“Musical Mixture in Pernambuco, Brazil”

The Northeastern region of Brazil is an area often characterized as a cultural reservoir where Brazil’s agrarian and folkloric traditions have been frozen in time.¹ Although this may be somewhat true of areas that have not seen much industrialization, such as the sertão (semi-arid backlands) and the Zona da Mata (coastal forest region), the traditions of the Northeastern cities are not fixed. Ongoing droughts, economic stagnation, and changes in the cultivation of sugarcane (a primary source of labor) has resulted in huge migrations from the rural regions into the larger cities. The closest destination has been Recife, the capital of the state of Pernambuco, and one of the largest metropolitan areas in Brazil. The growing of folk traditions in Recife has had a strong impact on urban musicians. This paper will trace one of the branches that has grown from the great tree of folk music in the Northeast since its spread into Recife, showing how the Northeast’s folkloric traditions have influenced urban musicians and have grown into a new idea, perhaps even a new “tradition.”

The group I will focus on is *Maciel Salù e o Terno do Terreiro*, which includes Maciel Salustiano Soares, Juliano Holanda, Rudá Rocha, and Zé Mário Freitas (past members include; BrunoVinezof, Tiné, and Hugo Lins). Most of the musicians in the group were raised in Olinda, a suburb of Recife, whose historic center has been registered as a site of World Cultural Heritage by UNESCO, and musically educated (except Zé

Mario). All of the members of Terno do Terreiro have either studied with folk masters, or have spent extended periods of time playing with and listening to folk musicians.²

As their name suggests, Maciel Salú e o Terno do Terreiro is led by Maciel Salú, who is the son of Manoel Salustiano Soares (Mestre Salú), one of best known fiddlers and master of folk traditions in the Northeast.³ Mestre Salú moved to Recife from Aliança, a small rural town (Nazaré da Mata) in the 1960’s. Because he was semi-literate and only had experience working in the sugarcane fields of the Zona da Mata, Salú was forced to work many odd jobs such as cleaning houses, selling ice cream, driving a truck, etc.⁴ In the 1970’s, Salú “found patrons among the government and university community”, such as the poet, playwright, and scholar Ariano Suassuna, Amaro Raposo, and Leda Alves, a director of government cultural programs, and since then has established himself as an “expert performer of traditional music and dance”⁵ and part of the “live patrimony of cultural heritage in Brazil.”⁶ [my translation].⁷

Like his father, Maciel Salú has also held a fair share of odd jobs in order to sustain himself and his family; selling ice-cream and coconuts on the beach, as an assistant to an electrician, and working in construction.⁸ Maciel also grew up steeped in

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² It is important to note that folk music is quite present in the city and even supported by the government, tourism agencies, and cultural organizations, however it is not as prevalent or as supported as commercial music; especially on the radio and TV (Interviews with Maciel Salú, Hugo Lins, Publius, and Juliano Holanda, [June 2007]).
³ “Salustiano and his family established themselves as expert performers of traditional music and dance and found patrons among the government and university community, which included Ariano Suassuna, the well-known poet playwright, and scholar, and Leda Alves, who directed government cultural programs. After working in relative obscurity for years, Salustiano is today one of Recife’s best-known cultural Figures” (Murphy 2006, 74)
⁴ For more on Mestre Salú’s background see Marianna Cunha Mesquita do Nascimento, 2005, pp.112-138 (Murphy, 74)
⁶ All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
⁷ (Nascimento, 141)
the rural folk traditions of Maracatu, Cavalo-marinho, Coco, Frevo, and Forró, passed on to him by his father, grandfather, and other folk masters. Even though he grew up in Olinda, Maciel has been greatly influenced by studying music at the University of Pernambuco in Recife, playing with rock musicians, listening to Cuban and African music, and “lots of other pop and rock music from Brazil.” Maciel’s openness towards other musics is quite a contrast to his father who says that he only listens to music of “his tradition.”

In fact, there are many contrasts between the ways that Maciel Salú and his father view the music that they make. Mestre Salú has expressed his disapproval about the mixing of traditional regional music with global styles on numerous occasions. In an interview with Mariana Nascimento, Mestre Salú voiced his concern about Maciel’s first band Chão e Chinelo:

I’m not criticizing anyone, but the majority of artists today only do research, they research someone’s music, then another’s, and then make a mixture. I say this because I see it at home; I’m criticizing my son [Maciel] who doesn’t need to do research to make his music. He’s recorded an album, but it’s just a lot of mixture… I don’t feel good about having a son who I raised and has the baggage that he has, making mixed music. He thinks that he is right in doing so, but it isn’t so. I pray to God that he’ll have success, but I don’t think that he will.

In a recent interview with me, Mestre Salú insisted “that sort of mixture isn’t good because it doesn’t work in a place like Pernambuco, where tradition was born.”

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9 “I listen to lots of stuff” Interview with Maciel in June 2007
10 “...As long as it’s refined, I admire everyone’s work. But, for listening, I like what’s mine, no one makes it [music] better than I do” (Nascimento, 166) [my translation]
11 (Nascimento, 132-133)
12 Interview with Mestre Salú (June 2007)
The notion of intentionally mixing folk and global styles has had a long and interesting past in Brazil, with many popular artistic movements which promulgated ideas of anthropophagy and hybridization.\textsuperscript{13} In Recife, these ideas reached an apex in the early 1990’s with the very popular Mangue Beat “Movement.”\textsuperscript{14} The Mangue movement was propelled by the bands Chico Science and Nação Zumbi, Mundo Livre S/A, Mestre Ambrósio, and several others. These groups were mostly made up of members of the middle class who were primarily inspired by transnational styles and secondly by regional music. Mangue focused on fusing local folk rhythms with rock, electronica, heavy metal, rap, and other styles in an appeal to a national and global market, which up until then had stereotyped the Northeast as a place that could only produce regional music, and to also make music that would embrace a Pernambucan identity.

Even though Maciel’s group has been influenced and even inspired by the Mangue musicians, his music does not quite fit into the Mangue scene. Mangue musicians drew largely from the rhythms of Maracatu Nação (also known as maracatu de baque virado)\textsuperscript{15}, while Maciel’s group draws more from maracatu

\textsuperscript{13} Anthropophagy is an idea promulgated in Brazil by Oswaldo de Andrade. It is the notion of cultural cannibalism, whereby artists should eat up everything that they can get their hands on, digest it, and then create something new out of those influences. For more on anthropophagy and globalized styles see: Bryan McCann, 2004, Charles Perrone and Christopher Dunn, 2001, Oswaldo de Andrade, 1928

\textsuperscript{14} There were “precursors” and other movements in the region which preceded the Mangue Movement. See the work of poet Ascenso Ferreria, musician Alceu Paiva Valença, and the Movimento Armorial (led by Ariano Suassuna). For more on Mangue Beat see, Philip Galinksy, 1998.

\textsuperscript{15} A carnival style of music that is linked to pre-colonial African traditions and is characterized by alfaias (large wooden rope-tuned drums), gonguê (a metal cowbell) tarol (a shallow snare drum), caixa-de-guerra (a deeper snare drum), abê (a gourd shaker enveloped in beads), and mineiro (a metal cylindrical shaker filled with metal shot or small dried seeds), and a parading royal court.
rural (maracatu *de baque solto*). Another key difference between the two is that Mangue worked “de fora pra dentro” (from the outside to the inside) while Maciel’s group functions “de dentro pra fora” (from within [the tradition] to outside). In other words, whereas the Mangue beat musicians were seen as musicians who mixed in regional styles to a pre-existing foundation of pop music, Maciel (largely because of his background) is seen as a musician (together with his band) who works from a foundation of regional music and then adds layers of pop/global influences.

Interestingly, Mestre Salú doesn’t completely disapprove of the Mangue movement’s musicians, saying “they do what they can.” Evidently, Mestre Salú doesn’t feel threatened by musicians who are working so far outside “the tradition.” Salú also appreciates the fact that the Mangue beat musicians credited him as a teacher and have helped him become more popular to wider audiences. However, he disapproves of Maciel’s music, always remarking that Maciel is capable of doing a more proper job in terms of regional music.

Leaving aside the issue of whether or not this “mixture” is good or bad, a comparison between Salustiano father and son’s latest two latest albums; Maciel Salú e Terno do Terrerio’s *Na Luz do Carbureto* and Mestre Salú’s *A Rabeca Encantada* (which coincidentally (or not) were both released in 2006) will show what this “mixture” consists of. This will also reflect on the musical negotiations made by musicians who fall

16 A rural manifestation that resembles a war-like procession linked to Indigenous practices, which takes place in the form of all night musical duels (*sambada*) and also during Carnaval. It is characterized by a small ensemble with snare drum, agogô (double cowbell), and cuica (friction drum). For more on maracatu see Ana Valeria Vicente, 2005, Roseanna Borges de Medeiros, 2005.
17 Interview with Caçapa and Alessandra Leão in June 2007
18 (Nascimento, 177)
19 Interview with Mestre Salú, June 2007
20 (Nascimento, 135)
between a rural/local and urban/global existence, and how this “mixture” can affect and even change tradition.

A glance at these colorful albums quickly reveals that they are aimed at different audiences and at communicating different identities. Mestre Salú’s reflects his position as a cultural icon for the region. The album cover features a blurry picture of Salú with his rabeca (fiddle), and the title of the CD with an icthyus beneath it. 21 (See Figure 1) On the back of the cover is the same picture, except that it is in focus and the stickers on Salú’s rabeca reveal laminates of the Virgin Mary and Jesus. (Figure 2) Inside the sleeve are various pictures of Salú playing his rabeca for kids on a farm, Salú pulling a donkey, and playing barefoot in a shack. (Figure 3) In all of the photos Salú wears a traditional straw hat and floral shirt typical of Northeastern folk musicians.

(Mestre Salú e A Rabeca Encantada, 2006, cover, Figure 1)

21 Traditions in the NE are very intermixed with folk Catholicism and Indigenous and African religions as well. Mestre Salús use of an icthyus marks his connection to this.
Maciel Salú’s album features the profile of his shadow over a backdrop of a wall with power outlets, light switches, and wires (See Figure 3). The album is cleverly designed with a pocket mirror which pulls out of the CD’s sleeve and says “Use this mirror to straighten out what you see and attain a new direction.” The writing on the album sleeve is backwards, which gives the mirror a double purpose. Inside the sleeve is a booklet with lyrics and photos of the group. The photos are mostly individual shots of the members playing live; however two of the photos stand out as representing the group as both “modern” and “Brazilian.” One is a photo of the group standing in a field, wearing soccer shirts, and leaning on a muscle car from the 1960’s, and the other is a shot of them walking in the city, which is quite similar to the classic Beatles in London photo. (See Figures 3,4,5,6)
(Na Luz do Carbureto, 2006, “soccer photo”, Figure 4)

(Na Luz do Carbureto, 2006, “Beatles photo”, Figure 5)
Although the photos and layout for *Na Luz do Carbureto* attempt to represent the group as modern, their liner notes, paint a different picture. Written by Braulio Tavares (a well known writer from Paraíba), the introduction to the album depicts Maciel’s deep link with the Zona da Mata.

The sound of Maciel Salu’s rabeca is like a thread that has been stitching together all of those sounds [from the Northeast], making them find the beat through that same rhythm….Maciel Salu, heir to rabeca masters, his face and voice of a million Brazilians from the Zona da Mata, who make music for pleasure and Destiny.\(^{23}\)

To add to the obvious reference to folk tradition in Tavares’ introduction, out of the twelve songs on “*Na Luz do Carbureto*”, ten of them refer to ideas, places, and traditions that are specific to the Northeast (the two which don’t refer to the Northeast are a love song and a song about soccer). These songs evoke images of the rural Northeast of

\(^{23}\) *O som da rabeca de Maciel Salu é como uma linha que vem costurando todos esses sons, fazendo-os acertar o passo pela mesma batida...Maciel Salu, herdeiro de mestres da rabeca, com seu rosto e sua voz de um milhão de brasileiros da Zona da Mata, que fazem música por prazer e por Destino (Na Luz do Carbureto, 2006)*
Brazil by singing about sugar cane plantations, ox-driven wagons, June saint’s festivals, Caboclos, farmers, and the various music and dance traditions specific to the region.

“Naquela Serra” (That Mountain) the second song on the album, uses traditional lyrics taken from the Cavalo-marinho tradition. Cavalo-marinho is a folk performance specific to Pernambuco and Paraíaba which consists of music, dance, and numerous characters that depict the life of plantation inhabitants. The tradition has been traced to Portuguese celebrations of the Day of Kings (Epiphany) and is important to its participants, because it “expresses the moral worldview and comic sensibility of rural workers.”

Because “Naquela Serra” takes these lyrics so far outside their traditional use, it calls for a more in depth analysis, which might also be able to explain the “mixture’ that Mestre Salú refers to.

Firstly, the usual instrumentation for Cavalo-marinho is rabeca (fiddle), pandeiro (tambourine), mineiro or ganzá (shakers), and the bage (or reco-reco [bamboo scraper]). On “Naquela Serra” we quickly hear that the instrumentation is quite different from that of Cavalo-marinho; the rabeca and voice are present, but added to these are viola (a ten-stringed guitar) [popular in other folk genres, like Cantoria], bass, maracas, zabumba (bass drum), caixa (snare), bombinho (small bass drum), gonguê (cowbell), and pratos (cymbals).

The production of “Naquela Serra” (and all of Na Luz do Carbureto) is also much more pop oriented than Mestre Salú e A Rabeca Encantada. Unlike Mestre Salú’s recording which is relatively simple and straight forward, “Naquela Serra” makes great use of reverb, panning, equalization, and the mastering process.

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24 (Murphy, 73) For more on Cavalo-marinho see John Murphy, 1994.
25 (Na Luz Do Carbureto, 2006)
In comparing the first few seconds of “Naquela Serra” with one of Mestre Salú’s Cavalo-marinho songs, “Donara” (Mestre Salú e a Rabeca Encantada, 2006) we hear several striking differences in the ways these two songs were recorded. Maciel’s rabeca introduction is close-miked (recorded with the microphone very close to the instrument), which produces a clear and intimate sound. Mestre Salú’s almost sounds like it’s recorded outside; the microphone is further from the instrument and the subtleties of his playing are not as accented as in Maciel’s recording.

The use of reverb and panning on Maciel’s rabeca is also interesting. When the song starts you can hear that the rabeca is double tracked in order to produce a fuller sound. It is panned all the way to the left, with the second track playing at a lower volume in the right speaker. The rabeca is processed with reverb that emulates a hall, which together with the panning give the feeling that it is being played in a huge empty space, unlikely for a tradition which usually takes place outdoors and amongst many people. The same can be said of the voice which is featured as the most important instrument. Like almost all pop recordings it is always in the foreground of the mix, and is first heard alone before any harmony is added.

On Mestre Salú’s “Donara”, the panning is centered so that the music is evenly projected; it is recorded in the same way that it is performed, just like a field recording. When Salú’s singing enters it is balanced with the instruments and placed in the mid-ground of the mix. Salú’s voice is almost never heard alone, but in harmony with his son Dinda, who sings in parallel thirds. Little or no reverb is used.

The other striking difference between the two recordings is intonation. Mestre Salú’s “Donara” features a much more “free” intonation. Shortly after the first rabeca
plays the opening melody, a second rabeca enters in what is roughly parallel thirds. To musically trained ears, this may sound “out of tune”, but it is by no means certain that folk musicians place a very high value on “precise” (equal temperament) intonation, and this “out of tune” quality may or may not be on purpose. However, if musically trained ears are the judges (as in the case here) Maciel’s recording features a much more in tune rabeca.

In Maciel’s song, just as in the album as a whole, there are harmonic and melodic references that veer towards and also away from “tradition” as defined by Mestre Salús album.\(^{26}\) The vocal line that Maciel sings is folk-like, in that it doesn’t move around much, is repetitive, and can actually be harmonized very simply. Yet, in comparing it to Mestre Salú’s, it is different in that it features bass and it is harmonized unconventionally (See Figures 7 and 8).\(^{27}\)

\[^{26}\text{For all intensive purposes, I will use Mestre Salús’ music as “tradition” because of his position as a folk master in the region.}\]

\[^{27}\text{None of the songs on Mestre Salú’s album feature bass. In fact, his music is much more treble oriented than Maciel’s.}\]
Mestre Salú’s song is very obviously in the key of C, and simply moves around I and V. There might be an implied IV, but it is hard to say without any bass or harmonic instrument. Even though Maciel’s song has a bass and guitar outlining the harmonic progression, it can still be interpreted in a number of different ways (Figure C2). Below are three of the possibilities that I came up with.

1.) D mixolydian: $bVII, IV, V^7 / bVII, IV^7, V^7$

2.) A dorian: $III, IV, I^7 / III, bVII, (I^7)$

3.) A mixolydian: $(III), IV, I^7 / III, bVII, I^7$

(“Naquela Serra” excerpt, Figure 8.)

In the first example, there aren’t any compromises as far as borrowed chords, but the progression never resolves to a tonic chord, which is kind of odd for the style of music. In the second possibility, the $I^7$ sticks out as being borrowed from the parallel major and turned into a dominant chord (not unusual for the region). In the third example, I find the most likely explanation (because the mixolydian mode is used widely
in North Eastern folk music) where the only chord that stands out is the III chord, which can be explained as borrowed from the parallel minor.

The borrowed III chord is important here, because it gives the progression a rock feel (similar a Beatles or Pink Floyd progression), which pulls the popular usage of a folk idiom, the mixolydian mode, into a more “modern” realm. The choice of an ambiguous harmonization for a relatively simple vocal melody also shows that the group is pushing towards a more complex aesthetic, one that is usually not found in folk music, and especially not present in Mestre Salú’s music.28

Rhythmically, there is in fact a basic percussion pattern associated with Cavalomarinho, which is of course present in Mestre Salú’s “Donara” (Figure 9). The rhythms that Maciel’s group uses are more complex and do not seem to draw from the Cavalomarinho rhythms in any way (See Figure 10).

(Cavalomarinho rhythmic outline, Figure 9)
(adapted from John Murphy’s transcription)29

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28 Here you could argue that Mestre Salú’s aesthetic is complex to our ears in it’s tuning and lack of harmonic foundation, but that is generally true of folk music.
29 John Murphy, 2006
Here we see that the two Salús have different goals in their music making, which are integrally related to their societal positions. Although both albums are consumed as products, Maciel’s recording is more of an artistic product which is meant to have replay value and be aesthetically pleasing to a wide audience. He and his group complicate the ideas that they draw from folk music in search of a unique aesthetic sound that reflects their identities. This appeals to their audience, which is made up of urban dwellers who are used to hearing recordings glossed up with all of the industry standards of mastering, reverb, and equalization, of which their product adheres to, but who are also in search of something that represents their Pernambucan uniqueness.

Maciel’s father, Mestre Salú, is offering a document of traditional music. His recording is an attempt to reconstruct the sounds of folkloric traditions. Because he is a cultural figure for the state, his audience looks to him for “traditional music”; his music has to convey a more “real”, more “traditional” and “rootsy” sound. It has to sound almost like a “field recording.”
Although both albums received their primary financial support from CHESF (Hydroelectric Company of São Francisco, Brazil), Maciel’s secondary sponsors are company’s like FacForm graphics and Fabrica studios, while Mestre Salú’s are cultural organizations like SESC Casa Amarela and CDRM (Center for Diffusion of Musical Realizations).

Even though Maciel’s group receives support from larger companies and their music is geared towards a more popular audience, thus far, it still lives within a subculture. According to the groups bass and guitar player, Juliano Holanda, “This music that we make, music which is linked to regional [folk] things, isn’t in the mass market, and I don’t think it ever will be, because it’s not a type of sound that is easily assimilated, it also doesn’t have that desire.” Maciel adds to this by explaining that he understands that a lot of groups that are good are not recognized by the media, but he just wants to “earn enough to have comfort, to live, take care of my family, and that’s it.”

Conclusion

Even though Maciel’s music veers towards urbanity, we see that it does so within a regional context. This context is something that he is not willing to disregard; even if he and his band mates know (or think) that focusing on regional themes is likely to reduce their chances for national and international success.

Although Maciel refers to the same tradition that his father tries to maintain, he references it as only a part of his identity and a part of his musical world. He cannot deny his “mixed” influences, which are not as “pure” as his father would like them to be.

30 Interview with Juliano Holanda (June 2006)
31 Interview with Maciel Salustiano (June 2006)
Through this tension we see how new styles and even traditions are created. After all, traditions always evolve out of mixtures of people, cultures, religions, and art forms.

Maciel’s world is one where folk traditions and popular music meet. His music is an honest manifestation of the musical landscapes that surround him. People cannot maintain something that is not their reality. Maciel has never worked on a plantation, he does not live in the Zona da Mata, he works as a musician in the city, the influence that modernity has on him cannot be denied, and the music that surrounds the city and even leaks into it becomes a foundation to an evolving tradition.

References

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