Luiz Gonzaga's rural forró influence and Jackson do Pandeiro's urban côco, is the music of Cascabulho. According to them,

they are not a rock band, nor a forró band, much less a folkloric group, but their roots lie in the earth of Pernambuco "of which we are all made" (Cascabulho 1999, Liner notes). The design and philosophy of their release *Fome dá Dor de Cabeça* (Hunger gives you a Headache) juxtaposes images of the chaos of urban crowding with images of tradition and the simplicity of rural life. The resultant effect reinforces the evolving image of the *nordestino* (northeasterner), as a product of both worlds. From the peripheral neighborhoods of Recife, Cascabulho takes its main influence from Jackson do Pandeiro and flavors it with rural and traditional musical elements to create a product that represents the reality of the "third realm." In a remake of the traditional song "17 Na Corrente," Cascabulho blends the côco and the baião to achieve this goal (listening example # 6 on CD). The other of the newer bands Chão e Chinelo, are very similar to Mestre Ambrósio in that the instrumentation is similar with the rabeca out front as the prominent instrument. On their debut release in 1999 *Loa do Boi Meia Noite*, they demonstrate similarities with Cascabulho through their inclusion of forrós and côcos on the same record and frequently in the same song.

Through their choice of instrumentation, repertoire, and even physical appearance, Antonio Nóbrega, Mestre Ambrósio, Cascabulho, Chão e Chinelo and others, are making a deliberate statement of identity assertion in an age of invented traditions and cultural appropriations driven by economics. Calling upon the baião as the rhythmic structure of their cultural expression, the musicians re-popularize the forró tradition, bringing it out of the past and into the present to where it contributes to the identity construction of the third realm. Through the conscious and habitual cultural behavior of reproducing cultural artifacts (songs), and speech messages (lyrics), this "new" music eventually emerges as the local tradition. Ties to the shared cultural knowledge of the people enforce meaning in the music and prevent its "pulpification." Through time these new music traditions take on an "emergent authenticity" which, in turn, reinforces the music as traditional. In the process of the emergence, what was once considered to be contrived, or "inauthentic," becomes generally accepted as "authentic," even through the eyes of experts (Cohen 1988, 379). The music of the "third realm" has reached that stature, and while it is considered authentic by its producers, to outsiders it

remodels the stereotypical hillbilly image of the nordestino into that of the sophisticated citizen of the modern age, rooted in tradition.

Conclusions

Although hundreds of examples exist to support the claims made by this study, the few that were included here are considered representative of the overall philosophy of the musicians of the "third realm." Marked by a return to local traditions in an age of advancing technoculture and social change, these musicians assert their links to past traditions, while adapting them to the current reality. This connection provides the meaning in the music. Just as Gonzaga's music, and the trio pé da serra, was iconic of the post World War II conditions of urbanization, the mass media explosion, and music consumerism, their music is the icon of a changing world in which rural and urban ideologies have merged under the watchful eye of globalization. In this context, identity is negotiated through personal philosophy. Amidst computers, satellite dishes, the Internet, television and radio, Pernambucanos now strive to maintain their identity on a global level. Part of that identity is articulated through the music. While strictly urban and strictly rural forms of music continue to speak for their respective philosophies, the music of Antonio Nóbrega, Mestre Ambrósio, Cascabulho and Chão e Chinelo is a legitimate voice that satisfies the aesthetic of the "third realm." Through the re-introduction of traditional elements into popular music, these hybrid compositions are at constant work redefining the meaning of forró culture, and extending its rural/urban reality deeper into the global sphere. As we move toward the next century, there will undoubtedly be further transformations in music, culture and identity. With global tourism on the rise, now more than ever, cultures are being placed in direct contact with one another. The effects of this culturally "shrinking" planet have yet to be felt on a large scale at the local level worldwide. One thing that is certain is the music will continue to change. It will continue to reflect transformations in the social economic and political environment. It will challenge concepts of tradition and authenticity through direct confrontation of "new" and "old" values. As national interests worldwide turn to commoditizing cultural artifacts as tourist fodder, the interaction has yielded some very interesting effects, both positive and negative, on the natural trajectory of local musical development. The fluid dynamics

present at these crossroads may well be worth a more profound look from ethnomusicologists interested in continuity and transformation.

[1] I use the terms internal and external as discussed in Helen Rees "'Authenticity' and the Foreign Audience for Traditional Music in Southwest China." *Journal of Musicological Research* 17(2): 135-161. The term internal implies that the audience is comprised of members of the producing ethnic group, while external denotes people unfamiliar with the producing ethnic group and its aesthetic values.

2 The desafio, also known as cantoria, are challenge songs in which two violeiros exchange insults and playful attacks on one another to the amusement of the crowd that has gathered to watch. A winner is declared when one violeiro fails to make a timely comeback remark to the other, or draws the disapproval of the crowd. The baião rhythm was played between the verses sung by the violeiros. The practice of desafios had waned until recent tourism policies resurrected it as a touristic event. It is now common to see pairs of violeiros entertaining tourists along the beaches by singing improvised verses in which the tourist is the subject.

3 The term forró carries several meanings. It is used to denote the location of a community dance or dance hall, a type of dance step, a rhythmic pattern, and a specific genre of music.

4 The cangaçeiros were groups of backland bandits that held the interior of the northeast under their reign from late in the nineteenth century until the late 1930s. The movement rose as a means of survival and represented a type of social banditry that cropped up due to economic underdevelopment, devastating droughts, extreme dispersion of authority under the Constitution of 1891, and the fragility of the institutions of law, order and justice. Lampião emerged as the most notorious of the cangaçeiros and is believed to have created and disseminated the xaxado dance and rhythms throughout the Northeast. For this reason he is commonly associated with music traditions of the region.

5 These figures are taken from Embratur's website at www.embratur.gov.br/embingl/sumario.html. Article three of law 8.181 set into effect in 1991, demonstrates Brazil's dedication to regional tourism as a means of financial solvency for local governments. The basic philosophy behind the policy is that effective tourism will improve regional conditions, which will improve the national condition.

6 Chico Science (Francisco de Assis Franca) and Zumbi Nation sought to create a new cultural expression by fusing global culture with Northeast Brazilian culture. The movement known as Movimento Mangue (Mudflats Movement) attempted to counteract economic stagnation and chaos by figuratively linking the energy of the Mangues (culture living along the mudflats of Recife), with global popular culture. The symbol of the movement is a parabolic antennae stuck in the mud. Chico was killed in an automobile accident at age 30 in February 1997.

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