

Chiquinha Gonzaga and the Rise of Brazilian National Music around 1900

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Introduction

This paper is focused on two main subjects: the rise of a national style in the music of fast-growing nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro, and the role of composer, pianist, conductor and music teacher Francisca Edwiges Neves Gonzaga, better known as Chiquinha Gonzaga (1847-1935) in this early Brazilian music scene. I argue that a national style in music is different from nationalism, e. g. from a Brazilian musical nationalism in formal terms. While other composers, whose careers started around this time are labeled as musical »nationalists«,¹ Chiquinha Gonzaga seems to follow another path, avoiding big national recognition in favor of a musical style that clearly affirms a Brazilian flavour, without being »nationalistic« in a narrower sense, lacking any cultural-ideological constraints. Chiquinha Gonzaga is one of the main protagonists of Brazilian urban music in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. She is an accomplished musician and well-known musical artist in society and among the aristocracy, but also among musicians and artists of that time in Rio de Janeiro. Chiquinha's work and influence would have an enormous impact and lasting stimulus on Brazilian urban music as a whole.

Urbanization and National Brazilian Art in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

In the second half of the nineteenth century the search for a national idiom takes place in a clearly intentional manner. A specifically »Brazilian« musical context had already existed and had an impact on musical life and musical practices in the

¹ Gerard BEHAGUE, *The Beginnings of Musical Nationalism in Brazil*, Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1971.

colony² and, from 1822, in the independent Brazilian empire. But only in the second half of the nineteenth century may one speak of the appearance of a »national music«. Interestingly enough, this first experience with a Brazilian musical idiom is very much indebted to local traditional music with African elements. That is to say, the first local, popular genres such as *lundu* or *maxixe*, and later also samba, belong to the musical offspring of Afro-Brazilian musicians and communities. These genres were integrated into in the wider public context by urban musicians, music orchestras and bands, and from 1900 on by publishing houses and record companies.

With the interim transfer of the capital of the Portuguese Kingdom from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1807, the city developed into an urban centre, which until the middle of the century became the culturally and economically most vibrant city of the southern hemisphere. As an example, a considerable number of books from the Portuguese Royal Library was transferred from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, accompanying the court of King João VI. The intention was to escape from Napoleon, who after defeating the Prussian-Saxon army 1806 in Auerstedt and Jena (Thuringia), became a serious threat to Portugal. In 1821 the Portuguese King returned to Lisbon, leaving the library behind, for which a new building was built in 1810, giving rise to the National Library. The Brazilian Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) remains the main public library in Brazil and the largest and the most important of its kind in Latin America, also regarding its collections of musical documents. Almost all of Chiquinha Gonzaga's unpublished operettas are in the Biblioteca Nacional.

The second and last Brazilian Emperor Pedro II, who ruled from 1832 to 1889, was supportive of the arts and sciences. Under Emperor Pedro II the Imperial Academy of Music and the National Opera were founded.³ Rio de Janeiro became the main musical metropolis of the Brazilian empire. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Rio de Janeiro was soon nicknamed »the Brazilian piano capital«.

This is the panorama, which pulls musicians and composers alike into the centre of a development which led to a »musical revolution« in Brazilian culture and society, a movement to fully flourish with the beginning of the century that follows.

Art Music and the Literary Movement

In the second half of nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro, the existence of numerous music societies and institutions secured a steady musical and cultural life in the city, beyond the Music Academy. One of several remarkable institutions was founded on 4 January 1882 by musicians, music lovers, writers and intellectuals, the »Club Beethoven,« a cultural society to promote concerts, discussions and literary

² Cf. the term *mulatismo musical*, indicating a Brazilian mix in musical productions already in the eighteenth century, in: Francisco Curt LANGE, Os compositores na Capitania Geral das Minas Gerais, *Revista de História* [Marília: Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras], 3/4 (1965), 33-111.

³ Lília Moritz SCHWARCZ, *As barbas do Imperador: D. Pedro II, um monarca nos trópicos*, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998.



Fig. 1. Club Beethoven

soirées, comprising also a music school for young male musicians, taught with the support of scholarships. The social and cultural role and the history of this club has still to be fully researched. Among the public events organized by this institution was the Beethoven Festival on Beethoven's birthday, which took place in the renowned Hall of the Cassino Fluminense, an occasion open to ladies as well, since the club was an almost all-male enterprise.⁴ Already in 1886 the 100th concert matinee was offered with works by Beethoven, Wagner and Offenbach.

To underline its importance beyond the Brazilian border, the Beethoven Club regularly offered honorary diplomas to musical personalities abroad. One of its most distinguished honorary members was the French composer Charles Gounod. The diploma as such depicts an impression of how Beethoven is envisioned in the tropical context of Rio de Janeiro (Fig. 1). Given his universal importance, Beethoven

⁴ Cristina MAGALDI, *Music for the Elite: Musical Societies in Imperial Rio de Janeiro*, *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, 16/1 (1995), 1-41, and by the same author: *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro: European Culture in a Tropical Milieu*, Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004.



Fig. 2. Machado de Assis

would perfectly fit within this South American context. The document for Charles Gounod, which was recently discovered by the Brazilian historian and book collector Pedro Correa do Lago, evinces another particularly interesting detail: the signature of the book keeper of the Club, writer and chronicler Machado de Assis.

Who was Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839-1908)? Born in Rio de Janeiro, Machado de Assis is regarded as the most important Brazilian writer and poet of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (**Fig. 2.**). Machado, who earned his living as a librarian and later as a public servant, was a writer, music critic and chronicler, with much influence in the cultural scene of his time. Machado's literary oeuvre is considered paramount in Brazilian literature. Although he was opposed to slavery, he never spoke against it in public. Furthermore, Machado would sympathize with the Monarchy, particularly with the emperor Pedro II (1825-1891), who in earlier days recognized his talent as a writer and supported him with a scholarship. Using his civil list income, Pedro II provided scholarships for Brazilian students to study at universities, art schools and conservatories of music in Europe. Machado recognized in Pedro II a cultivated, well-educated and interested monarch, with whom he could

share French literature in French and discuss German music in German. Pedro II was a grandson of Franz I, the Emperor of Austria.

Machado is the most renowned Brazilian writer of all time. He was of modest origin and never left his home town of Rio de Janeiro. Machado de Assis's oeuvre is recognized abroad as among the world's greatest of the nineteenth century.

The Portrait of Music and Musicians in the Literature of Machado de Assis

The novels of Machado de Assis and his short stories represent a rich source for local social, cultural and music history. Two of his short stories, *Um Homem Célebre* (A Famous Man) from 1880 and *O Machete* (The Machete = small guitar) from 1870 help us to better understand the rise of a new urban, Brazilian music, and to perceive the tiny frontier between popular salon and theatre stage and art music.⁵ In fact, Machado might be the first writer and intellectual to overcome such a frontier in music. He is deeply immersed in the new and effervescent music scene in Rio de Janeiro and refers to the phenomena in the two above mentioned short stories with much details and well-placed irony.

In both short stories the relationship between popular and art music as a cultural output of national, Brazilian art is discussed. In the first of the two literary pieces, Pestana, the protagonist of *Um Homem Célebre*, is inspired by European musical genres and composition models. In Machado's text, Pestana intends to compose a Requiem in the style of the respective composition of Mozart, motivated by his wife's recent passing. Furthermore, as an accomplished pianist himself, he is fond of Beethoven's piano sonatas and Chopin's piano music. He works hard on his compositions, sitting for long hours at the piano. But at the end, when the score is completed, Pestana must gloomily recognize that he has only produced light salon music in a national, Brazilian style. His main inner frustration in this moment is not to have failed in his imitation of Mozart's genius, but to remain imprisoned by the »Brazilianness« (*brasildade*) of his existence.

In the second of the mentioned short stories of Machado de Assis, *O Machete*, Inácio, one of the protagonists, seeks to give a serious appeal to his own musicianship. He is an affectionate violoncello player. Inácio prefers to write in the melancholic and contemplative style of an elegy and performs his own compositions before an invited audience. This is how he imagines German art music to be, a music which emanates a feeling of solemnity. The grave sounding austerity is intrinsic to the violoncello itself. It is not a coincidence that in another work, the novel *Dom Casmurro*, Machado de Assis describes a famous cello teacher in Rio de Janeiro, who is of German birth. Inácio, the cellist in *O Machete*, soon will be discouraged as an art

⁵ Literary critic, professor of comparative literary studies and musician José Miguel Wisnik has analyzed these two short stories. The results of his readings differ from mine. Both must be regarded as complementary. See José Miguel WISNIK, Machado Maxixe: o caso Pestana, *Revista de Literatura Brasileira*, 45 (2003), 13-79.



Fig. 3. Machete player Zé da Lelinha, Bahia, 2004

musician and a composer of serious music, because local popular music is more captivating to his audience. In fact, his guests pay enthusiastic attention to a popular musician, a *machete* player (Fig. 3.), invited by Inácio to join him in one of his musical soirées. Even Inácio's wife, Carlotinha, is fascinated by the popular music and less by her husband's deep and sorrowful musical compositions. At the end Carlotinha leaves her husband for the *machete* player. When confessing to a friend that his wife has abandoned him, departing with the *machete* player, Inácio concludes: »She is right, machete is much better than the violoncello...«. As an allegorical character, Inácio accepts herewith that the destiny of Brazilian music is not the serious and grave timbre of the violoncello, but the brightness of a colourful and rhythmically vivid sounding machete which must not only be heard, but also be seen being played, according to Machado de Assis.⁶

In a country of European colonization, marked by different cultural elements, the European model as something to be blindly followed does not convince intellectuals like Machado de Assis. He and the main musicians in the country were looking for something different from Europe and at the same time more suitable to Brazil. Therefore historical, social and cultural conditions are at the forefront of the artistic nation building of the country, which had got independence from Portugal relatively early in 1822. This artistic and aesthetic endeavour will come fully to frui-

⁶ Joaquim Maria MACHADO DE ASSIS, *50 contos de Machado de Assis*, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007.

tion in the so-called *Semana de Arte Moderna* (the week of modern art) in the centenary of independence, in February 1922 in Sao Paulo.

In the *fin de siècle*, an urban centre such as Rio de Janeiro offers the best conditions for the rise of a national musical art. Music becomes a metaphor for the social conditions in the *Belle Époque* period of Rio de Janeiro and illustrates the search of an urban society for its Brazilian identity. At the same time, a cultural nation seeking its own musical artistry doesn't ignore its European forerunners and contemporary idols. In his works Machado de Assis mentions many of the most important German composers of his time and even of the eighteenth century. In his novels and short stories, one finds plenty of mentions of Bach, Beethoven, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Schumann, Wagner and Weber. Interestingly enough, these are composers whose compositions would regularly be performed in the concert events of the Club Beethoven and others. In addition to Chopin, mentions are also made of Cimarosa and Jacques Offenbach. The latter was also regularly performed in Rio de Janeiro at that time.

Machado de Assis uses these composers and their musical style in order to differentiate European from Brazilian music. While European composers mentioned in his works are real, the Brazilian composers such as Pestana or Inácio, are fictive. The procedure seems to be clear: while European art music is well established, is universal in its aesthetic values, Brazilian music is still in its infancy. Brazilian music as such is a fiction. We are in the middle of a fluid process, where still no concrete goal can be envisioned. While the piano symbolizes European art music, the small guitar machete evokes a national, mainly popular musical style (Fig. 4).

Violoncello	Machete
art music	profane music
art	pleasure
composition	spontaneous creation
foreign	popular / national
serious	jovial
melancholic	happy, festive
German	mestizo / national
severe	sensuous

Fig. 4: Musical instruments and their symbolism in the oeuvre
of Machado de Assis

Protagonists of National Music: Chiquinha Gonzaga and Ernesto Nazareth

The milieu portrayed in Machado de Assis's writings is where Chiquinha Gonzaga grows up and where she receives a European musical education, while seeking to contribute to a local style of music. In the period between the 1870s and the 1920s

she is one of two composers with a very similar musical profile and that have been crucial for urban music in Rio de Janeiro (**Fig. 5.**). The other musician is Ernesto Nazareth (1863-1934), a talented pianist and successful composer of instrumental salon music. Nazareth was 15 years younger than Chiquinha, but the musical milieu they supplied with their music was often the same.



Fig. 5. Chiquinha Gonzaga (approx. 40 years old)

Unlike Chiquinha, and similar to Machado de Assis, the Rio de Janeiro born Ernesto Nazareth never left his home city. Nazareth received his first piano classes from his mother. Later he studied piano with Charles-Lucien Lambert (1828-1898), a French-American musician who had left the US because of racial prejudices and settled down in Rio de Janeiro. Lambert admired Chopin and had been a close friend to the American piano virtuoso and composer L. M. Gottschalk (who, by the way, made musical tours to Brazil and died in Rio in the 1860s).

Nazareth's compositions were published by Casa Edison and by other publishers from 1902 on, publishers who prospered in Rio, transforming the city into the centre of the Brazilian music industry. Nazareth became a very popular pianist of his time. He was an acclaimed composer and arranger. Later he would also play for the cinema, in the »Cinema Odeon« and others.

Different from Nazareth, Chiquinha Gonzaga, was from an aristocratic *carioca*⁷ family, with several members in the military domain and who served as diplomats. Her father, a well-known General, was closely attached to the Imperial Court.

⁷ A *carioca* is a person born in Rio de Janeiro.



Fig. 6. Nazareth: score cover

Chiquinha faced life-long serious personal resistance and a lack of social recognition because she was a female musician. After an early marriage, she got divorced because her husband wouldn't allow her to pursue her musical career. She had to divorce, leaving small children behind and becoming exposed to the ire of her father whose military ideals wouldn't allow him to forgive Chiquinha for not behaving like a lady of the upper classes of society. Chiquinha was forced to earn her entire living with music, first by teaching and later with her compositions and performances. She would become the first female conductor in South America and one of the most important figures in Brazilian music history. Chiquinha composed 77 operettas and over 2,000 songs. *Atraente*, published in 1881, is one of her best-known compositions, ushering in a sound that was already known as *choro*.⁸ With her peerless piano

⁸ See among others Ary VASCONCELOS, *Choro*, in: Tiago de Oliveira Pinto (ed.), *Welt Musik Brasilien. Einführung in Musiktraditionen Brasiliens*, Mainz: Schott Music, 1986.

skills and gift for improvisation, Chiquinha pioneered a melodic-rhythmic blend of waltz, polka and Afro-Brazilian beats. The Brazilian *polca* could especially serve as a bridge from the European to the Brazilian scene. Chiquinha's and also Nazareth's *polca* piano compositions are excellent examples for this procedure.

On 17 January 1885, Chiquinha made her debut as a conductor with her revue, *A Corte na Roça* (The court in the country side). Despite the popularity of her music, Chiquinha faced resistance as a woman in a male-dominated business. Often performing with a group headed by her close friend, the flutist Joaquim Antônio da Silva Callado Jr., and including her son João Gualberto on clarinet, she managed to appear in public with great success, even in the face of adversity.⁹

Already during the late 1880s Chiquinha gave her support to the abolitionist movement. She sold her sheet music to raise funds for the movement. She even paid for the freedom of the enslaved musician Zé Flauta. This musician inspired her to find in carnival a promising context for a new urban music style to come. Until then, carnival was a high society event in inaccessible clubs, where the music was that of European marches, such as those from Verdi's operas.¹⁰ Chiquinha's own Carnival march *Ó abre alas!* (Oh open wings!) from 1889 was a homage to freedom: in the previous year slavery was finally abolished in Brazil. Simultaneously *Ó abre alas* would become a long-lasting musical icon of Brazilian carnival.

Chiquinha's later Portuguese teacher, pianist Arthur Napoleão (1843-1925), had a high reputation in his time as a virtuoso, a gifted composer and as a music businessman. Napoleão composed polkas in the European style, like his *Caprichosa* which at the same time functioned as a pathway to the Brazilian context in which he lived and worked until his death. Whereas Napoleão introduced European musical models, such as the European polka, suggesting that European formal types could be filled with new and local musical content (especially with rhythmical features other than the European) Chiquinha and Nazareth already incorporated the European polka as one of the main genuine Brazilian instrumental genres, first as the *polka característica*¹¹ and afterwards just as the Brazilian *polca*. Napoleão had a long-lasting influence on Chiquinha. He ran a music publishing house (Casa Arthur Napoleão), where several of Chiquinha's compositions were edited and released. Napoleão supported the »Sociedade de Concertos Classicos«, another classical music society in Rio de Janeiro, similar to Clube Beethoven, but open to women.

Arthur Napoleão composed piano music in all the main genres of his time: opera fantasies and paraphrases, etudes, character pieces, salon and virtuoso pieces. There were also compositions for orchestra (most of them are lost) for piano four-hands and half a dozen *lieder*. He wrote incidental music for *O remorso vivo* by

⁹ Edinha DINIZ, *Chiquinha Gonzaga: uma historia de vida*, Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2009.

¹⁰ Tiago DE OLIVEIRA PINTO – Dudu TUCCI, *Samba und Sambistas in Brasilien*, *Musikbogen: Wege zum Verständnis fremder Musikkulturen* 2, Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Books Wilhelmshaven, 1992.

¹¹ In an announcement about a concert of Chiquinha Gonzaga, together with other seven female pianists, mention is made of the four-hand *polka característica Os canários* by composer Cardoso de Almeida; in *Noticia*, Rio de Janeiro, 26 May 1900.

Furtado Coelho and Joaquim Serra (first staged in Rio de Janeiro on 21 February 1867). Napoleão's last work to receive an Opus number was *18 Études pour virtuoses*, Op. 90 for piano solo (published in 1910).

Arthur Napoleão's musical activities were important as a paradigm for Chiquinha and also for Ernesto Nazareth. His personality reunited all those qualities necessary for a prolific musician who was attuned to his time and place and responsive to all important developments occurring abroad. Napoleão would cover both domains: the high society salon and the theatre, like Chiquinha, but also the salon, like Ernesto Nazareth. Only Nazareth became enthusiastic with the new, emerging medium of the cinema, something received with less interest by Chiquinha Gonzaga and Arthur Napoleão.

Opposite Biographies in National Music

Regarding the opposites and similarities between Chiquinha and Nazareth: both had excellent foreign piano teachers who had immigrated to Brazil.¹² While Ernesto Nazareth resembles the protagonist of Machado de Assis, the composer of popular piano pieces Pestana, at least in social terms, he also pursued the pathway from middle to the upper, cultivated class. Different from Nazareth, Chiquinha Gonzaga was a member of the elites herself. She cut her social bounds, chose to live an unusual and for many unacceptable lifestyle. But at the end Chiquinha succeeded. She was prosperous as pianist, composer and even as a conductor in Brazil and in Portugal. Her life-long aim as a musician was to find a national musical style that would suit the local music and scene without the pretension of being »nationalistic.« Using traditional, African based musical folk music styles as *maxixe*, *lundu* and *samba*, to present them to an urban, middle and upper class audience was, at the same time, part of the development of public awareness in Brazilian culture. Chiquinha's composition *Corta-Jaca* is one such a piece for piano which transfers the movement of cutting the *jaca* fruit (*corta-jaca*), a traditional sequence of dance footsteps, to the keyboard.

Recent Editions of the Compositions of Chiquinha Gonzaga

Even if she has an assured place in Brazilian music history, more than 90% of Chiquinha Gonzaga's work was still completely unknown or inaccessible to a wider public one decade ago, leaving a big gap in this part of the story about the beginnings of Brazilian musical identity. Fortunately, Chiquinha Gonzaga's work is being organized and edited, thanks to the pianists and musicologists Maria Teresa

¹² Another prolific pianist and piano pedagogue in Brazil after the 1880s is Italian Luigi Chiaffarelli (1856-1923), teacher of the internationally acclaimed Brazilian pianists Guimar Novaes and Antonieta Rudge, among many others.

Madeira and Wandrei Braga. According to pedagogical criteria, a first collection features 145 scores for solo piano distributed in four books in progressive order of difficulty.¹³ In addition to the scores, the books include texts about the composer in Portuguese and in English.

Another recent project devoted to the dissemination of information and documentation about the life and work of Chiquinha Gonzaga is the excellent web page chiquinhagonzaga.com, with full scores of her piano pieces, or piano reductions with voice of several of her stage compositions. The web page offers published texts, newspaper reports from the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, pictures and further materials of musical life in Rio de Janeiro around 1900. The web page is being constantly enlarged with further materials and information. In 2021 the first big exhibition about Chiquinha Gonzaga's life and oeuvre was presented at Cultural Institute «Itaú Cultural», São Paulo.

Chiquinha Gonzaga and the Transcultural Process in Music

The music of Chiquinha Gonzaga, the cultural influences she was exposed to as well as the economic conditions and the overall social bonds she had to face¹⁴ together amount to a complex picture for analysis. If I haven't touched on ethnicity in her music (or the racial issue, frequently brought up in Anglo-American scholarship on Brazilian music until recently),¹⁵ it is because this is not a focus that predominantly matters, neither for the music of Chiquinha, nor for Nazareth, and even not for the literary work of Machado de Assis. We are not discussing so-called »black music,« nor »black literature.« Can these terms be used at all as a significant conceptual framework for music or for literature in late-nineteenth-century Brazil? I don't believe so, despite the fact that the main protagonists of the story told until now, Machado de Assis, Ernesto Nazareth or even Barbosa, the machete player in Machado's literary piece, were of partial African descent. Even Nazareth's main piano teacher, the American Frenchman Lambert, is originally an African-American from New Orleans – born as a »free person of color,« according to US-American terminology. Lambert left the US, and later France, to settle down in Rio de Janeiro with his family, where he actively contributed to musical life and music education, becoming a Brazilian citizen. Thus, they are all Brazilians, perceive themselves as part of a culturally awakening nation, are indebted to European costumes, especially also to European music, like Pestana, in *Um homem célebre*. At the same time,

¹³ Livro 1 – piano Iniciante – 15 arranjos exclusivos feitos por Maria Teresa Madeira, e acesso as suas gravações; Livro 2 – piano intermediário 1-50 músicas originais; Livro 3 – piano intermediário 2-50 músicas originais. Livro 4 – piano avançado – 29 músicas originais e 2 arranjos exclusivos, e acesso as suas gravações, de »Lua branca« e »Ó abre alas«, por Maria Teresa Madeira.

¹⁴ Henrique CAZES, *Chiquinha Gonzaga* (booklet and CD), São Paulo: Ed. Media, 2010.

¹⁵ For instance, Marc A. HERTZMAN, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*, Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2013.

they are all conscious of their South American condition and their being in a different, tropical world – a condition quite dissimilar from that of their individual, diverse ancestors, influences and identities. This is why one cannot simply and without differentiation assume that this is music that can be discussed primarily in terms of »diaspora aesthetics.«¹⁶

On the other hand, if Brazilian musical genres such as *lundu*, *maxixe* and *samba*, discussed above, are impregnated by African elements, existing on the other side of the southern Atlantic Ocean and widespread in the country, this is due to historical ties to African people. It has to be kept in mind that these historical connections go back to the African slave trade from 1530 to 1851, one of the bloodiest and most merciless episodes of global history for dozens of millions of people. Under this perspective another music history is still to be taught.

Back to musical culture: one cannot understand it only in relation to its origins. In the course of time and within a new environment, original musical traits and specific influences lose their permanency when they come together with others, creating situations for new processes. It was the Cuban sociologist and music researcher Fernando Ortiz (1881-1969), conscious of the African-Indigenous-European mixtures, fissures and exchanges, in his own and in most of the Latin American countries, who designated these historical processes as »transculturation.«¹⁷ This concept is distinct from the term »acculturation,« in broad use by US-American and Anglophone scholarship after anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits (1895-1963), which denotes subordination, realignment or the loss of culture.¹⁸ »Transculturation,« on the contrary, primarily indicates the addition of what is new to what might have been lost – not the loss as such. This occurs both in the process of change and the development of something multi-faceted: something gained instead of something new replacing something old. The concept itself is a cultural and a historical at the same time.¹⁹

Chiquinha Gonzaga's musical output, as a musician and as a composer may be understood under this multilayered scenery of her time, which is mirrored in her oeuvre. The adverse social conditions and norms she reacted to could only be fully overcome with an attitude that in any other part of the world would be regarded as »revolutionary«. She managed to move in a male world, despite all social prejudices against female artists.²⁰ But Chiquinha succeeded in doing it differently, in a more

¹⁶ In comparative literature Henry Louis Gates, Jr. discusses this problematic term within the narratives of post-colonial discourse (H. L. GATES Jr., *Tradition and the Black Atlantic. Critical Theory in the African Diaspora*, *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter*, 13/3 (2010), 49).

¹⁷ Fernando ORTIZ first discussed his concept in a broad manner in one of his main books: *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar. Advertencia de sus contrastes agrarios, económicos, históricos y sociales, su etnografía y su transculturación*, Madrid: Cátedra, 1940 (1963).

¹⁸ Melville J. HERSKOVITS, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, New York: Harper, 1941.

¹⁹ See chapter »Transculturation« in: TIAGO DE OLIVEIRA PINTO: *Music as Living Heritage. An Essay on Intangible Culture*, Berlin: EMVAS, 2018, 175.

²⁰ A visible account of this can be verified in the photo album displayed in the web site on Chiquinha Gonzaga www.chiquinhagonzaga.com, where Chiquinha is portrayed on different occasions, always posing as the only woman in a male group.

discrete way. Her life as a musician and as a cultural activist evince that the transcultural process is not necessarily revolutionary in a visible or forceful sense. It comprehends, nonetheless, and similar to revolutions, a fundamental and lasting structural change in one or more systems. Chiquinha's path to achieve Brazilian musical nationalism include revolutionary behaviour in regard to family and to the mainstream male society of her time. But, on the other hand, she had received much respect and recognition in her lifetime as a personality with a significant oeuvre and as being responsible for lasting achievements, reaching the importance of recognized mastery and »Brazilianess«. As a result, this is far more sustainable and long-lasting than many revolutionary actions.

From this viewpoint, Chiquinha dealt with events that not merely reproduced regional fashions or traditional local practices. Her music is rather the result of a process of selection, elimination, recovery, and discovery, e.g., the combination and synthesis of elements brought in from diverse cultural contexts and even from social experiences different from her own former background.²¹ For instance, the huge success of her operettas and *revistas* is due to the fact that she simply transferred the real milieu of the streets of Rio de Janeiro to the stage. This was not her background, but she knew it better and was more sensible to it than any academic writer or intellectual of her time. My reading of this is that Chiquinha was able to evoke multiple meanings by selecting contents and creating renewal, adding them to a local musical tradition, which was still frantically seeking its place.

As a methodological tool, the transcultural model, outlined by Fernando Ortiz and his followers, tends to question the relevance and the uncontested existence of certain established boundaries, questioning also unidirectionally conceived or successive time-lines in history, and even disregarding strictly »racially« based lineages. Regarding music research, I argue that we must go further, reaching beyond either the cultural or the historical angle, by digging within academic disciplines and methodologies that can further contribute to our musicological inquiries. By operating with the transcultural approach, a certain rigid view on origins in musical styles can be overcome. Multilayered processes are more appropriate to comprehend the music of Chiquinha Gonzaga, instead of unidirectional and non-historical approaches (such as acculturation, »race« etc.). It was the conviction of Fernando Ortiz, that transculturation as a social, cultural, and economic procedure enables us to detect new angles for the understanding of social developments in Latin America, in both their historical and their contemporary dynamic. Due to these processes of transculturation, the social dominance of the European colonizer failed to fully shape the cultural mainstream of the subcontinent.

Again, the composer Pestana, as styled by Machado de Assis, is the perfect example for this specific, non-European reality in the city of Rio de Janeiro around the *fin de siècle*: by consciously aspiring to European mastery in music, Pestana reaffirms his

²¹ The Uruguayan writer and literary critic Angel RAMA discusses this phenomenon for Latin American culture in *Transculturación Narrativa*, Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 1984, 73.

own existence, which, according to the German etymology of the term *Dasein* (existence = da-sein: to be here), simply means to be fully present, in the here and now. This is to say that in transculturation processes to aspire for dissimilarities does not put into question one's own existence. On the contrary, it confirms and strengthens identities. As in the case of the Rio de Janeiro composer Pestana: by thinking Mozart and Beethoven he was more and more becoming a genuine Nazareth.

Concluding Remarks

Revolutionary elements in music, musical and personal life can easily be found in the biography of Chiquinha Gonzaga. She was a unique and admirable artist and educator who succeeded through a lifelong battle against male dominance, conservatism and prejudices in the fields of composition and as an orchestra leader, the first female conductor in the Americas, and probably among the first female orchestra conductors in the world.

Due to Chiquinha's unique move between different social groups and her ability to organize cultural life, she manoeuvres within musical genres that suit her métier, without foremost seeking recognition abroad for her art as genuine Brazilian music. She was able to represent Brazilian styles in music as well as to be nicknamed the »Offenbach in dress« (*Offenbach de saia*), because of her astonishingly popular operettas. She felt comfortable with producing music in both the field of lighter music for the salons, or as composer of a larger oeuvre such as opera and instrumental genres, mainly piano music, for the theatre stage. Because of aspiring to be legible and suitable for most of the musicians of her city, Chiquinha wrote accessible music, but without ever being simple or just trivial. Her musical ideas are still remarkably fresh and surprising, and guaranteed her long-lasting celebrity. She was never forgotten, always considered to be one of the main forerunners of Brazilian urban music.

In his article in this book (pp. 125-32) Stanislav Tuksar refers to Croatia, stating that while the nation was on its way to finding political independence, Croatian music succeeded in gaining national importance before the end of the nineteenth century. In Brazil the opposite is true: the country became independent in 1822, remaining almost within the same borders until the present day. But music and art had to find their way to represent this huge national unit. Chiquinha Gonzaga was in the forefront, much ahead of her time. Neither only European, nor predominantly African, not popular nor only pure art music was her goal. Her operettas, her revues, her instrumental and chamber music compositions covered a wide range of national issues and styles. Chiquinha wouldn't discuss politics, but she acted in a political manner supporting the abolitionist movement by selling her music and donating the entire income to the cause of the abolition of slavery in 1888. She was also ahead in the foundation of a Brazilian music collecting society in 1915, the artists' rights society SBAT to ensure that songwriters received a fair share of income from their compositions – only a few years after Richard Strauss has established the German GEMA in Munich (1910).



Fig. 7. Chiquinha Gonzaga as Google Icon, 2017

Finally, Chiquinha Gonzaga was blessed with a broad musical genius: a gifted pianist, a music educator, and composer, and as a *chef d'orchestre* Chiquinha conducted the main opera orchestras in Rio de Janeiro and in Lisbon. She was the first woman to occupy a Chair in the Brazilian Academy of Fine Arts.

But above all, Chiquinha Gonzaga was a woman, determined not to accept less favourable conditions as an artist or as a citizen because of being female. She is admirable in so many ways, as an artist, humanist, mother and also as a true life partner: her second husband, João Batista, a former student, was 36 years younger and a feverous supporter until the end.

And Chiquinha seems to have never lost her humour. Francisco Braga, a renowned composer asked Chiquinha in the 1930s: »Dear Chiquinha: are you still busy, composing new pieces?« »No, my dear,« Chiquinha revealed with a smile on her lips: »not making any new composition, I'm rather 'de-composing'... «.²² A few days later she was dead.

This outstanding musician passed away at almost 90 years of age. Chiquinha's legacy lives on as one of the most celebrated in Brazilian music. She broke down barriers and directly pulled the development of music in her homeland. Fittingly,

²² E. DINIZ, *Chiquinha Gonzaga: uma historia de vida*, Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2009.

Chiquinha's birthday is now the official National Day of Brazilian Popular Music (»Dia da Música Popular Brasileira«).

If her myth is alive in Brazil, and endeavours to publish her entire work finally pursued in recent years, the position she deserves in music history – in a global music history of humanity – is still to be assigned to Francisca Edwiges Neves Gonzaga, better known as Chiquinha Gonzaga.

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Sažetak

Chiquinha Gonzaga i uspon brazilske nacionalne glazbe oko 1900. godine

Južnu Ameriku većinom su kolonizirale Španjolska i Portugal. Govoreći o glazbi, utjecaji tih dviju zemalja bili su najvažniji i dogodili su se kao posljedica mnogih transkulturalnih susreta i društvene razmjene. Glazbeni utjecaj iz drugih europskih zemalja intenzivnije se razvio u 19. stoljeću.

Ovaj članak fokusira se na glazbenu povijest Brazila. Austrijski, talijanski i njemački glazbenici i glazbeni pedagozi postali su važni nakon kraja kolonijalnog razdoblja (1822.) te za vrijeme Brazilske carstva (1822.-1889.). U kontekstu tog carstva, posebice za vrijeme vladavine cara Pedra II. (sina habsburške princeze Leopoldine i cara Pedra I.), veoma je plodonosno uveden europski romantizam. Pedro II. divio se i podupirao umjetnosti i znanosti, njegovao je koncertni život, operu kao i likovne umjetnosti.

Ostali ambijenti za uspon brazilske klasične glazbe bila su građanska okupljanja u umjetničkim društvima. Nacionalni glazbeni stil također se razvijao u gradskom salonu. Salon je mjesto gdje se njeguju klasični, ali i urbani nacionalni popularni stilovi i od kuda su se ti stilovi početkom 20. stoljeća raširili po cijeloj državi.

Keywords: Chiquinha Gonzaga, Brazilian National Music, 19th century, art music, literary movement, Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, Ernesto Nazareth

Ključne riječi: Chiquinha Gonzaga, brazilska nacionalna glazba, 19. stoljeće, umjetnička glazba, književni pokret, Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, Ernesto Nazareth