

Heavy Metal Music in Postdictatorial Brazil: Sepultura and the Coding of Nationality in Sound

IDELBER AVELAR

Preamble: 'you censor what we breathe/prejudice with no belief' (Sepultura, 1993)

Heavy metal is a postdictatorial genre in Brazil, one whose musical and cultural significance is best grasped by mapping the various meanings acquired by metal music amongst urban youth during the decline of the military regime in the mid-1980s.¹ As in most countries, speed, thrash and death metal evolved in Brazil primarily as working-class urban youth genres. Unlike their Anglo-American and continental sisters, however, Brazil's pioneer metal bands began to craft their art under a heritage of intense censorship and repression, courtesy of a two-decade-long dictatorship (1964–85). Brazilian metal not only had to face the usual aesthetic and moral reprimands flung against it in the North, but also a political accusation that as a form of protest it was not socially aware enough. Never mind, of course, that bands or fans themselves rarely phrased their own agenda in such crude terms as 'protest' or 'resistance.' Once a certain orthodoxy defined that such a function was the only one to be attributed to popular music—and the only meaning a phenomenon like heavy metal could have in Brazil—the debate was already framed in a no-win situation for the genre. In order to establish itself heavy metal had to *implode* the terms of that debate and show how inadequate they were to account for the genre's sound, writing and iconography. The band I will follow here, Sepultura, has been for 18 years (1985–2003) largely responsible for the genre's victory in that *national* cultural battle, one that they could only win by rephrasing it as an *international* debate.

In Brazil not only did headbangers have to prove to the usual guardians of musical standards that theirs was genuine music and not sheer noise; not only did they have to prove to the usual guardians of morality that their message was not immoral and did not incite violence; they also had to prove to then-influential guardians of political meaning that theirs was not a futile and alienated form of protest against the country's still grim political reality. Although also in Europe and North America metal bands faced the charge of being a 'force of political indifference' (Cashmore, 1987, p. 263), in peripheral postdictatorial countries such as Brazil that critique was particularly ferocious and potentially damning, especially when legitimized by the 'good taste' in popular music associated, amongst the country's middle class, with the heterogeneous ensemble of harmonically and lyrically sophisticated acoustic musics known as

MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*).² Squeezed between the moral/aesthetic Right and the cultural/political Left, heavy metal was always intensely interpellated by contradictory demands from several sides at the same time. The history of the genre's elaborations, responses and parodies of those attacks in Brazil remains to be written, but there is no doubt that the genre fared extraordinarily well in those cultural battles—and thanks solely to its musicians and fans. Forced into a corner between the demand for moral or aesthetic positivity and the demand for cultural or political negativity, heavy metal crossed both avenues and parked nowhere. It took a line of flight, and did it its own way.

The Genre: 'we who are not as others/we who are not as others' (Sepultura, 1993)

Of all ill-informed generalizations flung at heavy metal, the charge of nihilism seems the funniest to me. Whenever that word is used as an accusation one can be sure that the accuser has at best a vague idea of its meaning. In its rigorous philosophical sense (constituted in the Nietzschean transvaluative genealogy), nihilism designates the *epochal* horizon in which all higher values, i.e. those of life-affirming power and joy, are defeated by the negative, guilty slave morality of self-commiseration and pity inaugurated by Socratism and continued by Christianity. The fall of the slavish Socratic-Christian paradigm, captured by Nietzsche in the 'death of God' formula, brings us to the abyss where all values appear as equally fallen and voided. Although Nietzsche's critique of nihilism is present in his work since *The Birth of Tragedy in the Spirit of Music* (1967/1872), it would only begin to be explicitly named as such after *The Gay Science* (1974/1888), where nihilism is associated with (1) the universal realization that 'the way of this world is anything but divine' and that 'even by human standards it is not rational, merciful, or just'; (2) the epochal perception that one can no longer transform this disillusionment or this 'unbelief into a new belief, a purpose, a martyrdom' (1974, p. 286).³ Nihilism is therefore not one among other ideological positions that we might choose to occupy or not, in any case not something one can be accused of so easily, but rather the framework against which we all operate as subjects. Taking the word 'nihilism' in its rigorous sense, in fact, few popular music genres are *more critical* of nihilism (i.e. more celebratory of the intensity and power of life) than heavy metal. If the first effect of nihilism, according to Nietzsche, is the loss of the ability to evaluate and discern, heavy metal is a carefully constructed code for establishing *sound hierarchies*. If nihilism leads us, negatively, to treat all values as fallen, metal music invariably counters this fall into impotence with an affirmation of strength, expressed not only in lyrics or iconography but most importantly in its music, organized around the trope of *power*.

Robert Walser's *Running with the Devil* provides us with an illuminating analysis of the musical production of power in heavy metal. Without forgetting the social contingency affecting the drawing of genre boundaries in popular music (in fact in all music and all art), Walser delimits the formal specificities of the genre. Among them the *power chord* stands as a unique reference: 'produced by playing the musical interval of a perfect fourth or fifth on a heavily amplified and distorted electric guitar' (Walser, 1993, p. 2) the power chord is used by all metal bands and 'until heavy metal's enormous influence on other musical

genres in the late 1980s, by comparatively few musicians outside the genre' (ibid.).⁴ Simultaneously a musicological category and a cultural metaphor, power is mapped by Walser's reading onto the *music* of metal: its particular timbre, captured in the use of long unarticulated sustains and distortion on guitars, often replicated by extended vocals that dwell on long notes; the genre's preference for Aeolian and Dorian modes (most speed metal preferring in fact Phrygian or Locrian modes); its reliance on technology for radical effects with volume; its melodic preference for long notes at the end of phrases and syncopation in the singing (which places syllables between beats and thus solves the problem of intelligibility of lyrics in metal, a genre with high instrumental volumes); its rhythmic structure, based on the traditional 4/4 rock time, but often organized around a pulse rather than a meter. Walser also explores the significance of the frequent guitar solos by relating them to a dialectic of freedom and control. This dialectic also informs his analysis of metal's harmonic variations—exemplified in a detailed reading of Van Halen's anthem 'Running with the Devil'—one that gives a decent burial to ill-informed generalizations on the 'simplicity' of rock harmonies.⁵

In his mapping of the axiologies that organize popular music, Simon Frith has pointed out that there is no reason to suppose that 'the accumulated knowledge and discriminatory skill' (1996, p. 9) underlying value judgements in popular forms differ in any significant way from those consecrated by erudite culture. As anyone who has devoted attention to heavy metal can confirm, the genre's value-laden acts of self-definition include a myriad of subtle and complex distinctions that have evolved for over 30 years.⁶ Although all metal fans will produce positive statements about which bands best represent the genre for them, the most common entrance into self-definition is a negative assertion about what heavy metal is not. Heavy metal fans coincide, for example, in setting one of the genre's borders up against one particular neighbour: for most fans metal is *that which is not hard rock*—of course where one thing starts and the other ends is always a heated point of contention. Ask a Metallica fan, and chances are that Poison will not qualify as a metal band, although Poison fans might think otherwise. Likewise, Metallica's later, more melodic work might be the one that does not qualify as metal in the eyes of Sodom or Slayer fans. I point it out not to set up a search for 'objective' criteria that would allow us to define where the genre starts and ends but rather to approach the genre's language within the discursive battles through which it is constituted. Critical, theoretically inflected ethnomusicology reminds us of the point not to be missed here: it is precisely *because* boundaries are socially contingent that the rigorous musicological analysis of melody, harmony, volume, mode, rhythm, pitch is strictly necessary. As Susan McClary points out, 'given the tendency in cultural studies to stress the radical idiosyncrasy of each listener's musical perception, we need to find ways of understanding the socially grounded rhetorical devices by means of which music creates its *intersubjective* affects; otherwise the medium remains privatized and mystified, impervious to cultural criticism' (1994, p. 32). In other words, the theory of the social contingency of meaning cannot function as excuse to give up formal analysis.

Heavy metal is a genre that takes to its ultimate consequences the will to rupture, break, negate that underlies all rock music. In metal, more than in most rock genres, self-definition takes the form of a negation accompanied by a claim

that a faster and louder brand is in fact heir to rock music's true spirit, coming to negate elements in the tradition perceived as pop or commercial betrayals of the radical spirit of rock music.⁷ Harris Berger's ethnomusicological research explains the genre's preference for the depiction of 'the history of their music in a progressive fashion' (1999, p. 56). This depiction is often cast in narratives organized around tropes of *radicalization* (associated with operations on volume, tempo and pitch as well as with darkened iconography, stripped-down performance and anguished, aggressive or apocalyptic lyrics) and tropes of *negation* (what heavy metal *is not* being a crucial component, for most fans, in any explanation of what *it is*).

It is around a vocabulary that stresses negativity and superlatives—fastest, loudest, dirtiest—that metalheads ground their value judgements not only about their favourite bands but also about the non-metal traditions they inherit. Although their syntax is relatively simple, the codes governing such judgements can acquire considerable complexity. Most Brazilian metal fans would claim, for example, that Bahian rocker Raul Seixas's juxtapositions of north-eastern accordion music (*baião*) and Elvis-inflected, '50s style rock'n'roll is 'heavier' and 'more authentically true to the spirit of rock music' than all of the theatrical electrified 'hard rock' that circulated in Brazil until the mid-1980s, some of which was even classified as 'heavy metal' in the specialized press at the time.⁸ In metal's intensely contested terrain, Brazilian band Sepultura combines two unique accomplishments: for 18 years their music has *been changing consistently*, yet they are universally recognized by metal fans as a premier and uncompromising *death/thrash metal* band. This has allowed them continually to redefine their relation to their national origins as well as to the industry and to their multinational fan base. Sepultura have methodically invented ways to introduce difference within the genre's strict codes, a move made possible by their understanding of the negation/radicalization dialectic that underlies heavy metal music. I shall not only make an argument about Sepultura's music but also suggest that their casting of this tension can help us unsettle a few frozen oppositions in the cultural studies of popular music.

Many of the formal traits mapped by Harris Berger's analysis of death metal apply to early Sepultura music, and with variations in different degrees to their late albums as well: experimentations with 'extremes of tempo' (1999, p. 59), efforts 'to avoid the diatonic or blues-based harmony' in favour of 'unexpected half steps or tritones' (*ibid.*, p. 62), distinctive 'noisy, unpitched vocals' that replicate the distorted guitar timbres (*ibid.*, p. 57), and 'variations of the harmonic vocabulary that break up the minor tonality and obscure the tonal center' (*ibid.*, p. 58) that move away from the vocabulary of minor chord progressions typical of earlier metal. These musical operations go hand in hand with a new performative ethic/aesthetic, as metal acts opted for 'stripped-down stage moves' as a reaction against the 'phony theatricality of commercial hard rock' (Saladin quoted in Berger, 199, p. 70). In Sepultura the sheer intensity of their sound establishes a strong tension with that contained style of performance. Like most heavy metal (and especially its faster, speed/thrash varieties) the art of Sepultura depends on a careful balance between energy (power, intensity) and control (containment, enclosure).

Founded in 1984 in the early days of a national heavy metal boom particularly

strong in their hometown, the south-eastern state capital of Belo Horizonte, Sepultura's first line-up consisted of the brothers Max and Igor Cavalera (guitar/vocals and drums), Paulo Jr (bass), and Jairo T (guitar). Picked up by emerging metal label Cogumelo Records, they recorded *Bestial Devastation* (1985) and *Morbid Visions* (1986), still grounded in a quite traditional death metal recipe. In 1987 Jairo T left the band and was replaced by Andreas Kisser. A superior guitarist, steeped in the blues and in traditional metal, Kisser brought an entirely new texture to their sound. The Max and Igor Cavalera brothers, Paulo Jr and Andreas Kisser remained as the line-up from their qualitative leap *Schizophrenia* (1987), through the international breakthrough *Beneath the Remains* (1989), the unorthodox yet unmistakably metallic *Arise* (1991), the enraged experimental protest record *Chaos AD* (1993), to the metal-Afrodiasporic sound feast of *Roots* (1996). After *Roots* a disagreement over management caused Max Cavalera's exit, in an episode that his brother Igor has described as 'a wound that will never heal'. Max was replaced in Sepultura by Derrick Green, the African-American lead singer (and former pianist!!) heard on *Against* (1999), *Nation* (2001), and *Roorback* (2003). Since then Max Cavalera has gone on to form Soulfly and record the albums *Soulfly* (1998) and *Primitive* (2000). With excursions into reggae, hip-hop and Afro-Brazilian rhythms, the latter record, especially, expands on the cross-genre experiments of Sepultura's *Roots*.

For over 18 years Sepultura's uniqueness has resided less in the maintenance of a presumably pure and original 'authenticity'—the band changes its music consistently—than in the ability to *think and act ahead*. Underlying their thinking is the understanding that the coding of their music by journalism, record companies, academics and moralists has always tended to be one step behind the music itself. Before the defenders of (musical, cultural, national) territories can stake them out, their music has already crossed these territories on a line of flight into an elsewhere. By the time the detractors of 'heavy metal Satanism' discovered Sepultura's *Morbid Visions* (1986), the band was no longer doing that but rather an anguished critique of social alienations and pathologies, as in *Schizophrenia* (1987) and *Beneath the Remains* (1989). Before moralists could misunderstand that and accuse the band of 'inciting violence or suicide,' Sepultura was somewhere else, putting forth *Arise* (1991) and *Chaos AD* (1993), a record that framed a radical, internationalist social critique within rhythms unmistakably Brazilian. When they reached worldwide success and became an international band, the defenders of national purity did not have much time to condemn them, as Sepultura effected a political and musical rediscovery of Brazil in the cross-genre experiments of *Roots* (1996). The success of *Roots*, especially given the album's courageous incorporation of a host of non-metal references, led many metal purists to discard the band as irrevocably crossover and lost to the genre. They did not have much time to formulate their attack either, as Sepultura returned, with new vocalist Derrick Green, by recording two unmistakable metal records, *Against* (1999) and *Nation* (2001). These two records, although in more coded ways, continued the band's rediscovery of Brazil begun on *Roots*. The band now faces attacks from some who associate internationalization with inevitable and unconditional sell-out. Everything indicates that detractors are arriving late again.

The Scene: 'we're growing everyday/stronger in every way' (Sepultura, 1996)

As the Brazilian military regime ceded power to the first civilian, albeit still undemocratically elected government in 1985, heavy metal bands in Belo Horizonte, Santos, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and other metropolises were beginning to brew a cultural phenomenon of considerable proportion. Influenced by Motörhead, Iron Maiden, Slayer, Metallica, Megadeth, they took the genre known in the 1970s as *rock pauleira* [hard rock] to a new level of distortion, loudness and aggressiveness. Out of the most unlikely Amazonian state of Pará, far removed from the country's cultural centres, a band named Stress had travelled to Rio in 1982 to record the eponymous album that fans would later acknowledge as a foundational moment for national metal (Dolabela, 158). In Belo Horizonte bands such as Sepultura, Sarcófago, Sagrado Inferno, Morg, Armageddon, Holocausto, Chakal and Overdose (in addition to Minotauro from São Paulo), participated in either one or both editions of the BH Metal Festival, events that catapulted most of those bands to record singles, EPs and/or LPs. The city's intense metal scene congregated around Cogumelo Records, a store founded in 1980 that evolved into an independent label in 1985, date of the Sepultura/Overdose split album *Bestial Devastation–Século XX*. This is an underground legend, a record that helped turn Cogumelo into Brazil's first successful metal label. In São Paulo a compilation entitled *Metal SP*, released by independent rock label Baratos Afins, featured Salário Mínimo, Avenger, Vírus and Centuria. In the neighbouring coastal city of Santos, the pioneers of Vulcano climbed from the Om Pushne Namah single (1982) to a *Live* LP (1985) on their way to the landmark *Bloody Vengeance* (1986) that is still a cult object among Brazilian fans. In Rio de Janeiro, for interesting reasons, heavy metal always had a smaller following than other international youth genres like funk and hip-hop but the city is home to one of the country's most respected metal bands, Dorsal Atlântica, who has been around since their *Ultimatum* EP (1985) and their debut LP *Antes do Fim* [Before the End] (1986).

The national scene was given greater impetus by the megafestival Rock in Rio (1985), a 10-day event where all metal acts were international: Iron Maiden, Ozzy Osbourne, White Snake, Scorpions and AC/DC, the latter four packed into one long metal night.⁹ Speed and thrash metal giants such as Metallica, Slayer and Venom soon began regularly to include Brazil in their tours. Magazines such as *Heavy* or national editions of international fanzines such as *Rock Brigade* began to pop up. Following Belo Horizonte's Cogumelo, other stores invested in low-budget, independent record producing. Among the ones that consistently produced metal records are São Paulo's Baratos Afins and Devil Discos, as well as Rio's Heavy and Point Rock, all of them responsible for the first releases of dozens of new bands. The blockade against metal on radio was weekly lifted for one hour on a few stations, with the emergence of metal shows such as *Comando Metal* (on São Paulo's 89 FM), *Metal Massacre* (on Belo Horizonte's Liberdade FM), and *Guitarras para o Povo* [Guitars to/for the People, a deliberate Lennon quote for sure] (on Rio's Fluminense FM). All of that contributed to constitute a scene later described by a critic as an 'anthill of black shirts exchanging information all over Brazil' (Alexandre, 2002, p. 349).

By the late 1980s metal was as important a cultural phenomenon in Brazil as it was an entity continually misunderstood by rock journalists, moralists and

popular music stars alike. Wasn't their music invariably repetitive, noisy and bereft of any artistic merit? Weren't they after all copying a foreign genre and doing a disservice to Brazilian popular music? Weren't they involved in strange Satanic rituals? Weren't they renouncing the most important task of popular music, the conscious political protest? Didn't their music convey a nihilistic and negative message that could prove to be a dangerous influence on youth? Never mind that such questions often contradict one another, all of them betraying ignorance about the genre. Given Brazil's context in the 1980s, these hostile interrogations took a very politicized spin, one that continually besieged the genre. As late as 1995, when Sepultura was already one of the world's most successful metal bands, the Hollywood Rock festival that brought Megadeth, Judas Priest, Slayer and Queensrÿche to Brazil had to face an intense letter-writing campaign from metal's ever-loyal fans to be convinced that Sepultura had to be included on the bill. As often happens, the marketing-oriented organizers (more in tune with statistics of radio airplay than with the social reality of concert going) could not see that even *Slayer* or *Metallica* would not understand how a metal night in a rock megaconcert in Brazil in 1995 could possibly be held without Sepultura.

Metal Languages between the City and the Jungle: 'war for territory' (Sepultura, 1993)

Outside the English-speaking world heavy metal bands patiently concocted a vocabulary through *translation*. Even though one can find much metal music sung in other European languages, heavy metal means, to an extent unparalleled in most other youth genres, music sung primarily in English, even when composed in Brazil, Sweden or Germany. It remains as a task for Latin American criticism to understand these operations of translation in terms more complex than either the simple lament for the adoption of foreign models or the tired, facile celebration of the 'subversive' or 'resistant' hybridity of peripheral appropriations of metropolitan languages. The choice of language for Brazilian metal bands in the mid-1980s was not casual and did not go undiscussed among musicians and fans. Rio de Janeiro power trio Dorsal Atlântica was one of the genre's few acts singing only in Portuguese, on *Ultimatum* (1985), *Antes do Fim* (1986), and *Dividir e Conquistar* [Divide and Conquer] (1988), before their definitive switch to English on *Searching for the Light* (1990). On the historic Sepultura/Overdose *Bestial Devastation—Século XX* shared LP (1985), Sepultura filled their side with songs in English, while Overdose preferred Portuguese. By Overdose's first full-length LP *Conscience* (1987) the band had adopted mostly English lyrics. Although most metal bands choose English, Witchhammer (*Mirror, my Mirror* 1997) and other examples show that Portuguese lyrics popped up preferentially on punk/hardcore collaborations, or cross-genre experiments with other youth musics. In its relationship to language—and in many other respects—Sepultura defined early on what would later become a paradigmatic choice for the genre: a momentary flight from the Portuguese that would allow for both a critique of the nation and a very particular entrance into the international market. The irony was that, unlike Brazilian bands that chose English names (Witchhammer, Vulcano, Viper), the name *Sepultura* was itself the product of a translation *not from but into Portuguese*. It was thanks to his habit of

translating songs that Max Cavalera came up—while rewriting Motörhead's 'Dancing on your Grave', in Portuguese—with the name for the new band being formed with his brother Igor, not suspecting he was creating a seal that would arguably match anything Motörhead ever accomplished.

Sepultura's lyrics on their first albums feature apocalyptic *theatres* (on *Bestial Devastation* and *Morbid Visions*), schizo-paranoid dismantling of societal hypocrisy (on *Schizophrenia*) and images of ruins that synthesize their earlier, anguished work (the masterpiece *Beneath the Remains*). The cover and liner art dialogue with music and lyrics, as covers evolve from an aesthetic of darkened, nightmarish monstrosity (inaugurated by Iron Maiden's unique blend of expressionism, surrealism and comic book codes on their cover art) to the focus on individual psychic pain, expressed by drawings rather than photographs or paintings (*Schizophrenia*, 1987). *Beneath the Remains* (1989) featured a reddish skull set on a dark background; the close-up focalization from below humanized the skull by turning it into an allegory of the caging, enclosure and suffering embodied in lyrics and music. Marked by their growing awareness of the workings of violence in Brazil and abroad, Sepultura released *Arise* and *Chaos AD*, albums that consolidated the band as a worldwide reference for vigorous, socially aware heavy metal. At that moment they initiated a decade-long history of collaboration with Brazil's foremost punk band, Ratos de Porão—a collaboration that marked them ideologically and culturally more than musically. Sepultura's turn to a radical internationalist politics—inspired by both punk and reggae—included videos where the fast tempo of metal dialogues with the fast montage of images of violence (shot with a low, handheld camera) in places such as Palestine, Belfast and Brazil. Exemplary of this aesthetic is the video to 'Territory', winner of Brazil's MTV Video Awards in 1994. Accompanying the transformation in the music, their cover art would increasingly highlight a focus on nationhood, as in the painted Indian face on the cover of *Roots* (1996) or the return of symbolic political statements, as in the raised dark fists against the bright orange background of *Nation* (2001).¹⁰

Much like Brazilian Cinema Novo's 'aesthetics of hunger'—which turned the poverty of technical means into an auteurist and politicized statement about filmmaking in the Third World—Sepultura's first records use the lack of technological resources to intensify the raw and harsh character of their sound. Throughout 1983–84 Igor Cavalera developed his playing counting on no more than a snare drum, a floor tom and a cymbal. *Bestial Devastation* (1985) was recorded without bass drums, as he did not own drum pedals and had never used any. Those were the times when the Calavaleras' broomsticks were often enlisted as support for the cymbal. By then, however, Igor had enjoyed long percussive training in jams with *charangas*, the polyrhythmic, 30-plus-member percussion combos that lead fan chanting in major Brazilian soccer games.¹¹ *Bestial Devastation* and *Morbid Visions* were recorded in an eight-track studio with overdriven amplifiers. Having self-produced their three first records on Cogumelo Records, for *Beneath the Remains* (1989), their first album with international label Roadrunner, the band had to be convinced that a producer could enhance their sound. *Beneath the Remains* was recorded in nine days in a Rio de Janeiro studio—or better said nine *nights*, as Sepultura still needed to use nightly studio time, at cheaper rates, and sleep during the day in the stifling, 100-degree Rio summer. *Beneath the Remains* circulated as a cult object in Europe and was

chosen by several fanzines as the best thrash/death metal album of 1989. By the following year Sepultura was playing in front of 26,000 fans in Holland's Dynamo Open Air Festival and mesmerizing metal and non-metal fans alike in Rock in Rio II. By the early 1990s they were playing shoulder to shoulder with bands that inspired them such as Metallica and Kreator, as well as opening for heavy metal legend Ozzy Osbourne. With *Arise* (1991) and *Chaos AD* (1993) they established a routine of gold or platinum records and legendary tours, not only in Europe and the US but also in places like Indonesia and Japan. By the time they travelled to the occupied territories of Palestine to shoot the video for 'Territory', Sepultura had achieved feats hitherto unthinkable for a thrash metal band. They had become the most widely, globally known Brazilian musicians ever, overcoming a certain Antônio Carlos Jobim who, although still alive back then, was not fully equipped to understand what was going on (perhaps unable to see the striking analogies between the irruption of his own music into American Jazz in the early 1960s and Sepultura's globalization as a Brazilian metal band in the 1990s).

Throughout their career Sepultura has sped up even further the fast tempo inherited from their influences—Slayer, Metallica, Motörhead, Venom. Crucial to that operation is Igor Cavalera's powerful drumming style, based on 'dry,' brief and repetitive hits. His career is marked by increasing use of unexpected variations and syncopation well learned in the polyrhythms of *charanga* soccer percussion combos. Distortion on Max Cavalera's and Andreas Kisser's guitar is likewise raised to a limit. Following Igor's lead in the rhythm section, Paulo Jr's bass lines have evolved from the 'louder and faster' ethic of death metal to more recent variations of Brazilian/Afrodiasporic inspiration, which have usually remained, however, faithful to the fast *tempo* of the metal bass. Early on Max Cavalera developed a hoarsened, low-note style of vocalization that would become one of the band's trademarks and inaugurate a school in Brazilian heavy metal. The syncopated syllables growled by Max Cavalera into the intervals of his brother Igor's aggressive drumbeats not only made the lyrics minimally intelligible, as Robert Walser shows to be a trait of the genre, established by Anglo-American metal vocalists who sing in their native language. The syncopation further allowed Max to change accentuation and intonation as he developed a singing style in a language that he would beautifully master only a few years later. Sung in low notes, but in as high a volume as possible, his vocals battled with the 'wall of sound' created by not one, but *two* highly distorted guitars.

If, as Walser has pointed out, the dialectic of freedom and control is an apt metaphor to describe metal, in the early art of Sepultura (and in most metal bands in postdictatorial Brazil) that dialectic perennially tilted away from freedom into the pole of control, asphyxia, enclosure. For this reason it is hard to find in an early Sepultura song anything resembling a drum solo, a feature not uncommon in other brands of heavy metal. The drum solo (with its own dialectic of freedom and control) would not have fitted the asphyxiating atmosphere that Sepultura wanted to create on their first albums, where the metaphor of *enclosure* was the dominant one. In their later work, as collaborations with other genres developed, drum solos, funky bass lines and instrumental syncopation would increasingly appear.

On 'Territory' and 'Propaganda', powerful protest songs on *Chaos AD*, An-

dreas Kisser provided the listener with longer guitar solos, lines of flight that offered some breathing room away from the enclosure suggested by the oppressive and suffocating wall of sound. Likewise, 'Territory' featured one of Igor Cavalera's first studio drum solos, dialoguing with Andreas's as yet another line of flight offering escape. As a whole *Chaos AD* was the first true registering of Igor's experiments with unexpected tempo variations inspired in Brazilian/Afrodiasporic polyrhythms. This would lead to the 'explosion of sounds' heard on *Roots*, where the band enlisted collaboration from Brazilian multipercussionist Carlinhos Brown and relied on recordings from the Amazonian Xavantes, collected by the band during a visit to their reservation. *National* contents that earlier had represented a cage, a suffocating territory for the band, were now being incorporated in the band's own terms, as the nation became a source that would allow them to tilt their musical dialectic toward the pole of freedom again. The evolution of Sepultura's music is, then, coherent with an interesting transformation: the nation is initially a hostile territory, coded in ways that by definition excluded the genre. It was thus a territory to traverse and transgress. Thanks to the band's intelligent thinking and incessant musical learning—as well as to an international success that allows them to rediscover Brazil from another angle—the nation progressively becomes a source for musical and cultural lines of flight, unexpected experiments and collaborations. They continually redefine the genre's very boundaries at the same time as they refine what one had hitherto understood as *Brazilian* music.

'Ratamahatta' as National Allegory: 'Amazonia burns/can you hear them?' (Sepultura, 1996)

I will spell out this movement with a brief reading of the music, lyrics and iconography of track 4 of Sepultura's *Roots*, 'Ratamahatta', the song that most powerfully evokes Sepultura's recent rediscovery of Brazil. This is a song that features not only the usual metal rhythm section, distorted guitars and hoarse loud vocals but also Amazonian Xavante singing and a percussion ensemble made up of large bass drums (the *surdo*, used in samba, maracatu and other Brazilian/Afrodiasporic genres), cans, djembes, water tanks and rattles, all played by Brazilian percussion wizard, multimedia figure and activist, Carlinhos Brown. The track opens with Xavante vocals over drumming in 2/4 time, accompanied by the metallic sound of a shaker. Performed in low notes, the singing is highly vocalic and privileges closed vowels /o//e/, and is known among the Xavante nation as a healing chant. The context of this drumming—its presence on a Sepultura album—produces anticipation for the entrance of the distorted guitars and the loud/fast rhythm section typical of heavy metal. The listener's feeling of anticipation gets produced and frustrated again on 0:12, as the Xavante drumming is interrupted not by a metal rhythm section but by an introductory *maracatu* phrase, performed on the bass drum by Brown. The *maracatu* line barely remains long enough to establish a tempo and is immediately cut short, this time by silence.¹²

Following Brown's 'one two three' call, the metallic expectation is again created and denied, as the *maracatu* phrasing on the drums picks up where silence had left off. Only at 0:31 do Max's and Andreas's distorted guitars come with a major chord melody, and phrasing in Aeolian mode. The bass and snare

drums continue dictating rhythm, as for 10 seconds the song combines the time of *maracatu* and the guitar phrasing of heavy metal. At 0:41 Max begins to intersperse hoarse growled vowels in the intervals to the beat, announcing that the metal ensemble will gather in its totality soon, as Igor's 4/4 drumming comes in as loud as ever. The metal ensemble is in place at full speed, but the *maracatu* rhythm continues underneath, on Brown's *surdo* and snare drums, dialoguing with Igor's rock drumming and producing a polyrhythmic effect not only original but full of cultural and political meaning in Brazil (given the social distance between *maracatu* and metal). By 0:50 into the song two of Brazil's loudest and richest percussive machines—Brown's unique synthesis of Brazilian/Afrodiasporic rhythms and Sepultura's fast thrash metal—are dialoguing polyrhythmically to great effect. Brown accompanies his drumming with vocal effects that recall the hip-hop art of scratching, while Max continues to build up the vocals with a high-pitched 'o' at intervals between the beats. After a full minute of build-up, Brown's and Max's syncopated and grave vocals storm in with lyrics that dialogue with Brazilian minimalist, 'dirty' poetry, shouted in the form of call and response:

C.B. 'biboca/garagem/favela' [shithole/garage/slumtown]

M.C. 'biboca/garagem/favela'

C.B. 'fubanga/maloca/bocada' [hodgepodge/hut/hideout]

MC: 'fubanga/maloca/bocada'

[repeat 2 times starting from 'maloca' and 'favela']

The call and response pattern in a vocal duo is a feature unknown in Sepultura's previous work, and further connects the song with an Afrodiasporic sensibility. More than simply summoned for their meanings, words come in here primarily due to their *rhythmic power*. They are all highly vocalic words, where every consonant is followed by a vowel, thereby creating the 'typical' Portuguese sequence of two-letter syllables. All words in the stanza are trisyllables accentuated on the second-to-last vowel, also the 'default' accentuation pattern in Portuguese. The stanza features an alternation of voiced and voiceless bilabial stops—[b] and [p]—and an alternation of voiced and voiceless velar stops—[g] and [k]. Building on these four highly percussive sounds, Max and Brown's vocal art dialogue replicate the instrumental syncopation going on between Brown's ensemble and Igor's metal drumming.

Much like the Indian chanting and Brown's *maracatu* drum phrasing in the introduction, the lyrics in Portuguese (uncommon in Sepultura's earlier work) come in to *signify Brazil*. Not only are their phonology and rhythm quite typical of the Portuguese language but their semantics is unmistakably Brazilian, as most words are of indigenous origin. Of these six words *garagem* is probably the only one comprehensible to a non-Brazilian speaker of Portuguese. *Biboca* comes from the Tupy and its original meaning of 'excavation or valley' was later expanded to designate a poorly built shack, before becoming urban slang for 'shithole'. *Favela* is an internationally known term for the urban Brazilian slums. *Fubanga*, a word still not found in dictionaries, suggests to most youth a rag, a nothing, a worthless piece. *Maloca* is an Araucanian word that reached Portuguese through Spanish and means 'indigenous hut'. Over time it also came to designate urban shacks, and amongst youth urban tribes in Brazil the noun gave birth to the verb *malocar*, meaning to hide, especially drugs or an illicit object.

Malocar is an art invariably associated with oppressed groups, and always alludes to the act of hiding something from the eyes of a repressive authority. *Bocada*, coming from *boca* ('mouth') is also a word that few outside Brazilian youth tribes would understand, as it designates a faraway, hidden and dangerous place most often associated with drug dealing. The chorus's overall effect is a pan-national youth-inflected portrayal of Brazil from the jungle to the city, one that emphasizes oppression and struggle.

The symmetrical accentuation pattern (as all words are composed of three consonant–vowel pairs, and all stressed on the second-to-last syllable) allows the lyrics to follow neatly the beat of Igor Cavalera's drums, forcing the usually soft-singing Carlinhos Brown to a pitch and volume he probably had never attempted. At 01:13 Max's and Andreas's short and fast phrases on the guitar return. Although one can hear Carlinhos Brown's north-eastern-inflected percussion in the background, Paulo Jr's metal bass and Igor Cavalera's metal drumming come to the forefront. Accompanying the return of metal-style distorted guitars, Brown's vocals fade and give way to Max's hoarsened [ô's], growled in the intervals to the beats. By the time they reach the bridge Igor's furious drumming has turned to syncopated beats, announcing the return of the call-and-response pattern in the vocals, this time devoted to Brazilian folk legends or anti-heroes:

C.B. Zé do Caixão/Zumbi/Lampião
 MC. Zé do Caixão/Zumbi/Lampião
 [repeat 2 times]

Zumbi, the leader of the largest American maroon state in the seventeenth century (the *Quilombo of Palmares*, in north-eastern Brazil) has become a symbol of black struggle for freedom and a national hero widely respected among whites as well. It is not surprising that his name would be evoked in 'Ratamahatta', a song devoted to rescuing sounds associated with oppressed populations. Neither is it surprising to see his name in a genealogy continued by Lampião, the north-eastern outlaw hero who became a Robin Hood type of legend in the backlands, until the police and the army concluded a decades-long drive to destroy his gang in the 1930s. The illustrious gallery of underground heroes is joined by Coffin Joe, a horror-film director who endured ridicule in Brazil from the 1950s to the 1970s, before seeing his parodic, comic-book horror cinema revered internationally as a cult object. These are three highly national figures, united by their struggle against official (racist, oligarchic or colonized) versions of their country. Nationality is also foregrounded formally, as these three highly vocalic words are sung in such a way that the highest pitch coincides with the nasal rhyme in [ão], the phonological trademark of the Portuguese language.

At 01:48 the tempo begins to be dictated by Brown's percussion again, with the guitar sound being suspended for a while. This time the beat is a loud funk led by bass, drums and Brazilian percussion instruments. In the background the snare drums continue phrasing in recognizable *samba* rhythm. Brown now shouts English lyrics, breaking the words in autonomous syllables, fitting one per interval between the funky beats. By now the song has established a dialectic that it will follow until the end: metal and Afro-Atlantic rhythms coexist, dialogue with each other and take turns leading the way. The alternation

generates diverse sets of expectations and is coded differently depending on the listener's genre of preference. When the guitars return they take with them Igor's drums, which resume playing fast metal tempo as Brown and Max take turns playing gutturally with the sounds of the chorus word, 'Ratamahatta'—not a Portuguese word but a suggestive sound combo full of associations, as 'rata' means *rat*, *Mahatta* cannot but evoke, given the song's themes, Mahatma Gandhi, who also names one of the famous Rio de Janeiro squares that punks first called their home. Furthermore, Cavalera and Brown play with the word also to make it suggest *mata*, the familiar command form for the Portuguese verb 'to kill' and at same time a noun meaning 'the woods' or 'jungle'. Overall, the chorus crowns the thematic of violence, struggle and oppression constructed musically and lyrically by the song. The call-and-response pattern, initially limited to vocals, takes over also in the dialogue between Brown's Afro-Brazilian ensemble and Cavalera's and Kisser's guitars, which alternately suggest enclosed territories and lines of flight away from that enclosure.

'Ratamahatta', the song, made use of material recorded during Sepultura's stay with the Xavante tribe in the northern state of Mato Grosso but for the video they opted for a futuristic computerized animation signed by Fred Stern. Images of drunkenness, visits to Afro-Brazilian *candomblé* priestesses, flirtation in the slums, incarcerations, are all portrayed in fast succession amidst an atmosphere that evokes black magic, voodoo and tribal ceremonies. Featuring 'little creatures' coming out of jungles and urban slums at a faster and faster pace to accompany the music, the animation quite consciously suggests a complete loss of consciousness in the speed of a futuristic darkened scenery. Masked beings descend first upon the jungle, then the ghettos, and find an ethnographic collection of objects that chronicle the 'darker' side of both the jungle and the city. In the jungle a tribal ceremony honours a tycoon type in a tuxedo, while in the city a collective ceremony foregrounds a passive multitude moving their heads to a leader, in a darkened variation on Pink Floyd's classic images to *The Wall's* 'No need, no education'. The video concludes with the masked beings appropriating some of the behaviour they find (such as the drinking), as the metal and Afrodiasporic rhythms slowly fade to give way to the Xavante healing chant that returns as a coda to the song. 'Ratamahatta' is, then, conceived *as a totality*: its operations on rhythm, melody, harmony, pitch and volume, its minimalist lyrics, its unique form of production, its featuring of a highly symbolically partnership, and finally its innovative and caustic video, are all elements that help ground our final reflections, devoted to Sepultura's revolutionizing of the representation of nationality in sound.

Distortion and Mixing against World Music: Sepultura's Routes to the Nation

Reflecting back on the band's early days in the 1980s, Sepultura lead guitarist Andreas Kisser recounted: 'we listened to heavy and black metal and found everything made in Brazil to be shitty. We didn't like *samba*, we didn't like national rock, we didn't like any of that crap' (quoted in Alexandre, 2002, p. 347). For large sectors of the urban youth of postdictatorial Brazil, heavy metal became at the same time a metaphor for the absence of a nation with which they could identify *and* an antidote against that exclusion. Unlike metropolitan bands that emerged in opposition and negation of other *genres*, Sepultura arose by

initially negating the *totality* of the nation's music—quite a courageous gesture if you are playing in musically rich Brazil. It was not by chance that it was national music that had to be negated for metal to establish itself. The array of musics coded as 'Brazilian' by the 1980s ranged from several varieties of the national genre, *samba*, to traditional instrumental genres such as *choro*, to rhythmic verbal arts such as *embolada*, to percussion-based *maracatu* or *coco*, to piano- or guitar-based bossa and postbossa sounds, to accordion music such as *baião* and *xaxado*, and even what was then beginning to be called 'national rock'.¹³ The codification of nationality in sound was not only effected through discourses that linked one or more of these genres with the authentically national. Paralleling these discourses was the remarkable operation by which certain musics (evolving either out of *samba* or fusion with regional musics) acceded to a status increasingly identified with good taste in music: the malleable category of MPB [*Música Popular Brasileira*, a term that, as pointed out above, does *not* designate the totality of the country's popular music but certain forms associated with sophistication]. The sociocultural category MPB operated in the 1970s–80s primarily as a measure of distinction in Bourdieu's sense: it projected the fable of exceptionality of one particular social class. Theoretically, music of any kind can *become* MPB by erasing its regional origins if it derives from a regional genre, by trimming its rough edges if it is too electric or too percussive, by complexifying its harmonies or arrangement if it draws on popular forms. When the heavy metal revolution was initiated in the mid-1980s, the elastic throat of MPB had already engulfed and neutralized rock music's outsider aura, as Brazilian rock bands such as Titãs, Paralamas do Sucesso, Legião Urbana and Blitz were slowly ushered into the MPB pantheon of middle-class good taste.

Regardless of how the young Sepulturans phrased their anti-national cry back then, their conscious gesture of refusing national music as such *called attention to the exclusionary practices governing the coding of nationality in sound*. Long after the 1960s debates against folkloric and mythical conceptions of nationhood in music had been won, 'national' music—though no longer coded in terms of authenticity—was still produced through mechanisms that left unrepresented a large portion of youth not identified with either MPB or 'Brazilian rock'. Instead of struggling for a particular position within the universal concept at stake ('Brazilian music'), Sepultura denounced the concept in its totality. In refusing the term *tout court*, they in practice exposed its false universality, its dependence on a previous exclusion, its reliance on a constitutive abjection.¹⁴ Naturally, even when they were playing straight thrash metal from first to last track, all of them (most especially drummer Igor Cavalera) were already unmistakably 'Brazilian' musicians. The pursuit of these musical traits of nationality only started in conscious fashion much later, however, as Sepultura's *internationalization* allowed them to refract to Brazil's musical establishment an image of the nation that such establishment was not ready to recognize. Their internationalization also allowed them to carry out the 'rediscovery' of Brazilian rhythms that led to the sound feast of *Roots*, while in the process crashing the codes by which the nation had learned to project itself in sound.

As the *Arise* (1991) and *Chaos AD* (1993) tours gathered multitudes everywhere from Holland to Japan, Sepultura began to be known among European fans as 'the jungle boys'. The great irony is that they were from a metropolis, Belo

Horizonte, and most certainly got to see London and Amsterdam before they ever saw an Amazonian parrot. In acceding to the international market Sepultura is led to *become* a Brazilian band, and their national origin would increasingly be highlighted in their concerts and records. Of course, the international music market also coded the nation in ways that Sepultura did not recognize as their own: 'jungle? What jungle? It's easier to get to New York than to the Amazon from here.' In this broken mirror where internal and external images of the nation get reflected, it is to Sepultura's credit that their journey into their nation's sounds was never phrased in the tired vocabulary of authenticity.¹⁵ After the collaboration with the Xavante tribe on *Roots*, Igor Cavalera stated that 'we did not do a world music record'. His insistence that 'everything is mixed and distorted' was not only an attempt to highlight the album's heaviness but most importantly to set their collaboration with the Xavante tribe in terms irreducible to the Paul Simon or Peter Gabriel style 'recoveries' of indigenous musics, marked by an exoticizing that in practice denies those musics any coevalness with the artist doing the gathering. Stressing upfront the work of mixing, Igor removes the discussion from the terrain of preservation, authenticity, recovery, that is to say he removes it from the language of world music. Implicitly asked to become 'boys' of a 'jungle' they had never known, Sepultura indeed goes Amazonian but brings back not an 'anthropological document' but a politicized, electrified and polyrhythmic counterethnography.

Anthropologist Hermano Vianna noted the irony that Sepultura, Brazil's most international band, should release a record entitled *Roots* (p. 5). He is quick to add that the Xavante-Sepultura alliance makes sense, as it is 'the encounter of tribes inimical to an ideal of national homogenization that determines that "whoever doesn't like samba/can't be a good type"' (p. 5).¹⁶ The most 'primitive' and the most 'international' are both excluded from the dominant coding of nationality in sound. They would find in their musical kinship (especially in the strong percussive energy of both) the key to cracking open an exclusionary definition of national identity in music. In the process, they also engaged the international market's coding of 'Third World' musical nations, and such coding did not go unaffected by their intervention. It is not a question of assuming they can romantically subvert the production of exoticism in the world music arena.¹⁷ Sepultura's awareness of the terrain on which they operate—and most importantly their constant reinvention of their sound—suggests, however, that they are framing these debates in terms that fit neither the preservational paradigm of authenticity nor rock music's tired dialectic of self-marginalization versus sell-out. Constantly engaging international references in debates around nationhood (and conversely reframing the nation in ways unexpected by the global arena), Sepultura brought a genre into a nation. In that process they turned the Brazilian musical nation into something as of yet unknown; as they rediscovered the nation they were transforming, the rediscovery would not leave the genre unchanged. By the hands of Sepultura Brazil met metal and metal met Brazil. After this encounter neither the place nor the sound would remain the same. The complexity of this clash forces us to rethink not only previous conceptions about heavy metal and about constructions of Brazilianness through music. It can also help us rethink a number of frozen oppositions that still plague the cultural studies of popular music.

Notes

1. This article is particularly indebted to Ana María Ochoa's interlocution. The author also thanks Christopher Dunn and Charles Perrone for insightful and careful readings of an earlier version, and Paulo Henrique Caetano for crucial references on metal in Brazil. A shorter version of this paper was presented at Birkbeck College at the University of London in June 2003. The author thanks most especially John Kraniauskas for the invitation and interlocution. He is also grateful to Philip Derbyshire, David Treece, Jens Andermann, Ana Álvarez, Jon Beasley-Murray, Lorraine Leu, Sean Stroud, Andrea Noble, Bill O'Connor and Cristina Nordenstahl for their comments during the round table at Birkbeck. He also gratefully acknowledges Sepultura's permission to reprint excerpts of lyrics.
2. Best grasped as a sociocultural category rather than a musical genre, MPB began to circulate circa 1966 as a term to designate a set of acoustic musics, based primarily on the guitar/voice duo (mediated or not by the bossa nova revolution). In a period of highly politicized TV festival/contests those musics developed as nationalist alternatives to the first experiments with rock'n'roll, which were viewed with suspicion by sectors of the Left. In the 1970s, somewhat freed from the constraints of that debate, MPB became the acronym for a 'sophisticated' spectrum of popular music in Brazil, associated with figures such as Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso, Chico Buarque de Hollanda or Milton Nascimento—all known for complex harmonic progressions, multiple operations with rhythm, innovative melodies, and highly poetic, 'literary' lyric writing. For an indispensable English-language study of MPB, see Perrone (1989).
3. Nietzsche's most complete and radical autopsy of nihilism, 'this uncanniest of all guests' (1967, p. 7) would later be developed in the posthumous collection of fragments *The Will to Power*.
4. 'The power chord can be percussive and rhythmic or indefinitely sustained; it is used both to articulate and to suspend time. It is a complex sound, made up of resultant tones and overtones, constantly renewed and energized by feedback. It is at once the musical basis of heavy metal and an apt metaphor for it, for musical articulation of power is the most important single factor in the experience of heavy metal' (Walser, 1993, p. 2).
5. Walser shows how metal's well-known connections with the heterogenous ensemble that the twentieth century came to call 'classical music'—for example in a cult of virtuosity and classical training that sets it apart from, say, punk music—rely on *specific* appropriations of 'Bach, not Mozart; Paganini rather than Liszt; Vivaldi and Albinoni instead of Telemann or Monteverdi' (1993, p. 63), all of them evoking in metal a particularly *baroque* sensibility. Walser's formal analysis has the further merit of grounding a definitive debunking of aestheticist, moralist or political attacks on metal, as well as grounding a rereading of the genre's pronounced masculinism.
6. The year of 1970 is commonly referred as a foundational moment, with the release of *Deep Purple in Rock*, *Led Zeppelin II* and especially Black Sabbath's *Paranoid*. A year later Deep Purple released another classic landmark for the genre, *Machine Head*, and the sound later codified as heavy metal began to take definitive shape.
7. Heavy metal has often appropriated the commonplace 'rock music is dead' (which in a fan's mouth invariably means that it has abandoned or betrayed its rebel spirit) in order to claim metal music as its true heir. Twisted Sister's Dee Snider was one of many who stated that 'heavy metal is the only form of music that still retains the rebellious qualities of 50s rock'n'roll' (Halbersberg, p. 41 quoted in Walser, 1993, p. 16). Likewise, Sepultura's Max Cavalera affirmed to *Rock Brigade* that 'rock has died' and that 'thrash metal carries more of rock music's original spirit than rock itself' (quoted in Alexandre, 2002, p. 348).
8. Among the 1970s/1980s bands associated the *rock pauleira* genre are Made in Brazil, Tutti Frutti and Joelho de Porco. Made in Brazil, a national rock music legend founded in 1968, incorporated heavy metal musical codes sporadically in the early 1980s; Tutti Frutti, once the support band for Rita Lee's bluesy rock'n'roll, evolved into poppier forms in their solo career. Joelho de Porco, an extremely original band devoted to a theatrical collage of musical genres, used metal codes sporadically as well but in their case their appropriation was a parodic one. For full discography and indispensable information on these bands and on Brazilian rock until 1986, see Dolabela (1987).
9. In the history of rock music in Brazil, it is virtually impossible to overestimate the significance of Rock in Rio: coinciding with the return to democracy, Rock in Rio marked the country's definitive entrance into the international circuit of megaconcerts. It also provided proof that such things could be carried out professionally in Brazil and, to large sectors of the national

- music public, the confirmation that the enormous rock movement was something with which to reckon. In addition to the metal bands the eclectic international lineup of the 10-day event included Rod Stewart, James Taylor, Go-Gos, B-52s, George Benson, Yes, Al Jarreau, Queen, Nina Hagen. For a good account of the festival see Alexandre (2002, pp. 190–205).
10. This highlighting of nationality is coherent with the role that it ended up playing in the choice of Cleveland native Derrick Green to replace Max Cavalera. Green, later baptized 'Predator' due to his six-feet-plus figure, was increasingly welcomed by the Sepultura fan base as he passed tests of both heaviness but also Brazilianness of spirit, as detected in his passion for national cultural markers such as soccer.
 11. About the powerful soccer charangas, Max Cavalera would respectfully say in an interview on British radio: 'they can get louder than a metal band'.
 12. Particularly popular in north-eastern Brazil (especially in the state of Pernambuco), *maracatu* is an Afro-Atlantic dramatic dance that relates the crowning of a king and a queen. It is performed over percussion, uses quite stylized costumes, and features a host of characters and several plot lines. Relying on large percussion ensembles and utilizing a variety of tempos, *maracatu* has recently evolved from a semi-folkloric regional dance to a fundamental component and inspiration for a variety of new hybrid genres in Brazil.
 13. The Portuguese bibliography on most of these genres is relatively abundant, and quite daunting, in fact, in the case of *samba*. For an English-language introduction to these genres, see Olsen and Sheehy (2000).
 14. Highly critical of varieties of feminism that unreflexively assume traits assigned to women and then attempt to turn them into sources of 'subversion', Judith Butler has suggested that feminism privilege the undoing of the very dichotomies where the codes of maleness and femaleness are produced. This critical operation invariably reveals that the opposition itself needed a previous exclusion in order to be constituted. See Butler (1993).
 15. One of the important tasks of popular music criticism is to understand 'authenticity' for what it is, namely a fable, a narrative that, in the case of rock music, provides a 'reenchantment of the world mediated by the grand apparatuses of mass media and technology' (Ochoa, 1999, p. 174). See Ochoa for an insightful critique of the ways in which the fable of authenticity has been reappropriated in the 'simultaneous movement of transnationalization and regionalization of the record industry' (p. 176) coded circa 1991 as 'world music'. For an indispensable analysis of 'world music', see Taylor (1997).
 16. The original lines (*quem não gosta de samba/bom sujeito não é*) appear in a song that celebrates *samba* as the national genre, and have since then become vox populi in the country. The song was composed by Dorival Caymmi, since the 1930s a key figure in the canonization of *samba* as well as in the irruption of his Afro-Brazilian state of Bahia into the center of national music. On Dorival Caymmi the indispensable reference is Risério (1993).
 17. For a forceful reflection on how 'world music' has become a terrain where even the most seemingly 'horizontal' collaborations are traversed by a multinational corporate establishment of considerable power—one in which even concepts of 'oral tradition' are instrumentalized for further exploitation and production of profit—see Feld (2000).

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