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A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE BACHIANAS BRASILEIRAS Nº2 FOR PIANO AND CELLO BY HEITOR VILLA-LOBOS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Musical Arts

in

the School of Music

by
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ABSTRACT

The Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) is one of the most prominent names in Twentieth century music. His compositional scope encompasses languages that often combine national elements of Brazilian music with traditions of European music. Villa-Lobos’s *Bachianas Brasileiras* is one of the most representative works that reflect the dialogue of those distinct worlds. With this series of distinct pieces, Villa-Lobos aimed to achieve musical universality through incorporating elements of Bach’s music with that of his own, which was already permeated by Brazilian popular traditions.

This research focuses on the four movements of the “reduced” version of the *Bachianas Brasileiras no.2*, of which three are for cello and piano, and one is for solo piano. Along with many other works by Villa-Lobos, this version of *Bachianas no.2* merits editing as many performers still play these works using copies of manuscripts that are not so easily available. The editorial work conducted in this paper is a critical approach and includes: historical research where the chronological question of these movements was thoroughly examined; a description of the processes of locating, collecting, inspecting and describing the primary sources (autographs and apographs); and the processes of establishing and presenting the musical text.

This research intends to show that the movements of the *Bachianas no.2* for cello and piano and that for solo piano do not fail to fully communicate all the musical ideas explored by Villa-Lobos in the orchestral version. Moreover, the main objective of this paper is to bring out obscure aspects of these “reduced” movements, while facilitating the access to the scores and contributing to their propagation among performer
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The name of Heitor Villa-Lobos nowadays has the weight of the most significant figure in Twentieth-century Brazilian music. His importance as a composer is not only evident by his extremely large output\(^1\), but also by his unique compositional style, often combining contemporary techniques from Europe with “reinterpreted elements of national music.”\(^2\) Such a large output, however, contains a considerable number of pieces which have never been published or edited, and if at all performed, were solely based on the autograph or apograph manuscripts held primarily by the Villa-Lobos Museum and by the National Library, both in the city of Rio de Janeiro, or scattered in smaller collections both in Brazil and elsewhere. In similar conditions are found some movements of the “reduced” version of the *Bachianas Brasileiras no.2*. While the chamber orchestral version of this work is widely known (indeed, one of Villa-Lobos’s most famous compositions), today’s musicians are becoming increasingly aware of the existence of these movements for cello and piano (I, II and IV) and of that for solo piano (III). However, to this date, no critical study has been carried out involving historical, chronological and performance aspects of these reduced movements. In broad view, the present paper aims to accomplish such a task.

The first and primary parameter of this study is editorial, and from that all the other parameters were traced. In other words, as remarked by James Grier, editorial decisions require an engagement in a


critical transaction that involves the careful consideration of the evidence bearing on the problem. Understanding of the musical idioms that make up a piece, knowledge of the historical conditions under which it was composed or the social and economic factors that influenced its performance, coupled with an aesthetic sensitivity for the composer’s or repertoire’s style, can all contribute to a heightened critical awareness.³

Therefore, the present paper is the result of a methodological work that includes: a historical-biographical contextualization; a historical and stylistic discussion about the series Bachianas Brasileiras; a literature review and a chronological investigation of the movements of Bachianas Brasileiras No.2 for cello and piano and piano solo; the location, inspection, description and transcription of the sources; the establishment of the text and its presentation (edition). All these steps were laid out in an attempt to answer the following questions asked by Grier:

1) What is the nature and the historical situation of the sources of a work?
2) How do they relate to one another?
3) From the evidence of the sources, what conclusions can be reached about the nature and the historical situation of the work?
4) How does this evidence and these conclusions shape the editorial decisions made during the establishment of the edited text?
5) What is the most effective way of presenting the edited text?⁴

Chapters 2 to 4 of this paper answer questions (1) to (3), and Chapters 5 and 6 address questions (4) and (5). Chapter 2 is comprised of a historical background of Brazil from 1822 to 1945 in addition to a biography of Villa-Lobos. Although there are over 40 biographies of the composer, written in many different languages, very few of them approach Villa-Lobos’s life critically, which over the years resulted in a perpetuation of a “myth” around his name. This myth started with Villa-Lobos’s first biographer, Vasco Mariz, who was Villa-Lobos’s personal friend

⁴ Ibid.
and whose work published in 1947\(^5\) was the most influential to subsequent productions. Years later, Mariz recognized that he was heavily influenced by the composer’s strong personality, and reconsidering his accounts, he wrote twelve editions of his biographical research, the last of which, from 2005, is used in the present paper as one of the main biographical references.\(^6\) While Gerard Béhague\(^7\) in 1994 attempted a more critical approach of Villa-Lobos’s life, it was the anthropologist Paulo R. Guérios who in 2003 effectively accomplished that task, using several different sources to question the controversial stories around the composer’s life and work. His research,\(^8\) now in its second edition (2009), became one of the main references for recent works about Villa-Lobos’s life and works. Manuel Negwer published his research in 2008 in Germany, and then in 2009 in Brazil.\(^9\) His work stands as the most recent biography of the Brazilian composer. Other important works consulted include those by Luís P. Horta,\(^10\) and Lisa Peppercorn.\(^11\) Lastly, translations of all the quotes are by this researcher unless otherwise noted.

Chapter 3 presents a historical and stylistic view of the whole series of the *Bachianas Brasileiras*, drawing relationships between Villa-Lobos and the international musical scene of 1920s and 1930s. Chapter 3 also examines manifestations of the music of Brazilian popular culture, as well as that of J. S. Bach in the *Bachianas Brasileiras*. A second section of this chapter

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is dedicated to the *Bachianas no.2*. One of the main sources used is the historiological study by Loque Arcanjo Jr. from 2007, in which the author contrasts the aspect of “predestination,” used by Villa-Lobos to justify his compositions in honor of Bach, with solid relations found in the works of the Brazilian Maestro with the neoclassical tendencies in force at the time. Arcanjo also discusses the steps on which the name of Bach became a reference for universal music, and deals with the ways Villa-Lobos appropriated Bach’s music to achieve his goals as educator and at the same time “universalize” his own music. Moreover, the research by Adhemar Nóbrega provides stylistic parallels between Bachian and Brazilian popular repertoires, and suggests ways in which Villa-Lobos incorporated these two distant musical languages to its own. Other stylistic studies considered were the ones by Béhague, and by Eero Tarasti. Among other studies referenced are the ones by Adailton Pupia, Regina Felice, and Norton Dudeque, all of which investigate influencing elements in the *Bachianas Brasileiras*.

Chapter 4 presents a preliminary study to the inspection of the manuscripts. It is divided into two parts. The first part addresses controversial cases where Villa-Lobos reused musical material from previous pieces, “plagiarizing himself”, or where the composer arbitrarily altered

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14 Béhague, *Musical Soul*.
dates of his compositions, claiming that he did so because the date should relate to their “spiritual conception,” and not to when they were actually written.\(^{19}\) This section aims to show that often Villa-Lobos was inaccurate in his writings, especially when it comes to cataloging and dating his compositions. This should be considered while interpreting the text of the manuscripts, especially in trying to determine the chronology of the piece. This section is primarily based on studies made by Peppercorn published in 1972\(^{20}\) and 1991,\(^ {21}\) as well as in accounts by Negwer\(^ {22}\) and Tarasti.\(^ {23}\) A second section of this chapter reviews the literature about the “reduced” version of the *Bachianas no.2*, contrasting information of the official Villa-Lobos catalogue\(^ {24}\) with that provided by scholars, including Peppercorn, Hugo Pilger,\(^ {25}\) Nataniel Bádue Filho,\(^ {26}\) and Antonio Chechim Filho.\(^ {27}\)

Chapter 5 results from the collection, inspection and description of the manuscripts. These documents are held by the Villa-Lobos Museum, located in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In total, there are 12 manuscripts containing musical material of the *Bachianas no.2*, of which 8 are autographs and 4 are apographs. The descriptions of them were followed by a section with commentaries where questions relevant to the editorial work are approached. Among them are

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\(^{19}\) Arcanjo Jr., “Ritmo,” 37.


\(^{22}\) Negwer, *Florescimento*.

\(^{23}\) Tarasti, *Life and Works*.


stemmatic filiation, errors, differences between sources, and historical context. It is extremely important to note that all the contact with these sources was done through digital scanners, that is, there was never any direct contact with the original documents. It is recognized that this fact leads to limitations in the inspection. Scans may not reproduce all the details of the original document and often elements such as lighting, contrast, intensity of color and definition prevented a more accurate inspection. Nevertheless, the last part of the chapter is dedicated to a discussion about the different spellings of the word “Bachianas” and the specific situations in which Villa-Lobos used them.

Chapter 6 is a report of the editorial work. Its first section includes the process of establishing the sources, with comments about the authority of each manuscript, which serve as justification for the choice of those that served as main sources for the creation of the edition. The second section of the chapter is dedicated to the pianistic aspects of the manuscript that contains the Dansa (Lembrança do Sertão). Each of the passages were approached that present non-idiomatic material, as well as those that demand an advanced technique to be played. To each one of those passages was suggested a “solution” or an alternative one. The objective of this part is to find ways of making this movement more pianistic, prioritizing the conservation of its musical ideas and the practicality of its performance. The last section of Chapter 6 is a history of the present edition, including all the changes made by the editor, as well as notes or marks that are different in separate sources. Finally, Chapter 7 is a conclusion. Appendix A features the result of the present editorial work, including in full the four movements and the cello parts. Appendix B includes facsimiles of all the manuscripts used in this research.
CHAPTER 2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Brazilian Empire (1822-1889)

On 7 September 1822 the Prince Dom Pedro proclaimed the independence of Brazil from Portugal. Five days later, he became emperor Dom Pedro I. The beginning of his reign was marked by several battles around the country. From 1822 to 1823 the conflicts took place in provinces such as Bahia, Maranhão, Piauí and Grão-Pará, and in the south, near the city of Montevideo. In 1824, a civil war broke out in the northern provinces of Pernambuco and Ceará. Even after the Portuguese troops left Brazilian territory in 1825, Portugal was constantly threatening to invade Brazil. The Cisplatina War, a conflict between Brazil and Argentina that lasted from 1825 until 1828, resulted in the independence of Uruguay\(^\text{28}\).

These conflicts were violently reflected in the Brazilian social sphere, with the increasing rivalry between “true” Brazilians and the Portuguese who resided in Brazil, many of whom occupied important administrative positions either in politics or in the army. Dom Pedro I, being Portuguese himself, couldn’t stand the pressure of the numerous protests and the opposition of many different sectors of Brazilian society, and, in 1831, abdicated his throne. His son, Dom Pedro II, was proclaimed emperor of Brazil on April 7\(^\text{th}\) 1831, while he was still seven years old.

For obvious reasons, Dom Pedro II was only able to assume the throne as emperor after coming of age in 1841. Between 1831 and 1840, Brazil had various regents, who governed during a difficult period of anarchy and civil war. Conflicts took place in the of Province Maranhão (Balaiada, 1838-41), Grão-Pará (Cabanagem, 1835-40), Bahia (Malê Revolt, 1835 and Sabinada, 28 Since 1811 this region suffered several interventions from Portugal. With the Independence of Brazil in 1822, the area of Uruguay was attached to Brazil and became a province named Cisplatina. Fábio Ferreira, “A Presença Luso-Brasileira Na Região Do Rio Da Prata: 1808-1822,” Revista Tema Livre III (October 2002), http://revistatemalivre.com/prata.
1837-8), Pernambuco and Alagoas (Cabanada, 1832-35), southern Brazil (Ragamuffin War, 1835-45), among others. After becoming emperor, Dom Pedro II was able to improve the situation in Brazilian. His regime introduced significant social and economic reforms and improvements that ushered in a period of development. His interest in culture and education led to the creation of over 6,600 public primary schools until 1886. The Emperor also helped to expand the coffee market, which helped to modernize and industrialize the country in the second half of 19th century.

Furthermore, Dom Pedro II played crucial role in ending slavery in Brazil. In 1850, the emperor issued the Law Eusébio de Queiróz which forbade the traffic of slaves. In 1871 came the Law of “Free Womb” which granted freedom to every son or daughter of a slave who was born after that date. When the reduced number of slaves created a labor shortage, Dom Pedro solved the problem by inviting immigrants to come work in Brazil. From 1875 on the flow of immigrants greatly increased. In 1885 came the Sexagenary Law, which freed slaves that were over 65 years old. Finally, in 1888, the emperor’s daughter Princess Isabel signed the “Golden” Law which made slavery totally illegal in Brazil. The emperor was also responsible for the construction of about 6,000 miles of railroad, all of which was built by immigrants, and for about 12,000 miles of telegraph lines. In 1889, the Brazilian empire came to an end when it was deposed by the Republican Party (founded in 1870), and the Republic was proclaimed. Dom Pedro was exiled to Paris, where he died in 1891.

29 Tarasti, Life and Works, 37.
30 Ibid. According to Tarasti: “Whereas there were 15,000 European immigrants in Brazil in 1840, in the years 1874 to 1888, 600,000 more arrived. Italians in particular moved to São Paulo and made the city into a famous center of coffee production.”
31 The adoption of anti-slavery policies gradually turned coffee planters and farmers against the Emperor. Their position of disapproval towards the Empire was of extreme significance and directly affected the activities that led to its end in 1891.
First Brazilian Republic (1889-1930)

The rise of the Republic brought new changes. The first Republic lasted from 1889 until 1930, and the first man to assume the presidency was the Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca. The new regime was received with distrust by the leading European countries, and consequently, Marshal Deodoro established a Republican Constitution in February 1891. Deodoro renounced his position in November of the same year, after a conflict with the Brazilian Congress that resulted in its dissolution. Deodoro’s successor, Marshal Floriano Peixoto, led the nation through difficult times marked by revolutions such as the Revolução Federalista (1893-5, Rio Grande do Sul) and the Second Revolt of the Armada32 (1893-4, Rio de Janeiro). Peixoto’s political views, although well received by the middle class, severely clashed with those of the dominant class, so called oligarchies33.

Peixoto’s rule came to an end after Prudente de Morais was elected president in 1894, and after him, the Brazilian presidency was held alternately by men from the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. This alternation between men from these two southeastern states gave this period the name of Política do Café com Leite34. During this period, the southeast of Brazil became very prosperous, receiving large investments from the government, especially in the agricultural and livestock sectors. The Old Republic also experienced high rates of immigration, especially from

32 Armada is how the Brazilian Navy was called during the period of the Monarchy.
33 Oligarchies were small dominant groups and families predominantly associated with the production of coffee, which was the most important exportation product during the Old Republic of Brazil. The oligarchies’ deep influence towards politics allowed them to manipulate political events in order to preserve their own position of power. See Boris Fausto, História Do Brasil, Didática 1 (São Paulo, SP, Brasil: Edusp: Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Educação, 1994), 261–65.
34 Roughly translated as “Politics of the Coffee with Milk” due to the dominance of the coffee industry in São Paulo and of the dairy industry in Minas Gerais.
1887-1914. This era was marked by many conflicts and revolts such as War of Canudos (1896-7, Bahia), Revolt of the Vaccine (1904, Rio de Janeiro), and the Revolt of the Lash (Rio de Janeiro, 1910), among others. The Política do Café com Leite would only end with the Revolution of 1930, promoted by the Liberal Alliance led by Getúlio Vargas, who consequently deposed President Júlio Prestes and took office in October of that year.

**Vargas and the Estado Novo (1930-1945)**

The government instituted by Vargas in 1930 was different from the oligarchic one that preceded it. Firstly, it was more centralized and independent from the influence of the dominant classes. Secondly, its economy was focused in promoting the industrialization as well as in centralizing the coffee industry. Thirdly, it was socially more engaged with the working class, granting them more rights and later promoting alliances among them. Lastly, it gave the Army a central role in supporting the creation of base industries and in the maintenance of national security. In short, the new centralized government, supported by the Army, the industrial bourgeoisie and the working class, took many steps to promote National Capitalism in Brazil.

Vargas also gave great attention to education. Many measures were implemented in order to organize education at all levels, as for example the officialization of universities (Rio de Janeiro Federal University, University of São Paulo among others), a law from 1934 which made the

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35 Fausto, História, 275. According to Fausto, between 1887 and 1930, 3.8 million immigrants went to Brasil. During the years of 1887-1914 about 2.74 million, a number that corresponds to 72% of the total. This flow was only reduced during the First World War. The immigrants would come predominantly from Portugal, Italy, Spain, Germany and Japan.

36 The Liberal Alliance (Aliança Liberal) was composed by political parties from all the states and reflected the aspirations of the dominant classes that were not associated with the coffee industry. It was created in 1929 to be an opposition to the Política do Café com Leite, launching Getúlio Vargas as a president candidate. Alzira Alves de Abreu, “Aliança Liberal,” Dicionário Histórico-Biográfico Brasileiro (2010) http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-tematico/alianca-liberal (Accessed October 5, 2018).

37 Fausto, Historia, 327-8.
education part of the rights of all citizens, and the creation of a national program of musicalization, designed and promoted by Villa-Lobos.38

In the early 1930s, some influential groups opposed to Vargas’s government started to make alliances with the communists. Consequently, the Aliança Nacional Libertadora (Liberating National Alliance) was created in March 1935 and unsuccessfully attempted a communist coup in November the same year. The following years were marked by political instability and persecution, which were used as justification for another coup in 1937, but this time successfully promoted by Vargas himself. It was the beginning of the Estado Novo (New State), generally represented by alliances between civil and military institutions and the industrial bourgeoisie, all of which envisioned the industrialization of the country achieved by means of government intervention.39 The Estado Novo is characterized as being nationalist, authoritarian, corporatist and developmentalist. During its years (1937 to 1945) many important industries were created, such as the National Steelworks Company (1941), Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (1942) and the National Motor Factory (1942). Laws that protected the workers (Leis Trabalhistas) were implemented in 1943.

The opposition to Vargas’s authoritarian government grew stronger as Brazil became more actively engaged with other countries, especially with United States. The media would evade censorship and find ways to criticize the government. The Army, which participated in the fight against European fascism during the Second World War, also favored the establishment of a democracy. In 1945, the opposition pressured Vargas to hold general elections, which led to the creation of many different political parties. Hoping for a stronger popular support, Vargas adopted

38 Ibid., 393-4. From 1920 to 1940, the percentage of illiterates declined from 69.9% to 56.2% (considering people with 15 years old or more).
39 Ibid., 367.
populist political positions. Fearing that the popular voice would become strong enough to keep Vargas in his post, in the same year the military acted and forced Vargas to resign. The Army also provided a transition period until the election, after which Eurico Gaspar Dutra became president. It was the end of the Estado Novo. Vargas became president again in 1951, after being democratically elected. His second tenure, however, was heavily criticized and ended after Vargas committed suicide in 1954.

Biography of Villa-Lobos

Early Years

Heitor Villa-Lobos was born on 5 March 188740 in Rio de Janeiro, only two years before the Republic was proclaimed. Son of Raúl Villa-Lobos (1862-1899) and Noêmia Umbelina Santos Monteiro Villa-Lobos (1859-1946), Heitor was the second of eight children, only four of which survived. His father – son of Spanish immigrants – worked as a teacher before he became a librarian, and was also a writer (author and translator)41, a portrait painter, and an amateur musician who played the cello and the clarinet. Thus, Villa-Lobos spent his childhood in a very cultured and intellectual middle-class home. When he perceived musical talent and curiosity for literature and

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40 Villa-Lobos’s birth year remained uncertain for many years and it ranged from 1881 to 1891 (the composer himself did not know the year and exact location of his birth). It was only in 1949 that the historian and musicologist Vasco Mariz - also one of the first biographers of the composer – documented the actual date of March 5 1887 using information he retrieved from a baptism certificate of one of Villa-Lobos’s sisters, Carmem. Vasco Mariz, Heitor Villa-Lobos, o Homem e a Obra, (Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Academia Brasileira de Música: Francisco Alves, 2005), 29–32.

41 Raúl Villa-Lobos wrote many books in the field of geography and history and translated from English history and botanic books, some of which he published under the pseudonym “Epaminondas Villalba.” Examples are Lições de História Universal (1889), Noções de Astronomia (1890), Compendio Elementar de Chorographia do Brazil (1890), Guia do Viajante do Rio de Janeiro (unpublished) and Dicionario Geographico Postal do Brasil (unpublished). Tarasti, Life and Works, 35; Negwer, Florescimiento, 16.
geography in the young Heitor, Raúl dedicated himself to the education of his son⁴². In an interview from 1957, Heitor Villa-Lobos accounts: “With him, I always attended rehearsals, concerts and operas…I also learned how to play the clarinet, and I was required to identify the genre, style, character and origin of compositions, in addition to recognizing quickly the name of a note, of sounds or noises…Watch out, when I didn’t get it right.”⁴³ Besides the clarinet, Raul also taught the six year-old Heitor the cello, an instrument that came to be the composer’s favorite, along with the guitar, which he learned how to play later, without the knowledge of his father. ⁴⁴

Villa-Lobos participated in various informal musical gatherings that would happen during evenings in his home. Many of his father’s friends were amateur musicians and music lovers. About this, C. Paula Barros⁴⁵ writes: “The home of Raul Villa-Lobos was always a modest environment, but at the same time a divine paradise. Professor Villa-Lobos received in his home great artists and scientists, who would play and enjoy the listening of works by the best composers.”⁴⁶ Thus, Heitor become familiar with the discipline of chamber music. The music played at the Villa-Lobos residence may have “consisted of arrangements of great operas of the

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⁴³ Béhague, Musical Soul, 3.
⁴⁴ In the end of 19th century the guitar was yet considered an instrument of the low culture, directly associated to bohemia and vulgarity. Carlos Fernando Elias Llanos, “Violão e Identidade Nacional: A ‘Moral’ do Instrumento,” Revista da Tulha II/2 (December 2016): 231.
period," or of pieces by Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Schumann. Around this time, in 1895, the aunt Leopoldina Villa-Lobos do Amaral (“Zizinha”) would show Heitor excerpts of the Well-Tempered Clavier, which he heard with fascination. This way, the little Villa-Lobos also became familiar with the music of J. S. Bach, whom he came to admire and use as inspiration throughout his life. This episode with Zizinha and its implications in the Bachianas Brasileiras will be discussed later in this study.

**Brazilian Musical Genres in Late 19th Century and Early 20th Century**

During Villa-Lobos’s early years, the city of Rio de Janeiro was not only the capital of Brazil, but also a big center for social and aristocratic life. It was a period of radical change – the end of slavery in 1888 and the proclamation of the Republic in 1889 – as well as of rapid population growth, with a significant rise in the percentage of foreigners. Efforts were made to improve and modernize the city, and significant attention was directed to the performing arts. In 1909, the construction of the Theatro Municipal, begun under the Government of Dom Pedro II, was concluded, and, in 1912, the Sociedade de Concertos Sinfônicos (Symphonic Concerts Society) was founded. It was also in the city of Rio that many important genres of Brazilian popular music developed. Some of these genres are the lundu, the modinha, the choro, the maxixe, the tango brasileiro, and the samba.

The lundu was originally a dance, accompanied by percussion instruments, practiced by slaves brought to Brazil during the colonial period (16th to 19th centuries). This dance was directly

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49 Popular music genres were absent from Brazilian history until the second half of 19th Century (around 1870). Before this time, each ethnic group would keep their own characteristics which were only later assimilated by the popular culture. José Maria Neves, *Villa-Lobos, o Choro e os Choros* (São Paulo: Musicália S/A, 1977): 17.
influenced by the Bantu tribes from West Africa, and was characterized by sensual and sometimes lascivious movements (dragging of the feet and hip movements), where the couples stood apart in a round. It became popular in Portugal as early as in the 16th century and brought back to Brazil in the 18th century. In Portugal, the guitar (or the Portuguese viola or the bandolim) was substituted for the percussion accompaniment. In Brazil, the main instruments used were the viola or the guitar. In the 19th century, the genre mutated from a dance to a lively song. Its musical characteristics include duple meter (2/4, rarely 6/8), frequent use of major mode, square four-measure phrases, and much syncopation.\(^{50}\) Some important composers of *lundu* are Domingos Caldas Barbosa (1740-1800), Francisco Manuel da Silva (1795-1865) and Xisto Bahia\(^{51}\) (1841-1894).

The *modinha* is, with the *lundu*, one of the earliest true Brazilian musical forms. These two genres represent the first stage of development of Brazilian popular music. In Portugal, during the first half of the 18th century, the term *moda* was vaguely applied to any song or melody executed in Lisbon’s ballrooms. In the last quarter of the century, *moda* or *modinha* became a generic name for a lyrical and sentimental song cultivated in Portugal and in Brazil. In its early stages, it suffered heavy influence from the arias of the Italian operas. It was usually composed for one or two voices (sung in parallel motion) accompanied by a plucked string instrument and/or by a keyboard instrument which would sometimes double the bass. During the 19th century, this genre was heavily influenced by Italian operatic arias and as a result, the simple melodic lines of the *modinhas* became more elaborated with ornamentations. By the end of the century, the *modinha* had became


\(^{51}\) Author of “Isto é bom,” the earliest music recording in Brazil (1902).

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a song which reflected the Brazilian romantic spirit. Among the composers that played a central role in the history of the modinha are Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Xisto Bahia, Cândido Inácio da Silva (1800-1838) and Catulo da Paixão Cearense (1863-1946).

Choro was firstly a name given to musical groups with varied formations that started to appear around 1870/80. Eventually, the word choro also came to designate the different kinds of music performed by these groups. At early stages, the repertoire consisted of European ballroom dances such as the Schottisch, the polka, the mazurka, the habanera etc. Around the beginning of the 20th century, the players (called chorões) already included modinhas, lundus, tangos and maxixes in their repertoire as well. Only later did the choro became distant enough from these styles to be able to stand independently as a genre. Moreover, the choro shared its genesis with another genre: the seresta. However, while the serestas had a dominant melodic line for voice, being generally slow songs with nostalgic character, the choros were purely instrumental and usually faster. The instrumentation used for the serestas consisted exclusively of plucked string instruments while in the choros, besides the plucked strings, the chorões also included some wind instruments such as the flute, clarinet, ophicleide, piston, and trombone. The choro incorporated accompaniment patters borrowed from the lundu and sometime from the maxixe. Together, the choro and the seresta mark the second stage of development of Brazilian popular music. Some important names associated with the choro and with popular music making are Joaquim Antônio da Silva Calado (1846-1880), Chiquinha Gonzaga (1847-1935), Ernesto Nazareth (1863-1934) among others.

Around 1870/80, before it became an independent genre of Brazilian popular music, the maxixe was a dance performed for polkas and tangos (the Brazilian ones, not the Argentinian) in

José Maria Neves, Villa-Lobos, o Choro e os Choros, (São Paulo: Musicália S/A, 1977), 17–18.52
Rio de Janeiro. This dance inherited some characteristics from the *lundu*, such as the sensuality of its moves, even though the couples danced in an entwined stance, in the manner of the polka. In early 20th century, the *maxixe* was considered too provocative to be performed by military bands in official events and it was not well accepted by the elite. The music, which incorporated some characteristics of the dance, would only appear in 1902. The African elements contained in this music were emphasized by means of exaggerated accents in the syncopated lines as well as by the use of a “dragging” or “drawing back” element. Usually, it was structured in eight-bar sections in an ABACA form, again, in the manner of a polka. Composers of *maxixe* include Joaquim Antônio da Silva Callado (composed many polkas that are actually *maxixes*), Chiquinha Gonzaga, Ernesto Nazareth and Marcelo Tubinambá (1889-1953).

At this point, one can clearly notice that the early Brazilian music genres developed from gradual adaptations of rhythms and other musical characteristics present in European and African music, and, in some cases, they are a synthesis of both. The *tango brasileiro* (Brazilian tango) follows this idea: a blend of the Bohemian polka with the Cuban *habanera* (also originated from African rhythms and from South Spanish music, brought to Brazil in 1865/1866). The *habanera* – characterized by its rhythmic bass line – also served as basis for the development of other styles such as the ragtime, the *choro*, and the Argentine tango. In the 1860s the word *tango* in Brazil was used interchangeably with the word *habanera*, and sometimes used in reference to a fast piece of music. It was only in 1971 that this word was printed, for the first time, in a Brazilian music score, composed by Henrique Alves de Mesquita (1830-1906). The *tango brasileiro* was notably different from its Argentine relative even though they have a common ancestor (the *habanera*) and

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began with the same instrumentation (flute and guitar). The main difference is the “stronger African accent,”\textsuperscript{55} present in the Brazilian genre. According to Miller, the “European nuance features a more elastic or rubato treatment of tempos and beats within a measure, accenting the pushes and pulls of the melodic line. The African nuance features a strict adherence to tempo, bringing out the layered rhythmic juxtaposition of the time lines.”\textsuperscript{56} After the turn of the century, the \textit{tango brasileiro} started to gradually lose its traces: \textsuperscript{57} in the 1930s, the word \textit{tango} was already associated with the Argentine dance that we are familiar today. The most important composers of \textit{tango brasileiro} are Chiquinha Gonzaga, Marcelo Tupinambá (1889-1953) and Ernesto Nazareth.

Another Afro-Brazilian dance, the \textit{Samba}, became one of the most prominent genres in Brazilian popular music before the first half of 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Even though the word \textit{samba} has always been more associated with the choreography than with its music, the genre can be musically described as singing accompanied mostly by percussion instruments.\textsuperscript{58} It often features responsorial singing, going from soloist to chorus, from stanza to refrain. The \textit{sambas} are generally in binary meter, with much syncopation in the accompaniment. The history of the \textit{samba} goes back to the 17\textsuperscript{th} century \textit{batuques}\textsuperscript{59} and to one of its branches, the \textit{congos}.\textsuperscript{60} The \textit{lundu} and the \textit{maxixe}

\textsuperscript{55}~Miller, “Rhythms,” 19.
\textsuperscript{56}~Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57}~Two facts contributed to the gradual disappearance of the \textit{tango brasileiro}: the fact that the Argentine tango became famous in the Parisian ballrooms during the first decades of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century and the fact that, in Brazil, the genres of \textit{maxixe} and \textit{choro} were increasingly taking over the space of popular culture. See Almeida, “Tango Brasileiro.”
\textsuperscript{59}~\textit{Batuque}: Round dances brought to Brazil from African countries such as Angola and Congo.
\textsuperscript{60}~Street festival traditions associated with the Africans during 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries.
also played an important role in the development of the *samba*. The early *samba* was disseminated in rural areas, and only reached the urban centers during the last decades of the 19th century, becoming a standard urban presence in Rio de Janeiro only during the 1920s. One of the first recordings of a *samba* dates from 1917, named “Pelo telefone” by Ernesto dos Santos (1890-1974, nicknamed Donga). From the 1920s to the present time, the *samba* has become very common among people of all social classes. The 1930s were marked by the advent of the *escolas de samba* (*samba schools*) which received much incentive from the government of Getúlio Vargas, with the goal of using the *samba* schools as a patriotic vehicle to reach the people. Some of the most important names associated with *samba* (from 1920s to 1950s) are José Barbosa da Silva (1888-1930, known as “Sinhô”), Noel Rosa (1910-1937), Alfredo da Rocha Viana Filho (1897-1973, known as “Pixinguinha”) and Ary Barroso (1903-1964).

**Villa-Lobos and the Chorões**

The young Villa-Lobos became fascinated with the popular music of his time. Despite his father’s disapproval, he started to get closer to the *chorões*, the popular music groups that cultivated the *choro*. The premature death of Raul Villa-Lobos in 1899 left the family in financial difficulty, since Raul was never able to save any money. With a small widow’s pension, Villa-Lobos’s mother, Noênia, at the end of a pregnancy, had no option but to work as a laundress to sustain her family. Heitor, although saddened by the death of his father, now felt free to cultivate

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his own musical tastes and practices. The twelve-year-old Villa-Lobos started to work as a popular musician, playing the guitar, in order to contribute to the support of his family, but his work as a *chorão* did not provide enough for him to offer a substantial contribution.

Over the years, Heitor and his mother started selling many volumes from Raul’s valuable private library in order to raise money for the family. Noêmia never agreed with the popular music routine her son had chosen for himself; she had envisioned her son as a doctor. To please his mother, after finishing a course of humanities at Rio Monastery of Saint Benedict, Heitor registered for a preparatory course for the School of Medicine, which he soon dropped, as he could not maintain interest in any of the classes.\(^{64}\) After much conflict with his mother, Villa-Lobos went to live with his godmother, “Fifina,” who was more sympathetic with the kind of life he had at the time. As a teenager, Heitor increased his musical activities and felt the need to improve his musical abilities. In 1902 he started taking cello lessons with Benno Niederberger\(^ {65}\) and in 1906/07 registered for the evening course at the *Instituto Nacional de Música* (National Music Institute).\(^ {66}\) He received instructions from Frederico Nascimento (1852-1924), then from Agnelo França (1875-1964). Villa-Lobos also went to the composer Antônio Francisco Braga (1868-1945) seeking advice about his early compositions. Around this time, Villa-Lobos started to compose more “serious” than popular music.

Working as a *chorão* in Rio de Janeiro as well as playing the cello in different musical events, Villa-Lobos became acquainted with important popular musical figures from the time. Around 1901, Villa-Lobos started to play classic guitar in a group of *chorões* which gathered in

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\(^{64}\) Mariz, *Homem e a Obra*, 55.

\(^{65}\) Ibid., 56; Negwer, *Florescimento*, 6.

\(^{66}\) The *Instituto Nacional de Música* is today the School of Music of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). Peppercorn, “Fifteen-Year-Periods,” 183.
the restaurant “O Cavaquinho de Ouro,” whose leader was Joaquim Francisco dos Santos, known as “Quincas Laranjeiras” (1873-1935). The group included other important musicians of the time, such as Anacleto de Medeiros (1866-1907), Irineu de Almeida (1863-1914), Juca Kalut (1857-1922), and Zé do Cavaquinho (1911-1981). Their repertoire included pieces by Ernesto Nazareth, Joaquim Antônio da Silva Calado, Luís de Souza (who also frequented the Cavaquinho de Ouro), and Viriato.67 Around this time, Villa-Lobos also played choros with the Brazilian “troubadours” Catulo da Paixão Cearense (1863-1946), Eduardo das Neves (1874-1919), and Manoel Evêncio da Costa Moreira (1874-1960, known as “Cadete”), as well as with Donga, the composer of the first commercial samba, and Pixinguinha, one of the first significant composers of Brazilian popular music. Furthermore, Villa-Lobos played chamber music with the composer Ernesto Nazareth, whom he deeply admired and with whom he had an important relation of mutual influence. Nazareth was the first musician who gave Villa-Lobos suggestions as to how to write and execute the music of Brazil.68 Other important musical acquaintances of Villa-Lobos from this time were the composer Chiquinha Gonzaga, Sátiro Bilhar (1860-1926), and João Pernambuco (1883-1947). Of his life as a chorão, the composer remembers:

The choro of that time was an intelligent improvisation. What is done today with Jazz we used to do here in Rio, in the beginning of the century. The serenate was already something very different. In the chorão, we were in four, five or six: one piston [trumpet], one euphonium, one guitar, one contrabass, one ophicleide; sometimes flute; sometimes cavaquinho.69

By this time, Villa-Lobos had mastered the guitar, which was the instrument he used to insert himself in the musical life of Rio de Janeiro. He also started playing the cello to contribute to his livelihood. While the composer used the guitar predominantly for popular music, the cello

67 Mariz, Homem e a Obra, 50.
68 Negwer, Florescimento, 30, 73.
69 Horta, Introdução, 15–16.
was used exclusively for classical music. Villa-Lobos played cello in opera selections, operettas, zarzuelas, and in ballroom music, all of which were performed in various places such as coffee houses, vaudeville, hotels, bars, travelling companies, and in the first movie theaters in Rio, including the famous *Odeon.* Villa-Lobos played in musical groups as a popular or classical musician for about 20 years (1899 to 1919). After Villa-Lobos turned to the composition of serious music, these experiences were reflected in his compositional practice, often using popular forms, rhythms, harmonies, instruments and characters in classical music settings. Some of his most important compositions that came later, such as the *Choros* and the *Bachianas Brasileiras,* are clear examples of how dearly he regarded his years as a chorão.

**Trips and Controversies**

In Rio, Villa-Lobos keeps contact with young artists and poets from all over the country. He said to Francisco Braga: “I am going to travel.” Francisco Braga replies: “or study, or travel.” Few people, as Villa-Lobos, would have studied so much while travelling.

Over the years, Villa-Lobos’s scholars and writers reported stories told by the composer himself about the various trips he made during the years of 1905 to 1912. However, the veracity of many of these accounts – about his trips to various Northeastern and Northern states, as well as about trips where he sailed the Amazon river into the depths of the Amazon Forest where he discovered and interacted with savage tribes, about his ethnologic work in which he gathered “over a thousand of folk melodies,” not to mention the fantastic tales he told journalists during the time he lived in Paris (1927 and 1930) – remains in question. Villa-Lobos told his interviewers

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70 Ibid., 28.
71 Tarasti, *Life and Works,* 38.
72 Grieco, *Roteiro,* 23.
74 Mariz, *Homem e a Obra,* 57.
that he made three trips during these years, but he was never consistent with his reports. Below are transcribed Peppercorn’s accounts of these trips as told by Villa-Lobos⁷⁵ (which differs from the ones reported by Demarquez and Muricy):⁷⁶

The first took him from Rio de Janeiro, via Bahia, Sergipe, Recife, Fortaleza and Belém to Manaus (...) But from Manaus, Villa-Lobos said, he sailed some of the Amazon’s left affluents, up and down, starting with the Rio Negro to the point where the Rio Branco branches off, and on that river he, went as far as the town of Boa Vista. As soon as he returned to Manaus, he embarked on another venture. This time he sailed some right affluents of the Amazon. He started with the Madeira river, next the Purus river until he reached Acre territory, and finally he ventured out on the Solimões river which led him to the town of Iquitos. After Villa-Lobos’s return to Manaus, he went to Belém in the state of Pará, travelled the Tocantins river up where the Araguaia river turns off, on which he sailed next. Having arrived at the island of Bananal, Villa-Lobos transferred himself to the Rio das Mortes and went as far as Cuiabá in the state of Mato Grosso. He came back the same way until he again reached the Tocantins river which he sailed up to the state of Goiás. Here he disembarked and journeyed by land via Belo Horizonte, the capital of the state of Minas Gerais, back to Rio de Janeiro.

The second trip, according to Villa-Lobos, took him from Rio de Janeiro along the eastern coast of Brazil to Belém in the state of Pará. From there he sailed the Amazon river, transferred himself to the Tapajós, a right affluent of the Amazon, and returned the same way to Rio de Janeiro. On his third and final trip, he journeyed from Rio de Janeiro to Sergipe: he next embarked on the São Francisco river and sailed up to the state of Minas Gerais, where he disembarked to return by land home to Rio de Janeiro.

It is true that the whole itinerary described by Villa-Lobos is dubious. Peppercorn herself recognizes that in many cases it raises “doubts as it seems almost impossible that Villa-Lobos could have made such journeys accompanied only by one or two friends. Travelling in these regions is a bold and daring undertaking even today; it was even more so at the beginning of the century.”⁷⁷ In fact, as Negwer pointed out⁷⁸, some of the routes described above are practically

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impossible to go through. For example, the first trip: going from Negro river to Boa Vista (capital of the state of Roraima) and then back to Manaus (capital of the state of Amazonas), from Purus river to the state of Acre, from Solimões river to Iquitos (Peru), from Amazonas river to Araguaia river and then to Bananal Island (state of Tocantins) – this trajectory would probably result in a distance of over a thousand kilometers, a task very unlikely to be accomplished by an inexperienced traveler such as Villa-Lobos.

Moreover, it has been stated that Villa-Lobos took part in an expedition of Luís Cruls in 1905 to the Amazon forest, a story that has been proven false.79 Beatriz Roquette-Pinto, widow of Edgar Roquette-Pinto80, states that Villa-Lobos probably never ventured within the Amazon forest or even encountered any native during his whole life, and that the composer’s supposed “ethnomusicologic research” actually came from his hearings of her husband’s phonograms,81 which contained real records of music by various native tribes, and not from real interactions with natives.82 According to Negwer, it is possible that many details the composer included in his fantastic stories were transmitted to him by his brother-in-law Romeo Bergman, who worked for two years as a telegrapher to the Mission Rondon.83 In 1908, Villa-Lobos became aware of transcriptions of songs from the Carijós and Caiapós tribes, made by the German ethnologist Fritz

79 Ibid., 52.
80 Edgar Roquette-Pinto (1884-1954) was a Brazilian writer, ethnologist, anthropologist and physician. He participated of the 1907/08 expeditions with the Rondon Commission, led by Marshal Cândido Rondon (1865-1958), to Mato Grosso, Goiás and Amazonas, from which he gathered important anthropologic and ethnologic material of the native tribes (especially the Parecis), including many melodies and chants. For more information, see Luís de Castro Faria, “A Contribuição de E. Roquete Pinto Para a Antropologia Brasileira,” Forum Educ. IX/1 (March 1985): 3–18.
81 Hosted by the Brazilian National Museum in Rio de Janeiro, these phonograms were sadly destroyed in a recent fire, along with almost everything in the museum.
82 Mariz, Homem e a Obra, 59; Negwer, Floreiscimento, 52.
83 Negwer, Floreiscimento, 53.
Krause.\textsuperscript{84} It is very plausible, however, that Villa-Lobos gathered some musical data during his trips, some of which, according to him, he used in works such as \textit{Uirapuru}\textsuperscript{85} (1917) and in his \textit{Guia Prático} (1932). But it is also possible that many of the folk and indigenous melodies he used in his compositions, if not invented by him, were taken from these anthropological and ethnological sources mentioned above.

The attested facts concerning Villa-Lobos’s trips are not in accordance with what he later reported to Peppercorn and other researchers. The trips that can be verified so far are two: first in 1908 to Paranaguá\textsuperscript{86} (on the shore of Paraná), and a second one in 1912 to Manaus (capital of the state of Amazonas) and Belém (capital of the state of Pará).\textsuperscript{87} Some reasons probably led the composer to Paranaguá in 1908: the search for financial opportunities, and a possible escape from Rio’s police, since the administration of the city was adopting strict policies in order to “clean” the streets of artists and wanderers. It is unlikely that Villa-Lobos was musically motivated to make this trip, for the state of Paraná was “too European:” strongly characterized by traditions of immigrants from Poland, Ukraine, Italy, Germany, as well as Iberic people who had moved to this state coming from the Azores archipelago. The tradition of the \textit{fandango} was brought to Paraná by these last ones and became one of the most cultivated musical genres there. Villa-Lobos musical activity in Paranaguá was far from intense: he played a few concerts, only one of which included some of his compositions, in the Theatre of Santa Celina.\textsuperscript{88} He became acquainted with the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Fritz Krause, \textit{In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens: Bericht Und Ergebnisse Der Leipziger Araguaya-Expedition 1908} (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1911).
\item Uirapuru is a rare bird from the Amazon Forest. The bird is associated with many native’s myths and legends.
\item Although Villa-Lobos did not include this trip in the itinerary he described to Peppercorn, Muricy or Demarquez, he did mention it to Barros and to Mariz: Barros, \textit{Romance}, 39–40; Mariz, \textit{Homem e a Obra}, 59–60.
\item Negwer, \textit{Florescimento}, 55; Mariz, \textit{Homem e a Obra}, 163–64.
\item Mariz, \textit{Homem e a Obra}, 59.
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\end{footnotesize}
composer Brasílio Itiberê da Cunha (1846-1913) who started to write music with national character as early as 1869. His nephew, also called Brasílio Itiberê, became a good friend of Villa-Lobos. As he was unsuccessful musically or economically in Paranaguá, the composer missed his hometown. In 1909 his local friends gathered funds and paid him a ship ticket, allowing him to return to Rio de Janeiro.

In 1911, Villa-Lobos embarked on a trip to the north and northeast of the country, this time as member of the orchestra of the theatre company of Alves da Silva, which performed operettas and revues. The company toured the northeast before it reached Manaus in 1912, where it was dissolved after being heavily criticized by the press.\(^8^9\) It is confirmed that in 1912, Villa-Lobos performed at the Teatro da Paz in Belém (Pará) and at the Teatro Amazonas in Manaus, including in the program some of his pieces. It is possible that he continued his trip alone to the city of Fortaleza (capital of Ceará), where he met Romeu Donizetti, who became his travel partner. Donizetti was a saxophonist and pianist known for his drinking habits. Both decided to travel back to Belém, making their living by playing guitar and saxophone in poor houses, bars, coffee houses and in “dancing clubs.”\(^9^0\) Here, Villa-Lobos’s experience as a chorão in Rio de Janeiro was essential for their living. It is possible that Villa-Lobos, during his adventures with Donizetti, met a few natives or, most probably, caboclos (mestizos), who commonly lived in the outskirts of the cities. There are no documents, however, that confirm any of these experiences, including the adventures of the duo.

Another unconfirmed story told by Villa-Lobos that he travelled to the island of Barbados, attracted by an English lady he met in Manaus. According to the story, they decided to go to the

\(^{8^9}\) Negwer, Florencimento, 60–61. According to Béhague (Musical Soul, 7), some sources indicate that the company was dissolved in Recife (Pernambuco), and not in Manaus.

\(^{9^0}\) Negwer, Florencimento, 59, 61.
United States, but the ship had to stop in Barbados, where they lost all their money in gambling. They had to stay in Bridgetown for a short time, playing to make a living (she played the piano) and to save enough money to pay their travel expenses. Then, she continued her trip to United States, and he returned to Belém.\textsuperscript{91} It was during this short stay in Barbados that Villa-Lobos would have found the inspiration to compose his *Danças Características Africanas*, finished in 1915. The trip to the States of Pernambuco and Bahia as well as the trip to São Paulo, Mato Grosso and Goiás – all recounted by the composer – lack credible sources and information.

**A Composer of Serious Music**

Villa-Lobos’s first compositions date from around 1889/1900. They were mainly pieces for guitar, such as a Mazurka in D major and the *Panqueca*, and short songs, such as *Os Sedutores* and *Dime Perché*. From 1908 to 1912, he wrote the movements of the *Suite Popular Brasileira* for guitar, which were later compiled as a suite, in 1923, when the composer went to France. The first four movements of this suite represent a Brazilian version of a European dance: *Mazurka-choro*, *Schottisch-choro*, *Valsa-choro*, and *Gavota-choro*. Later, in 1923, he added a *Chorinho* to the suite before it was printed by Max Eschig in Paris. Villa-Lobos waited a long time to write other pieces with popular character, fearing to be labeled as a “composer of popular music.” Although he truly respected and admired the *chorões*, Villa-Lobos always kept some distance, never considering himself completely one of them.\textsuperscript{92} Around this time, he was preparing himself to find his place in the world of serious music.

An important step towards his new goals was Villa-Lobos’s entry in the orchestra of Rio de Janeiro Municipal Theatre, inaugurated in 1909. There, the composer became familiar with the

\textsuperscript{92} Negwer, *Florescimento*, 74.
international symphonic, operatic and ballet repertoire. The performances included *Salome* (1910), *Isabeau* (1911) and *Der Rosenkavalier* (1915) – the last two conducted by Pietro Mascagni. In 1913, the Russian Ballet under Michael Fokine with Nijinsky presented *Prince Igor*, *Scheherazade*, *Tamara* and *l’Après-Midi d’un Faune*. In 1917, the ballet company of Diaghilev also visited Rio, including in the program *Le Spectre de la Rose* (Berlioz), and *Sylphides* (with music by Chopin). Between 1913 and 1926, Mahler’s first symphony and Wagner’s operas *Tristan und Isolde*, *Walküre*, and *Parsifal* were also performed. During this period, the French and Russian music had a direct influence on Villa-Lobos’s compositional choices, including titles, instrumentation and style. Following this direction, in the early 1910s, he carefully studied the *Cours de Composition Musicale*, by Vicent d’Indy, a student of Cesar Franck. Around 1912, Villa-Lobos composed his first pieces for cello, including the *Pequena Sonata*, *Pequena Suíte*, *Prelúdio n.2*, the first sonata for cello and piano (now lost), and in 1913, the *Grande Concerto para Violoncelo e Orquestra n.1*. Most of these pieces show the influence of Franck and of ballroom music. Between 1912 and 1914, Villa-Lobos composed *Izaht*, an opera in four acts. The *Miniaturas*, written from 1912 and 1917, comprise six songs, two of which were considered Villa-Lobos’s first nationalistic pieces: *Sertão no Estio*, and *Festim Pagão*. The more ambitious *Sonata-Fantasia* no.1 and no.2, composed in 1912 and 1914 respectively, are more extensive works and feature particularities in rhythm, tonality, harmony and form, even though there are still not many traces of the “Brazilian” Villa-Lobos in these pieces. The same happens with his three Piano Trios, composed between 1911 and 1918.

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94 Peppercorn, 184.
95 Negwer, *Florescimento*, 47.
In 1912, Villa-Lobos met the pianist Lucília Guimarães (1886-1966), who had finished her studies at the National Music Institute and worked as a piano teacher and choir conductor. They married in 1913, and this marks the end of Villa-Lobos’s life on the road. Lucília played an important role in his musical life, performing his works widely, including some first performances in Brazil and Paris. She gave her husband piano lessons, thus encouraging him to compose for that instrument. Lucília also composed music for choir and transcribed many Villa-Lobos’s pieces for that medium. In 1915 she was part in the first concert entirely dedicated to works by Villa-Lobos, a crucial event for the composer’s career. The concert was performed in the Salão Nobre (Noble Salon) of the Jornal do Commercio, and, besides Lucília, musicians such as Humberto Milano (violin), Oswaldo Allionni (cello), Frederico Nascimento Filho (baritone) and Sylvia de Figueiredo (piano) participated as well. The program included a variety of pieces: the Piano Trio no.1, Cello Sonata no.2, Fantasia, Sonhar, Capricho and Berceuse, the Valsa Scherzo for solo piano, and the songs Confidência, A Viagem, Mal Secreto, Fleur Fanée, Les Mères and A Cegonha.96

Other major concerts dedicated to the composer’s works were held in 1917, featuring more solo and chamber music works, attracting the attention of the critics. In 1918, with his fifth major concert, the composer had the opportunity to present orchestral works such as the symphonic poem Naufrágio de Kleônicos (written in 1916), the Symphonic Prelude and the fourth act from his opera Izaht, as well as the symphonic poems Tédio de Alvorada (“Boredom of Dawn”) and Myremis, both written in 1916. Later, by the end of 1920s, these two works were revised and represented as Uirapuru and Amazonas, respectively.97 Between 1915 and 1917 Villa-Lobos composed his first four string quartets, and in 1918, the Prole do Bebê No1.

96 Mariz, Homem e a Obra, 69.
97 The idea that Uirapuru and Amazonas were only consolidated in the late 1920s is defended by Negwer (Florescimento, 108–14), and goes against the accounts given by Villa-Lobos, accepted
A sixth concert featuring Villa-Lobos’s compositions – mostly chamber music – was performed in 1919. In the same year, the composer had his first major commission, in celebration of the end of World War I. It was a symphony with the title “The War,” presented along with other two works commissioned to other composers: “The Victory,” by Otaviano Gonçalves (1892-1962), and “The Peace,” by Francisco Braga (titles were based on texts by the poet Escragnolle Doria). The works were performed after the return of president Epitácio Pessoa from the Paris peace conference after World War I. In fact, “The War” was Villa-Lobos’s third symphony. His first symphony was written in 1916 and the second in the following year. Excited with the success of “The War” in 1919, Villa-Lobos continued the series by himself, writing a fourth symphony entitled “The Victory.” Supposedly, the fifth symphony would have been “The Peace,” however, the lack of sources raises the question whether this work ever existed.\textsuperscript{98}

These concerts represented a great boost to Villa-Lobos’s career. Students and professors from local music schools already started to include his works in their programs. He gained reputation for his open and controversial attitude against the “musical establishment” of his time. In 1919, some of his pieces were performed in Buenos Aires, Argentina. In 1920, his \textit{Naufrágio de Kleônicos} was the only Brazilian piece executed by the German Maestro Felix Weingartner by most biographers, that these pieces were composed in 1917. According to Negwer, Villa-Lobos often tried to put himself in the position of a pioneer in order to defend his originality. By dating his works in an arbitrary way, he was using the criteria of the “spiritual conception” of the pieces instead of the actual date the works were written.\textsuperscript{98} “The Peace” is included in Villa-Lobos’s catalog from 2010 issued by the Villa-Lobos Museum. According to it, it was composed in 1920 for orchestra and fanfare. The entry contains the information about a first performance according to a program, recently found, dated 3/5/1961, from Carnegie Hall (New York Philharmonic) where the piece was supposed to be conducted by the Maestro Eleazar de Carvalho. Maestro Carvalho claims the concert never happened and that he never possessed the score of that piece. \textit{Museu Villa-Lobos, Sua Obra}, 2010, 37.
during his tour of Brazil. In the same year, his symphonies nos. 3 and 4 were performed in honor of Albert I of Belgium, who was visiting Rio de Janeiro. The *Choros* no. 1, for solo guitar, was composed in 1920, and it marks the beginning of the *Choros* series, to which Villa-Lobos would be dedicated during this whole decade.

**Milhaud and Rubinstein**

In 1917, the French composer Darius Milhaud was brought to Rio de Janeiro as a secretary of the poet Paul Claudel, working as the French ambassador in Brazil. After Villa-Lobos was introduced to him, he treated him with indifference at first, but soon developed a good relation with him. Besides familiarizing Milhaud with his own pieces, he also introduced the French composer to the music of the *chorões*, to the *samba*, *carnaval*, and also brought him to see some Afro-Brazilian religious traditions, such as the *macumba*. Milhaud became particularly fascinated with Brazilian popular music. He became acquainted with Nazareth, whose music he deeply admired, considering the composer a genius. Milhaud also became a great admirer of Marcelo Tupinambá (1889-1953) and his music. On the other hand, he never showed interest in music of Villa-Lobos. It is very likely that Milhaud provided Villa-Lobos with examples of French music, and it is possible that he mentioned Stravinsky and the scandalous premiere of his *Rite of Spring*, which had happened in 1913, not many years before Milhaud’s visit to Brazil. Milhaud stayed in Brazil for two years, and, as an expression of his admiration for this land and culture, he composed his pieces *Saudades do Brasil* and *Le Boeuf sur le toit*, both written in 1920. Shortly after his return to France, Milhaud joined the group *Les six*.

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100 Guérios, *Heitor Villa-Lobos*, 156.
In 1918, Arthur Rubinstein arrived in Rio de Janeiro for the first time, with fourteen concerts scheduled. Although he had heard bad things about Villa-Lobos from many musicians, he was very excited to meet the controversial composer. His first encounter with Villa-Lobos was unplanned: some students of the conservatory who admired the pianist led him to the movie theatre _Odeon_, where the composer was performing in a small, low quality orchestra. The group caught Rubinstein’s attention after performing a work “made up of Brazilian rhythms…treated in a completely original way,”\(^{101}\) which he later discovered was composed by Villa-Lobos. In his first conversation with the composer, expressing interest in the work they had just performed, Rubinstein was treated with disdain: “Pianists have no use for composers. All they want is success and money.”\(^{102}\) Feeling offended, Rubinstein walked away. The students who brought him there tried to ease the situation: “Don’t be angry, he is bitter about having had to play this silly movie music in your presence.” The next morning, at 8 o’clock, Villa-Lobos came to Rubinstein’s hotel room bringing with him around ten musicians and instruments and performed some of his works to Rubinstein, including a string quartet and a _Choros_ for flute and clarinet, possibly an earlier version of the _Choros_ no.2 (1924).

This episode marks the beginning of a longtime friendship between Villa-Lobos and Rubinstein, who visited the composer several times during the following years. Undoubtedly, Rubinstein played a key role in the composer’s international reputation. He frequently performed works of his Brazilian friend in different concert halls around Europe and in the Americas, also

\(^{101}\) Artur Rubinstein, _My Many Years_, 1st ed (New York: Knopf: distributed by Random House, 1980), 91. Although Rubinstein writes that he heard the _Amazonas_, the actual piece the small orchestra was playing is still in question. Mariz (_Homem e a Obra_, 75) reported that the group played one of the movements of the _Dances Africaines_.

\(^{102}\) Rubinstein, _Many Years_, 91. In another version told by Rubinstein, reported by Mariz (_Homem e a Obra_, 75), Villa-Lobos rudely says: “You are a virtuoso, you cannot understand my music…”
premiering some of his works such as *Prole do Bebê* no.1 and *Rudepoema* (written in 1921 and dedicated to the Polish pianist). Moreover, Rubinstein was a great supporter of Villa-Lobos’s travel to Paris: firstly, he suggested a financial plan adopted by many Villa-Lobos’s friends that made possible the trip of 1923, and secondly, he convinced the patrons Carlos Guinle (1883-1969) and his brother Arnaldo Guinle (1884-1963)\(^{103}\) to funding Villa-Lobos’s second trip as well as the publishing of many of his works.\(^{104}\) Curiously, in another episode, Rubinstein secretly helped Villa-Lobos financially by buying original manuscripts in the name of a mysterious – and fictitious – collector. Only years later, Villa-Lobos found the same manuscripts he gave Rubinstein in the pianist’s house in Paris, laying on top of his piano. The care Rubinstein had for Villa-Lobos and for his music is unquestionable. Though he had a few reservations about Villa-Lobos’s treatment of form, Rubinstein professes: “After all, he is the most notable composer of all America.”\(^{105}\)

**The “Week of Modern Art”**

By 1921, Villa-Lobos had reached the cultural elite. He had concerts sponsored by Laurinda Santos Lobo, who was responsible for one of the most important concert salons in Rio de Janeiro. In the same year, Villa-Lobos gave his eighth concert dedicated to his works, performed in the *Salão Nobre* of the *Jornal do Commercio*. The program included his *Quarteto Simbólico* (1921, later renamed *Quatour*), the songs *Historietas* (1920), and *A Fiandeira* (1921), a short piece for piano. Despite the Maestro’s reputation, however, he still had his critics. In the newspapers, Villa-Lobos would be heavily criticized by some conservative writers of the time, such as

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\(^{103}\) Carlos and Arnaldo were two out of seven siblings of the Guile family, considered one of the richest families in the whole country at that time. Their father, Eduardo Palassin Guinle enriched with the construction of the Port of Santos (in São Paulo), opened in 1892. The construction of the port was associated with the production of coffee, which had reached a high point towards the end of 19\(^{th}\) century. Negwer, *Florescimento*, 142.

\(^{104}\) Rubinstein, *Many Years*, 155; Mariz, *Homem e a Obra*, 76.

\(^{105}\) Mariz, *Homem e a Obra*, 77.
Vincenzo Cernicchiaro (1858-1928), Emilio Borgongino and, especially, Oscar Guanabarino (1851-1937). Their critics started mildly as soon as Villa-Lobos started to present concerts with his compositions but, the more they realized how averse the composer were for traditional settings, the more intense the critics became. In a publication of the *Jornal do Commercio*, Guanabarino writes:

(...) this artist cannot be understood by the musicians for the simple reason he is unable, in his frenzy for production, to understand himself. Without meditating about what he writes, without obeying any basic principle, even if arbitrary, his compositions present themselves full of incoherencies, of musical cacophonies, being but agglomerations of notes which always lead to the same result, that is, it gives the sensation that the orchestra is tuning their instruments and that each musician improvises any kind of crazy passage. Yet very young, have Mr. Villa-Lobos produced more than any true active composer at the end of their life.106

Such criticism was not restricted to Villa-Lobos, but to every composer that presented new trends in their compositions. On the other hand, other renowned critics such as Rodrigues Barbosa (1857-1939) and the novelist Coelho Neto (1864-1934) would counterbalance the press with good reviews. Villa-Lobos’s fame was spreading, and it would bring him to the attention of two poets from São Paulo. In 1921, searching for musical personalities to be part of the *Semana de Arte Moderna* (“Week of Modern Art”), Mario de Andrade (1893-1945) and Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954) probably attended one of the recitals patronized by Laurinda Santos Lobo. A few weeks later, the writers José Pereira de Graça Aranha (1868-1931) – one of the heads of the Week of Modern Arts – and Ronald de Carvalho (1893-1935) came to Rio de Janeiro to officially invite Villa-Lobos to the event.

At the turn of century, the visual arts, music, literature and theatre found new trends to represent their aesthetics, culminating in figures such as Pablo Picasso, Arnold Schönberg and

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106 Mariz, 70. Originally in Portuguese, translated by me.
Jean Cocteau. In Brazil, the Modernism emerged during World War I, as one of the most important cultural movements in the whole Brazilian history. The first representatives of this movement turned their backs to European art traditions, such as the Parnassianism and the Symbolism, envisioning the creation of a national identity grounded on original manifestations of the Brazilian culture. The Indian – previously romanticized by the 19th century literature – became the main symbol of the country. Brazilian modernism, however, did not reject every European artistic manifestation, but it “ate, digested and absorbed” trends such as Cubism and Futurism, and then “regurgitated” a primitivist nationalism. In 1917, Anita Malfatti (1896-1964) exhibited her paintings marking the beginning of this trend, but it was only during the Week of Modern Art of 1922 that Modernism was officially presented.

Villa-Lobos, the only composer invited, became very excited about the event. Sponsored by Paulo Prado, he departed to São Paulo accompanied by his crew of musicians, which included Ernani Braga, Frutuoso Viana, Guiomar Novaes and his wife, Lucília. It is important to note that in reality, by the time of the Week, Villa-Lobos was not directly engaged with any nationalistic cause as he would be in the following years. Neither was he seeking any self-accomplishment. At this time, he considered his owns influences to be “the Assyrian eras, the sculptural relics of Korea, the mysticism of India, the selfless love of the cult of beauty among the Visigoths, the Roman chants, the Epic of the Greek, the Gregorian excursions, which led to the beauties of his chants.” In fact, Villa-Lobos did not write anything new for the event, though among the pieces

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107 Later, in 1928, Oswald de Andrade in his Anthropophagic Manifesto and his wife Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973) with the painting Abaporu (“cannibal”) used the image of cannibalism, practiced by some native tribes, to metaphorize this process. In the same year, Mario de Andrade published his rhapsody Macunaima, where the protagonist is an “anti-hero indian.”

108 Negwer, Florescimento, 121.

109 Guérios, Heitor Villa-Lobos, 123.
chosen for his programs there were some that had never been performed. Some of the works performed during the Week are the cello Sonata no.2, Trio Nos. 2 and 3, *A Fiandeira, African Dances*, Quartet no.3 and the *Quatour*, the last of which was the most controversial and least appreciated by the public.

The idealizers of the Week were primarily literary figures from São Paulo, such as Mário de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade, Ronald de Carvalho, Graça Aranha, Manuel Bandeira (1886-1968), Guilherme de Almeida (1890-1969), Menotti del Picchia (1892-1988) among others. In the visual arts, participants included Emiliano Di Cavalcanti (1897-1976), Victor Brecheret (1894-1955), and the most controversial, Anitta Malfatti. The whole modernist event was held in the *Theatro Municipal de São Paulo* (paintings and sculptures were exhibited in the lobby) and the schedule included three presentations: February 13, the inauguration, lectures by Graça Aranha (where pieces by Satie and Poulenc were performed by Ernani Braga)\(^{110}\) and Ronald de Carvalho, poems by Guilherme de Almeida and concerts with works by Villa-Lobos; February 15, lecture by Menotti del Picchia, poems by Manuel Bandeira and concert with works by Villa-Lobos, Debussy (performed by Guiomar Novaes; February 17, the whole night was dedicated to concerts with the music of Villa-Lobos, performed with light effects, which pleased the composer.\(^{111}\) The whole event was received by the public with rage and mockery, being the concerts and lectures often interrupted by hoots and jokes. Naturally, Mr. Guanabarino showed no mercy in his criticism. However, at the same time, the event opened some doors to Villa-Lobos and allowed him to establish more connections with this city. A few days later he was invited to participate in another concert organized by the *Sociedade Cultura Artística*. In the following years, Villa-Lobos realized

\(^{111}\) Horta, *Introdução*, 41.
that the city of São Paulo became a viable option for the propagation of his music. Curiously, Villa-Lobos’s own opinion about the Week was not entirely positive: “The Week of Modern Art immensely benefitted the Brazilian novel and poetry, though it did not add anything to the music.” In reality, it was the Week of Modern Art that, at the end, “consecrated him as the Brazilian composer of the period.”

**Trips to Paris**

Yet in 1922, Villa-Lobos received great incentive from Rubinstein to fulfill his wish of going to Paris. Expecting to receive a grant from the government – to which the request was submitted by Arthur Lemos – the composer organized eight concerts, four in Rio de Janeiro and four in São Paulo. The concerts were dedicated to important personalities and politicians of the time, including the president Epitácio Pessoa, with the hope of furthering his goals. Notwithstanding his efforts, the concerts did not meet expectations, but after a few months, the government did award him a small stipend, which covered only a small fraction of the total cost. The trip was only made possible after the financial support of his friends, including Arnaldo Guinle, Arthur Lemos, Henrique Oswald, Francisco Braga, Ronald Carvalho, Laurinda Santos Lobo among others. In June 1923, Villa-Lobos departed to Europe in a steamship, without his wife, as there was not enough money to include her in his trip. At his arrival, the composer’s mind was set: “I did not come here to learn, but to show what I have already done. If it pleases them, I will stay; if not, I will go back to my homeland.”

Almost instantly caught by the cultural shock between the advanced Paris and his isolated and distant Rio de Janeiro, he was soon accepted into the circle of the few Brazilians that lived...
there, which included the soprano Vera Janacopoulos (1886-1995), the pianist João de Souza Lima (1898-1982), the painter Tarsila do Amaral, and her husband Oswald de Andrade, who frequently promoted dinners in their apartment. In one of these many dinners, Villa-Lobos got acquainted with Blaise Cendrars, Eric Satie and Jean Cocteau, who criticized Villa-Lobos’s improvisations at the piano, accusing them of sounding similar to Ravel and Debussy. As observed by Negwer, Villa-Lobos realized that while in Brazil – rooted in the “dogmatic” traditions of the Italian Opera – the music of Debussy and Ravel was still a novelty, in Paris, the most current musical trends were turning against the aesthetics of these two masters (Debussy had died in 1918, and Ravel had already reached the summit of his compositions), Schönberg, Berg, Stravinsky, and Prokofiev being some of the most representative figures of the time.

Months after his arrival, Villa-Lobos still found it difficult to attract attention in Parisian society. At this point, many performers such as Souza Lima, Janacopoulos, Tomás Terán, and Elsie Houston had included some of Villa-Lobo’s pieces in their programs, drawing the attention of important critics of the time such as Henry Prunières, Paul LeFlem, Tristan Klingsor, and the composer Florent Schmitt, all of which fully supported his music. Villa-Lobos also had established contact with other artists such as Albert Roussel and Andrés Segovia. Villa-Lobos soon attracted the attention of Jean Wiéner, who hired the Brazilian composer to participate his avant-garde concert series Concerts salades, on 9 April, in the Salle des Agriculteurs. With the participation of Janacopoulos and René Benedetti, among others, the concert featured premieres of the Suite for

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115 Negwer, Florescimento, 145–46.
116 Mariz, Homem e a Obra, 97.
Voice and Violin (1923), and the Trio for oboe, clarinet and bassoon,\footnote{Béhague, \textit{Musical Soul}, 16.} probably composed in that year\footnote{See comments about this piece’s date of composition in chapter 4.}.

Arthur Rubinstein had introduced Villa-Lobos to the editors of Max Eschig, who helped arrange another major concert in Paris, on 30 May 1924.\footnote{Mariz, \textit{Homem e a Obra}, 97.} This concert also took place in the \textit{Salle des Agriculteurs} and the program included his \textit{Quatour, Epigramas Irônicos e Sentimentais} (1921), \textit{Prole do Bebê} no.1, and the premieres of the \textit{Noneto} (1923/24) and \textit{Pensées d’Enfant} (1923). Among the performers were Janacopoulos and Rubinstein. After these important events, Villa-Lobos had a chance of meet two figures he deeply admired: D’Indy and Stravinsky. A few months later, Villa-Lobos’s funds were exhausted, forcing him to return to Rio de Janeiro in September 1924.

Villa-Lobos’s first stay in Paris was crucial for Villa-Lobos’s adoption of a nationalistic attitude towards his compositions, as he realized that, in Paris, his recognition would be achieved through the use of the exotic and the primitive. This is manifested in the works he wrote during his time in Brazil between 1924 and 1926, which includes the majority of the \textit{Choros} (except nos. 1, 9, 11 and the two lost ones, nos. 13 and 14), \textit{Na Bahia Tem, Três Poemas Indígenas}, the \textit{Serestas} and all the \textit{Cirandas}. According to Béhague, “about two thirds of the almost 130 works composed between 1922 and 1930 respond indeed to the nationalistic agenda of Villa-Lobos, but also represent the most experimental, innovative stylistic phase of his nationalistic expression.”\footnote{Béhague, \textit{Musical Soul}, 17.} He also presented concerts in Rio and São Paulo, organized with the help of his friend Mário de Andrade, as well as Olívía Guedes Penteado and Paulo Prado. Villa-Lobos made plans to return to
Paris, but his financial situation had not improved since his return. Once more, Rubinstein intervened by convincing the Guinle brothers to fund his project to return to Paris and publish his works. This time, Villa-Lobos received great support from the Guinles, which allowed him to return to the French capital in 1926, this time accompanied by his wife Lucília.

In 1927, he negotiated with Max Eschig for publication of some of his works. The publishers accepted under certain conditions: the composer would have to cover half of the expenses, would receive 20% of sales revenue and would have to concede all the copyrights of his works to the publishers. Seeking a better financial situation, Villa-Lobos started giving lessons and revising works for Max Eschig. He made important friends such as Florent Schmitt, Edgard Varèse, Leopold Stokowsky, Joaquim Roca, and Ferdinand Léger, many of whom visited him frequently in the apartment lent to him by Carlos Guinle. The composer then decided to organize two concerts entitled *Festivales consacrés aux oeuvres de Heitor Villa-Lobos*, performed in the *Salle Gaveau*. The first concert (October 24) featured the *Choros* 2, 4, 7, and 5, as well as the *Serestas* and the *Rudepoema*; and the second (December 5) featured the *Choros* 3 and 10 as well as the *Prole do Bebê no.2* (1921). They were executed by the *Orchestre Colonne* as well as by some of his friends including Rubinstein, Janacopoulos, Aline van Barentzen and Tomás Terán. The concerts were very well received, especially the *Choros nos. 8* and *10*. Taking advantage of the momentum, and well aware of the difficulty of making himself relevant to the musical circles of Paris, Villa-Lobos decided to sell himself as a “sauvage brésilien.”

An article written by Lucie Delarue-Mardrus entitled “*L’Aventure d’un compositeur: Musique cannibale,*” published on December 13, 1927, set tongues wagging. The author, after finding Hans Staden’s book *An

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121 Negwer, *Florescimento*, 161.
Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil (1557) in Villa-Lobos’s apartment, recounted the story using the composer as the protagonist. Villa-Lobos not only supported the idea, but perpetuated it. During this time, he often consulted the ethnological works he found in the Bibliothèque Nationale by Jean de Léry, João Barbosa Rodrigues and Edgar Roquette-Pinto. Finally, his name was in the spotlight, not only as a composer, but as an exotic legend.

In the following seasons, Villa-Lobos made efforts to make himself known internationally. He promoted many concerts, chamber recitals, and conducted major orchestras in London, Amsterdam, Vienna, Berlin, Brussels, Madrid, Liège, Lyon, Amiens, Poitiers, Barcelona, Lisbon, as well as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in a quick staying in Brazil in 1929. Many articles were written about his music and personality, including the one by Demarquez from 1929. His friendship with Segovia resulted in the composition of his 12 Estudos, which dedicated to the guitarist. Diaghilev, whom Villa-Lobos met in Prokofiev’s apartment, was ready to choreograph the Cirandas and both of suites Prole do Bebê, but unfortunately, he died in 1929, before accomplishing this task. Despite his wide reputation, however, Villa-Lobos was still struggling to earn his living; he was still working for Max Eschig and giving many lessons in order to keep his position. However, his last savings were spent in the realization of two big concerts in the Salle Gaveau, in April and May 1930. The Great Depression of 1929 had directly affected the Brazilian economy, which precluded the usual support Villa-Lobos was receiving from overseas. Consequently, he had to return to his home country. According to the composer himself, the years he spent in Paris were decisive for his recognition as a composer of international standing and to the promotion of his works. It is notable that Villa-Lobos, during his staying in Paris, did not

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123 Peppercorn, “Fifteen-Year-Periods,” 188.
124 Mariz, Homem e a Obra, 99, 100.
125 Ibid., 101.
assimilate the musical idiom of Satie and Milhaud, becoming instead more nationalistic than before. It was there that he found his own compositional identity.

The Pedagogical Era

In 1930, Villa-Lobos left Paris to play concerts in São Paulo, with the intention of returning to Europe as soon as he could. On 1 June, the Villa-Lobos couple, accompanied by Souza Lima and Maurice Raskin, arrived in Recife (state of Pernambuco),¹²⁶ where some concerts were organized before they continued the trip to Rio de Janeiro and, shortly thereafter, São Paulo. The socio-political scene in Brazil had been heavily shaken by the Great Depression of 1929. São Paulo, the “coffee state,” had entered a financial crisis after its “golden green” suffered a serious devaluation. Moreover, the growth of the revolutionary movement that later led Vargas to the presidency was causing political instability. At that time, Villa-Lobos – feeling pessimistic and depressed – was contracted to conduct the Orchestra of the Symphonic Society of São Paulo in eight concerts, most of which, due to his authoritarian and severe attitude towards the musicians, were not successful. The level of the orchestra did not match the ones he became accustomed to in Europe, and his lack of patience and willingness to adjust to a different reality prompted protests from the musicians. In the last concert, his piece Amazonas was performed for the first time in Brazil, and won admiration of his friend Mario de Andrade.

After fulfilling his contract with the orchestra, Villa-Lobos found himself without the means to return to Paris. Arnaldo Guinle, in a reply to a letter from the composer, had already informed him that this time he was unable to help. Bewildered and without any solid prospects, Villa-Lobos dedicated himself to the development of a music education program, an idea that had

permeated his mind since the 1920s. Júlio Prestes, the governor of the state of São Paulo who was also running for the presidency, approved the draft project submitted by Villa-Lobos, and decided to support the program as soon as he became president, which did not happen: the revolution of 1930 had led Getúlio Vargas to the presidency, establishing a provisional government that developed into an authoritarian regime. Villa-Lobos was determined to return to Paris regardless his precarious financial situation. His momentum was interrupted when the Vargas government showed interest in his project, which was soon reviewed and approved by the federal interventor of São Paulo state, Alberto Lins de Barros (1897-1955), who was an amateur pianist and composer. Villa-Lobos decided to stay in Brazil and embrace his new task as music educator.

Barros, then, subsidized Villa-Lobos Artistic Excursions (Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos) of 1931/32 over 54 cities in the interior of the state of São Paulo. The federal government paid for all the train tickets, allowing the artists to freely travel through the rail network of São Paulo state. The main objective of the tours was to promote the Brazilian concert music in cities of the interior of São Paulo state, many of which had never experienced a formal classical music concert up to that date. In Villa-Lobos’s own words, the Excursions envisioned:

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127 Horta, Introdução, 60.
128 The Federal Interventor had substituted the figure of the Governor after Getúlio Vargas assumed the presidency. The Interventors were almost completely subordinated to the centralized power instituted by Vargas during his new regime.
129 Other names were given to the Artistic Excursion, among which the most frequent are Caravana de Arte Brasileira (“Caravan of Brazilian Art”) and Excursão Musical Villa-Lobos (“Villa-Lobos Musical Excursion”). Bádué Filho, “Excursão,” 38–39.
130 The exact number of cities visited by the Villa-Lobos Artistic Excursion is still uncertain. The primary sources of these events are scarce, including a few programs held by the Villa-Lobos Museum, newspaper articles of the time, accounts of Lucília Villa-Lobos reported by her brothers (Luiz Guimarães, Villa-Lobos: Visto da Platéia e na Intimidade, 1912-1935 [Rio de Janeiro: Arte Moderna, 1972]), accounts of Souza Lima (Lima, “Convívio” and “Villa-Lobos,” Presença de Villa-Lobos I (1965): 107–8.) and the story told by Chechim Filho (Antonio Chechim Filho, Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos [São Paulo, 1987]). Souza Lima writes that the Excursion reached “more than 80 cities,” while Chechim raises this number to more than 100.
(...) to proclaim the power of Brazilian artistic will and to regiment soldiers and workers of national art – of this art which [now] flutters dispersed in the immensity of our territory, to mold a strong group, and to unleash a mighty voice – able to echo in all corners of Brazil – a shout – a thunderburst, formidable, unisonous and frightening: Brazilian Artistic Independence.\textsuperscript{131}

In the lines of Bádue Filho,\textsuperscript{132} the Excursions may be divided in three stages in 1931: the first goes from the second half of January to the first half of February, the second from the last week of February to the last week of March, and the third from July until the beginning of 1932. The group was integrated by Villa-Lobos as a cellist, his wife, Lucília, as pianist accompanist, Antonietta Rudge (1885-1974) as solo pianist, who gave her place to Souza Lima after the first stage of the Excursion, and the singer Nair Duarte Nunes, who due to an illness had to leave before the end of the first stage, returning only for the third stage. The singer Anita Gonçalves (1910-?) joined the caravan to substitute Nunes until her recovery. Other members of the group were Cleto Rocha, responsible for concert scheduling and administrative arrangements (equivalent to a musical producer), and Antonio Chechim Filho, a piano technician, responsible for the Gaveau that the group took by train to all the cities. The program of the concerts included mostly small-scale works by Villa-Lobos, J. S. Bach, D. Scarlatti, Beethoven, Chopin, Tchaikovsky, Debussy and Prokofiev.\textsuperscript{133}

In the intervals between the second and third stages of the Excursions, Villa-Lobos experienced the early results of his project: choral concerts on national holidays that employed more singers each time, eventually resulting in a massive choir concert organized by him, the first of the “Civic Exhortations,” performed on 31 May 1931 in a soccer stadium (Associação Atlética São Bento) with 12,000 singers from São Paulo city. It was the first major public demonstration

\textsuperscript{131} Béhague, \textit{Musical Soul}, 21.
\textsuperscript{132} Bádue Filho, “Excursão,” 52–53.
of the “musical efficacy of his medium of massive civic education.” The large-scale practice of choir singing was designated by him as *canto orfeônico* (“orpeonic singing”), which derives from the practice of the *orpéons* in France. Such a practice was known in Brazil since 1912, and as Béhague points out, Villa-Lobos “rightfully saw in that tradition not only the possibility of truly educating the masses in music in general and in Brazilian music of the day in particular, but also and perhaps foremost the adequate and efficient tool for inculcating a strong sentiment of patriotism and national identity.”

After concluding his artistic excursions in 1932, Villa-Lobos devoted himself to his educational project. With the excursions, the composer had experienced the cultural and educational difficulties experienced in many cities in the interior of the country. In response, Villa-Lobos requested that president Vargas create a governmental ministry for the preservation of the arts. In response, Vargas created the *SEMA – Superintendência de Educação Musical e Artística* (“Superintendence of Musical and Artistic Education”) which Villa-Lobos directed until 1941. According to the Maestro, the agency “plans, orients, cultivates and develops the study of music in the elementary schools, secondary education and other departments of the municipality where its influence is always beneficial and which has had remarkable results.” With the development of the program, he intended, by means of music education, to stimulate the civic sense and to strengthen the national pride, supplied by the consciousness of a national identity he was helping to build, using the orpheonic singing as his instrument. Indispensably, his program sought the

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135 *Orpéons* were French choral movements that frequently involved massive presentations with thousands of voices, usually composed by workers or soldiers. The idea started to be developed in 1815 by Guillaume Louis Bocquillon Wilhem, who advocated for the teaching of singing in schools. The term was used for the first time in 1830.
137 Ibid., 24–25.
training and qualification of music teachers and included three pedagogy courses in its curriculum: 1) course of rhythmic training; 2) course of preparation of lessons in choral singing; 3) special course in music and choral singing.\(^\text{138}\) The repertoire of his program consisted of pieces collected by him in the *Guia Prático* (1932-49), organized in 11 volumes with 137 popular and folk songs in choir arrangements for one to three voices, as well as solfeggio exercises and didactic guidelines.

As part of this pedagogical course, Villa-Lobos used the *Manossolfa*, a hand-signal system to indicate pitch, later including the concept of the “melody of the mountains,” a simple compositional process in which a melody is composed after a rendition of the outline of a landscape (employed in his *New York Skyline Melody*, composed in 1938). In 1942, Villa-Lobos became the director of the National Conservatory of Orpheonic Singing, created by the government in that year.

Inevitably, Villa-Lobos’s program became an instrument of the authoritarian state. However, the initiatives that created and developed the orpheonic singing came from him, and not from Vargas’s government. At the same time, the composer’s indifferent attitude towards Vargas’s authoritarian policies aroused indignation in his friend Mario de Andrade. When accused of being a collaborator of the *Estado Novo*, Villa-Lobos declared:

> They want to destroy an achievement, but they can’t. It’s not against me, it’s not against you, it’s against music, against art. I have interest for no regime whatsoever, in a political sense, and I don’t even have [political] ideals. What I want is discipline and love for art. I want to see a disciplined people. I envy the foreigner. The only thing that I am envious of the foreigner, the only one, is the education that the foreigner has, that we don’t have.

Among the many concerts promoted by the Maestro, the public exhortations organized by him assumed bigger proportions: in 1932, eighteen thousand voices; in 1935 and 37, thirty thousand voices with one thousand of band musicians; in 1940 and 41, forty thousand voices. In

In 1937, Villa-Lobos organized a commission with musicians such as Francisco Braga, Andrade Muricy and Manuel Bandeira to discuss the performance of the Brazilian national anthem. His version was officially recognized by government decree in 1942. Significantly for Brazilian history of music, in 1933, Villa-Lobos organized the first performance of Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis* in Brazil. Furthermore, in 1935, in celebration to Bach’s 250th anniversary, Villa-Lobos also promoted the first performance of Bach’s Mass in B minor in Rio de Janeiro.

In 1936, Villa-Lobos went to Europe in an airship to represent Brazil in a music education congress in Prague. Due to technical problems during the trip, the Maestro arrived 4 days after the congress was finished. Notwithstanding, he was able to give lectures about the orphic singing, *manossolfa* and *Guia Prática*, providing examples using a youth choir from there. From Prague, Villa-Lobos went to Vienna to adjudicate an international voice competition. Continuing his European trip, he passed through Berlin, Barcelona and Paris. During this trip, Villa-Lobos decided to terminate the relationship with his wife Lucília by communicating his will to her through short dispassionate letters. Lucília, deeply affected by the separation, never fully accepted Villa-Lobos’s decision, claiming she would continue to comply with her marital obligations and to use Villa-Lobos’s name, which she did until her death. In reality, Villa-Lobos was already having an affair with Arminda Neves d’Almeida (1901-1985, known as “Mindinha”), whom Lucília had introduced to him years earlier.

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139 Mariz, *Homem e a Obra*, 151.
141 The divorce was only implemented to Brazilian’s law in 1977.
The year of 1930 is a landmark in Villa-Lobos’s life in all aspects. In that year the Maestro decided to devote himself to all aspects of the music of his country. The position guaranteed to him by the government brought financial stability. The modernist aspect of his works, directly connected with the Parisian avant-garde, was about to be replaced by the return to traditional Brazilian forms and to the use of a compositional language that was more accessible to the public. The *Modinhas e Canções* (1933-1943), published in two albums, were harmonizations of popular tunes. Six string quartets (Nos. 5-10) with nationalistic characteristics were composed from 1931 to 1946. The famous *Ciclo Brasileiro* for piano as well as his Mass for St. Sebastian appeared in 1936/37. Moreover, in this year, the Cocoa Institute of Bahia commissioned the *Descobrimento do Brasil*, divided in four suites and used as a soundtrack for a film directed by Humberto Mauro.

In 1940, after ten years without writing for guitar, Villa-Lobos composed five *Prelúdios*. In 1939, he dedicated himself to the street *carnaval* from his youth with the foundation of the group *Sôldade do Cordão*, which included important popular musicians of the time, among them Angenor de Oliveira (1908-1980, the “Cartola”). Besides the music education project, Villa-Lobos dedicated himself from the years 1930 to 1945 to the composition of the series of pieces he entitled *Bachianas Brasileiras*. Nevertheless, shortly after Villa-Lobos’s death, the practice of the orphic singing became optional in most educational institutions and gradually started to disappear. It has not survived to the present day.

**United States and the International Success**

In 1941, on the recommendations of Leopold Stokowsky and Arthur Rubinstein, Villa-Lobos was invited by the United States Department of State as a special guest. The composer, however, resisted to the invitation until 1944, after the Allies had gained considerable advantage in World War II. In 1939, the war began in Europe, affecting all nations worldwide, especially
those whose governments were modeled on European authoritarian principles, among them Brazil. Earlier, in 1933, United States had started its “Good Neighbor Policy” in an attempt to improve relations with Latin America. In 1939, Carmen Miranda (1909-1955) had her Broadway debut performing *The Streets of Paris*. The same year, Villa-Lobos’s music was performed in New York World’s Fair by his friend Walter Burle-Marx, and in the following year, his works were performed at the Museum of Modern Art in conjunction with an exhibition of the Brazilian painter Cândido Portinari (1903-1962). In 1941 Walt Disney visited Rio de Janeiro, and Villa-Lobos was the one who showed him the *samba* and the richness of Brazilian popular culture. Villa-Lobos’s works were well received by the critics of New York Times, specially by Olin Downes, who played a role equivalent to the one of Mario de Andrade in Brazil and of Florent Schmitt in France. On the other hand, Villa-Lobos’s feelings about the invitation he received from the “Yankee Colossus of the North” are well expressed in his words:

> I will only go to the United States when the Americans want to receive me as they receive a European artist, that is, due to my own qualities and not because of political matters. I do not wish to find myself on an arranged stage, or to represent political reasons that would not do else but diminish me. If I see any poster with my name accompanied by the label “South-American” or “Brazilian,” I will not appear on the scene. When one announces Kreisler, Stravinsky or Mischa Elman, he does not write their home countries under their names. As long as we use this “good neighbor” formula, we will be in an unfavorable and humiliating position. This only gives the impression that we are worthless by ourselves and that we are only invited due to the goodwill of our wealthy neighbors. I am profoundly a Brazilian. However, for that reason, I do not believe I should get involved with the image of my country to be able to triumph as an artist.  

Finally, in 1944, Villa-Lobos reluctantly accepted the invitation. Without suspecting the importance this country would have in his life, he traveled to United States in October that year.

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142 Pieces of great caliber such as *Choros nos. 8 and 10, Bachianas Brasileiras no.5* and the *Trensinho do Caipira* (from *Bachianas Brasileiras no.2*) were performed on that day. Negwer, *Florescimento*, 241.
143 Mariz, *Homem e a Obra*, 115–16.
Although the Maestro did not speak English, he did not take long to adapt. In early 1945, the composer had the opportunity to present a chamber music concert at the Museum of Modern Art and at the University of Chicago, as well as to conduct some of the most important orchestras of New York, Boston and Los Angeles, including mostly his works in the programs. In all these concerts, the public heard his second symphony, *Choros Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12, Bachianas Brasileiras Nos. 1 and 7, Uirapuru, Rudepoema* for orchestra, the *Quatour* and the Trio no.3. The great success of his concerts resulted in a gala dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in the presence of many important musical figures of the time such as Benny Goodman, Toscanini, Stokowski, Copland, Ormandy, Duke Ellington, Arrau, Menuhin, and Cole Porter.

In 1945, back in Rio, Villa-Lobos founded the *Academia Brasileira de Música* (“Brazilian Music Academy”), a public institution which comprised 40 of the most important Brazilian musicians and musicologists of the time. Active today, the Academy disseminates the music of Brazil by promoting concerts, conferences, editing works and incentivizing research. The same year, Villa-Lobos suffered a blow to his financial stability: president Getúlio Vargas was deposed from his position by the Army, marking the end of the Fascist regime and the reinstitution of the Republic. Consequently, Villa-Lobos lost his governmental position. In 1946, Villa-Lobos promoted concerts in Rio de Janeiro and in Buenos Aires, including a variety of his pieces in the program such as the *Mandu-Çarará* (1940) and the *Concerto Para Piano no.1* (1945). The next year, having been hired to write the operetta *Magdalena* (only concluded and performed in 1948), Villa-Lobos made his second trip to United States accompanied by his friend, the pianist Vieira Brandão (1911-2002), who premiered the *Bachianas Brasileiras no.3* with the CBS Orchestra in New York.
After 1945, Europe started repairing the damage caused by the War. From August 1947, Villa-Lobos conducted concerts in Rome, Lisbon and in Paris, where he stayed until the first trimester of 1948. There, he was elected correspondent member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts de l’Institut de France. In mid-1948, the composer’s health suffered a blow due to bladder and prostate cancer. Surgery was necessary and his physicians recommended that he travel to United States to have the procedure performed. Villa-Lobos – with financial help provided by the Brazilian government in addition to some of the money he earned with the Magdalena – was admitted to New York’s Memorial Hospital to have his tumors removed in a successful operation. The composer’s health was restored, but he had to undergo treatment that made him reconsider his frenetic, workaholic way of life. After his recovery, Villa-Lobos took off on an extremely active period, including several tours with concerts and lectures in Brazil, Europe, United States and Israel, spending much of his time in Paris. During this stage of his life, the composer disseminated his works widely, to great acclaim in many countries. His huge success won him many awards, honorary titles and degrees from various institutions.

In 1955/56, the Maestro worked on his opera Yerma, and the following year he finished writing his “musical adventure” A Menina das Nuvens (The Girl of the Clouds). In 1957, New York became the center of his musical activities. In Brazil, in celebration to the composer’s 70th birthday, the year was declared the “Year of Villa-Lobos” by the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the city of São Paulo celebrated a “Villa-Lobos Week.” In 1958, he was engaged to compose the soundtrack of the movie “Green Mansions,” commissioned by Metro Goldwin Mayer, directed by Mel Ferrer and starring Audrey Hepburn and Anthony Perkins. Villa-Lobos, however, wanted to base his score on the romance by W. H. Hudson, and not on the actual movie’s script. Therefore, Ferrer hired Bronislaw Kaper, a composer more experienced in this field, who
used musical material from Villa-Lobos piece to compose his own soundtrack. Villa-Lobos then changed the name of his piece to *Floresta do Amazonas* to allow its execution. In 1958, Villa-Lobos wrote two choral pieces: *Magnificat Aleluia*, commissioned by the Vatican, and the *Bendita Sabedoria*, dedicated to the New York University, which had awarded him with an honorary degree. In 1959, the Maestro served as judge for the Pablo Casals International Competition in Mexico and, soon after, gave concerts in Paris, London, Italy and Spain. In July, Villa-Lobos went to Rio de Janeiro for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Municipal Theater. Soon afterwards, his health declined and he passed away in November of that year from leukemia.

Villa-Lobos was highly productive in the last fifteen years of his life (1944-1959), revisiting traditional forms (Symphonies nos. 6 to 12), giving continuity to others (String Quartets nos. 11 to 17), and incorporating new ones to his production (Concertos for other solo instruments such as for harp, harmonica, guitar and five for piano, or a Fantasy for Saxophone). Indeed, by the beginning of this period, the composer had already reached compositional maturity, which was acknowledged by his public, meaning that he was no longer expected to be innovative, but simply to be what he already was. The public and the critics, naturally, expected to see the “composer of the *Bachianas* and of the *Choros,*” and not an experimentalist character who followed the current trends of the 1940s/50s, all of which were going in a completely different direction aesthetically and conceptually. Villa-Lobos strongly contributed to the construction of the Brazilian culture, a fact of which he was totally conscious. However, it is possible that his style had such a great cultural reach and depth that – given the characteristics of the European and

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144 His sixth symphony (1944) came 24 years after his fifth (1920), and among all his symphonies, the *no.10* deserves a highlight. Subtitled “Sume pater patrium,” it was written in 1952 for the celebration of the fourth centenary of the city of São Paulo, commissioned by the government, and represents a high point of late Villa-Lobos’s compositional style.
American centers to which it was produced – it has exhausted in itself, not giving space to any further development by the next generations. Although he never had pupils and never developed a compositional school, he had “followers” who had important participation in the Brazilian musical culture even if their musical language is considerably different from Villa-Lobos’ s. Some names are Camargo Guarnieri (1907-1993), Oscar Lorenzo Fernandes (1897-1948), Francisco Mignone (1897-1986), and Cláudio Santoro (1919-1989) among others. At present, it is certain that his music will be played and will continue to spread the beauties of a culture that has the power to captivate everyone who experiences it: the Brazilian culture. After all, it is not hard to understand the music of the Maestro, who explains it in simple words:

(…) this is why I became a profound and eternal slave of the life of Brazil, of its things. And since I do not have the gift of the word or the pen, but I have the gift of the sound and rhythm, I transpose in sounds and rhythms such an insane love for a country. This is my presentation.145

145 Heitor Villa-Lobos, Villa-Lobos - O Intérprete, Vinyl, LP (Caravelle Discos do Brasil S.A., 1970), lecture by the composer. “(…) foi por isso que eu me tornei um escravo profundo e eterno da vida do Brasil, das cousas do Brasil. E como não tenho o dom da palavra nem da pena, mas tive o dom do som e do ritmo, transponho em sons e ritmos essa loucura de amor por uma pátria. Essa é minha apresentação.”
CHAPTER 3. BACHIANAS BRASILEIRAS

Historical and Stylistic Introduction

The Bachianas Brasileiras series, along with the Choros, holds an important position within Villa-Lobos’s compositions and is largely responsible for the composer’s international reputation. Written between 1930-1945, they consist of nine multi-movement pieces (or suites) written for a varied combination of instruments and voice. On a first approach, the uniqueness of the Bachianas is primarily found in the duality expressed by its title, a dialogue between two different compositional languages: Bach and Brazilian popular music. This dialogue is also found in the name of most of the movements of these suites, which feature both a “Bachian” and a “Brazilian” name. Table 3.1 below provides a better view of the whole series. The second edition of the Villa-Lobos catalogue includes a definition of the Bachianas Brasileiras, taken from Estudo de H. Villa-Lobos, published in 1947 in Rio de Janeiro:

Bachianas Brasileiras – title of a compositional genre created from 1930 to 1945 to pay tribute to the great genius Johan Sebastian Bach. The Bachianas Brasileiras, numbering 9 suites, are inspired by the musical atmosphere of Bach, considered [by the author] as a universal folkloric source, rich and profound, with all the popular sound materials from all the countries, of all people. [For Villa-Lobos], the music of Bach comes from the astral infinite to infiltrate in the Earth as folkloric music, and the cosmic phenomenon reproduces itself on the soils, subdividing in the various parts of the globe, tending to become universal.146

In the composer’s own words, the Bachianas are based “in the constant familiarity with the works of Johan Sebastian Bach, as well as in the spontaneous affinity with the harmonic environment, contrapunctual and melodic, as one of the main modalities of folk music from the Northeast of Brazil.”147 On the other hand, Villa-Lobos does not seem to have given his Bachianas

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146 Museu Villa-Lobos, Sua Obra, 1972, 187.
Table 3.1. *Bachianas Brasileiras*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Premiere</th>
<th>Instrumentation(s)</th>
<th>“Bachian” Title</th>
<th>“Brazilian” Title</th>
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<td>1930, SP</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Cello Orchestra</td>
<td>I. <em>Introdução</em></td>
<td>(Embolada)</td>
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<td>II. <em>Prelúdio</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>III. <em>Fuga</em></td>
<td>(Conversa)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1930/31, SP</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Chamber Orchestra</td>
<td>I. <em>Prelúdio</em></td>
<td>(O Canto do Capadócio)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Cello and Piano (I, II, IV)</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>Solo Piano (III)</td>
<td>III. <em>Dansa</em></td>
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<td>IV. <em>Tocata</em></td>
<td>(O Trenzinho do Caipira)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1938, RJ</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Piano and Orchestra</td>
<td>I. <em>Prelúdio</em></td>
<td>(Ponteio)</td>
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<td>III. <em>Ária</em></td>
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<td>IV. <em>Tocata</em></td>
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<td>1939</td>
<td>Solo Piano</td>
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<td>(Introdução)</td>
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<td>IV. <em>Dança</em></td>
<td>(Miudinho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1938, RJ (I)</td>
<td>1939 (I)</td>
<td>Soprano and Cello Orchestra (there are transcriptions for voice and guitar, and for voice and piano)</td>
<td>I. <em>Ária</em></td>
<td>(Cantilena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1945 (II)</td>
<td>1947 (II)</td>
<td></td>
<td>II. <em>Dança</em></td>
<td>(Martelena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1938, RJ</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Duo: Flute and Bassoon</td>
<td>I. <em>Ária</em></td>
<td>(Choro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>II. <em>Fantasia</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1942, RJ</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>I. <em>Prelúdio</em></td>
<td>(Ponteoio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>II. <em>Giga</em></td>
<td>(Quadrilha Caipira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>III. <em>Tocata</em></td>
<td>(Desafio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IV. <em>Fuga</em></td>
<td>(Conversa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 8  | 1944, RJ    | 1947     | Orchestra          | I. *Prelúdio*   | --------
|    |             |          |                    | II. *Ária*      | --------
|    |             |          |                    | III. *Tocata*   | --------
|    |             |          |                    | IV. *Fuga*      | --------
| 9  | 1945, NY    | 1948     | String Orchestra or A Cappella Choir | I. *Prelúdio* | --------
|    |             | 1975     |                    | II. *Fuga*      | --------

the same importance as did most of his scholars. In an episode narrated by Nóbrega, when a journalist referred to Villa-Lobos as the “author of the *Bachianas,*” the composer corrected him saying: “Don’t write ‘author of the Bachianas.’ Why always the Bachianas? I have other music,
too, that are more serious.” In another situation, when questioned by the French composer Pierre Vidal in 1958, the composer replied:

(...) there is nothing to be explained about the “Bachianas.” I formulated titles, forms, but the title simply means: a tribute to Bach, who is for me the greatest musician in the world. As I had to say something, since I cannot speak German very well, not even the language of the eternity, I speak a little bit of music in honor of this man. That is all.

In fact, the compositional language of the Bachianas is often approached as a result of an “aesthetic regression.” In the year 1930, Villa-Lobos had already composed very important works among which we have Uirapuru, Amazonas, Quatour, Prole do Bebê Nos. 1 and 2, Rudepoema, the cycles of the Cirandas, Serestas and all the Choros. These are only some examples of pieces that predominantly guaranteed Villa-Lobos a position in the Parisian avant-garde during the 1920s. The series of Choros, one of the most important products of this decade, is permeated by traces of fauvism and primitivism. The Bachianas, however, contain a simpler discourse, sourced in romantic traditions, more recognizable to the general “uneducated” public, that is, “a Villa-Lobos to ‘listen and enjoy.’” In this respect, Arcanjo writes:

There is unanimity in considering the Bachianas Brasileiras as an aesthetic retreat within the artistic trajectory of Villa-Lobos, that went from the modern Choros, composed in the decade of 1920, to a decade more contained, in which a classic-romantic aesthetic began to dictate the musical writing of the Brazilian composer based on his relations with the nationalist politics [of Vargas’s regime].

For Tarasti, in the Bachianas “Villa-Lobos fulfills this idea of original cantabile intonation. This one aspect which contrasts them with the fauvism and avant-gardism of the Choros. In this sense one may speak of a new style which cannot be reduced to the late-romantic

148 Nóbrega, Bachianas, 22.
149 Felice, “Referenciais,” 27.
150 Mariz, Homem e a Obra, 179.
151 Negwer, Florescimento, 222.
152 Arcanjo Jr., “Ritmo,” 17.
and half-impressionist sonority of Villa-Lobos’s early style – as Peppercorn suggests.”

Guilherme Bernstein Seixas compares in general lines the style of the two series. In 2009, he writes:

Instead of short melodic fragments rhythmically animated, the typical melodic form of the *Bachianas* is the long linear melody, whose characteristics are in agreement with the descriptions of Brazilian music made by Mário de Andrade, and with the popular *choro* by José Maria Neves (“tortured and restless melody, descending phrases, organization often in thirds, variations on the melodic line;” “combination of large jumps and joint degree, alternation of severe and acute regions, dialogue between bass and melody” etc. respectively). (…)

While in the great orchestral works that were premiered before the *Bachianas* (*Choros* Nos. 10 and 8, and *Amazonas*) we find a polytonalism often seen as savage, most of us find in the *Bachianas* a chordal harmony of overlapping thirds, with functional harmonic relations, or modally functional, even if frequent additions of seconds, sixths, sevenths etc, enrich the sound, vertically speaking, and actively influence the original melodic line. Its formal construction is done by themes, rather than by elaboration of short motifs, and there is absolute clarity in the delimitation of sections, which are built on traditional principles of repetition and contrast around small binary and ternary form.

Whereas we may have a vague idea of how Villa-Lobos used Brazilian popular music in the *Bachianas Brasileiras*, the role of Bach and his musical language within the series is still not clear. In order to better understand the manifestations of these two very distant worlds in the *Bachianas*, we should start with what the composer wanted to us to believe. Many of the legends created around Villa-Lobos’s name were originated in his first biographies, especially in the one written by Vasco Mariz in 1947. About the music gatherings organized by Villa-Lobos father, Raul, Mariz writes:

The adoration for Bach dates from when the composer was eight years old. The explanation does not imply any kind of geniality: the boy had had enough of that banal music that was assaulting him everywhere and wanted to hold on to something different.

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Two things seemed unusual to him: Bach and folk music. An irresistible force impelled him to Bach. His age prevented him to comprehend this music immediately, but this, at that moment, was not very important – that music was different and that was it. The responsible for this predilection was his aunt Zizinha, good pianist and great enthusiast of the Well-Tempered Clavier. And the little Heitor used to be ecstatic before the preludes and fugues played by his aunt. (...) Early we wrote that Bach and the folk music seemed to be unusual to him. In reality, the boy even sensed a relation between these two genres that are so different, at least apparently. As the years went by, these doubts and questions were clarified (...).156

Guérios, with his critical biographical approach from 2003, identifies in the composer the tendency of considering himself predestined to accomplish a major goal, in this case, to compose the series of the Bachianas. To him, “more than a report about the composer’s childhood, we have there an ex post creation, made dialectically between the biographer and the biographed.”157 This idea is reviewed in details by Arcanjo in his historiographical study about the Bachianas Brasileiras (2007). About this fact, he writes:

The “adoration for Bach” since the age of eight, highlighted by Mariz, points to the existence of a modern composer “ahead of his time.” The boy, “tired of that banal music,” listened to Bach. How could it not seem premature a boy that “sensed” a relation between the “folk music” and Bach’s compositions? (...) In materializing the image of Villa-Lobos as a model of a modern artist predestined to write pieces, yet in his childhood, these biographies did not promote a debate between the relation of this autobiographic discourse with the historical context in which it was valorized, that is, in the moment of the creation of the pieces in honor to Bach.158

Arcanjo supports the idea that the image suggested through “predestination” aims to establish a modernist tendency proposed by Oswald de Andrade and the “anthropophagic” group. According to them, nationalism should be constructed by the “intuitive” assimilation of cultural elements of that nation. Accordingly, “besides the Bachian music, the contact between Villa-Lobos and the popular music is valorized as a fact already present in his childhood. Both influences were

156 Ibid., 26.
157 Guérios, Heitor Villa-Lobos, 30.
a product of his *intuition*, whereas Villa-Lobos ‘sensed a relation between these two genres that are so different, at least apparently.’”  

159 Other events in the life of Villa-Lobos are still considered important for the creation of the *Bachianas*. Among them we can mention his familiarity and coexistence with the *chorões* and his controversial trips through the North and Northeast of Brazil, in which Villa-Lobos claimed to have “assimilated the most diverse musical manifestations of the people: from the *toadas* and *cateretês* of Minas Gerais to the *Macumba* of Bahia; from the urban music of Rio de Janeiro to the *maracatus* of Recife; from the modalism of the Northeastern songs to the oratory of the declaimed tunes of the Amazonian *çairês*.”

160 We cannot forget the composer’s supposed journeys through Amazon forest where he claimed to have made an ethnologic research. Although there are no sources that prove the factuality of most of these adventures and researches, Arcanjo makes the point that Villa-Lobos, in trying to sell this image of himself, is once more following a modernist tendency, this time not idealized by Oswald de Andrade, but by his friend, Mario de Andrade. As Arcanjo explains:

(…) while the work of Oswald de Andrade valued the *intuition* as a necessary property for the apprehension of Brazilian culture, that of Mário de Andrade defended the field research as a necessary instrument in the process of constructing the national, as the musicologist makes evident in his *Ensaio* published in 1928. The lines of Villa-Lobos oscillate between these two tendencies.

161 Furthermore, advancing our attempt to understand the implications that helped to originate the concept of *Bachianas Brasileiras*, we should examine the European musical environment from 1910 to 1930. Although during this period the public of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro remained conservatives upon the aesthetics in force, cultivating a music that was grounded in romantic traditions, meanwhile the European modernists were trying to radically break traditions of the 19th century.

159 Ibid., 42.
161 Arcanjo Jr., “Ritmo,” 43.
century while searching for new ways to construct their own music. Among the composers that contributed to these ruptures are Debussy (impressionism), Schömberg (atonalism and the 12-tone serialism, continued by his disciples Berg and Webern), Pratella and Russolo (futurism) etc. In this context, in the 1920s, Bach’s music was still “an option to the composers (…). In Europe, during this decade, one could think about two tendencies of this ‘return to Bach:’ one that envisioned the rediscovery of objectivity in the pure music, and another that was based on a historical dialect to characterize a new universality of style.”

The resurgence of Bach’s music, however, traces back to the first half of 19th century. In the beginning of this century, the English organist Samuel Wesley (1766-1873) became acquainted with the music of Bach and later became one of the leading figures of the English Bach movement, along with Karl Friedrich Horn, Vincent Novello, and Benjamin Jacob among others. The group made a big effort to promote the music of the German composer by often organizing concerts (often including Bach’s pieces in their repertoire), promoting lectures etc. In 1809, Wesley in collaboration with Horn published Bach’s six organ trio sonatas, and between 1810 and 1813, both worked together in the edition of The Well-Tempered Clavier. In Germany, 1823, the young Mendelssohn received as a gift from his grandmother a copy of St. Mathew Passion, which he presented in 1829 at the Berlin Singakademie, marking the great revival of Bach’s music in Europe. In the following year, Bach’s name started to appear in some articles of the Revue Musicale. Twenty years later, in 1850, the Bach-Gesellschaft (Bach Society) was founded on the centenary of Bach’s death with the purpose of publishing a complete critical edition of his works, which was completed in 1900. In France, on the second half of 19th century, important works of Bach were performed such as the Orchestral Suite in B minor (1873) and the B minor Mass (1891).

162 Ibid., 58-59.
In this context, towards the end of 19th century, Bach was revived and the “myth around his image” was created. Dudeque identifies two tendencies within this Romantic movement: “the first is characterized by the search for a reliable paradigm, an unquestionable authority; the second, a tendency to seek refuge (or support) in the established order of the grandiosity of the past. Therefore, Bach’s music and image became the necessary epitome for the aesthetic ideals of these tendencies.”¹⁶³ These aesthetic ideals evoked concepts of musical purity, grandeur and universality. As Arcanjo describes:

In Europe, the 19th century was the founding moment of this rescue of Bach’s music, as well as of the creation of the myth around his image. Several initiatives were crucial in bringing back Bach’s music to the four corners of Europe. The executions of his works from this moment had as aesthetic ideal the orchestral and sonorous monumentality, properties of the Romantic musical culture cultivated by musicians of the period such as Richard Wagner and Franz Liszt. To perform Bach’s music, an orchestra was needed of two or three hundred musicians, singers and instrumentalists.¹⁶⁴

In the beginning of 20th century, Bach had already become a legendary character. Max Reger (1873-1916) became the most prominent figure who inherited the tradition of the “Romantic Bach.” According to him, Bach was “the beginning and the end of all music; father omnipresent, godfather of music, father of harmony.”¹⁶⁵ In 1919, Richard Strauss writes Die Frau ohne Schatten, an opera with neo-baroque characteristics. The following decade of this century solidified a new tendency to deal with Bach’s music, based on the idea of “restoration,” a “retour to Bach.”¹⁶⁶ This tendency, a crucial component of Neoclassicism, was led by Igor Stravinsky who, with works such as the Octour (1923), Piano Sonata (1924), suite Pulcinella (1924) and the Sérénade en la (1925), renounced the nationalistic character previously cultivated by him.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.
Following this idea, Stravinsky favored the return to the “source of universal musical values.” In Germany, Hindemith and Schönberg represented trends which incorporated the Bachian musical language to their compositions and music theorizations. From this practice, “Schönberg recognizes having inherited four main ideas: 1. a counterpoint-based thinking; 2. the art of developing every musical material out of a single entity; 3. the development of interchangeable settings; and 4. the emancipation of the traditional metric, of the ‘down beat.’”

All these events show that the return to Bach adopted by Villa-Lobos in the 1930s is much more a continuity to the Neoclassical trends, already in force in Europe since early 1900s, than an original product of a man predestined to make the music of his country universal through the music of Bach. Following these lines, Felice writes:

However, the “return to Bach” was not an isolated invention of Villa-Lobos in creating the Bachianas Brasileiras. In returning to the German master, the fact itself already puts Villa-Lobos in consonance with the contemporary European composers, making evident that Villa-Lobos was not an intuitive composer, purely nationalist, not aware of the aesthetic tendencies of the rest of the world.

Moreover, Guérios, in his chapter about the genesis and development of national music in Europe, points out the concepts of civilization and Kultur, to which the context of the creation of the Bachianas Brasileiras may be associated. About these concepts, the sociologist Norbert Elias in 1939 writes:

The French and English concept of civilization can refer to political or economic, religious or technical, moral or social facts. The German concept of Kultur refers essentially to intellectual, artistic and religious facts, and has a tendency to draw a sharp dividing line between facts of this sort, on the one side, and political, economic and social facts, on the other. (…)

Whereas the concept of civilization has the function of giving expression to the continuously expansionist tendency of colonizing groups, the concept of Kultur mirrors the self-consciousness of a nation which had constantly to seek out and constitute its

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167 Ibid., 67.
boundaries anew, in a political as well as a spiritual sense, and again and again had to ask itself: "What really is our identity?\textsuperscript{170}

For Arcanjo, it is within this “very complex context” of civilization and \textit{Kultur} that the notion of “universality” used by Villa-Lobos while describing the works of Bach was born. According to him,

\begin{quote}
(...) the search for a pretended \textit{universality} had in music more than an ally, an instrument. Within the German idea of \textit{kultur}, “universal music” would result from the incorporation of popular culture into national cultural production. Unlike the French notion of \textit{civilization}, the German idea of \textit{kultur} implied the incorporation of “folklore” as the essence of nationality. From this appropriation of traditional culture by the erudite production, the construction of the nationality was the means to achieve the so craved universality.\textsuperscript{171}
\end{quote}

Naturally, even if indirectly, the idea of romanticizing Bach’s image in the context of the creation of a universal cultural identity must have been elected by Villa-Lobos as the best way to proceed with his compositions within his objectives of educating the people of his homeland. The years the \textit{Bachianas Brasileiras} were composed, 1930 to 1945, coincided with the period the composer worked as musical educator for Vargas government. At this time, he made several transcriptions of Bach’s pieces with didactic purposes. These transcriptions were made for various orchestral formations (Table 3.2), some of which were arranged in choral parts and used in his orphiecon singing program. Bach’s music was then included in several concerts (including those of the Artistic Excursion, in which were performed transcriptions for cello and piano), lectures and educational events. For Villa-Lobos, the Brazilian general public lacked enough musical culture to properly appreciate the refinement and complexity of Bach’s music. As Arcanjo observes, “in this way, Bachian music could be a pedagogical instrument that, mixed with the ‘primitive’

\textsuperscript{171} Arcanjo Jr., “Ritmo,” 75.
Brazilian musical tradition, through ‘small dosages’ as in the *Bachianas Brasileiras*, could produce the desired effect for a ‘developing’ culture.”172

### Table 3.2. Villa-Lobos’s Instrumental Transcriptions of Works by J. S. Bach. Villa-Lobos Catalogue (2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year/Place</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>BWV</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Premiere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Fuga</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Cello and Piano</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930, RJ</td>
<td>Prelúdio Nº 8 (WTC** I)</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>Cello and Piano*</td>
<td>1931, Cachoeira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931, RJ</td>
<td>Prelúdio Nº 14 (WTC II)</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>Cello and Piano*</td>
<td>1931, Pirajuí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931, RJ</td>
<td>Fuga Nº 10 (WTC I)</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>Cello and Piano</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Tocata e Fuga Nº 3 (Organ)</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>1944, Rio de Janeiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938, RJ</td>
<td>Prelúdio e Fuga Nº 6 (Organ)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>1953, Caracas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938, RJ</td>
<td>Prelúdio e Fuga Nº 4 (WTC ?)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941, RJ</td>
<td>Fuga Nº 1 (WTC I)</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>Cello Orchestra*</td>
<td>1941, Rio de Janeiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941, RJ</td>
<td>Fuga Nº 5 (WTC II)</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>Cello Orchestra*</td>
<td>1941, Rio de Janeiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941, RJ</td>
<td>Fuga Nº 8 (WTC I)</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>Cello Orchestra*</td>
<td>1941, Rio de Janeiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941, RJ</td>
<td>Fuga Nº 21 (WTC II)</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>Cello Orchestra*</td>
<td>1958, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941, RJ</td>
<td>Prelúdio Nº 8 (WTC I)</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>Cello Orchestra*</td>
<td>1941, Rio de Janeiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941, RJ</td>
<td>Prelúdio Nº 14 (WTC II)</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>Cello Orchestra*</td>
<td>1941, Rio de Janeiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941, RJ</td>
<td>Prelúdio Nº 22 (WTC I)</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>Cello Orchestra*</td>
<td>1941, Rio de Janeiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942, RJ</td>
<td>Fantasia e Fuga Nº 6 (Organ)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Orchestra</td>
<td>1956, Atlanta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Arranged for a capella choir

** WTC stands for Well-Tempered Clavier (Book I or II)

The modernism that prevailed in Brazil in the 1930s was no longer as of the previous decade, characterized by its active rejection of romantic traditions. On the contrary, as Felice observes, “the series of the *Bachianas* would be included in the proposal of a more mature modernism, which did not deny romanticism, but gave it a more modern clothing.”173 Therefore, the same romanticism that brought Bach’s music back to the surface, constructing a nationalist image of his works, was used in Brazil as a “cultural filter”174 by this more mature modernism, also nationalist in character. It may not be very surprising that in Brazil Villa-Lobos was not a

172 Ibid., 68.
pioneer in this idea either. The restoration he sought may have been somehow inherited from composers of Brazilian romantic music from a few generations before, who in their works made allusions to the music of the past, especially to that of the Baroque era. Among these works are the *Suíte Antiga* Op. 25 by Leopoldo Miguéz (1850-1902) and the *Suíte Antiga* Op. 11 by Alberto Nepomuceno (1864-1920).\(^{175}\) In the context of Villa-Lobos’s *Bachianas*, the presence of a classical-romantic aesthetic is in one way reflected in the orchestrations of some of these pieces: the use of a great romantic orchestra rooted on the 19\(^{\text{th}}\) century, with balanced timbers and sections. This style was very different from the experimental formations he utilized in his *Choros*, stressing the idea he assimilated the music of Bach through the lens of this tradition.\(^{176}\)

Nevertheless, it remains to be seen how exactly the Brazilian popular music relates to the music of Bach and how Villa-Lobos incorporated the music of the German master into his *Bachianas Brasileiras*, as the composer never left any account systematizing these relations. Certainly, more research needs to be done to fulfill this field. From the start, in choosing the form *suite* to frame most of the *Bachianas*, as observed by Arcanjo,\(^{177}\) Villa-Lobos may be following the idea expressed by Mário de Andrade in his *Ensaio da Música Brasileira* that the dance suite is a common factor that connects both the European tradition and the Brazilian popular culture. For Andrade, “the suite form (series of dances) is nobody’s patrimony,”\(^{178}\) or in other words: it is universal.

Nóbrega successfully traces some hypothetical parallels between these two worlds. To him, the melodic contour found in the first measures of the *Corrente* from Bach’s Partita in e minor

\(^{175}\) Dudeque, “Influências,” 68 Footnote 6.
\(^{176}\) Arcanjo Jr., “Ritmo,” 17.
\(^{177}\) Ibid., 108.
BWV 830 could easily become a Brazilian melody in the same way that, with a few rhythmic alterations, the three first bars of Prelude from the Cello Suite no.2 BWV 1008 could be turned to a *modinha*; the melody *Badinerie* from the Flute Suite no.2 BWV 1067 would fit “without any restraint” in one of Pixinguinha’s *chorinhos* as would, taken note by note, the instrumental introduction of the *Domine Deus* from the B minor Mass BWV 232; the main theme of the two-part invention in F minor BWV 780 could be heard as a warm *modinha* the same way as the commentaries played by the violins in the *Aria a due* from the Cantata no.79 BWV 79 could be heard as music played by the accordionists from the Brazilian hinterlands. ¹⁷⁹ After stating that, directly or not, there is a clear influence of Bach in the music of chorões such as Pixinguinha, Callado and Chiquinha Gonzaga, Nóbrega remarks:

(…) it is not to be understood that [the *Bachianas Brasileiras*] are rhapsodies of Bachian and Brazilian motives, nor that they assume the form of arrangements or adaptations of one or the other. No theme by Bach is used in any of them and only two Brazilian themes were used: in the *Bachianas no.4* the *Ária (Cantiga)* is nourished by the Northeastern melody “Ó mana deix’eu ir” (…) and the *Dança (Miudinho)* includes “*Vamos, Maruca,*” collected in São Paulo.” What the works of this cycle accomplish is the fusion of the creational process of the Brazilian popular music (in the melodic, harmonic and contrapunctual aspects) with Bach’s musical atmosphere. ¹⁸⁰

Nóbrega also points out to Villa-Lobos’s use of counterpoint, “imitative style” and melodies with a character of “exactitude.”¹⁸¹ The counterpoint would represent a “horizontally-oriented” writing instead of a “vertical” one, oriented by chords. The imitative style is used as an opposition to the “dramatic development” of the sonata form: “during the Baroque, the ‘imitation’ played by the voices created rich possibilities which was enough to lay aside the imperious

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¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 16.
necessity of the development in a classical fashion.”  

In the same lines, the “exactitude” of some melodies, such as the ones used in the opening of nos. 4 and 5, make them “self-sufficient,” easier to appreciate, in accordance with the “educational” goals the composer attributed to these pieces. This may explain why Villa-Lobos predominantly chose the A-B-A form to the movements of his Bachianas, with almost no developmental sections.

For Béhague, “several genres of Brazilian folk and popular instrumental music exhibit in their improvisatory nature a notable melodic independence, with themes frequently involving repeated and triadic or broken chord figurations, and with strongly functional harmonic support.”  

Béhague also observes that some rhythmic characteristics present in the instrumental music of Bach (especially the fast movements) - such as a “recurring pulsation” often notated in sixteenth notes, and “cross-rhythmic and syncopated layouts” – are present in many Brazilian dances and folksongs. Turning to Villa-Lobos, Béhague states that “the national elements of the Bachianas tend to be conveyed primarily by rhythmic structures, then by certain melodic types and treatment, and by timbral associations.” Furthermore, the musicologist points out elements of the Bachianas and their relation with the Baroque composers. Examples include melodic sequences of the Modinha from Bachianas no. 1 and some slow movements by Vivaldi; circle of fifths progressions where the seventh of one chord resolves in the third of the next one and its presence in the music of Bach, Rameau, Vivaldi and other eighteen century composers; ostinato figures and long pedals and their presence in the music of Bach; and clear textures and fugues and Baroque music in general.

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182 Ibid.
183 Béhague, Musical Soul, 106.
184 Ibid., 107.
185 Ibid., 110-11.
Luís Paulo Horta also brings attention to the improvisatory character present in some of the *Bachianas*. He writes:

Between “chorões” and baroques, there is the kinship of the youth of ideas and improvisation. The solid melodic “ornamental” design of baroque music is seldomly found in the scores of the classicism (Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven). These are intrinsically *dramatic*, while in the choro, as in the baroque, the melodic coloring is more prone to expand.\(^\text{186}\)

Melodies such as the ones of the beginning of *Embolada* from *Bachianas no.1*, *O Canto do Capadócio*, the central section of *O Canto da Nossa Terra*, the *Cantilena* from *Bachianas no.5*, the flute line in the beginning of the *Choro* from *Bachianas no.6* could be considered good examples of this improvisatory style mentioned by Horta. He then continues, now pointing out aspects of counterpoint:

Another approach is the tone of *conversa* [conversation] that leads spontaneously to the counterpoint (…); moreover, the melodic invention that usually starts from a strong and steady rhythm – such as the chorinhos, or the gigas. The taste of invention, in either case, spares the romanticism and sentimentality: when the invention is sufficiently successful, the music seems to play itself. This is the famous “sewing machine” effect, felt both in Bach and in the best music of the *chorões*.\(^\text{187}\)

This “sewing machine effect” is easily observed in all the Fugues (*Conversas*), as well as in some accompaniment figures such as the one of the *Cantilena* from *Bachianas no.5*, the main theme of the *Ponteio* from *Bachianas no.7*, the *Quadrilha Caipira* of the same piece, the *Embolada* of *Bachianas no.1*; or in the dialogue between the flute and the bassoon in the *no.6*.

Furthermore, we should not fail to mention the double denomination of the movements as a way of uniting the Bachian and the Brazilian worlds. As mentioned above, with few exceptions, the movements of the *Bachianas Brasileiras* feature two names, one indicating a form or rhythm (Neoclassical) and the other representing the expression with which the pieces should be

\(^{186}\) Horta, *Introdução*, 70–71.  
\(^{187}\) Ibid.
performed (Brazilian). Thus, the Preludes are sometimes denominated *Modinha*, or *O Canto do Capadócio*, or *Ponteio*; the Arias are called *O Canto da Nossa Terra*, *Modinha*, *Cantiga*, or *Cantilena*; the Toccatas creatively appear as *O Trenzinho do Caipira*, *Pica-Pau*, *Desafio* and *Cátira Batida*, the Fugues are *Conversas* (“conversations”) etc.\(^\text{188}\)

The *embolada*, used in the *Bachianas no.1*, is a poetic-musical form from Northeast of Brazil characterized by its binary metric and moved tempo, featuring a refrain or a responsory dialogue. The *ponteio*, used as prelude in the *Bachianas no.3* and *no.7*, is a free type of composition, based on the playing of Brazilian guitarists form the Northern countryside. *Devaneio* (“reverie”) is used in combination with the “freeness” of the fantasy of *Bachianas no.3*. *Pica-Pau* (“woodpecker”), also from *no.3*, is a traditional dance from Northeast of Brazil inspired in the movement of the bird’s beak. *Cantiga* and *cantilena* are lyrical popular songs, which is the reason Villa-Lobos paired these names with arias. The *miudinho* of *Bachianas no.4* is a ballroom dance rooted in African traditions cultivated in the first half of 19\(^{th}\) century. It developed to a modality of *samba* in the state of Bahia.\(^\text{189}\) The *martelo* of *Bachianas no.5* is a poetic composition cultivated by Northeastern popular singers, sometimes in improvisations. The *quadrilha caipira* of *no.7* is a countryside contradance, inherited from European traditions (English and French). *Desafio* (“challenge”), from the same *Bachianas*, is a form of poetry that recalls ancient Greece, brought to Brazil through the Portuguese influence, where it became a dispute between popular singers who challenge one another in improvisatory rounds.\(^\text{190}\) *Cátira batida* of *Bachianas no.8* is an indigenous dance, variant of the *cateretê*, cultivated since the colonial era in the rural parts of South Brazil.

\(^{188}\) Nóbrega, *Bachianas*, 16.
\(^{189}\) Palma, *As Bachianas Brasileiras de Villa-Lobos*, 16.
\(^{190}\) Nóbrega, *Bachianas*, 106.
Bachianas Brasileiras No. 2

Each movement of the Bachianas Brasileiras number 2 aesthetically evokes some typical and suggestive panorama of the life of Brazil, represented by the subtitles. The first movement, Prelúdio, reflects the image of the Capadócio – a type of Brazilian scoundrel – who presents himself waddling, winding, in a true adagio.

The Ária (Canto de Nossa Terra) has a sonorous environment of candomblés and macumbas, and the Dança (Lembrança do Sertão) has the main melody for trombone and a progression of the modulating “basses.”

The Tocata (O Trenzinho do Caipira) features impressions of a journey in the little trains through the hinterlands of Brazil. Its instrumentation and sonorous environment are completely original, although the Tocata form prevails obstinately.191

The passage above represents Villa-Lobos’s descriptions of his Bachianas Brasileiras no.2. Even though this paper aims to encompass other aspects related to the origin of this composition involving the pieces for cello and piano, the official accounts associate the name Bachianas no.2 with a piece written for chamber orchestra in São Paulo, 1930, premiered in 1938 in Venice and published by Ricordi in 1949. The orchestration includes: piccolo, flute, oboe, clarinet, tenor and baritone saxophones, contrabassoon, bassoon, 2 horns, timpani, chocalhos (a kind of Brazilian rattle), reco-reco (a scrapper of African origin used in Brazil), triangle, cymbals, ganzá (another Brazilian shaker), pandeiro (hand frame drum), bombo (a bass drum), matraca (wooden ratchet), snare drum, celesta, piano, and strings. The inclusion of exotic Brazilian instruments in the percussion is noticeable.

The first three movements were written in ternary form (A-B-A) and the fourth is monothematic (A-A, both sections separated by a cadenza). The order of the movements gives an unusual balance to the piece: two slow movements (Prelúdio and Ária) followed by to fast ones (Dansa and Tocata). Remarkably, all of them feature solid melodic elaborations and

191 Museu Villa-Lobos, Sua Obra, 1972, 188.
accompaniment passages in ostinato. As observed by Horta, “this is the Bachiana that makes the least use of thematic elaboration – once again it touches the secret of Villa-Lobos’s ‘construction:’ we are led here by a hand so convicted and inspired that any ‘formal’ consideration becomes superfluous.” The implications of the genesis and chronology of this Bachianas as well as its relations with the movements for cello and piano (I, II and IV) and with the one for solo piano (III) will be the subject of the subsequent chapters.

I – Prelúdio (O Canto do Capadócio)

The first consideration to be made about this movement concerns its title: O Canto do Capadócio, “The Song of the Capadócio.” Not to be mistaken with a person that came from Capadocia (a historical region in Central Anatolia, Turkey), the Capadócio, a term that has long fallen into disuse, is defined by Villa-Lobos as a “type of Brazilian scoundrel.” Nóbrega provides a more picturesque description of the character: “an urban type, skillful and mannered, fertile in expedients, liar and impostor, is also very much given to music, singer of modinhas and player of the guitar, which he uses as resource of personal insinuation.”

The movement initiates with an “Adagio arrastado” (“dragged adagio”). A brief introduction is followed by a remarkable twenty-measure melody with a floating and tonally modulating character, resembling an improvisation. One can notice in it the abundant use of

192 Horta, Introdução, 72.
193 The Brazilian word malandro is used by Villa-Lobos in his account. Tarasti (Life and Works, 194) translates this term as “idler,” however, this translation may lack the maliciousness, archness aspect of the original word. For this author, the English words “scoundrel” and “vagabond” provide a closer idea of what Villa-Lobos was trying to describe. Furthermore, Nóbrega (Bachianas, 40-41) warns about the translations of the word Capadócio made by the publisher Ricordi: “La chanson du campagnard,” “The song of the countryman,” “Il canto del campagnolo,” “El canto del campesino” and “Der Gesang des Landmanns,” any of which translates the idea of the author, who referred to an “urban type” of person, and not to a “countryman.” Nóbrega, then, ironizes: “traduttore, traditore” (“translators, traitors”).
194 Nóbrega, Bachianas, 38.
glissandi, the use of a fermata as artifice of rubato (also present in the third movement), all of it “sliding” in an ambitus of over four octaves. Tarasti observes that, superficially, this melody may seem to be banal, exaggerated, redundant, arranged within the terms of a kitsch. However, after a close examination of the theme, he concludes that “the redundancy is to a great extent merely apparent: in reality, it is only towards the end of the theme that it seems to find its course in the repeated schemes with quarter-note triplets. (…) The theme gives the overall impression of an extremely smoothly flowing melodic movement in which there are no particularly characteristic motifs but what is involved is a continuous transition.”

The B section is contrasting to A in rhythm and character, although it does not modulate to a different key, making the whole piece in C minor. In this section, a simple melody, much less elaborated than the previous one, appears with a very rhythmic accompaniment, which plays syncopated figures in ostinato.

II – Ária (O Canto da Nossa Terra)

The aria O Canto da Nossa Terra (“The Song of Our Land”) is in ternary meter, written in the key of D minor. Formally, this movement is almost exactly the first one (A-B-A). Its main theme also emerges after a short introduction, but unlike the Prelúdio, this melody was drawn in lines much closer to the Baroque language. We cannot help but wonder whether this movement was influenced by Bach’s Prelude in E-flat minor (BWV 856, WTC I) which, as we have seen above (Table 3.2), was the first piece by the German composer which Villa-Lobos transcribed for piano and cello after his return from Paris, in 1930 – shortly before Villa-Lobos composed O Canto

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195 Tarasti, Life and Works, 193–94.
da Nossa Terra for the same instrumentation (1931, see Table 3.1) – and received its first performance during the Artistic Excursion, as did the Ária in question. These two pieces have three characteristics in common: the meter (both are ternary), the key (Villa-Lobos in his transcription transposed the key of E-flat minor to D minor, see Fig. 3.1), and the character. Further in this study, we are going to see that the autograph of O Canto da Nossa Terra for cello and piano is most probably the first that received the title Bachianas (“Bacheannas,” as first spelled by Villa-Lobos). Could this prelude of Bach have inspired Villa-Lobos to compose pieces in honor to the German composer, or at least have inspired the name “Bachianas”? In the central section of the movement, the piano assumes percussive character to provide an obstinate accompaniment that supports a “ritualistic” melody, marked by the presence of glissandi, and ornaments such as double neighbor tones and quintuplets. Effectively, the combination of both lines creates the sonorous ambience of “candomblés and macumbas” described by Villa-Lobos.

III – Dansa (Lembrança do Sertão)

With the title Lembrança do Sertão (“Memory of the Brazilian Backwoods,” as translated by Peppercorn) Villa-Lobos baptizes this dance. It is written in quadruple meter, in the key of A minor and again in ternary form. The accompaniment in ostinato of the main theme carries a melody in the tenor register that slides through glissandi and makes dramatic suspensions in fermatas. The bass line in this section conducts the harmony in simple lines through the primary

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196 Candomblé is an Afro-American religious tradition, originated in Salvador (state of Bahia), characterized by its religious syncretism, which combines African, Roman Catholic and indigenous Brazilian elements. Its ceremonies often involve dances and chants. Macumba is a musical instrument used in ceremonies of Afro-American religions such as the candomblé and Umbanda. The term was later used as a pejorative form to designate these religions or the rituals practiced by them. Macumba is also a variant of candomblé practiced only in Rio de Janeiro.

197 Sertão is an interior region of northeastern Brazil characterized for its dryness and for the presence of the caatingas (scrubby upland forests). The sertão may be considered an equivalent to the US “backwoods” or to the Australian “outback.”
chords of A minor. It is possible that the obstinate aspect of the accompaniment led some scholars such as Tarasti\textsuperscript{198} to address this movement as a toccata. On the other hand, musical features such as ostinato, simple harmonic progressions, stepwise melodies (often in thirds) may be related to the music of the caipira, that is, the countryman.\textsuperscript{199} For Nóbrega, this accompaniment gesture in parallel thirds of the A section “evokes, with no doubt, the music of the viola sertaneja.”\textsuperscript{200} In a broader view, the title Dansa opens space to other possibilities, found in the dances of Northeastern Brazil, as for example the music of the Bandas de Pífanos (Bands of Pífanos),\textsuperscript{201} which often plays melodies that move stepwise in parallel thirds. The middle section of this movement is marked by short, brief motives, accentuated and syncopated.\textsuperscript{202} This section is much more rhythmic than melodic, and one could even hear in it traces of maracatu\textsuperscript{203} or côco de roda.\textsuperscript{204} Lastly, the coda presents a written rallentando, relating this movement to the following one, which starts with a written accelerando and ends with a written rallentando, as well. The chord played in the head of last measure also relates to the “train horn” that the cello imitates at the end of O Trenzinho do Caipira.

\textsuperscript{198} Tarasti, Life and Works, 197.
\textsuperscript{199} Pupia, “Intertextualidade,” 77.
\textsuperscript{200} Nóbrega, Bachianas, 42. Sertanejo is the person who lives in the Sertão. Viola sertaneja is an allusion to the traditional guitar playing of the sertanejos.
\textsuperscript{201} Pífanos are flutes made of bamboo, often used in music of Northeastern Brazil.
\textsuperscript{202} Tarasti, Life and Works, 197.
\textsuperscript{203} Maracatu is a street performance genre from Northeastern Brazil where a group of people playing percussion instruments, such as drums of many sizes and shakers, follows a woman holding a doll (calunga), who executes choreographic moves.
\textsuperscript{204} Côco de Roda is a popular Afro-American round dance of Northeastern Brazil. Its music is dominated by percussion instruments.
IV – Tocata (*O Trenzinho do Caipira*)

*O Trenzinho do Caipira* (“The Little Train of the Brazilian Countryman”) is one of the most famous pieces in the whole Villa-Lobos’s output. The movement is written without key signature, in binary meter, and within the cycle of the *Bachianas no. 2* it is the one “that makes the least use of thematic elaboration.” The piece starts with a written accelerando (gradual use of shorter figures), presents a “banal” melody that is exposed twice in a row (with a very short transition in between), and ends with a written ritardando (gradual use of longer figures). An obstinate accompaniment throughout the movement characterizes the *Tocata*. The goal is to create the image of a locomotive that accelerates, reaches constant speed as it travels through the landscapes of the Brazilian hinterlands, then arrives in its destination in a gradual slowdown. Villa-Lobos, however, was not the first composer to depict a locomotive, for Arthur Honegger already did it in his *Pacific 231*, which was performed by Villa-Lobos in a quick passage through São Paulo in 21 September, 1929, less than two years before the composer executed his own depiction for cello and piano, during the Artistic Excursion in 1931.

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205 *Caipira* defines a countryman, a yokel, an inhabitant of the hinterlands in the interior of South-Central Brazil.
206 Nóbrega, *Bachianas*, 43.
CHAPTER 4. CONTEXTUALIZING THE SOURCES

The “Self-Plagiarist” and his “Spiritual Conception”

When it comes to the organization and chronology of Villa-Lobos’s compositions, many problems come to the fore. First of all, the restless life of work that the composer carried through most of his life caused him to travel constantly to different countries to give lectures, organize recitals, and conduct orchestras at the same time that different works were being commissioned. Secondly, the composer admits:

(…) I compose without attaching myself to the formalisms, or rather, to the conventions of our so-called civilization. Often, I do not even sit down at the table: I write lying on the floor and often lose the pages I had already written…I confess that I do not let myself be dominated by meticulousness. When I’m working, I do not care if the kids come in the house, turn on the radio, sing or dance…

Remarkably, Villa-Lobos had a very unusual behavior concerning his career and his works, as it will be demonstrated in the next paragraphs. Unfortunately, a very precise study of many of his works is difficult due to the fact that many manuscripts were lost and some, contrary to what the composer declared, may not have existed. According to Appleby,

Villa-Lobos’s lifestyle made it difficult, if not impossible for scholars to make a complete list of his works. He wrote music by ‘necessity’, at a feverish pace, leaving many works incomplete. Friends have said that he frequently would begin a composition, write a few measures, and subsequently begin a totally new work, leaving the earlier composition unfinished. An added difficulty to any attempt to compile a complete list of works is the fact that many fragments and complete compositions have been lost. Even works which were planned but never written seem to have found their way into various lists of works.208

Within this context, Peppercorn, in a 1991 article, writes:

Heitor Villa-Lobos’s musical output is very comprehensive. Nevertheless, he thought it useful or necessary, at some later stage, to incorporate certain pieces – in their original form or in transcription – into other compositions, apparently for lack of time to write a completely new work, or sheer laziness. Or, he found delight in teasing his listeners, friends and admirers, unless they discovered his hoax.209

Peppercorn also writes in another article, from 1972, concerning the stories he told about his trips through North and Northeast Brazil:

All through his life, Villa-Lobos embellished dates and facts concerning himself, though not, of course, with seriously deceptive motives. He just wanted to be original and unique, and perhaps he simply enjoyed getting involved with extraordinary happenings and adventures, creating a legend that at times became difficult to separate from the real facts of his life. Possibly, noticing that some of the people he encountered in Europe (and later foreign visitors who, more and more, came to call on him in Rio de Janeiro) were uninformed about Brazil, he simply delighted in playing on this ignorance and enjoyed seeing them believe in his impossible stories and descriptions.\(^\text{210}\)

Furthermore, Mariz noted in the composer’s behavior a wish to have his name as the subject of debates and controversies. In his most recent publications, Mariz tells how he ended up discovering the composer’s date of birth, which remained for many years unknown even by the composer himself and perhaps considered by him a mystical part of his own history. Mariz writes:

As it is known, the Maestro [Villa-Lobos] has become used to giving controversial interviews since he was young, perhaps even deliberately, in order to provoke debates, this way giving him more publicity. It was therefore urgent to make a research effort with family, friends and institutions before these data disappeared and it became even more difficult this indispensable investigation of dubious facts depicting Villa-Lobos. (…)

In fact, in the first edition of this book I was able to elucidate the first great doubt concerning the date of birth, which Villa-Lobos intended to ignore and placed it between 1881 and 1891. After some visits to the Church of San José, where he was Baptized, it was not difficult for me to find the baptismal certificate of his sister Carmen from 1888, in which there is an annotation that on that same date, the boy Heitor, born on March 5, 1887, was also baptized. Villa-Lobos was visibly upset with my discovery, for it eliminated a source of debate and speculation.\(^\text{211}\)

These accounts provide a good initial idea of the whole context, in dealing with certain works by Villa-Lobos. Firstly, the lack of time due to his engagement with many different projects probably led him to leave many works incomplete and to re-utilize a considerable amount of previously written music material in his new compositions, thus “plagiarizing himself.”

times, he would come back to an incomplete work he started years before, often assigning these pieces a controversial date. In some cases, the composer would even claim that he rewrote an old piece by memory because he had lost the original manuscript or moreover attempted to be different becoming a pioneer and innovator. The composer himself, in many different situations, arbitrarily chose to be obscure while dealing with his works and facts of his life, this way allowing the creation of many “legends” involving his name.

In her article of 1991, Peppercorn provides various examples of pieces that are reutilized in later works (including the *Bachianas Brasileiras no. 2*, which according to her is an orchestration of the separate movements, which are the subjects of this research). Here it is worth mentioning *A Mariposa na Luz*\(^{212}\) (The Moth on the Light) for violin and orchestra, which was composed in 1917 and originally serves as the third and last movement of *O Martírio dos Insetos* (“The Martyrdom of the Insects”), completed in 1925. According to the Villa-Lobos catalogue, in a program of 12/9/1922,\(^{213}\) *A Mariposa na Luz* was executed as the second movement of a different work called *Fantasia de Movimentos Mistos*, (“Fantasy of Mixed Movements,” written in 1920/21) which was being premiered in that concert, the first movement being *Serenidade* (“Serenity”). Only in 1930, *A Mariposa na Luz* was substituted by *Alma Convulsa* (“Tormented Soul”). According to Peppercorn, *Contentamento* (“Contentment”), which is the third and last movement of the *Fantasia* as it is played today, was only composed and included in the piece around 1941.\(^{214}\) Nevertheless, in 1932, Villa-Lobos decided to write the music for a ballet called *Evolução dos Aeroplanos* (“Evolution of the Airplanes”). According to Peppercorn, he intended to use pieces from earlier compositions: for the first movement he was going to use *Música Inquieta* (“Disquiet

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\(^{212}\) Peppercorn, “Ben Trovato,” 34–35.


Music”), which is the third movement of *Suíte para Quinteto Duplo de Cordas* (1912/1913); for the second, *Valsa Mística* (Mystic Waltz), which is the first movement of *Simples Coletânea* (1917/1919); and lastly, *A Mariposa na Luz* would serve as third movement.\(^\text{215}\) *Evolução dos Aeroplanos* was never published and I did not find any record that indicated it was performed.

Another example given by Peppercorn is the String Quartet no. 1, which still offers room for discussion. According to Arnaldo Estrella\(^\text{216}\) and to the Villa-Lobos official catalogue\(^\text{217}\), the String Quartet no. 1 was written in 1915 and premiered in the same year in Nova Friburgo (state of Rio de Janeiro). As it is executed today, the piece has six movements: *Cantilena*, *Brincadeira*, *Canto Lírico*, *Cançoneta*, *Melancolia* and *Saltando como um Saci*. However, the 1915 manuscript of this piece provides different information: a small scale three-movement piece called *Suíte Graciosa* for string quartet. The movements are *Cantilena*, *Cançonetinha Grega* and *Brinquedo*. A manuscript copy of this piece from around the same time has the piece titled *Suíte de Quartetos de Corda: Suíte Graciosa*; and also had three movements: *Andante*, *Allegretto* and *Grega Cançonette*. Peppercorn writes that in the early 1940s, when she questioned Villa-Lobos about the manuscript, the composer replied that it had been lost. She also points out that his Second and Third String Quartets – both written in 1915 and 1916 respectively, and premiered before 1920 – had been published by Max Eschig in 1929/30 whereas the first of them was never mentioned (probably by the Guimarães brothers) or performed to the public. Peppercorn then concludes that while based on the *Suíte Graciosa*, the String Quartet no. 1 was actually written not much before its performance on August 7, 1946, by the Iacovino Quartet in Rio de Janeiro according to the

This means that Villa-Lobos, having supposedly lost the manuscript, rewrote the piece at a much later date. Then she goes even further:

Many of Villa-Lobos’s works, particularly those written between 1940 and 1946, prove that he was always able to imitate the style of any of the stages of his development and that he was, so to speak, an ingenuous plagiarist of his own compositions. In fact, a whole series of the works which date from a much earlier period but were supposed to have been mysteriously lost, were written during those years.219

It is certainly is a hard task to determine whether or not the composer was writing a late piece in an earlier style. Tarasti, being aware of Peppercorn’s accounts about the String Quartet no. 1, assumes a different position. Concerning the style of the piece, he writes:

The simplicity of the First String Quartet is not that of the Bachianas and of the other works of the 1940s, although the experiments of the Choros period are included as kind of a negation. Such a thin homophonic texture as exists in this quartet is only rarely found elsewhere than in Villa-Lobos’s early works. The austerity of the late works has a more deliberate and mature character than the rather delicate voice leading. Musical analysis supports the hypothesis that it really is a work of youth.220

In many different instances, Villa-Lobos orchestrated works he previously wrote for solo piano, sometimes reutilizing them in different compositions as well. This is the case of the last movement of the *Suite Floral* (written between 1916 and 19), named *Alegria na Hortal* (“Gaiety in the Vegetable Garden”), which was orchestrated and used as the second movement of the First Suite of the *Descobrimento do Brasil* (1937) under the name *Alegria*. Another case is the *Momoprecoce* (Precocious Carnival King). In 1929, Villa-Lobos was commissioned by Magdalena Tagliaferro (1893–1968) to write a piano concerto. The composer, in the same year, wrote an elaborate piano and orchestra arrangement of his *Carnaval das Crianças Brasileiras* (“Carnival of the Brazilian Children,” a multi-movement piece written in 1919/20), which he

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219 Ibid., 32.
condensed into one single movement and named *Momoprecoce*. Other pieces written for piano and later orchestrated are the *Danses Africaines* (written in 1914/15 and orchestrated in 1916), *Bachianas Brasileiras no. 4* (written in 1930 and orchestrated in 1941), *New York Skyline Melody* (written in 1939 and orchestrated in 1941), *Rudepoema* (written in 1921/26 and orchestrated in 1932), *Francette et Pia* (written in 1929 and orchestrated in 1958) and *Lenda do Caboclo* (written and orchestrated in 1920).

Indeed, many pieces by Villa-Lobos have a questionable chronology. Peppercorn reports to have seen the composer re-dating some of his works, explaining that what he considered important was the date the pieces were “spiritually concepted,” that is, the date that they took shape in his mind, not when they were written on paper.\(^\text{221}\) Apparently, Villa-Lobos did not try to hide from his acquaintances and friends his arbitrary manner of dating. Mario de Andrade knew of compositions that were re-dated by the composer, such as the *Cirandas*. For him, Villa-Lobos’s explanation was invented “at that moment to justify his audacity, but I have long felt obliged to doubt the dates with which the composer foretold many of his works in the presumption of becoming a genial pioneer in everything.”\(^\text{222}\) Furthermore, Villa-Lobos was conscious about the compositional language he was using in his compositions, often organizing them according to how advanced they were. In this respect, Mariz gives a valuable account about the *Choros*:

The chronology of the *Choros* is among the most curious ones. I was told by Villa-Lobos in 1946 that, sometimes, while dedicating himself to a composition, a rather advanced idea would come to him. Then he followed building his works, however, assigning them a more advanced number within the series, expecting to write something intermediate later. Thus, we can verify that the *Choros nos. 7, 8 and 10* are respectively from 1924 and 1925, whereas the *nos. 4, 5 and 6* are from 1925 and 1926. The *Introduction to the Choros* was only written in 1929.\(^\text{223}\)


\(^{223}\) Mariz, *Homem e a Obra*, 170. Originally in Portuguese, translated by me.
The Sexteto Místico, also present in Peppercorn’s 1991 article, is another good example of a piece with a controversial composition date. About this piece, the Villa-Lobos catalogue gives us the following information: written in 1917 (this date also appears in the first edition of the work), published by Max Eschig in 1957 and premiered in Rio de Janeiro, 1962. An early original autograph dated from 1921 – with a dedication to his friend Graça Aranha – has a different instrumentation and a completely different musical material. This manuscript was published in São Paulo by the magazine Klaxon (no. 8-9, 1922: 16). Furthermore, Peppercorn claims to have seen a sketch of the piece in 1939 while she was living in Rio de Janeiro and, according to her, the sketch “did not go further than six bars.” She then supposes that the work had been written not much earlier than its publication, observing that possibly, Villa-Lobos arbitrarily chose the date of 1917 because he forgot he had sketched it in 1921. A similar case is that of the song Viola Quebrada (“Broken Viola”), from Canções Típicas Brasileiras, based on a poem by Mario de Andrade. Although the piece is not given a composition date by Villa-Lobos’s catalog, according to Negwer, it was allegedly composed in 1919, dedicated to Tarsila do Amaral and Oswald de Andrade. The problem is that Amaral and Andrade – who became a couple and married in 1926 – only met in September 1922.

The Trio for oboe, clarinet and bassoon also has a questionable date. According to Villa-Lobos, the official date of composition of this piece is 1921. However, it is notable in this piece a heavy influence of Stravinsky (which he never admitted) and a rejection of Debussy, only seen in Villa-Lobos after he adopted the trends practiced in Paris. In fact, not long after he arrived in Paris,  

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225 Ibid., 38.
226 Negwer, Florescimento, 110.
Villa-Lobos attended a performance of the Rite of Spring, which he describes as being “the biggest emotion of his life.”

If Villa-Lobos really altered the date of composition of his Trio, this case shows how far Villa-Lobos would go in order to deny that he was influenced by another composer. Nevertheless, the Trio for oboe, clarinet and bassoon is far from being an isolated case: the two symphonic poems Amazonas and Uirapuru also present a similar controversial history. Officially, the two pieces were composed in 1917, which is generally accepted by most scholars. However, Negwer supports a different point of view, stating that those two pieces were most probably written at the end of 1920s. He starts by pointing out the dates of their premieres – Amazonas in 1929 in Paris, and Uirapuru in 1935 in Buenos Aires – and observing that is very unlikely that Villa-Lobos would have held these pieces from the public because of their advanced qualities. On the contrary, the composer most naturally would have executed them during two the seasons he spent in Paris. An important evidence that supports Negwer’s point of view is the program book of a concert held on April 21, 1923. This document contains a catalog of works by Villa-Lobos that had emerged up to that point. The catalog does not include pieces allegedly written before this date such as Amazonas, Uirapuru, Trio for oboe, clarinet and bassoon, as well as the pieces of Canções Típicas Brasileiras dated from 1919. On the other hand, the catalog contains Myremis and Tédio de Alvorada, two earlier symphonic poems written in 1916, on which Amazonas and Uirapuru were respectively based. Negwer then writes:

The music scores of Myremis and Tédio de Alvorada – the last of which was overwritten by Villa-Lobos with the new title Uirapuru – were submitted, after the audition of the Rite of Spring, in Paris, to a great modernization. In both of them were included dissonant measures and brass voices, the percussion section was enlarged and the musical text, in sum, received rhythmic accents. (...) While it is possible to recognize in Amazonas the

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227 Negwer, 148, 150–51; Guérios, Heitor Villa-Lobos, 165.
reflexes of the *Rite of Spring* by Stravinsky, it looks like *Uirapuru* is a Brazilian variant of the *Firebird*.\(^{229}\)

Mariz also supports the position that at least *Amazonas* was not conceived the way it is in 1917. He writes:

> The score of *Amazonas* is officially dated from 1917, but its last version is from the thirties, rewritten in the light of the novelties in orchestration heard in Paris, especially recollections of Stravinsky. It does not seem likely, in 1917, such an advancement in Villa-Lobos’s instrumentation. Moreover, nowadays it is believed that many works had their dates anticipated by the author in his eagerness to appear more innovative than he really was.\(^{230}\)

From all these reports, we can conclude that often the information given by Villa-Lobos may be inaccurate, either for the composer’s lack of time, for wanting to appear as a pioneer in a certain compositional language, for wanting to create polemics and discussions around his name, or for wanting to mock his colleagues. We will see in the next chapter, while examining the manuscripts, that many of them contain questionable annotations, especially related to their titles and to the intended instrumentation. Some of these annotations will even appear to have been added after the manuscript was already concluded, showing a possible change of intention of the composer. These facts will be crucial in trying to determine the chronology of the *Bachianas No.2*.

**Chronology of the *Bachianas Brasileiras No.2*: A Literature Review**

Discussions about the date of composition of the *Bachianas no. 2* are rare even in important accounts about the *Bachianas Brasileiras* such as the ones by Palma\(^{231}\) and by Nóbrega,\(^{232}\) or in studies that cover general aspects of Villa-Lobos’s works and life, such as the ones by Mariz\(^{233}\)

\(^{229}\) Ibid., 110.
\(^{230}\) Mariz, *Homem e a Obra*, 212.
\(^{231}\) Palma, *As Bachianas Brasileiras de Villa-Lobos*.
\(^{232}\) Nóbrega, *Bachianas*.
\(^{233}\) Mariz, *Homem e a Obra*. 
and Béhague. Furthermore, most sources do not mention the three pieces for cello and the one for piano solo. Palma briefly mentions them, omitting the movement for solo piano: “We shall say that there are three excerpts of this Bachianas, all for cello-piano, from 1930: ‘O Canto do Capadócio’, ‘O Canto da Nossa Terra’ e ‘O Trenzinho do Caipira.’” Although it is possible that Palma did not know about *Lembrança do Sertão* for solo piano, since there is not much information about it besides the fact that it was only premiered in 1990, this movement appears in Barro’s catalogue of 1951. Nevertheless, the question of which version came first has not yet been answered. Here we report different accounts about the reduced version of the *Bachianas No.2* in order to demonstrate that a better understanding of the genesis of this piece lies in the analysis of these movements for cello and piano and for solo piano.

The information accepted by most scholars generally coincides with that provided by the official Villa-Lobos catalogue. The first edition of this catalogue was released in 1965, followed by other editions in 1972, 1989, 2009 and 2010. Some information published in the first edition was subsequently proven to be inaccurate, and was corrected in the later editions. For this reason, this study will consider only the 2010 version of the catalogue, according to which this work was originally written for chamber orchestra in 1930 and premiered during the II International Festival of Venice in 1934. The three movements for cello and piano as well as the one for piano solo

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234 Béhague, *Musical Soul*.
236 Barros, *Romance* no page number.
237 A good example is the premiere of *O Canto do Capadócio* for cello and piano. The 2nd edition of the catalogue mistakenly informs that it happened in 1/29/1915 at the D. Eugenia Theater (Friburgo, Brazil).
238 The date of the Orchestral version’s premiere was contested by Peppercorn. According to her, Venice’s Second International Biennale Art Exhibition was held in 1932, not 1934. During this festival, the *Chanson Typiques Bresiliennes* were performed, and not the *Bachianas no. 2*. She also points out that during the Third International Biennale, held in Venice in 1934, Villa-Lobos’s works were not performed at all. Therefore, she believes that the premiere of the
are indicated to be reductions of the original version for orchestra. The information provided by the catalogue is summarized by Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1. Information provided by Villa-Lobos catalogue of 2010.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Date of Composition</th>
<th>First Performance</th>
<th>Performer(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O Canto do Capadócio</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>1930, SP</td>
<td>1/20/1931, Campinas (SP)</td>
<td>Heitor and Lucília Villa-Lobos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Canto da Nossa Terra</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>1931, SP</td>
<td>2/9/1931, Jaboticabal (SP)</td>
<td>Heitor and Lucília Villa-Lobos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Trenzinho do Caipira</td>
<td>123-24</td>
<td>1931 (added by Arminda Villa-Lobos)</td>
<td>?/?/1931, Matão (SP)</td>
<td>Heitor Villa-Lobos and Souza Lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3/9/1931, Mogi Mirim (SP)</td>
<td>Heitor and Lucília Villa-Lobos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these movements are reductions of *Bachianas Brasileiras* no. 2 for chamber orchestra

Accordingly, Appleby writes in his catalogue (published in 1988) that the movements for cello and piano as well as the one for solo piano were transcribed from the orchestral version. Peppercorn, however, concludes the opposite. In an article published in 1991 she writes:

In fact, *Bachianas Brasileiras No.2* is an orchestration of three pieces for violoncello and piano and one piece for piano solo, all composed in São Paulo in 1930. (...) *O Canto do Capadócio* was originally subtitled No. 2 of the *Suite Tipica* while *O Canto da Nossa Terra* already bore the title *Bachianas Brasileiras*.

Villa-Lobos’s decision to transcribe these four pieces for chamber orchestra, presumably for lack of time to write a new orchestral work, made him seek an adequate title for the orchestrated version. Influenced by the neo-classical trend during his recent stay in Paris (1927-1930), he attempted to lean on this new European tendency (as he so often in his life adjusted himself to current drifts anywhere). Obviously, he endeavoured

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at the same time to attach to it his own original label. He thus hit on the idea of calling this, as well as a number of subsequent works, written after his return to Brazil in the summer of 1930, *Bachianas Brasileiras*. And he thought convenient, therefore, to adapt some recently composed solo pieces for this particular purpose although there is no connexion amongst nor within the four pieces, nor were they in any way ‘bachian’ in spirit or style when originally composed. Yet, all Villa-Lobos did was merely to add pre-classical names to the orchestrated version of the solo pieces, and to call this as well as subsequent works *Bachianas Brasileiras*.\(^{241}\)

Negwer agrees with Peppercorn’s account, writing in 2009 that the *Bachianas No.2* was “written in 1930 for orchestra featuring an abundant percussion section. All the movements are based on previous original pieces for cello and piano which Villa-Lobos arbitrarily gathered in the *Bachianas* while maintaining their original titles.”\(^{242}\) Tarasti briefly mentions this subject in 1995. For him, “the different movements of this Bachianas have no unifying factor other than the orchestration.”\(^{243}\) During a short description of the *Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos*, he observes that “parts of Bachianas No.2 were completed when the tour started and they were played as arrangements for cello and piano. Villa-Lobos himself has related that the famous fourth movement was born during a train trip on this tour.”\(^{244}\) Indeed, the Chechim Filho’s account of 1987, one of the most important reports about the Artistic Excursion, features a noteworthy anecdote about the composition of *O Trenzinho do Caipira*:

> Returning from Bauru, on the way to Araraquara, Villa-Lobos, well accommodated in his seat of the passenger car, decided to write music. He said, “I am going to write a piece of music. It will be called the ‘Trenzinho do Caipira.’” He took from his briefcase a sheet of staff paper and a pencil, and began to write. It seemed as if he was writing a letter. But it wasn’t, no. It was really music! The train ran, swaying a lot, the car was completely crowded, with many children, some of them crying from time to time, and it was very hot. Villa-Lobos continued writing. Almost at the end of the trip, the piece was ready. It was a cello solo for him to play, and with a part for piano accompaniment. Once the

\(^{242}\) Negwer, *Florescimento*, 224.
\(^{243}\) Tarasti, *Life and Works*, 190.
\(^{244}\) Tarasti, 198.
journey was finished, after a slight retouching at the piano, the piece was ready to be performed. Wasn’t he a genius?\textsuperscript{245}

In addition, Chechim Filho describes what he remembered to have been the first performance of this work, supposedly held in the city of Matão (state of São Paulo) in November 1931. According to him:

For the first time, Villa-Lobos played his \textit{Trenzinho do Caipira}. Dona Lucilia, the piano accompanist, had a few difficulties in performing the piece. The music was very new, with scarcely one read through. She missed the beat a few times, which got her a very rude remark from the maestro at the end of the performance. The theater was filled. The public of this city, which loves music very much, applauded with great enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{246}

Unlike the information in the Villa-Lobos catalogue, in Chechim Filho’s version it is not Souza Lima who is accompanying Villa-Lobos at the piano, but his wife, Lucília. Besides, sources demonstrate that this piece was performed in March 1931, and that in November the Excursion was touring other parts of the state of São Paulo (this subject is going to be approached in more details later in this paper). Whereas the catalogue (Table 4.1) indicates a performance in Matão in 1931 without a specific date, it also mentions another performance on March 9 of the same year, held in the city of Mogi Mirim (São Paulo). Although Villa-Lobos’s life and works are full of discrepancies, it is important to notice that the facts stated by Chechim Filho are often questioned by other authors. Chechim wrote his book over fifty-five years after he took part in the Artistic Excursion, and had to rely solely on his memory, since all his documentation was lost.

\textsuperscript{245} Chechim Filho, \textit{Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos}, 116. Originally in Portuguese, translation was based on the one made by Fred Sturm and published at the Piano Technicians Guild website. \url{http://my.ptg.org/communities/community-home/librarydocuments/viewdocument?DocumentKey=3ae1c08b-385b-427e-ac10-715fae81caa6} (Accessed on August 21, 2018)

\textsuperscript{246} Ibid., 117.
Pilger\textsuperscript{247} and Bádue Filho,\textsuperscript{248} whose works were both published in 2013, provide more detailed information, including certain primary source documents such as manuscripts, newspaper articles and recital programs. Pilger raises the question of chronology after comparing the premiere dates of both versions. He writes:

Curiously, the chamber [cello and piano] version (except the third movement, about which there is no information) was premiered before the orchestral version, thus raising the question: which version was written first? (…) Would the version for orchestra, which was premiered only in 1934, have been effectively written in 1930 as it is shown in Villa-Lobos catalogue? Couldn’t the composer have been written first for cello and piano and have posteriorly considered, after orchestrated the piece, the date it was “spiritually concepted?”\textsuperscript{249}

Pilger continues with general remarks about each of the three movements for cello and piano, pointing out unusual markings in some of the manuscripts. In \textit{O Canto do Capadócio}, he observes that an autograph (\textit{MVL.1994.21.0006}) designates this movement as being the second of a “\textit{Suíte Typica},” also pointing out that, according to Villa-Lobos catalogue, this is actually a reduction of a piece originally intended for cello soloist and orchestra.\textsuperscript{250} In \textit{O Canto da Nossa Terra}, he also observes that one of the autographs “has a scribbled title: \textit{O Seresteiro Religioso}, over which Villa-Lobos writes in ink \textit{O Canto da Nossa Terra}, and above, \textit{Bacheannas.”}\textsuperscript{251} In \textit{O Trenzinho do Caipira}, Pilger states that Chechim Filho’s story about its origin could be confirmed by the existence of an autograph in pencil of that piece (\textit{MVL.1990.21.0169}) that, according to him, was later reinforced with ink. He also observes that, although Chechim Filho’s account may

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{247}{Pilger, \textit{Violoncelo e Seu Idiomatismo}.}
\footnotetext{248}{Bádue Filho, “Excursão.”}
\footnotetext{249}{Pilger, \textit{Violoncelo e Seu Idiomatismo}, 110. Originally in Portuguese, translated by me.}
\footnotetext{250}{Museu Villa-Lobos, \textit{Sua Obra}, 2010, 47.}
\footnotetext{251}{Pilger, \textit{Violoncelo e Seu Idiomatismo}, 111.}
\end{footnotes}
Table 4.2 Cities according to analysis of various news from *OESP* (1931).\(^{252}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage of the Excursion</th>
<th>Cities/Train Stations</th>
<th>Date of the Concerts (1931)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Stage</strong></td>
<td>Campinas</td>
<td>Jan. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limeira</td>
<td>Jan. 21</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Piracicaba</td>
<td>Jan. 23</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rio Claro</td>
<td>Jan. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jaú</td>
<td>Jan. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bauru</td>
<td>Jan. 31</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>São Carlos</td>
<td>Feb. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Araraquara</td>
<td>Feb. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jaboticabal</td>
<td>Feb. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bebedouro</td>
<td>Feb. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barretos</td>
<td>Feb. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ribeirão Preto</td>
<td>Feb. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feb. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Stage</strong></td>
<td>Ribeirão Preto</td>
<td>Feb. 23 (Cancelled)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Batataes</td>
<td>Feb. 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Franca</td>
<td>Feb. 28</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taquatirinha</td>
<td>Mar. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catanduva</td>
<td>Mar. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rio Preto</td>
<td>Mar. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amparo</td>
<td>Mar. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mogi Mirim</td>
<td>Mar. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Itapira</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Espírito Santo do Pinhal</td>
<td>Mar. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>São João da Boa Vista</td>
<td>Mar. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poços de Caldas (MG)</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>São José do Rio Pardo</td>
<td>Mar. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mococa</td>
<td>Mar. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santos</td>
<td>Mar. 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Araraquara</td>
<td>Mar. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jundiaí</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsals for the first Civic Exhortation</td>
<td>April</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Civic Exhortation (Concert)</td>
<td>May 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table cont’d)

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\(^{252}\) Bádue Filho, “Excursão,” 68–69.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage of the Excursion</th>
<th>Cities/Train Stations</th>
<th>Date of the Concerts (1931)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third Stage</td>
<td>Cruzeiro</td>
<td>Jul. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lorena</td>
<td>Jul. 6</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Taubaté</td>
<td>Jul. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>São José dos Campos</td>
<td>Jul. 11</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Jacareí</td>
<td>Jul. 13</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Atibaia</td>
<td>Jul. 18</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sorocaba</td>
<td>Aug. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>São Roque</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Porto Feliz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Itu</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Botucatu</td>
<td>Aug. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avaré</td>
<td>Aug. 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Cruz do Rio Pardo</td>
<td>Aug. 25</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Salto Grande</td>
<td>Aug. 29</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assis</td>
<td>Aug. 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presidente Prudente</td>
<td>Sep. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presidente Wenceslau</td>
<td>Sep. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Porto Epitácio (Caiuá)</td>
<td>Sep. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Porto Tibiriçá</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cambará (PR)</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacarezinho (PR)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presidente Prudente</td>
<td>Sep. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santo Anastácio</td>
<td>Sep. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>São Manuel</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guaratinguetá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
refer to the moment that Villa-Lobos wrote a reduction of the orchestral version for cello and piano, a dedicatory to the cellist Iberê Gomes Grosso found in another autograph (MVL.1990.21.0168) could reinforce that this movement could have been written first for cello and piano.  

Bádué Filho’s dissertation deals with the Artistic Excursion, retracing the itinerary and comparing Chechim Filho’s accounts with the information published by the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* at the time. Notably, the city of Matão, where *O Trenzinho do Caipira* was premiered according to Chechim and to Villa-Lobos catalogue (Table 4.1), does not appear in the list of cities documented by the newspaper. Indeed, 69 cities toured by the group, according to Chechim, cannot be confirmed, and 8 cities not mentioned by him do appear in the reports of the newspaper. See Table 4.2 above (pp. 91-2) extracted from Bádué Filho’s research with all the cities of the tour that could be confirmed by *O Estado de S. Paulo (OESP)*.

Pilger, in his book, provides facsimiles of three surviving programs of concerts performed during the Artistic Excursion: Cachoeira Paulista (July 4, 1931), Itu (August 6, 1931), and Pirajuí (January, 1932), all of which are mentioned by Chechim in his memoirs. Itu is included in Bádué Filho’s table without a date, but Cachoeira Paulista and Pirajuí are not, which suggests that not all the cities visited during the Artistic Excursion were reported by the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*. This fact may support the veracity of Chechim Filho’s account about the origin and premiere of *O Trenzinho do Caipira*. Moreover, such information provided by Bádué Filho may help narrow the possibilities of the date of composition of this piece.

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253 Ibid., 113.
254 Ibid., 77-79.
Later in his paper, Bádue Filho lists the repertoire executed during the Artistic Excursion. He transcribes concert programs according to when they were first performed, as reported by *O Estado de S. Paulo*. Accordingly, *O Canto do Capadócio* was included in a program performed in Campinas in January 20, 1931; *O Canto da Nossa Terra* appears in a concert in Jaboticabal on February 7, 1931; *O Trenzinho da Caipira* was performed in Catanduva on March 3, 1931. It is noteworthy that this concert predates the one mentioned by the Villa-Lobos catalogue (Mogi Mirim, March 9), making this the earliest confirmed performance of this work. In another section, Bádue Filho discusses the *Bachianas No.2*. About *O Trenzinho*, he writes:

As it is the last movement of the *Bachianas N° 2*, it is possible that the title of *Caipira* is a quick consequence between the conclusion of the work at the end of 1930 and the beginning of his experiences in 1931, during which, while traveling through the countryside of São Paulo, he adapted the piece, as he did with the other movements, for cello and piano.

After comparing the information found in Villa-Lobos catalogue with Chechim’s account and with information provided by *O Estado de S. Paulo*, Bádue Filho concludes that:

Villa-Lobos only began with the auditions of *O trenzinho do Caipira* in the second part of the *Excursão [Artística Villa-Lobos]*, in the end of February and beginning of March, when they were not in the region of Matão anymore and, probably, the scene described by Chechim, witnessed by him in the wagons during the trips, was the one of Villa-Lobos adapting his recent orchestral work for cello and piano.

Chechim writes that *O Trenzinho do Caipira* was written during a train trip from Bauru to Araraquara and first performed soon afterward, in the city of Matão. Table 4.2, with information provided by Bádue Filho, suggests that this train trip could only have happened between January 31 and February 6, 1931. From February 7 to February 9, the group performed in the cities of

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255 Ibid., 97–99.
256 Ibid., 101.
257 Ibid., 102.
Jaboticabal, Bebedouro e Barretos. There is no record that the group performed on February 10, but on February 11 and 12, they performed in Ribeirão Preto, ending the first stage of the Excursion. Considering that Matão is less than 80 miles from Barretos and only about 63 miles from Ribeirão Preto, we cannot leave out the possibility that the premiere of *O Trenzinho do Caipira* happened on February 10. Even if we consider that this premiere only happened during the second stage of the Excursion, in the end of February and beginning of March, as Bádu Filho believes, we will be dealing with cities that are still in the region of Matão. As we have seen before, the earliest concert featuring *O Trenzinho* that we can confirm happened on March 3 in the city of Catanduva, which is only 55 miles away from Matão. Therefore, it could also be possible that the concert in Matão happened between February 28 and March 2, that is, after the group left Franca and before they approached Taquatirínga.
CHAPTER 5. INSPECTION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The Nature of the Sources

This section will enumerate and describe the 12 manuscripts containing material used in *Bachianas Brasileiras No.2*, all of which has been provided by the Villa Lobos Museum in Rio de Janeiro. The purpose is to trace the compositional history of the work while supplementing the information given by the Villa-Lobos Catalogue of 2010, which is not always current or accurate.

These manuscripts include the following: 2 containing the orchestral score, 3 containing *O Canto do Capadócio* for cello and piano, 3 containing *O Canto da Nossa Terra* for cello and piano, 1 containing *Lembrança do Sertão* for solo piano, 3 containing *O Trensinho do Caipira* for cello and piano, and 1 containing thematic material of all 9 *Bachianas*. The manuscripts held in the museum (here indicated by MVL) are catalogued as follows:

**Table 5.1. Manuscripts of *Bachianas Brasileiras no.2*.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript (MVL)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>untitled</strong></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>p. 9; cello part from A section of <em>O canto do Capadocio</em> (scribbled); cello part of the B section of <em>O Canto da Nossa Terra</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Bacheannas [O Seresteiro Religioso scribbled and overwritten by] O Canto da Nossa Terra</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>pp. 10; possibly the first draft; incomplete (only A is complete); pp. 11-12 contains sketches; “O Seresteiro” at the top of page 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1999.21.0026</strong></td>
<td>Autograph ?? x ?? – 9 pages Photocopy from Amaral Vieira Collection</td>
<td><em>Title Page</em> (p.1): <em>O Canto do Capadocio</em>; [Nº II da “Suite Typica” scribbled and substituted by] Nº 1 <em>Bachianas</em> (Nº 2); Para violoncello e orchestra ou piano.</td>
<td>S. Paulo, 1930</td>
<td>Dedicated to Tony Close; the indications “*Bachianas Brasileiras (Nº 2)” and “(Redução para cello e Piano)” were probably added later to the title page (p.1) and to the header of p.2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table cont’d)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript (MVL)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994.21.0007</td>
<td>Autograph 35cm x 27cm 4 pages</td>
<td>Title Page: Bachianas Brasileira; O canto da nossa terra; Para violoncello e Piano</td>
<td>S. Paulo, 1931</td>
<td>Complete cello part; p. 2 contains different thematic material (drafted in pencil).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990.21.0056</td>
<td>Autograph Tracing Paper 38,5cm x 24cm 8 pages</td>
<td>O Canto da Nossa Terra IIº da “Bachianas Brasileiras (Nº 2)” (Arranjo para violoncelo e Piano); -Aria-</td>
<td>S. Paulo, 1931</td>
<td>Clean copy; includes the cello part. Paper Information: Mapleson-Trans-Master no. 6 “V” 110 West 40th Street New York 18, N.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990.21.0169</td>
<td>Autograph 35cm x 27cm 7 pages Written in Pencil</td>
<td>Suite Typica O Trensinho do capira</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Possible first draft; The information on p. 1 (header) “S. Paulo, 1931” was found and added by Armanda Villa-Lobos259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990.21.0168</td>
<td>Autograph 27cm x 34,5cm 10 pages</td>
<td>Bachianas (Nº2) O Trensinho do capira (Sugestão de uma viagem num trensino do interior) Para violoncello e piano</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Dedicated to Iberê Gomes Grosso Clean copy; p. 10 has a thematic draft of the B section of Canto da Nossa Terra with indications of different instrumentations (the same that is used in the orchestral version); p. 10 (bottom) also contains the words “Preludio,” “Aria,” “Cantiga” and “Cantata.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

258 Museu Villa-Lobos, Sua Obra, 1972, 160.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript (MVL)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1990.21.0006     | Autograph 32cm x 23cm 10 pages | Untitled                                   | 1947       | Contains thematic material of all the nine *Bachianas Brasileiras*. Paper Information: Mapleson-Trans-Master no. 6 “V” 110 West 40th Street New York 18, N.Y. |}

**O Canto do Capadócio**

The indication as the second movement of a *Suíte Típica* (Typical Suite), as it appears in both *MVL.1994.21.0006* (Fig. 5.1) and *MVL.1999.21.0026* (Fig. 5.2), is a prominent feature of these autographs. This indication is acknowledged by the Villa-Lobos catalogue, by Peppercorn and by Pilger. For Pilger, it represents part of the “process in choosing the titles as well as the order they would occupy within the *Bachianas Brasileiras No.2*.” It is possible that when this movement was written, the idea of a series called *Bachianas Brasileiras* did not yet exist. The title page of *MVL.1999.21.0026* shows that while Villa-Lobos scribbled “No. II da ‘Suíte tipica’” and replaced it by “Nº1 Bachianas (Nº2),” he kept the indication “*Para violoncello e orchestra ou Piano,*” thus leading us to believe that he intended his *Bachianas No.2* to be for cello soloist and either orchestra or piano. It is also probable that the inscriptions “*Bachianas Brasileiras*

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260 Ibid., 47, 119.
262 Pilger, *Violoncelo e Seu Idiomatismo*, 111.
(Nº2),” “(Redução para celo e Piano)” and “S. Paulo, 1930” found in the header of page 1 (Fig.3) were added later, when Villa-Lobos scratched the title page.

Figure 5.1. O Canto do Capadócio, MVL.1994.21.0006, p. 1.

The same manuscript also features a dedication: “A Tony Close.” The dedicatee was a violinist and a cellist to whom Villa-Lobos dedicated the second movement of his Choros (Bis), written in 1928/29 in Paris and premiered by him and André Asselin in the Salle Chopin, March 14, 1930. In May of the same year, Close also performed Villa-Lobos’s first cello concerto at its first performance in Paris, with Villa-Lobos as conductor. The fact that O Canto do Capadócio
was at some point dedicated to a cellist reinforces the idea that Villa-Lobos really intended to write a piece for a cello soloist. If the piece was really composed in São Paulo, as indicated by the composer, the dedication to Tony Close, who was part of Villa-Lobos’s musical circle in Paris, may demonstrate the composer’s desire to engage with the musicians of the city he was very eager to return to, possibly hoping to have his forthcoming work, the *Suite Typica*, performed by them.

![Figure 5.2. O Canto do Capadócio, MVL.1999.21.0026, Title Page.](image-url)
In pages 4 and 5 of *MVL.1999.21.0026* there are indications of orchestration in the piano part. Due to the bad quality of the photocopy, not all indications are legible, and it is very likely that they were written in pencil after the completion of the manuscript. In the first measure of page 4, oboe is indicated to the D-flat-5 in the second half of first beat in the piano part; and in the first measure of page 5 (Fig. 5.4), saxophone is indicated to the E-natural-4, *fagott* is indicated to G-2, and B[ass] is indicated to C-2 and F-2. All these indications match the instrumentation used in the orchestral version. This fact suggests that the orchestration of this movement came from the cello and piano version. Moreover, on the last three pages of this manuscript (pp. 6-8), it is possible to see markings that suggest system breaks of an orchestral score (Fig. 5.5). These markings are indicated by the use of and “X” and a number (Ex.: X1, X2, X3 etc.), a fact that reinforces the possibility of an orchestration based on this manuscript, giving *MVL.1999.21.0026* the character of a proof.
Figure 5.4. *O Canto do Capadócio, MVL.1999.21.0026*, p. 5. Instrumentation marked on the score.

Figure 5.5. *O Canto do Capadócio, MVL.1999.21.0026*, p. 7. Possible rehearsal marks.
Lastly, in comparing the two autographs, it seems likely the *MVL.1999.21.0026* was generated from *MVL.1994.21.0006*. Apparently, the former is a revised version of the later, where Villa-Lobos added musical markings such as slurs, dynamics, and glissandi. The apograph by Carlos Gaspar (*MVL.1990.21.0057*) seems to have been based on *MVL.1999.21.0026*. The cello part of this copy has a few markings that are not in the piano score or in the autograph.

**O Canto da Nossa Terra**

The autograph *MVL.1994.21.0006* contains not only what seems to be the earliest drafts of *O Canto do Capadócio*, but also those of *O Canto da Nossa Terra*. As observed by Pilger\(^{263}\) and by the Villa-Lobos catalogue,\(^{264}\) the original title Villa-Lobos gave this movement was *O Seresteiro Religioso*,\(^{265}\) which at some point he crossed out and overwrote with *O Canto da Nossa Terra*. On the header of the page it is possible to see the title *Bacheannas* (Fig. 5.6). It is likely that Villa-Lobos composed this movement shortly after *O Canto do Capadócio*. It is difficult to know if Villa-Lobos initially intended these two movements to be part of the same piece, in this case the *Suíte Typica*, or if he really intended to write two different works, a *Suíte Typica* and a *Bacheannas*. We do know that both carried the title “*Bachanas*” when they were first performed during the Artistic Excursion, in early 1931.\(^{266}\) Furthermore, *MVL.1994.21.0006* is seemingly missing pages. While section *A* is complete, and *B* and the return of *A* are absent, the last three measures of the piece are notated on page 11, thus suggesting the missing pages.

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\(^{263}\) Pilger, 111.
\(^{265}\) *Seresteiro* is the musician who plays the genre of the *seresta*. They were often street musicians who played romantic music. A close translation of this title may be “The Religious Serenader.”
\(^{266}\) Bádue Filho, “Excursão,” 97–98.
The autograph *MVL.1994.21.0007* features a title page indicating *Bachianas Brasileira*[s] (Fig. 5.7), and in the back of this page it is possible to see sketches of different thematic material (Fig. 5.8). The manuscript contains the complete cello part in what it seems to be a clean copy by

![Image of a music score page](image1)

**Figure 5.6. O Canto da Nossa Terra, MVL.1994.21.0006, p. 10. “O Seresteiro Religioso” and “Bacheanananas”**

![Image of a music score page](image2)

**Figure 5.7. O Canto da Nossa Terra, MVL.1994.21.0007, Title Page.**
Figure 5.8. *O Canto da Nossa Terra*, MVL.1994.21.0007, p.2, different thematic material.

Figure 5.9. *O Canto da Nossa Terra*, MVL.1994.21.0007, p.3.
the composer. At the top of the score (Fig. 5.9), the composer writes “O canto da Nossa terra Para violoncello e piano,” without including the title Bachianas, the words “reduction” or “arrangement,” or the date, raising the question of whether the title page was also added later.

![O Canto da Nossa Terra](image)

**Figure 5.10. O Canto da Nossa Terra, MVL.1990.21.0056, p.1.**

The autograph *MVL.1990.21.0056* (Fig. 5.10) is a clean copy written on tracing paper, except for pages 1 and 2, which are written directly on staff paper. It is important to note that the paper of this manuscript is written contains information about its manufacturer, visible on the footer of the page (Fig. 5.11), where it reads “Mapleson-Trans-Master no. 6 ‘V’” on the bottom left and “110 West 40th Street New York 18, N.Y.” on the bottom right. Knowing that Villa-Lobos’s first visit to New York happened in 1945, it is likely that this autograph was only written
after that year. Furthermore, the title of the piece comes with the remarks “IIº da ‘Bachianas Brasileiras (Nº2),’” “(Arranjo para violoncelo e Piano)" and the “Bachian” title “Aria,” suggesting that this manuscript was written later than the others.

Figure 5.11. O Canto da Nossa Terra, MVL.1990.21.0056, p.1, footer. Information about paper manufacturer.

The autograph MVL.1990.21.0168 is a clean copy of O Trenzinho do Capira, but the last page of this manuscript contains a sketch of the melodic line of the B section of O Canto da Nossa Terra with indications of different instrumentation for each phrase (Fig. 5.12). The instruments used in this part (saxophone, solo cello, violin, tutti etc) coincide with the ones used in the orchestral version of the piece. Moreover, at the lower part of the same page, it is possible to see the name of four pre-classic forms: Preludio, Aria, Cantiga and Cantata. Was this one of the composer’s first attempts to assign his “Bachian” names to the movements of the Bachianas No.2? This autograph is not dated, but it is possible that the orchestration of O Canto da Nossa Terra was only conceived after O Trenzinho do Caipira was finished (possibly in the first two months of 1931) and that the composer had not yet decided on all the “Bachian” names of his movements.

267 Arrangement for Cello and Piano.
If true, this should prove that the orchestral version of the *Bachianas Brasileiras No.2* came after the movements for cello and piano.

![Figure 5.12](image)

**Figure 5.12.** *O Canto da Nossa Terra*, MVL.1990.21.0168, p.10. *B* with instrumentation annotated.

Furthermore, when comparing the musical material of the four autographs of *O Canto da Nossa Terra*, an inconsistency was noted in the melodic lines, especially in the central section of the movement. In *MVL.1994.21.0006*, which seems to be the first draft of the piece, the melody line of the main theme in section *A*, including the introduction, (Fig. 5.6) matches the one of *MVL.1994.21.0007* (Fig. 5.9), but not that of *MVL.1990.21.0056* (Fig. 5.10). However, strong differences are noticeable between *MVL.1990.21.0056* (Fig. 5.13) and *MVL.1994.21.0007* (Fig. 5.14). These differences range from marks such as dynamics and glissandi in the whole piece, to rhythmical and structural differences in section *B*.  

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Figure 5.13. *O Canto da Nossa Terra*, MVL.1990.21.0056, p.3. Beginning of section B.

Figure 5.14. *O Canto da Nossa Terra*, MVL.1994.21.0007, p.3. Beginning of section B.
On the other hand, section B of MVL.1990.21.0056 is rhythmically very similar to that presented on the last page of (Fig. 5.12), but these two autographs have another structural difference: a measure that appears once in MVL.1990.21.0168 (last measure of third line) is doubled in MVL.1990.21.0056 (Fig. 5.15). Remarkably, this measure also appears doubled in the orchestral version of this movement, and in fact, section B of MVL.1990.21.0056 is rhythmically and structurally identical to that of the orchestral version (both apographs by Ivan Azevêdo, MVL.1989.21.0008 and 0009, and the edition by Ricordi). These similarities suggest a direct relation between MVL.1990.21.0056 and the lost autograph on which the copies of Azevêdo were based. At the same time, it seems unlikely that Villa-Lobos, in arranging an orchestral piece for cello and piano, would have made so many changes in the musical material of the piece. Thus, it becomes more probable that the cello and piano version preceded the orchestral.

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Moreover, the apograph of the lost orchestral autograph replicates an error: a number 6 used in a quintuplet (Fig. 5.16). The same error is found in the exact same measure of MVL.1990.21.0056 (Fig. 5.17). MVL.1990.21.0168 does not contain this error (Fig. 5.12, first measure of third line) and neither does the cello part of MVL.1990.21.0056. This detail strongly suggests that, even though O Canto da Nossa Terra is very likely to have been written originally for cello and piano, the piano score MVL.1990.21.0056 was based on the autograph of the orchestral version, which is now lost. Besides the shared error, this idea is supported by other facts: 1) the paper used suggests that MVL.1990.21.0056 was written after 1945; 2) The spelling used in the word “Bachianas” (see discussion about spelling below), the inclusion of “Nº2” after this title, and the use of the Bachian title “Aria;” and 3) the appearance of the doubled measure in the B section (Fig. 5.15), which probably was only added when the piece was orchestrated. Figure 5.18 demonstrates a possible stemmatic filiation of these autographs.

**Figure 5.16. O Canto da Nossa Terra, MVL.1989.21.0009, p.21. Error: quintuplet with number 6.**
Nevertheless, it becomes clear that the first drafted version of *O Canto da Nossa Terra*, held in the lost piano score of which only the cello part survived (*MVL.1994.21.0007*), was the one performed by Villa-Lobos during the Artistic Excursion in 1931. Then, in *MVL.1990.21.0056* Villa-Lobos revised the piece, incorporating elements of the orchestral version such as rhythms, articulation, and structure.
Lembrança do Sertão

Figure 5.19. Dansa (Lembrança do Sertão), MVL.1990.21.0123, p.1.
Little information is available about this movement. The accepted composition date of 1930 and the dedication to Georgette Baptista come from the second edition of Villa-Lobos catalogue, but there is no documentary evidence. The only autograph available of this work is the MVL.1990.21.0123 (Fig. 5.19), which contains a clean copy of a version for piano solo, but not for cello and piano like all the other three movements. The title contains specifications such as “Bachianas Brasileiras (Nº2),” “III. Dansa” and “(Redução para Piano),” but does not contain the “Brazilian” title of the piece, that is, “Lembrança do Sertão.” It is also notable that the staff paper was made by Max Eschig, whose name appears embossed at the bottoms of the pages. Unfortunately, this information is insufficient to be conclusive.

One characteristic of this solo piano movement is that it is actually a reduction of an orchestral piece, as indicated by the composer. Firstly, the circled numbers present in MVL.1990.21.0123 (Fig. 5.19) match those of the rehearsal marks in Azevêdo’s apograph (MVL.1989.21.0009). Moreover, not only is the writing non-idiomatic, but some passages are literally unplayable on the piano (examples in Figs. 5.20 a and b); a separate section of the next chapter provides a more detailed discussion about the pianistic aspects of this piece. It is therefore possible that Villa-Lobos wrote this piano reduction after finishing the orchestral version of this movement or while he was in the process of making it. It is unlikely that this happened in 1930 and, as far as the autograph MVL.1990.21.0123 is concerned, if we consider its titles with all the specifications as well as the paper used, it becomes presumable that it was written after 1936, when Villa-Lobos made his short trip to Europe, with a stop in Paris before his return to Brazil.

Furthermore, when comparing the piano reduction with the apograph of the orchestral score (MVL.1989.21.0009), some problems come to the fore. This movement is in ternary form, and the central part of the movement (section B) is composed by a segment of 28 measures (subsection
$b_1$) which is immediately repeated ($b_2$). However, while in $MVL.1989.21.0009$ the repetition is indicated by the use of a repeat bar (ritornello) with first and second endings, in the piano reduction it was written in full.\textsuperscript{269} The problem starts with the fact that, in the piano version, $b_1$ and $b_2$ have some different notes (Fig. 5.20 a and b). The differences in the beginning of the subsections

![Figure 5.20 a. Dansa, MVL.1990.21.0123, pp. 2 and 3. Beginning of section B.](image)

\textsuperscript{269} The edition by Ricordi from 1949 also displays section $B$ written in full.
are justifiable: the composer was trying to bring out different elements of the orchestration. But the difference between the sixth measure of rehearsal mark 6 (from $b1$) and the sixth measure of rehearsal mark 11 (from $b2$) brings up the possibility of an error. The same measure in the orchestral manuscript has the same notes of $b1$. Therefore, it is very likely that Villa-Lobos forgot to notate the accidentals in $b2$ of the piano score. Figure 5.21 shows a comparison of this passage in $b1$, $b2$ ($MVL.1990.21.0123$) and in the orchestral score ($MVL.1989.21.0009$).
Figure 5.21. Comparison between piano and orchestral versions: absence of accidentals in b2 of MVL.1990.21.0123.
Two other passages of the piano version are different from the orchestral score. The first is in section B, in the fourth measure of rehearsal mark 6 (in *MVL.1990.21.0123*, also in the fourth measure of rehearsal mark 11). Both times that this passage appears, it comes without the accidentals present in the orchestral score (see comparison in Fig. 5.22). The other different passage is in the third measure of rehearsal mark 18 in *MVL.1990.21.0123*. The correspondent orchestral passage (third measure of rehearsal mark 13 in *MVL.1989.21.0009*) has a motive D-C-B in triplet held by the tenor saxophone and the bassoon on the third beat of the measure. In *MVL.1990.21.0123*, the same motive appears on the fourth beat instead of the third (see comparison in Fig. 5.23). Although it is impossible to prove whether or not Villa-Lobos wanted these passages to be different in the piano reduction, it is plausible that in his hasty manner of writing he forgot to write accidentals in some triplets of rehearsal mark 6 and 11, and that he accidentally misplaced the motive D-C-B in rehearsal mark 18.
Figure 5.22. Comparison between piano and orchestral versions: absence of accidentals in $b1$ and $b2$ of MVL.1990.21.0123.
Figure 5.23. Comparison between piano and orchestral versions: tenor melody placed in different beats of the measure.
O Trenzinho do Caipira

There are two autographs of this movement: *MVL.1990.21.0169*, which seems to be a first draft of the piece, and *MVL.1990.21.0168*, apparently a clean copy. The former was written in pencil, except for “S. Paulo, 1931” at the top right of the first page (Fig. 5.24), which was added later by Arminda Villa-Lobos, according to the Villa-Lobos catalogue. Even though the top left corner of this page is torn, it is still possible to read part of “Suíte Typica.” Nevertheless, the early attribution of this movement to the *Suíte Typica* can be confirmed by the program of a concert performed in Catanduva on March 3, 1931, during the Artistic Excursion, as reported by the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* (edition of 8 March 1931). In this program, the piece appears as “O tremzinho do caipira (da suíte typica)” with the observation “Suggestão de uma viagem nos pequenos trens do interior de S. Paulo” (“Impressions of a journey in the little trains of the hinterland of S. Paulo”). Therefore, it is likely that this autograph is the one written by Villa-Lobos.

Figure 5.24. O Trenzinho do Caipira, MVL.1990.21.0169, p.1. Possible first draft.

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270 Bádue Filho, “Excursão,” 98.
in the episode described by Chechim, as the information matches that found in the earliest record of its performance. On the other hand, the observation “Sugestão de uma viagem num trensinho de interior” is only found in the other autograph, the MVL.1990.21.0168, along with other indications such as “Para violoncello e piano,” a dedicatory “A Iberê Gomes Grosso,” and “Bachiannas (Nº2).” This manuscript is a clean copy written mostly in ink, with some details in pencil that were probably added later, among which we find indications of orchestral instruments\textsuperscript{271} (2º violin, cello, contrabass, see Fig. 5.25) in the first measure, and rests, dynamic and expression marks throughout the piece. Apparently, a different kind of ink was used for the dedication and for the “(Nº2)” of the title “Bachiannas,” suggesting that these inscriptions could as well have been added later. The dedicatee, Iberê Gomes Grosso, was a prominent Brazilian cellist of the time. According to Pilger,\textsuperscript{272} as with O Canto do Capadócio, the fact that this movement was dedicated to a cellist suggests that it was originally written for cello and piano (or orchestra).

Throughout the whole manuscript, it is also possible to see “X/number” indications, marked in red pencil in the manner of MVL.1999.21.0026, discussed above (See Figs. 5.4 and 5.25), also giving this autograph the character of a proof. The same way, these markings may indicate system breaks of an orchestral score. Unfortunately, the orchestral autograph of this piece is lost, and these supposed system breaks do not match with those of the apograph by Ivan Azevedo (MVL.1989.21.0009). This fact, however does not exclude the possibility that the “X/number”

\textsuperscript{271} These instrumentations match the ones used on the orchestral version of Bachianas Brasileiras No.2.
\textsuperscript{272} Pilger, Violoncelo e Seu Idiomatismo, 113.
marks refer to orchestral system breaks. In Azevedo’s copy of O Trenzinho do Caipira (MVL.1990.21.0170) the system breaks do not match the ones of the autograph that it was probably based on (MVL.1990.21.0168), suggesting that Azevêdo wouldn’t always follow Villa-Lobos’s system breaks. In fact, the cello part of MVL.1990.21.0170 has marks that are different or not included in MVL.1990.21.0168, such as dynamics, articulations, accents, sforzandi, and glissandi.

Two other details of MVL.1990.21.0168 suggest that this manuscript was used for the creation of the orchestral version of the piece. The first (Fig. 5.26) is on page 3, where in two measures the rhythm of the melody (originally written in pen) was overwritten by a different one

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**Figure 5.25.** O Trenzinho do Caipira, MVL.1990.21.0168, p.1. Instrumentation annotated at the beginning.

(written in pencil), which corresponds to that used in the orchestral version (dotted quaver - semiquaver tied to a quaver - quaver). The second (Fig. 5.27) is on page 5, where after the first measure that follows the *cadenza* (where “*a tempo*” is indicated), Villa-Lobos drew an extra measure indicating that the previous one should be repeated before the melody comes back. In the orchestral version, this measure is repeated three times, totaling four measures between the end of the *cadenza* (which in the orchestral score is measured) and the return of the melody. These facts bring the attention to the apograph by Ivan Azevêdo. Curiously, whereas this copy does not include extra bars after the cadenza, it does include all the other markings in pencil, including the rhythms Villa-Lobos changed in page 3 as mentioned above. If we assume that this copy was written after the orchestral version was completed, it is hard to know why Azevêdo did not include the extra measures after the *cadenza*, even when it was notated by Villa-Lobos. In the face of many possibilities, three seem to be more plausible: 1) *MVL.1990.21.0168* was written in three layers,
in three different situations: the first in ink; the second in pencil when he added dynamics and expression marks, and changed rhythms (Fig. 5.26); the third in pencil and color pencil when he added rests (page 1, not present in Azevêdo’s apograph), the orchestral instrumentation, the system breaks, and the extra measure after the cadenza. Azevêdo copied the autograph when it only had two of these layers written in it. 2) Azevêdo did not transcribe the extra measure purposefully, in order to maintain the originality of the cello and piano version. 3) Azevêdo based his copy on a different autograph.

Figure 5.27. O Trenzinho do Caipira, MVL.1990.21.0168, p.5. Repeat bars and extra measure added after the cadenza.
Lastly, the repeat bars used in the first line of page 5 (Fig. 5.27) could indicate that these two measures have to be repeated more than once. This idea, although not notated in the autograph \textit{MVL.1990.21.0168}, was expressed by the composer in the first draft of the piece, \textit{MVL.1990.21.0169}. In this autograph Villa-Lobos writes “\textit{Cadencia/repetir muitas vezes}” (“Cadenza/repeat many times”) above the repeat bars (Fig. 5.28), indicating that this is the beginning of the \textit{cadenza} that is continued on the following measure, with a fermata. However, it should be acknowledged that it is still possible that in \textit{MVL.1990.21.0168} Villa-Lobos simply decided to measure the repetitions of these bars. Agreeing with this second possibility, Ivan Azevêdo when copying this movement wrote these repetitions in full, without using repeat bars (Fig. 5.29).

\textbf{Figure 5.28.} \textit{O Trenzinho do Caipira, MVL.1990.21.0169}, p.5. Passage written in repeat bars.
The Names: Bacheannas, Bachanna, Bachanas, Bachiannas, and Bachianas

These changes in spelling of the word Bachianas may provide us a clue in the attempt to establish a chronology for these movements. On 16 January 1931, four days before the opening concert of the Artistic Excursion (Campinas, January 20), the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the program of the performance, which included one of the movements indicated as “O canto do capadocio (Bachanna)”\(^{273}\) Another program, released by the same newspaper on 9 February 1931, features “O Canto de nossa terra (Bachanas)”\(^{274}\) It is notable that the composer – careful as he was when naming his works – did not specify “Brasileiras” or “No.2” after “Bachanna” (Fig. 5.31) and, in the first case, did not use this name in the plural, as he did in most manuscripts, editions and programs, in the manner of the Choros. It is questionable whether this was an editorial error or an evidence of a transformation in Villa-Lobos’s mind.

\(^{273}\) Bádue Filho, “Excursão,” 97.
\(^{274}\) Ibid., 98.
We have seen that “Bacheannas” was used by Villa-Lobos in the autograph of *O Canto da Nossa Terra* (Fig. 5.6), suggesting that this may have been the first time the composer used this name for one of his pieces. It is also possible that before the beginning of the Artistic Excursion, Villa-Lobos had thought of changing “Suíte Typica,” found in *O Canto do Capadócio*, to “Bachanna,” but had not yet planned to make it part of a series of subsequent works. If true, then it is possible that the *Bachianas* No. 1 and the *Dança* (*Miudinho*) of the piano version of No. 4, also composed in 1930, did not arise with this idea in mind either. Indeed, the autograph that seems to be a preliminary sketch of the *Introdução/Embolada* from *Bachianas* No. 1, written in two staves, does not carry the title “Bachianas” or any of its variants (Fig. 5.30), though it is still more likely that he wrote this movement after the other two, of which the autographs already feature the name *Bachianas Brasileiras* on the first page. However, in the header of the page where the *Modinha* starts, it is possible to see that Villa-Lobos tried to correct the word “Bachiannas” by overwriting and changing it to “Bachianas” (Fig. 5.32), with only one “n.” Unfortunately, we cannot go any
Figure 5.31. Different spellings of the word “Bachianas” in the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*.

Figure 5.32. *Modinha, MVL.1989.21.0002, Bachianas No.1.* “Bachiannas” corrected to “Bachianas.”

Figure 5.33. *O Trenzinho do Caipira, MVL.1990.21.0170, p. 1.* Correction in the title “Bachiannas.”
Table 5.2. Suggested history of changes in spelling of the word “Bachianas.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O Canto do Capadócio</td>
<td>Suíte Typica</td>
<td>Second half of 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Canto da Nossa Terra</td>
<td>Bacheannas</td>
<td>Early 1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Canto do Capadócio</td>
<td>Bachanna</td>
<td>1/16/1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Canto da Nossa Terra</td>
<td>Bachanas</td>
<td>2/7/1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Trenzinho do Caipira</td>
<td>Suíte Typica</td>
<td>3/3/1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Trenzinho do Caipira</td>
<td>Bachianas Brasileiras</td>
<td>???, 1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modinha and Conversa (Bachianas No.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>???</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further with the Miudinho of the Bachianas No.4 because all the autographs of its piano version were lost.

In the header of the autograph O Trenzinho do Caipira MVL.1990.21.0168 one sees the spelling “Bachiannas” (Fig. 5.25), while in the copyist’s version of the movement the title was transcribed identically and had one of its n’s erased (Fig. 5.33). In the autograph O Canto do Capadócio MVL.1999.21.0026, when Villa-Lobos changed the inscriptions on the title page, he already used the spelling “Bachianas Brasileiras” (Fig. 5.2), and this same spelling is found in subsequent copies of this and the other movements. Table 5.2 provides a suggested history of the use of the word “Bachianas,” with all its changes in spelling, as it appears in the examined primary sources (manuscripts – autographs and apographs – and programs published by O Estado de S. Paulo). In this table it is easy to observe that even after switching O Canto do Capadócio from “Suíte Typica” to “Bachanna,” he continued to use the former title in O Trenzinho do Caipira. These changes in name and spelling show that the concept of the Bachianas Brasileiras was not established in the composer’s mind yet. The sources available show that these movements for piano and cello played an important role in this process. Furthermore, contrary to Peppercorn’s
view\textsuperscript{275} that the movements had no connection when they were written, if we consider that the
Suite Typica and the Bachianas are only two different names for the same piece for cello and piano
or orchestra, it is likely that these movements were somewhat connected since their conception,
even though we cannot find among them any kind of thematic connection or, as Tarasti writes, the
achievement of a “large scale form.”\textsuperscript{276} Nevertheless, it is much less likely that these movements
were written initially as orchestral pieces and then transcribed for cello and piano.

\textsuperscript{275} Peppercorn, “Ben Trovato,” 33–34.
\textsuperscript{276} Tarasti, Life and Works, 182.
CHAPTER 6. CREATING THE EDITION

Establishing the Text

After observing and investigating the manuscripts, we judged the most authoritative ones and selected those that will be used in the creation of the edition. In general, there are two kinds of available sources: autographs and apographs (all of which are available in Appendix B). Among the autographs, some of them are sketches and early drafts, all of which will have passages and markings that differ from the “finished scores,” evidencing a process where the composer changed his mind. In these cases, the early drafts and sketches will not be useful in the creation of the edition as they will not present any reading that is not available in other sources. On the other hand, they were not completely useless to the editor as they provided valuable information about the chronology and compositional thinking of the *Bachianas Brasileiras No.2* as evidenced in Chapter 5. The autographs that are clean copies are treated here as the most authoritative sources as all of them seem to have been written to be used in performances and two of them (*MVL.1999.21.0026* and *MVL.1990.21.0168*) apparently used as proofs for the orchestration of the piece.

Three apographs were consulted: *MVL.1990.21.0057* by Carlos Gaspar with *O Canto do Capadócio*, *MVL.19990.21.0170* by Ivan Azevêdo with *O Trenzinho do Caipira*, and *MVL.1989.21.0009*, also by Azevêdo, with the orchestral score of the complete *Bachianas Brasileiras No.2* (*MVL.1989.21.0008* is probably a ditto machine copy of *0009*). However, it is hard to confirm the authenticity of these apographs. In the case of the two copies of the pieces for cello and piano, it seems they were based on the autographs *MVL.1999.21.0026* and

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*MVL.1990.21.0168.* The orchestral apograph and the first edition by Ricordi⁴²⁷ are the only orchestral sources from the time of the composer that survived. Nevertheless, all the apographs and the Ricordi edition were consulted to corroborate readings, help solving ambiguities in the composer’s handwriting, and in judging apparent errors in the autographs.

*O Canto do Capadócio* for cello and piano appears in three manuscripts: two autographs and one copy. One of the autographs (*MVL.1994.21.0006*) is an early draft, and the other (*MVL.1999.21.0026*) is a revised clean copy with added musical marks such as slurs, dynamics, glissandi, agogic and expressions. The apograph by Carlos Gaspar (*MVL.1990.21.0057*) seems to have been based on *MVL.1999.21.0026*, even though a few markings of the cello part are not seen in the piano score of this copy or in the autograph. Therefore, in the present edition, *MVL.1999.21.0026* was taken as the most authoritative source, and markings in cello part of apograph *MVL.1990.21.0057* that are not present in the autograph were added in square brackets to the edition.

*O Canto da Nossa Terra* for cello and piano appears in four autographs. *MVL.1994.21.0006* includes the first draft of section *A*, *MVL.1994.21.0007* is a clean copy of the cello part, the last page of *MVL.1990.21.0168* holds the cello line of section *B* with orchestral instrumentations, and *MVL.1990.21.0056* is a clean revised copy probably written after 1945, and presenting strong differences from the earlier autographs, as discussed in Chapter 5. Such differences are enough for us to consider two versions of the piece, one written prior to the orchestration, and one written after. During the Artistic Excursion, Villa-Lobos probably played with his wife the earlier version, of which the cello part is *MVL.1994.21.0007*, but the piano score of this autograph is lost. In comparing the cello lines of these two versions, they present differences in dynamic marks,

glissandi, expression, tempo marks, and in rhythms in section $B$, which are so prominent that they modify the piece structurally. As the piano score of section $B$ did not survive in its early version and attempting its reconstruction is out of the scope of this research, we could only use the later version of $MVL.1990.21.0056$ as our main source. However, some marks from the earlier version were added to the score in square brackets, so long as they do not affect the musical ideas of $MVL.1990.21.0056$. Doing such a task, the editor needed to ponder which of these marks characterize the composer’s earlier and the later conception of the piece, and be careful not to create a “hybrid” version of the piece.

*Lembrança do Sertão* for piano solo only appears in one autograph, and it is the only movement that is actually an orchestral reduction. Even though the authenticity and authority of this source is not questioned, it presents problems such as possible errors (See Chapter 5) and pianistically infeasible passages, all of which were indicated and corrected in the present edition. The non-idiomatic passages (discussed below) were rearranged and the suggested alternatives were written in *ossia* staves.

The situation of *O Trenzinho do Caipira* for cello and piano is similar to that of *O Canto do Capadócio*. There are three manuscripts available; two of them are autographs and the other an apograph. The autograph $MVL.1990.21.0169$ is an early draft with very few marks of dynamics and articulation, and $MVL.1990.21.0168$ is a revised clean copy which may have been used as proof for orchestration, thus being the most authoritative source of this movement. $MVL.1990.21.0170$ is an apograph written by Ivan Azevêdo containing the piano score and the cello part, the last of which features marks (dynamics, articulation, glissandi and expression) that are different from those of the autograph $MVL.1990.21.0168$. In the present edition, these markings were included in square brackets. Furthermore, of the three layers of $MVL.1990.21.0168$, discussed
in Chapter 5, only the first and the second were considered, which means the measures added after the cadenza, present in the orchestral version, were disregarded.

**Pianistic Aspects of MVL.1990.21.0123 (Dansa)**

As noted earlier, this is the only autograph that actually represents an orchestral reduction for solo piano. Consequently, Villa-Lobos included in certain passages the orchestral lines in such a way as to preclude their performance on the piano. It is true that at the beginning of his musical career the composer was not very familiar with the technique of this instrument and ended up writing pieces that did not reflect the pianistic idiom, but an attempt to apply the guitar technique on the keyboard. “When [Villa-Lobos] met the pianist Lucília Guimarães,” Peppercorn writes, “and showed her his first attempts at writing for the piano, he learned from her that his music was unplayable unless one used the nose or a third hand.”

Even though the 1930s do not represent an early period in the composer’s life, Peppercorn’s words perfectly describe the situation of some passages in *MVL.1990.21.0123*. Therefore, editorial work needed to be done in order to make them playable. The objective here is to find ways of making this movement more pianistic while preserving its musical ideas and trying to avoid absurd technicalities just for the sake of including all the notes of the orchestral part.

In total, four infeasible passages were modified during the edition (notated as *ossia*): three are in section *B* (presented equally in *b1* and *b2*), and one in the coda. The first of these passages, measures 30-31 and 58-59 (Fig. 6.1, marked in red), transcribes what is assigned to the string section of the orchestra. The first violins have descending chromatic figurations in semiquavers, second violins and viola have disjunct counterpoint, and the bass line in broken octaves is carried by the cellos and contrabasses.

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Many performers solve that problem by omitting the tenor line and playing only the broken octaves on the bass. In the present edition, the passage was altered in order to maintain both the tenor and the bass lines: the register of the tenor line had to be adapted, the line of the contrabasses suppressed, and the rhythm of the cello line altered (Fig. 6.2).

In the second infeasible passage, measures 38 and 66 (Fig. 6.3), Villa-Lobos transcribed all the notes played by the woodwinds (flute, oboe, clarinet, tenor saxophone and bassoon) to the right hand. The octaves of the left hand correspond to the cellos and contrabasses, which are
doubled by the piano in the orchestral version. To make this measure playable, the lines of the bassoon and saxophone had to be suppressed (Fig. 6.4).

Figure 6.3. Second infeasible passage. Dansa, MVL.1999.21.0123, p. 3, m. 38; also, in p. 5, m. 66.

Figure 6.4. Suggested solution for the second infeasible passage.

The third infeasible passage, measures 40-41 and 68-69 (Fig. 6.5), is also a transcription of the string section. The chords of the right hand are played by the first violins, the semiquavers by the second violins and violas, and the tremolo by the cellos and basses. While many performers choose to play only the tremolo, leaving out the semiquavers, the suggested solution (Fig. 6.6) attempts to maintain the notes of the tremolo and the counterpoint line of the semiquavers. The need for inclusion of the bass and the continuity of the notes held by the tremolo were met by the use of the pedal.
Figure 6.5. Third infeasible passage. *Dansa, MVL.1999.21.0123*, p. 3, mm. 40-41; also, in p. 5, mm. 68-69.

Figure 6.6. Suggested solution for the third infeasible passage.

The fourth infeasible passage is in the coda, m. 96 (Fig. 6.7). Once more, Villa-Lobos included the whole string section in the piano reduction. The viability of this passage came with the omission of some notes and the redistribution of notes between the hands (Fig. 6.8).

Figure 6.7. Fourth infeasible passage. *Dansa, MVL.1999.21.0123*, p. 7, m. 96.
Figure 6.8. Suggested solution for the fourth infeasible passage.

Nevertheless, simplified options have also been suggested for passages that are possible to be played but have technical difficulties that are well above the general level of the piece. This is the case of the right hand in measures 29-30 (Fig. 6.1) and 55-60. In measure 29, only the top note of the parallel chords was kept, and in measure 30, the number of the notes was also reduced (Fig. 6.9). The figurations with double fourths in mm. 44-46 and 72-74 were also simplified (Figs. 6.10 and 6.11).

Figure 6.9. Simplification of the upper line in mm. 29-30 and 55-60.

Figure 6.10. Dansa, MVL.1999.21.0123, p. 4, mm. 44-46; also, in p.5, mm. 72-74.
Presenting the Text – Editorial History

To date, in the scholarly world, the “reduced” version of *Bachianas Brasileiras No.2* has never received a historical study, just as its manuscripts have never been inspected and compared. For this reason, once such a study is conducted, it may be in the interest of scholars and performers to have available a critical edition of this version of the piece. Therefore, this is how this text is presented as a result of the present research. As Grier defines it, the critical edition “is, or ought to be, the primary printed or written vehicle by which music is communicated to its public. Therefore, the purpose of a critical edition is quite simple: to transmit the text that best represents the historical evidence of the sources. That evidence is open to interpretation, and so two editors will, in all likelihood, produce two different editions of the same work.”

Grier’s last remark draws attention to the interpretative aspect of this work. Often the editor will fall into situations where the sources will not be enough for him to know how to proceed. Then, he will have to make choices based on his own interpretation of the work, which might only come to light through his own musical experiences. In this sense, the work of the editor identifies itself with the work of the performer. Below, is an editorial history, which includes every modification or addition that was made to the original text in the course of the edition realized during this research, as well as observations regarding passages that were written differently in separate sources.

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280 Grier, *Editing*, 156.
O Canto do Capadócio:

Main source: MVL.1999.21.0026 (autograph)

Other source(s) used: MVL.1990.21.0057 (apograph) and MVL.1989.21.0009 (orchestral apograph)

m. 4, beat 1: dots of the minimis E-1 and E-2, present only in MVL.1990.21.0057.

m. 10, beat 1: accidentals of the tied minimis present in MVL.1999.21.0026 were removed.

m. 11, beat 4: “rall.” is present only in the cello part of MVL.1990.21.0057.

m. 31, between beats 2 and 3: tie on D-5 in cello par is only present in MVL.1989.21.0009.

m. 54: semibreve rest is only present in MVL.1990.21.0057.

m. 55, beat 3: “Sul D” appears only in the cello part of MVL.1990.21.0057.

m. 57, beat 2: MVL.1990.21.0057 (cello part) has f instead of mf.

m. 69, beat 1: accent on D-5 added by the editor.

m. 70, beat 4: accent in C-sharp-4 present only in MVL.1990.21.0057.


m. 77, beat 1: “longa” appears only in the cello part of MVL.1990.21.0057.

m. 79, beat 2: p and crescendo appears only in the cello part of MVL.1990.21.0057.

mm. 85-87: “string.,” “rall.,” and “A tempo” are only present in MVL.1990.21.0057.

m. 97, beat 1: C-2 and ff are present only in the cello part of MVL.1990.21.0057.
O Canto da Nossa Terra:

Main source: *MVL.1999.21.0056* (autograph)

Other source(s) used: *MVL.1990.21.0007* (autograph) and *MVL.1989.21.0009* (orchestral apograph)

mm. 6, 57, beat 1: “*Sul D*” appears only in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

mm. 8, 60, beat 1: “*Sul G*” appears only in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

m. 9, beat 3: crescendo appears only in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

m. 11, beat 3: slur appears only in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

m. 17, beat 1: “*Sul G*” appears only in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

m. 25: upbow suggested by Villa-Lobos in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

m. 27, beat 4: *MVL.1990.21.0007* features *mf* instead of *f*.


m. 33, beat 1: *ppp* appears in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

m. 36, beat 1: slurs from F-3 to G-3 and from D-3 to D-flat-3 appear in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

m. 38, beat 1: *mf* is present only in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

m. 38, beats 1 and 2: the *MVL.1990.21.0007* features a glissando between C-4 and E-flat-4.

m. 39, beat 1: quintuplet corrected as in *MVL.1999.21.0056* Villa-Lobos mistakenly wrote a number 6 on it.

m. 39, beat 4: *MVL.1990.21.0007* features a glissando between C-4 and E-flat-4.
m. 41, beat 4: *MVL.1990.21.0007* features a glissando between C-4 and E-flat-4. The same
apograph features *pp* crescendo to *p*, and *Sul D* on the same passage, which gives it an
interpretation opposite to that of *MVL.1999.21.0056*.

m. 41, beats 2-4: crescendo and *f* duplicated from the cello to the piano part.

mm. 43-44: diminuendo and *pp* were duplicated to the piano part.

m. 49, beat 3: *MVL.1990.21.0007* and *MVL.1989.21.0009* feature a glissando between D-3 and

mm. 49-52: bowing suggested by Villa-Lobos in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

m. 56-57: in *MVL.1990.21.0007* there is a caesura between these measures.

m. 69, beat 2: slur added from B-2 to F-3, as it is written in the exposition of *MVL.1999.21.0056*
and in *MVL.1990.21.0007*.

*Lembrança do Sertão*

**Main source:** *MVL.1990.21.0123* (autograph)

**Other source(s) used:** *MVL.1989.21.0009* (orchestral apograph)

mm. 8, 12, 17, 23, 28, 33, 42, 44, 49, 56, 61, 70, 72, 77, 80, 85, 95, 100: Rehearsal numbers
removed.

m. 23, 29, 30, 96, 97: fingering added.

mm. 29-31, 38, 40-41, 44-46, 57-59, 66, 68-69, 72-74, 80, 96: *ossia* staves added.

m. 25, beat 4: common note E3 removed from right hand.

mm. 33-38: to facilitate the reading, the stems of the triplets were re-written the same way as the
ones of mm. 61-66 in *MVL.1990.21.0123*. 143

m. 55, beat 3: common note E3 removed from right hand.

m. 65, beat 1: dots added to the minims.


m. 72: *Allegro* added as in m. 44.

m. 80, beats 3 and 4: triplets were written on the upper staff to facilitate the reading.

m. 96, beat 4: brackets added to the notes A-2, G-2 and F-2.

m. 97: triplet D-4, C-4, B-3 were placed on third beat according to *MVL.1989.21.0009*.

*O Trenzinho do Caipira*

**Main source**: *MVL.1990.21.0168* (autograph)

**Other source(s) used**: *MVL.1990.21.0170* (apograph) and *MVL.1989.21.0009* (orchestral apograph)

mm. 11, 12: rests removed.

m. 27, beat 1: *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part) has *ff* instead of *f*.

m. 30, beat 2: accent and glissando in E-4 are only present in *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).

m. 31, beat 2: accent in G-4 is only present in *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).
m. 32: tenutos in F-4 and E-4 appear only in *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).

**mm. 35, 36:** tenutos and slur appear only in *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).

**m. 38, beat 2:** glissando in F-4 is only present in *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).

**m. 40, beat 1:** natural sign added between brackets.

**m. 53, beat 1:** accent on E-4 appears only in *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).

**m. 55, beat 1:** tenuto on D-4 appears only in *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).

**m. 70:** “*cresc. poco a poco*” is from *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).

**mm. 77-84:** all *sfz* are from *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).

**mm. 79, 80:** repeat bar present in *MVL.1990.21.0168* was written in full as *MVL.1990.21.0170*.

**m. 109, beat 2:** accent added on C-2 is present in *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).

**m. 134, 137, beat 1:** brackets removed from E-flat-4 as in *MVL.1990.21.0170*.

**m. 141, beat 2:** “*cresc. poco a poco*” appears only in *MVL.1990.21.0168* and is written in pencil.

**m. 143-146:** these measures were abbreviated with “repeat bar” symbols in *MVL.1990.21.0168*, but were written in full in *MVL.1990.21.0170*.

**m. 145, beat 1:** *ff* appears only in *MVL.1990.21.0168* and is written in pencil.

**mm. 165, 166:** “*como se fossem harm.*” appear only in *MVL.1990.21.0170* (cello part).
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

Being historically aware of the circumstances of a piece of art, while not essential to its appreciation, is a duty of any editor. We have seen in Chapter 6 that during the editorial work many choices had to be made, whether they resulted from inconsistency of the composer’s writing, from different information in separate manuscripts, from interpretations of potential errors, or from the search for means to make performance feasible in order to better convey the ideas of the composer. Moreover, the demand for the ability to discern and intuit accompanies the editor from the early stages of his work, such as during the observation and investigation of the sources, in qualifying the authority of the available texts, and ultimately in deciding which material is going to compose his edition. However, none of these decisions can be made without a thorough historical study of the materials to be analyzed, including the context of their creation, the conditions in which they were created, and especially the predominant characteristics of their creator.

We have seen how Villa-Lobos was born and lived a great part of his life in a period of great instability in Brazil. The composer’s life ranged from 1887-1959, a period that comprehends the end of Dom Pedro II’s empire, more than thirty years of the old republic, fifteen years of the authoritarian Getúlio Vargas, and almost fifteen years of the continuation of the republic. Coming from a long colonial period, endowed with a slave culture, and after having passed through an empire that brought many improvements to its newly independent lands, Brazil was instituted in 1889 with its first republic, motivated by oligarchic movements. Since mid-19th century, Brazil received a large number of immigrants from Europe, who brought with themselves a piece of the culture of their countries, including dances and music. In this way, European culture came into contact with African traditions cultivated initially by slaves (and then by their free descendants),
and to a lesser extent, with certain indigenous traditions cultivated in some places in the interior of the country. It was these interactions between music from different places that Brazilian musical culture began to develop. Villa-Lobos lived a moment in which this culture was still in a period of recent formation. His activity as a guitarist with the chorões, from 1900s to the end of 1910s, provided him a deep practical knowledge of the developing genres of Brazilian popular music. On the other hand, he could hear and perform various pieces of the classical repertoire during his activity as cellist, especially during his experiences with the orchestra of the Municipal Theater of Rio de Janeiro. Roughly, the musical language Villa-Lobos developed during his whole life is loaded with this duality between European and Brazilian traditions. In the 1920s, after coming into contact with several artistic trends during both his stays in Paris, the composer seriously sought originality in his compositions, expecting that this would, among other things, grant him recognition in the Parisian musical society. One of Villa-Lobos’s most prominent compositions of this time is the primitivist and avant-gardist series of the Choros.

Moreover, during his stay in Paris, Villa-Lobos also experienced the neoclassic trends of the “retour” to Bach, adopted by composers such as Stravinsky, Hindemith and Schönberg, where the nationalistic bias of their works gave place to a restoration of the music of the past, which was revered and reworked under modernist aesthetics. At that time, Bach was already regarded as a “source of universal values” as the “cult” of Bach was in force in Europe since mid-19th century. It is evident that Villa-Lobos recognized the universality of Bach’s music and brought it with him back to Brazil in 1930. Indeed, during the 30s and 40s, many were the tributes to Bach made by Villa-Lobos. In addition to transcriptions of works by the German composer in 1930, 31, 38, 40, and 41, Villa-Lobos performed pieces by Bach on several occasions, such as the first performance of the B minor Mass in 1935. In the case of the Bachianas Brasileiras, the relation of this series
with the music of Bach is still a subject of discussion and study. While the use of “Bachian” elements is more evident in some *Bachianas*, especially in the later ones (1938 and on), these elements are more obscure in those composed around 1930, such as the *Bachianas no.2*, where the “Brazilianism” is much more present than the “Bachianism.” On the other hand, it is known that the *Bachianas no.1* was composed initially as a prelude and fugue, as it was premiered as such in 1932 (without the introduction). This piece is possibly a result of Villa-Lobos’s excitement for Bach after transcribing some works from Well-Tempered Clavier for cello and piano in 1930/31, around the time the prelude and fugue of *Bachianas no.1* were composed. The same could be thought about *O Canto da Nossa Terra* for cello and piano, especially considering some similarities between this piece and Bach’s Prelude in E-flat minor (BWV 856, WTC I). Furthermore, *O Canto da Nossa Terra* may be the first piece to be named “Bachianas” as we saw in the investigation of the different spellings of this word used by Villa-Lobos in Chapter 5. However, it is hard to know which of these *Bachianas* was composed first.

Before conducting a chronological study of the *Bachianas Brasileiras no.2*, it was important to inquire about Villa-Lobos’s arbitrariness in dating and cataloguing his compositions. In this study, carried out in Chapter 4, much evidence was found regarding arbitrary dating (especially the cases reported by Peppercorn and Negwer). The composer would sometimes use the “spiritual conception” as an excuse to change his dates, or sometimes would claim that he rewrote a lost piece from decades earlier by memory. Regardless of Villa-Lobos’s justifications, this study showed how the sources used to the present edition should be studied, that is, their content, especially that related to their dates of composition, should not be taken directly as a truth. The literature review performed also in Chapter 4 showed that, although Villa-Lobos officialized 1930 as the date of composition of the orchestral version of *Bachianas Brasileiras no.2*, this issue
remained controversial among many authors, such as Peppercorn, Tarasti, Negwer, Bádue Filho, Chechim Filho, and Pilger. Bádue Filho’s research in the archives of the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* brought out programs performed in 1931 during the Artistic Excursion, as well as dates and places for all the concerts reported by *O Estado de S. Paulo*. The investigation of this data, aided by other concert programs provided by Pilger, and by Chechim stories, led to the conclusion that the story of the origin of *O Trenzinho do Caipira*, told by Chechim, is very likely to be true.

In observing and inspecting the manuscripts in Chapter 5, the following facts may be considered the most remarkable to the history of the piece:

1. *Canto do Capadócio* and *O Trenzinho do Caipira* were called movements of the “*Suíte Typica,*” a piece that Villa-Lobos began to write for solo cello and orchestra or piano, as shown in *MVL.1999.21.0026* and *MVL.1990.21.0168*. In this autograph of *O Canto do Capadócio*, this title is scribbled and substituted by “*Bachianas Brasileiras (Nº2).*”

   **Observation:** Although it seems very probable that these pieces were originally written as part of the *Suíte Typica*, this fact alone does not prove it. There is, though, a chance that this is a case where Villa-Lobos was plagiarizing himself, that is, making reductions for cello and piano of the movements of an orchestral piece, the *Bachianas no.2*, in order to use them in a new composition, the *Suíte Typica*. It is also possible that, once the composer decided not to carry on the idea of the *Suíte Typica*, he scribbled the title and transformed his transcriptions in reductions of the supposed existent orchestral version *Bachianas no.2*. Nevertheless, if these movements were originally created for cello and piano, as their autographs initially suggest, it would be attested that they were related since their creation. Moreover,
if the names “Bachianas” and “Suite Typica” are only two names of a piece originally projected for cello and orchestra or piano, then the movement O Canto da Nossa Terra may also be related to them. Indirectly, the Lembrança do Sertão, even if it was written originally for the orchestra and later reduced for piano, is also related to the other 3, which would give some coherence to its performance together with the other three movements for piano and cello.

2. Two autographs (MVL.1999.21.0026 and MVL.1990.21.0168) have names of orchestral instruments attached to some notes of the texture, which match with the instrumentation used in the orchestral version. The movements with instruments assigned to some lines are O Canto do Capadócio, O Canto da Nossa Terra, and O Trenzinho do Caipira.

Observation: It is very likely that these two autographs were used as sources for the orchestration of the piece, functioning as proofs where the composer made changes and corrections before using it to create the orchestral score. The same autographs have marks that seem to be system breaks of an orchestral score.

3. There are autographs of O Canto do Capadócio, O Canto da Nossa Terra, and of O Trenzinho do Caipira that present many differences from the orchestral version.

Observation: These autographs seem to be early drafts of these pieces, sometimes almost looking like sketches, strongly suggesting that they carry “newborn” pieces, and not reductions of a preexisting one. Of these supposed early autographs, O Canto da Nossa Terra (MVL.1994.21.0006) comes with the title “Bacheannas,” exactly with this spelling. Of all the available autographs of the early Bachianas,
including nos. 1, 2 and 4, this is the only movement that carries this spelling, which suggests that it was the first to receive this name.

4. The title complements “reduction for [cello and] piano” or “arrangement for cello and piano” are only present in apographs or autographs written in papers made in Paris (MVL.1990.21.0123, by Max Eschig) or New York (MVL.1990.21.0056, by Mapleson), with one exception (O Canto do Capadócio MVL.1999.21.0026). The other autographs that were not written in these kinds of papers, if they include any complement of this nature at all, simply say “for cello and piano.”

Observation: These facts suggest that the pieces for piano and cello were originally written for that instrumentation, and not as a reduction or arrangement made from the orchestral version. While there is not enough information to determine the date the apographs were written, in the case of some autographs, the manufacturer of the paper may give us a clue. Villa-Lobos went back to Brazil from Paris in 1930, and only returned to this city in 1936. In the case of New York, the composer first visited this city only in 1945. Therefore, it is likely that the two autographs in papers from these cities were only written after these dates. These autographs are also the only ones that include the “Bachian” titles (Aria and Dansa), which were probably assigned to the movements by Villa-Lobos only during or after their orchestration (as suggests MVL.1990.21.0168). Furthermore, it is possible that Villa-Lobos started to include the complements “arrangement” or “reduction” to his autographs after he had finished the orchestration. He may have also added this information to his earlier manuscripts, as he probably did to the exception mentioned above (O
Canto do Capadócio MVL.1999.21.0026), or to the prelude and fugue of Bachianas no.1. As far as the premiere of the orchestral version, according to Peppercorn, the year of 1934 seems to be wrong. She suggests that this premiere actually happened in 1938. If true, it is very unlikely that Villa-Lobos would have waited 8 years to have his Bachianas no.2 performed.

5. The three autographs of O Canto da Nossa Terra present two versions of this piece. One of them (MVL.1990.21.0056) features the same musical material of the orchestral version, and the replication of an error from the orchestral apograph MVL.1989.21.0009, which proves that these two manuscripts are directly related (it is possible that this orchestral apograph replicated an error from the orchestral autograph it was copied from). The other autographs (MVL.1994.21.0006 and MVL.1994.21.0007) strongly differ from the orchestral version, especially in section B.

Observation: The autograph that matches the orchestral version of the piece is the same that was written in a paper made in New York, which suggests that this manuscript was written after 1945, thus after the premiere of the orchestral version. As for the other two manuscripts, they were probably written around 1931, the same year that this piece was first performed during the Artistic Excursion, as reported by O Estado de S. Paulo. Moreover, MVL.1994.21.0007 is a cello part of an autograph of which the piano score is lost, preventing a full comparison between the two versions. Therefore, it is possible that Villa-Lobos wrote the piece for cello and piano in 1931, revised it a few years later during the process of its orchestration.

\footnote{Peppercorn, “Ben Trovato,” 33 Footnote 5.}
lost the manuscript, and rewrote the piece almost a decade later incorporating elements of the orchestral version.

6. *MVL.1990.21.0123 (Dansa)* is closely related to the orchestral version of the piece.

*Observation:* In fact, this autograph is actually an orchestral reduction, given the numerous non-idiomatic passages it presents. Villa-Lobos also included in it the same rehearsal marks that are present in *MVL.1989.21.0009*. If we consider that the orchestral version of the *Bachianas no.2* was written after the version for cello and piano, knowing that this movement was written down in a paper made by Max Eschig, it is more likely that this reduction was written in 1936 or later than when the composer returned to Brazil in 1930. However, it is hard to know when the piece was orchestrated. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent the possibility of this piece being written as a single orchestral movement, which was later incorporated into the *Bachianas no.2* and at some point, reduced for piano.

Although the facts above still leave several questions without answers, they predominantly support the hypothesis that the orchestral version came after the version for cello and piano. On the other hand, the investigation conducted on the movement for solo piano indicates that this movement is in fact an orchestral reduction. At the same time, it was seen that to a greater or lesser degree, all the movements were somehow connected and that they could be coherently performed as a “reduced” version of the *Bachianas Brasileiras no.2*. To the edition created in Chapter 6, these hypotheses were taken as authentic. Therefore, in the case of the pieces for cello and piano, the choices made were based on their authority and originality of the autographs for these instruments,
which means that the editor tried to avoid the incorporation elements of the orchestral version, which was used only to corroborate readings and marks. However, an exception was made to *O Canto da Nossa Terra*: while the edition included some elements of its first version, a greater authority was given to its second version, which is thoroughly based on the orchestral score. In the case of the movement for piano solo, the editor tried to reassess its pianistic aspects, providing many suggestions on how to play the infeasible passages while maintaining the core of its musical ideas. The result of this edition was included in full in Appendix A.
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Audio Recordings

- **Complete (all movements):**


  *Heitor Villa Lobos 100 Anos.* Alceu Reis and João Carlos Assis Brasil. Kuarup, 1987, KLP.

- **O Canto Do Capadócio e O Trenzinho Do Caipira:**

  *Festival Villa-Lobos 1982.* Steven Thomas and José Carlos Cocarelli. MVL, 1982, LP 12”.

- **O Canto Do Capadócio, O Canto da Nossa Terra e O Trenzinho Do Caipira:**


- **Lembrança do Sertão:**


- **O Trenzinho Do Caipira:**

Villa-Lobos’s Manuscripts (Villa-Lobos Museum Collection)

*Bachianas Brasilerias no.1*

MVL.1989.21.0001
MVL.1989.21.0002
MVL.1989.21.0003
MVL.1989.21.0004

*Bachianas Brasilerias no.2*

MVL.1989.21.0008
MVL.1989.21.0009
MVL.1990.21.0056
MVL.1990.21.0057
MVL.1990.21.0123
MVL.1990.21.0168
MVL.1990.21.0169
MVL.1990.21.0170
MVL.1994.21.0006
MVL.1994.21.0007
MVL.1999.21.0026


APPENDIX A. EDITION

Bachianas Brasileiras (nº2)

A Tony Ciosé

Prelúdio - O Canto do Capadocio
(Para Violoncelo e Piano)

Heitor Villa-Lobos
S. Paulo, 1930

Adagio (arrastando)
Ária - O Canto da Nossa Terra
(Para Violoncelo e Piano)

Adagio

Bachianas Brasileiras (nº2)

Heitor Villa-Lobos
(S. Paulo, 1931)
Poco a poco a tempo

Muito Moderato (quasi lento)

(sem pedal e muito seco)
Bachianas Brasileiras (nº2)  
(Redução para piano)  
Dança - Lembrança do Sertão

Heitor Villa-Lobos

Andantino Moderato

\[\text{Music notation image}\]
Bachianas Brasileiras (nº 2)

Tocata - O Trensinho do Caipira
(Sugestão de uma viagem num trensinho do interior)
Para violoncelo e piano

Heitor Villa-Lobos
S. Paulo, 1931

Um pouco moderado
MVL.1999.21.0026
O Canto do capadocio

Nº I
(Redução para Cello e Piano)
Das Bachianas Brasileiras (nº 2)

H. Villa Lobos
(S. Paulo, 1930)

Adagio (arrastando)

Cello

Piano
Andante (rytmado)

Andante

pp molto rytmado

mf
Bachianas Brasileiras

O canto da nossa terra

Para violoncello e piano

S. Paulo, 1931
O canto da nossa terra
Para violoncelo e piano

Adagio

Muito moderado

mf
Iberê Gomes Grosso

Nº IV das BACHIA NAS BRASILEIRAS (Nº 2)

O Reensinho do Caipira

(Redução para Cello e Piano)

Um pouco moderado

H. Villa-Lobos

vio Soloscello

Piano

Um pouco arrastado, em relação ao movimento justo de Piano

mf

bem elastizado

cresc. poco a poco
(Estes harmonicos devem soar agudos e mal sonoros)
VITA

Born in Santo André (Brazil), Henrique Borges started his musical studies in 2005, in the city of Guarujá, with Jamir Carlos dos Santos. In 2009, Henrique began his college studies in Piano at the University of Campinas, under the guidance of the pianist Maurícy Martin. In 2013, he went to Temple University to pursue his master’s degree in Piano Performance and Pedagogy, with the pianist Maria del Pico Taylor. In 2015, he started his doctoral degree in Piano Performance at Louisiana State University, studying with the pianist Michael Gurt.

During both his master’s and doctoral degree, Henrique taught secondary piano as Teaching Assistant, and has been teaching several private students in Baton Rouge. Henrique has been giving several recitals, both solo and accompanying his colleagues, in Philadelphia, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, New Roads, and many cities in São Paulo state (Brazil). He was recently honored with a medal for cultural achievements by the city council of Guarujá (São Paulo).