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From Ipanema Across the Ocean – Brazil’s Image Abroad Through Music

Brazilian music carries strong characteristics of its people and has become one of the most recognizable features of the country abroad. In this study, I analyze how Brazil is pictured overseas by the means of music as an element of soft power of the country. Nonetheless, I bring attention to the importance of self-awareness of the Brazilian identity and its relations with the image that the country has abroad. I address the issue through analysis of the cases of Heitor Villa-Lobos, Carmem Miranda, bossa nova, and heavy metal. In this analysis, the role of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also taken into account. I suggest that Oswald de Andrade’s anthropophagic idea can apply to the reflections of Brazilians towards their image abroad.

Keywords: public diplomacy, soft power, international relations, Brazil, music, foreign affairs

Introduction

This work discusses how music influences the image of Brazil abroad. Following the idea that a nation, with its identity, projects itself in the international arena through soft power, I will attempt to answer the questions: What is the importance of the Brazilian identity to the music produced on its ground? And how Brazilian music is perceived abroad as part of the image of the country?

Firstly, to justify the choice of music as an aspect of a nation's image, one can state that music is inherent to human civilization, as Daniel Levitin from McGill university says: "Whenever humans come together for any reason, music is there: weddings, funerals, graduation from college, men marching off to war, stadium sporting events, a night on the town, prayer, a romantic dinner, mothers rocking their infants to sleep... music is a part of the fabric of everyday life" (Levitin 6). In addition, on the official website of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which belongs to the subjects of this work, we can read: "Music is the best-known and most acclaimed Brazilian cultural expression in the world," making it clear that music holds an important place in the Brazilian cultural diplomacy and, consequently, is a meaningful topic of research on the field. Furthermore, as a pertinent starting point, an article published in 2019 in the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*, based on a survey by DataFolha, indicated that Brazilians tend to listen to their own music (Brêda).

Before moving further in this dissertation, it is fundamental to explain the usage of the terms "nation image" and "nation branding." The first will be used here according to Michael Kunczik's suggestion as "the cognitive representation that a person holds of a given country, what a person believes to be true about a nation and its people" (Kunczik 47). Although being a simple definition, it has one paramount characteristic, given that it implies this image is the perception of a nation by others. To put it another way, a nation can shape its image only to some extent whereas part of it will still depend on external observers.

Moreover, "branding" is a word commonly related to marketing and, consequently, the conception of the "nation brand" proposed by Simon Anholt has been misleadingly associated with a manipulative interpretation of a "message" given through preparation and strategy carried out by the government or the media of a country. Simon Anholt finds it necessary to reiterate his original idea of the "nation brand" since "the reputations of countries (and, by extension, of cities and regions too) behave rather like the brand images of companies and products, and they are equally critical to the progress, prosperity, and good management of those places" (Anholt 1). Therefore it would not be wrong to use, in this dissertation, the terms "nation image" and "nation branding" as synonyms. Since the idea is to understand how Brazilian music influences the nation's "brand" or "image." Music should be understood here as art created by Brazilians with a worldwide repercussion.

The nation image and nation branding can be analyzed thanks to Joseph Nye, who facilitated the studies of international relations by giving a different perspective when he created the conception of soft power as a way through which "A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness want to follow it. In this sense, it is also important to set the agenda and attract others in world politics, and not only to force them to change by threatening military

force or economic sanctions. This 'soft power' – getting other countries to want the outcomes that a particular country wants – coopts people rather than coerces them" (Nye 5).

The concept of soft power led Simon Anholt to develop his studies on the field and create his "nation brand hexagon" with the element of "culture and heritage."¹ Music is to be found under this category, as a form of art, one of the various ways of expression of a social group and, in this manner, the music from a certain country can be part of its branding.

The nation image is directly related to Nye's concept of soft power and public diplomacy, the concept developed by the U.S. diplomat Edmund Gullion in the 1960s, which was at first an attempt to differ public diplomacy from propaganda (Center of Public Diplomacy), but with time the association or comparison of both took place² (Quainton 25-41). More importantly, instead of continuing the debate around a precise definition of public diplomacy, we will focus here on the fact that cultural diplomacy is one the elements within the general concept of public diplomacy.

In this work, the perception of cultural diplomacy is mainly sustained by the idea that "Cultural relations grow naturally and organically, without government intervention – the transactions of trade and tourism, student flows, communications, book circulation, migration, media access, inter-marriage – millions of daily cross-cultural encounters. If that is correct, cultural diplomacy can only be said to take place when formal diplomats, serving national governments, try to shape and channel this natural flow to advance national interests" (Lenczowski 74-99), as Richard T. Arndt defends that, although cultural relations have a natural course of their creation and development, it does not exclude the possibility of being influenced by governments and diplomats (Arndt xviii).

In this context, the place of music in cultural diplomacy has its importance, highlighted in the Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy from the U.S. Department of State titled "American popular culture, prominently film and music, is one of the most powerful forces at work in the world today" (U.S. Department of State). Although the report was elaborated in 2005, such approach can be exemplified with the Jazz Ambassadors, an idea that was created during the Cold War as a cultural response to the influence of the Soviet Union, proving that music is one of the several ways of spreading a nation's influence within the sphere of culture (Khatiasvili Jazz Ambassadors).

Additionally, it is important to mention that this work is based on the conclusion that international indexes do not provide sufficiently detailed understanding of the influence of Brazilian music within the country's image, hence there is necessity to use academic considerations in order to address more substantively the research questions presented.

For this reason, after analyzing the indexes, I will present an overview of the promotion of music produced by Brazilians worldwide during the twentieth century,

¹ The six elements are: tourism, people, culture & heritage, exports, governance and investment & immigration.

² Further information can be found in an article presenting the challenges of defining "public diplomacy," written by the American diplomat Anthony C.E. Quainton, "Public Diplomacy: Can It Be Defined?"

both in the field of art music and the area of popular music. Later on, there is an analysis comparing some studies in order to reach a conclusion whether the Brazilian government, represented by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had a creational input on spreading the Brazilian music abroad, or represented rather supportive position of what had already been created.

Finally, the dissertation tries to provide a compelling response to the investigated topic, taking into consideration the socio-cultural background of Brazil and showing in the analysis how the opposite sources of those two kinds of music are mutually responsible for the promotion of the Brazilian culture beyond its borders.

The Brazilian Image in International Indexes

After analyzing different indexes regarding nation branding, one can reach the conclusion that they do not provide a subdivision separating music of other forms of art under the category of “culture and heritage.” Such observation is crucial for answering the research questions of this work.

For instance, according to the Global Presence Index from 2019, from the Elcano Institute in Spain, the “soft presence” of the country had a total of 1.3% world presence contribution with an index value of 45.2 (Elcano Global Presence Index). The Global Soft Power Index 2020 places Brazil on the 29th position in its ranking of soft power presence with a score of 39.4% (Global Soft Power Index 2020). In both cases, no further information or details can be found. For this reason, the indexes do not provide a basis for proper answers to the considered questions.

Despite the lack of resources from the rankings, which could give even a general overview of Brazil’s image through music, at least within a rating index, it is possible to get some blurred information on the subject. Simon Anholt, when asked about the image of Brazil in 2011, answered: “Brazil is a country that has a very powerful and very distinctive image.” However, he also observes that “Everybody already knows Brazil as a party place, it’s not very helpful. It’s fine for a Third World Country, but Brazil is trying to become an important economic and political pillar of the whole world order, so it’s got the wrong image, it’s got this lightweight decorative touristic kind of image, and yet Brazil does not need that” (Abar and Anholt).

Moreover, Eduardo Chaves, the Managing Director of Brand Finance in Brazil, confirms Anholt’s statement by adding, one decade later, that “Brazilian artists hold their own on the international stage, from Tom Jobim’s MPB to Anitta’s 2021 New Year’s Eve show in Times Square” (Chaves 2022) in contrast with “various factors holding Brazil back, namely the chaotic way it dealt with the pandemic – from confusing statements by government officials, to problematic public health control activities – little investment in international promotion and communication actions, a lack of representation in global brand rankings, as well as the need for technological innovation and products with higher market value” (Chaves 2022).

The ambivalent perception of Brazil’s image has increased in recent years. On the one hand, the Brazilian culture still holds a strong position abroad (not only through music), but on the other hand, there is a degeneration of the country’s image, as a result of the growth of the Amazon rainforest and Pantanal wetland deforestation due to governmental negligence. In a globalized world and in a time when politicians

and societies include the care for environment in their agendas and discussions, the disregard of a global ecosystem harmfully influences public opinion worldwide.

Therefore, the relations between both cultural and non-cultural aspects of a society and its perception abroad are features which indexes fail to analyze.

Background – Brazil As a Country of Contrasts

Prior to reaching the case studies of Brazilian artists, it is important to briefly mention the question of Brazilian identity. This subject is of great importance and it has been reflected in various forms of art (literature, music, movies, etc.), or studied by scholars from several disciplines, like in the article “From Racial Mixture to Black Nation: Racializing Discourses in Brazil’s African Affairs,” written by André Cicalo, where he concludes that: “This article has dealt with how certain discourses of national identity in Brazil have traditionally emerged in its ‘African’ affairs. (...) I have discussed how links between national identity and self-representations of Brazil in Africa are being reshaped in times of black affirmative action” (Cicalo 16-30).

The process of finding the Brazilian identity was already visible during a period of the first realm right after gaining independence in 1822. José Luiz Fiorin points out that the romanticism in the literature started to shape the Brazilian identity through the book *O Guarani* by José de Alencar, creating a *luso-tupi* nation (Fiorin 115-126). Moreover, he comments that the construction of the Brazilian identity, although generally inclusive and welcoming, had to deal with the exclusion of Afro-Brazilians at the beginning of the twentieth century. Since the Afro-Brazilian community has its origin in slavery, the idea of the Brazilian-ethos being a mixture of “three races” accepted nowadays was not developed at that time, as it would not be convenient to have former African slaves in the national “mixture” (Fiorin 115-126).

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the avant-garde movement in Europe provided the necessary means for further creation of the Brazilian identity. The rupture of rules within the academic art helped Brazilian artists to pave the way for construction of the Brazilian culture in other fields. A milestone in this process is undoubtedly the Brazilian Modern Art Week, organised in 1922 in Brazil. It is the time when the idea of cultural cannibalism appears in the views of Oswald de Andrade, where the Brazilian culture “eats” the European culture, appropriating its artistic techniques and marking it with a Brazilian shape.

This work is based on the perspective of Andrade’s cultural cannibalism. The artists selected for this study added a Brazilian accent to the structure of a certain kind of music (art music, popular music and heavy metal) which came from abroad.

Despite the attempts to create a new Brazilian identity and culture, it is important to mention a paper written by Renata Cristina Ling Chan where she states that the cultural cannibalism proposed by Oswald de Andrade had a destructive effect on *Brazilian cultures* led by a São Paulo-oriented elite (Chan 36). National identity is a phenomenon subject to politics and interests of the dominant class which still holds the same prejudices and exclusive discourse as the elites from the beginning of the twentieth century (Chan 37-38). Nonetheless — as it will be possible to observe further in this work — it is incontestable that the cultural cannibalism of Oswald de Andrade had its importance in shaping the Brazilian cultural representation in arts.

The consequences of the Brazilian modernism can be seen for instance in music. Mario de Andrade, in his "Essay on Brazilian music," summarizes the art of the music in Brazil until the 1920s as follows: "Until not long ago, the Brazilian art music was divorced from our racial entity (...). They were Portuguese and Africans. They were not Brazilians" (Andrade 1). He also suggests how the Brazilian art music can be created: "The criterion of Brazilian music to present-time has to exist in accordance with present-time. (...) The historical criterion of the current Brazilian music is that of musical manifestation produced by a Brazilian or a nationalized individual, it reflects the musical characteristics of the races. Where are they? In popular music" (Andrade 1).

According to Arnaldo Daraya Contier, the Brazilian concert music had the background of the social and political elites from São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, heavily influenced by the French culture (Contier 107-111). Furthermore, he states that the Brazilian art music started to be molded in the early 1920s, when the ideas of Mario de Andrade and composers like Villa-Lobos included the conception of adding a Brazilian "popular" tone to the aesthetic tendencies of Europe – even if such ideas were against the perception of the conservative elites of those two cities, which represented an anti-popular approach to music (Contier 107-111).

Before proceeding to the next section, it is important to emphasize the antagonism between the Brazilian society and the creation of a Brazilian identity, which has been shaped by a predominant European elite class, influenced by African and Indigenous cultures, and this identity is still impacted by marginalized communities of the Brazilian society, in all fields of the arts.

The Brazilian identity evolved from ethnic dualism when a *white* European dominant elite was embracing, to some extent, *indigenous communities* and rejecting *Black people* in a country that started to accept all ethnicities as components of a national Brazilian identity. The following sections treat music as a part of cultural promotion of Brazil, taking into consideration the social implications listed above.

Tupi or Not Tupi, That Is the Question³ – the Brazilian Concert Music Abroad

The Brazilian element of modernism (highlighted by Arnaldo Contier and Mario de Andrade) is a starting point to understand how the Brazilian concert music influenced the country's image abroad.

Therefore, from the perspective of the elites from São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, an important milestone for the promotion of Brazil at the high culture level is the presence of Heitor Villa-Lobos in Paris.

Despite the first moment of the negative reception of Villa-Lobos' work in France, the Brazilian composer reached ultimately a point of acceptance, according to the anthropologist Paulo Renato Guérios,⁴ when "valorization of the exotic, so pregnant

³ The quote from Oswald de Andrade's "Cannibalistic Manifesto," that summarizes context of the expression of the Brazilian identity in arts.

⁴ The author refers to the misunderstanding that Villa-Lobo's compositions were based on the aesthetics of Debussy, whose works were considered by Cocteau to be outdated,

for a foreign artist coming from the faraway Americas, found an echo in all the artistic circles of the French capital" (Guérios 9).

The author draws our attention to the fact that a visit of Villa-Lobos was not the first contact between French artists and Brazil. He mentions *Le Boeuf sur le toit* ("The Ox on the Roof"), a samba heard by the French composer Darius Milhaud and accepted as the name of a popular cabaret-bar in Paris. This example shows that the adaptation of the Brazilian song by a French composer sounded more appealing and was better received by the French elites than Villa-Lobos' combination of the French avant-garde concert music with Brazilian components (Guérios 10-11). It is a case of Europeanizing the Brazilian song instead of adding a Brazilian element to European music.

Over time, Villa-Lobos' works developed and gained acceptance amongst French artists, and the criticism of the Brazilian "exotic" was transformed into the expression of the Brazilian identity in one of the cultural capitals of the twentieth century. An example of such transformation was Villa-Lobos cooperation with Max Eschig, the creator of the Max Eschig catalog. The Éditions Max Eschig is now the principal publisher of the Brazilian composer, and thanks to the "combination of characteristic features of its [Brazil's] popular music with the technical achievements of the European tradition" Villa-Lobos opened the way for other Latin-American composers to be part of the repertoire of the Éditions Max Eschig, which was primarily dedicated to Central European works (Durand Salabert Eschig).

From the perspective of international cultural relations it is worth quoting Paulo Guérios where he summarizes Villa-Lobos' life in the ville-lumière:

Villa-Lobos was, in sum, one more participant in this network of relations between France and Brazil. Innumerable practices such as these created, legitimated, and naturalized the attribution of a superior value to the aesthetics and definitions of French civilization. By accompanying Villa-Lobos's professional career, we can perceive how he and a series of producers of a self-styled "Brazilian culture" actually absorbed the definitions, opinions, and aesthetics of European artists, making themselves into Brazilians via the mirror they provided (Guérios 14).

A second key moment of Villa-Lobos' career occurred during the presidency of Getúlio Vargas when the composer had the opportunity to promote his country in the United States, the nation which after World War II became the superpower.

The context of the beginning of the Cold War with the Americas lying in the sphere of influence of the United States provided a favorable environment for the spread of Villa-Lobos works in this country. Despite his financial interest – he was ill and needed money for treatment – the contribution of his tours and contacts on the U.S. ground were essential for extending the promotion of his compositions within the new powerful nation (Júnior 477).

It is worth mentioning that Villa-Lobos also had to adapt his music to the U.S. audience. Nonetheless, this time the compositor was supported, from the very beginning, by the elites to promote his art. In addition, it was facilitated thanks to the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt and his approach to foreign policy

whereas the Brazilian compositor saw them as avant-garde. Paulo Renato Guérios. "Heitor Villa-Lobos and the Parisian art scene: how to become a Brazilian musician." *Mana*, 1 (2006), p. 9.

regarding the Americas, with the Good Neighbors Policy. As a result, the Brazilian Music Festival took place in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The event was organized by Nelson Rockefeller in 1940 who was acting as the Coordinator of Inter-Americans Commercial and Cultural Affairs (Júnior 475).

Loque Arcanjo Júnior in his paper “Um músico brasileiro em Nova York: o Pan-Americanismo na obra de Heitor Villa-Lobos (1939-1945)” concludes: “On one hand, his (Villa-Lobos) work has to be seen as an exercise to analyze the place of Brazil in international scenery of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the same exercise serves as a parameter to illustrate the images that a Brazilian draws around himself to the others for the construction of what we call ‘nation’” (Júnior 480).

At this moment, we can see that Villa-Lobos experiences, both in Paris with French artists and in the post-war United States, were a breakthrough in the acceptance of the Brazilian exoticism and national identity abroad.

Villa-Lobos not only contributed to the introduction of *brazilianness* to the French and U.S. cultural elites but also became part of the history of art music in general, considered as the most renowned Brazilian composer of the twentieth century. He was praised by international critics like the U.S. journalist Bernard Holland (Holland), the French critic Renaud Marchat (Dumesnil, Heitor Villa-Lobos), or Enrique Franco, who wrote in 1986 that Villa-Lobos was “one of the greatest figures of American music” (Franco, Zabaleta). Villa-Lobos’ art is also highly acknowledged by the Kennedy Center and Encyclopaedia Britannica.

***Bossa nova* –The Bohemian Music of the Beco das Garrafas⁵ that Conquered the World**

The projection of the Brazilian image abroad in the field of music started with European and U.S. elites influenced by Villa-Lobos, reached masses with Carmen Miranda, and finally achieved an unprecedented level of internationalization with the notes of bossa nova.

Before focusing on the bossa nova’s influence on the Brazilian image abroad, it is pertinent to mention Carmen Miranda, a key-person who also was responsible for the projection of the exoticism in the U.S. society, but instead of addressing to elites, was concentrated on masses.

Carmen Miranda was perceived by U.S. citizens as a cultural bridge between Washington and Brazil (de Macedo 268), even from a networking perspective. Ricardo Cravo Albin states: “The house of Carmen was a lively and glistening embassy, where almost every Brazilian going to Los Angeles used to go, specially composers, musicians and interpreters linked to the singer” (Albin 43).

The singer and actress born in Portugal, but raised in Brazil, brought to Broadway and Hollywood the tropical and exotic atmosphere. Although originally a samba singer, in her American cinematographic roles she would express the musical interpretation of what U.S. citizens would understand as a general Latin-American genre that comprised different kinds of music from several countries of Latin America, not

⁵ Alley of the Bottles in Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro, considered to be the cradle of bossa nova.

only Brazil (de Macedo 268). In this way, U.S. movie and music producers helped to reinforce the stereotype of Latin-Americans in the figure of Carmen Miranda, as it is seen by U.S. audiences, but regardless of the consolidation of stereotypes, one cannot ignore her participation in the elaboration of Brazil's image abroad. Otherwise, the *Dicionário Cravo Albin da Música Popular Brasileira* would not define her as the "Great Myth of the popular music in Brazil."

The figure of Carmen Miranda represents a dualism of the shame and pride (Veloso, Pop Music) of being Brazilian. On one hand, she became a "product" to satisfy the new U.S. culture of masses by showing a superficial stereotyped "Brazilian", often blended with other Latin-American cultures. On the other hand, she was responsible for bringing to the world some aspects of the Brazilian culture, but through the mass culture, differently than Heitor Villa-Lobos. The Brazilianness brought by the Portuguese-born actress reached a wider audience than only the elites of either the French or U.S. societies.

A few years after the death of Carmen Miranda, the song "Chega de saudade" (known in English as "No more blues"), a work of Vinicius de Moraes and Tom Jobim marked, in 1958, the beginning of bossa nova – one of the styles of the widely known Brazilian samba.

This subgenre of samba, was defined by the Cravo Albin Dictionary of Popular Brazilian as "a new way to play samba, the bossa nova was criticized for the heavy US influence, shaped in the dissonant chords common in jazz" (*Dicionário Cravo Albin*). Reinforcing the aforementioned capability of absorbing influences from foreign cultures and restructuring them to create a "Brazilian" version of such components is visible within the very essence of bossa nova.

During the Cold War, Brazil was under the influence of Washington, which made it particularly vulnerable to being affected by U.S. culture, just like other countries in the "Western World." As a consequence, the geopolitical situation of Brazil and the "cannibalistic" trait of its culture played a role in creating a Brazilian kind of samba with elements of American jazz.

Several important musicians can be listed as responsible for the development of bossa nova through their compositions, but only two artists will be mentioned in this work to exemplify the magnitude of Brazilian music in the world: Vinicius de Moraes and Tom Jobim. They contributed to the establishment and consolidation of bossa nova within the country as well as in the international context.

Vinicius de Moraes had all the means to successfully propagate the Brazilian image outside the country. He graduated in law in Brazil, studied the English language and literature at the University of Oxford, worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, and in 1946 acted as a deputy consul in Los Angeles. Having served, in the 1950s, the Brazilian foreign service in Rome, Paris, and Montevideo (*Dicionário Cravo Albin*).

The poet-diplomat's first post in Los Angeles allowed him to be immersed in the environment of cinematographic production. He had the opportunity to follow the recording of two movies produced by Orson Welles, to accompany the growing American jazz scene, and to be a frequent guest at Carmen Miranda's house in Beverly Hills, as her friend.

After the work for the consulate in Los Angeles, Vinicius returns to Rio de Janeiro due to the death of his father. He stayed in the capital until 1953 when he moved to

Paris and began to work at the Embassy of Brazil, when: "As deputy secretary at the Embassy in Paris, Vinicius displayed his Brazilian personality, meaning, that he was an influential person in the cultural environment of the French capital, keeping relations with the sophisticated flour of the local *intelligentia*" (Albin 48).

Later on, in the years between 1957 and 1967, the poet was more dedicated to popular music songwriting than to literature as before and often visited France, either as a member of the Brazilian delegation at UNESCO meetings or a member of the jury of the Cannes Film Festival (Albin 51-52).

During this period, an important mark of the beginning of bossa nova's success in the United States was achieved, according to many analysts – an event was held in 1962 at Carnegie Hall in New York. On the website of Carnegie Hall we can read that "[bossa nova's musicians] debut, in particular, has remained at the forefront of the cultural history of bossa nova and its rapid flowering into a pillar of Brazilian music and American jazz." This was a time when Vinicius de Moraes had already contacts both in the U.S. and France due to his diplomatic career.

To finalize Vinicius' notability for bossa nova, we have to consider the importance of the Brazilian sociocultural context for the artist-diplomat. As Prof. Roniere Menezes highlights that the diplomat embodies the culture and admiration for the hinterlands. He stated: "Vinicius de Moraes joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the moment that he is discovering Brazil and assuming his new 'Brazilianness;' his artistic production starts to become influenced by the social reality in the country and the popular knowledge" (Menezes 115).

Together with Vinicius de Moraes, the other bossa nova composer, Antônio Carlos Jobim, commonly known as Tom Jobim, had already a strong name in the Brazilian popular music scene thanks to his new way of creating samba.

After achieving success in Brazil, he gained popularity in the United States, due to the concert at Carnegie Hall in 1962. It was an evening that opened the doors to the U.S. audience not only for this genre of music but also for him. Over time, he had the opportunity to play with several jazz musicians and to cooperate with jazz producers, releasing in 1967 an album with the iconic artist of the U.S. musical scene, Frank Sinatra (Menezes 115).

We can observe that the Brazilian bossa nova was well-received by the U.S. society, as influential local musicians praised the genre and collaborated with Brazilian artists. Additionally, reviews from the local press further contributed to its positive reception, like an article in *The New York Times* from 1985: "Brazilian music owes its vitality and its influence to its remarkable blend of European and African styles, and no one has made a more catholic yet distinctive synthesis than Mr. Jobim" (Rockwell, "Music Noted in Brief"). Another example comes from *Los Angeles Times* article published in 2010, almost two decades after the death of Tom Jobim, his work was still praised: "His superb catalog of songs – many written with lyricist Vinicius de Moraes and now performed in genres far beyond bossa nova – is one of the most vital and active collections of the last 50 years" (Heckman, *Jobim's legacy*).

Bossa nova was not only widely and well-received in the United States, but also had reached European listeners. In an article "Bossa nova, une passion française" ("Bossa nova, a French passion"), Bruno Lesprit enumerates several moments in which French musicians showed their affection for this Brazilian type of music (Lesprit, *Bossa nova*).

To summarize, one can state that in the figures of Vinicius de Moraes and Tom Jobim, as well as in their bossa nova compositions, we can capture the spirit of the less sophisticated, popular backgrounds, either from Vinicius' trips around the "hinterlands" of Brazil or from the bohemian style of Tom Jobim.

In the historical context of the cultural connection between Brazil and France, as well as in the background of the appearance of the United States as a superpower, with their television and radio, enhanced by Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, the examples of Villa-Lobos, Carmen Miranda, Tom Jobim, and Vinicius de Moraes created the favorable circumstances for Brazilian musicians to reach different international audiences.

Brazilian Heavy Metal – The Tropical Underworld beyond Borders

It's worth noting that bossa nova emerged during the formative years of rock and roll. This early association played a role in shaping the development of heavy metal music in England a couple of decades later, culminating in the New Wave of British Heavy Metal during the 1970s and early 1980s.

The genre appeared on the Brazilian ground, influencing youngsters, and the first heavy metal bands were created. Two of those bands deserve special attention for reaching worldwide recognition within the heavy metal scene: Sepultura, from Belo Horizonte, and Angra, from São Paulo. In this case, the cultural cannibalism is enriching the Brazilian heavy metal scene with elements from the Brazilian folk and concert music.

Sepultura, the band created by the brothers Igor and Max Cavalera, released its first album *Morbid Visions* in 1986, and their success abroad led them to touring the whole world, from the United States, through Europe, Australia and Japan.

The specialist on cultural studies, Idelber Avelar, in his article "Heavy Metal Music in Post-dictatorial Brazil: Sepultura and the Coding of Nationality in Sound" provides a social and cultural understanding of the genre and points out that the Brazilian heavy metal was also met with criticism in its early stages: "Brazilian metal not only had to face the usual aesthetic and moral reprimands flung against it in the North, but also a political accusation that as a form of protest it was not socially aware enough" (Avelar 329-346). He sees Sepultura as the band which managed to change the criticism against this kind of music within the country, since it is "largely responsible for the genre's victory in that national cultural battle, one that they could only win by rephrasing it as an international debate" (Avelar 333).

Moreover, the author directs the attention towards the international component of the band: "Sepultura was somewhere else, putting forth *Arise* (1991) and *Chaos AD* (1993), a record that framed a radical, internationalist social critique within rhythms unmistakably Brazilian. When they reached worldwide success and became an international band, the defenders of national purity did not have much time to condemn them, as Sepultura effected a political and musical rediscovery of Brazil in the cross-genre experiments of *Roots* (1996)" (Avelar 337). He goes further by stating: "They had become the most widely, globally known Brazilian musicians ever, overcoming a certain Antônio Carlos Jobim (...)." The rhythms "unmistakably Brazilian"

mentioned by Adelar are sustained, for example, with songs like “Kaiowas” and “Itsári” which explore indigenous sounds.

Besides Sepultura’s accomplishments outside Brazil within the heavy metal scene, one should mention about the contribution of Angra to the image of Brazilians abroad. This band followed the example given by Sepultura, even though they might not be as symbolic as their colleagues from Belo Horizonte (Silva, *Incômodos-perdedores* 142).

The Brazilian element in Angra’s works can be heard, for instance, on *Holy Land* released in 1956, a concept album that explores the subject of Brazil during the Age of Discoveries. The band was also focused on adding a “high culture” tone to its music. The album *Holy Land* starts with the track “Crossing” which is Giovanni Palestrina mass O Crux Ave, and several songs from the first album *Angels Cry* comprise parts of classical music, including the title-track with a fragment of Paganini’s Caprice No. 24.

Given that these two bands incorporated Brazilian sounds and themes into their music, which resonated with international heavy metal fans and earned them recognition, it’s fitting to consider them as cultural ambassadors of Brazil within the heavy metal genre.

Having exemplified Brazilian musicians who contributed to the promotion of the country abroad, it is worth considering whether the government supported this process, and to which extent.

Was the Itamaraty on the Backstage?

This section will compare the development of cultural diplomacy (following the order of the cases presented in this work) with the information provided by the French researchers Juliette Dumont and Anaís Fléchet in their article about the cultural diplomacy conducted by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs throughout the twentieth century.

Firstly, the article by Dumont and Fléchet states that until the end of the First Republic in 1930 “there was no systemic policy for disseminating Brazilian culture abroad, rather only sparse initiatives without much relationship with each other” (Dumont and Fléchet 3). This period includes Villa-Lobos’ first trip to Paris and part of Carmen Miranda’s career.

According to Loque Arcanjo Júnior, Villa-Lobos had to organize his own concerts, with support of Brazilian patrons (Júnior 473). Analía Chernavsky mentions that the composer was granted financial aid which allowed him to make his first trip to the French capital (Chernavsky 136). Since sources do not provide information about the share of financial support rendered either by “Brazilian patrons” or by the Brazilian government, and taking into consideration the context explained by Dumont and Fléchet, it is difficult to conclude that Villa-Lobos’ first stay in Paris was part of a cultural diplomacy program conducted by the Itamaraty.

Nonetheless, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently launched a project called “Brasil em concerto” to promote the Brazilian concert music abroad, by recording and spreading major compositions of Brazilians to an international audience. The first phase of the project involves the participation of the three important

orchestra groups of Brazil: São Paulo State Symphony Orchestra, Minas Gerais Philharmonic Orchestra, and Goiás Philharmonic Orchestra (*Brasil em Concerto*).

The idea has been embraced by Naxos Records, which is responsible for the international commercialization of the recordings and which developed a five-year project called “The Music of Brazil” (Naxos Records). The first album, released in 2018, was dedicated to Alberto Nepomuceno (1864-1920), who – as claims Klaus Heymann, a founding chairman of Naxos Records – “was one of the first Brazilian composers to employ elements of folklore in his compositions; he encouraged younger composers such as Villa-Lobos; and his music was conducted by no less a figure than Richard Strauss” (Naxos Records).

Pragmatism and discrepancy between the internal and external spheres of the Brazilian culture developed by the Brazilian cultural diplomacy during the interbellum period (Dumont and Fléchet 7) correspond to characteristics that lead to the dualism pointed out by Kárittha Bernardo de Macedo with regard to the Brazilian artist, Portuguese-born Carmen Miranda.

Later on, Dumont and Fléchet conclusively explain how the Itamaraty dealt with the bossa nova phenomenon: “In the majority of cases observed, Itamaraty’s cultural action was not born from the desire to disseminate Brazilian artistic productions still unknown in the world. On the contrary, it was the popularity already acquired by Brazilian cultural productions abroad – especially in the domains of cinema and music – which gave rise to the introduction of specific policies, whose objective was to defend the economic and strategic interests of the country” (Dumont and Fléchet 12).

Taking into account the context of the Good Neighborhood policy as well, it is clear that Brazil tried to profit from the scenario created by the United States. It seized the opportunity and started shaping an image of Brazil abroad.

Unfortunately, the article written by the French researchers does not reach the 1990s, and thus a way to reach the cultural diplomacy’s relations to the Brazilian heavy metal scene would be an interview of Andreas Kissler (Sepultura’s guitarist), where he says: “Brazil never cared about us (...). There was never any help whatsoever, from the Ministry of Culture or from anyone” (Preto). The musician criticized that the only promotion of the Brazilian culture concerned the images of *mulata*, capoeira and samba, which – according to the guitarist – can be regarded as part of the Brazilian culture, but not all of it. In his opinion, Heitor Villa-Lobos is more appreciated abroad than within the country. Confirming that, at least so far, the Itamaraty has not directed its attention to the achievements of the Brazilian heavy metal bands abroad. A possible reason can result here from the fact that Sepultura and Angra write their lyrics in English, not in Portuguese, proving the complexity of the case, since their success abroad depends partly on the language of their compositions.

A statement by Dumont and Fléchet that “After the 1960s and 1970s pragmatic interest and the desire to better serve the economic aspirations of the country ensured a certain continuity in Brazilian cultural diplomacy, keeping it more open to popular forms. Throughout this period, the recipients of Itamaraty’s cultural policy were transformed at the same time as their content. Previously aimed at European and American countries, at the beginning of the 1960s Brazilian cultural diplomacy opened up to the African continent” (Dumont and Fléchet 13). This description leads us to the conclusion of this paper and to consideration that the cultural

diplomacy conducted by Brazilian diplomats undergoes a constant development in accordance to changes in the perception of Brazilians of their own nation in this fluid evolution of self-identity.

Conclusion – How Does “Brazil” Sound *na gringa*?

Brazil is a nation which consists of a heterogeneous population, having the myth of the three races: Indigenous, European and African. On this basis, the search for the Brazilian identity has been an ongoing internal issue since gaining the independence from the Kingdom of Portugal.

Nonetheless, it seems that the Brazilian Modern Art Week, exactly one century after gaining the independence, was a breakthrough not only in the field of arts, but also to some extent within the self-perception of Brazilians, and their attitude regarding the issue of how they would like to be pictured abroad. Oswald de Andrade’s conception of the cultural cannibalism has been widely absorbed by several artistic movements ever since.

Rio de Janeiro was – and still is – one of the main sources of musicality and international promotion. The former capital offered such an environment in which Heitor Villa-Lobos, Carmen Miranda and bossa nova supporters not only developed their arts, but also projected themselves internationally.

It begins with Villa-Lobos, since he was the first to add to his music, on an international scale, sounds that represented his native-country. The art of Villa-Lobos was addressed to devotees of concert music of a high-end society, but still, undoubtedly, it laid foundation for the representation of Brazilianness in France.

Simultaneously, although having an artistic career based on a stereotype, Carmen Miranda played a main role in bringing the Brazilian popular music to other spheres of the society.

Later on, the bossa nova, born in the district of Copacabana, made Brazil a recognizable brand within music worldwide in a marriage with the American jazz.

Finally, the choices of two heavy metal bands in the 1980s and 1990s showed that Andrade’s cannibalism remained stable despite the scenery of a more globalized world. As a genre that it is common to several European, Asiatic, South and North American countries, the two bands still produce songs with national Brazilian elements.

Furthermore, one cannot forget the position of the Itamaraty in promoting the Brazilian culture through music. Although the Ministry would not be responsible for commencing the musical success of Brazilian artists abroad, it did include, to some extent, music in its agenda of the cultural diplomacy.

Having said the above, in order to answer the research questions, we can conclude that one cannot speak of the Brazil’s image abroad without taking into consideration its people’s self-identity. In the course of the twentieth century, the Brazilian “self” turned out to be fluid and started embracing all the ethnicities which constitute this nation, as well as its diversity in the field of arts.

Moreover, on the basis of the data and information presented in this work, it is possible to state that even with some lack of music in the construction of the Brazilian image (even as part of the culture and heritage), this kind of art is definitely

a postcard for foreigners worldwide. It comes, however, with the ambivalent feeling of nourishing a stereotype of wildness and exoticism (backed, for example, by the success of Carmen Miranda), and at the same time with the pride of being recognizable in the whole world. Brazil profits from the image of “joyfulness” and “party” (Anholtand Abar), as it is pointed out by Anholt, and yet tries to break through with the development of its industries, businesses, science and research.

Therefore, we can finally conclude that there is an ongoing conflict between accepting, to a certain extent, the cultural stereotypes of the country and attempting to show the world that this country has other qualities to offer than samba, soccer and carnival.

The image of Brazil abroad might be an additional component of Oswald de Andrade’s cannibalistic idea, as the perception of the country outside reflects on the perception of the Brazilians of themselves.

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