



PAST AND PRESENT OF RIO DE JANEIRO MUSIC: URBAN NARRATIVES AND TECHNOLOGICAL EVOLUTION

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Abstract: This article examines the intersection between music and urban transformations in Rio de Janeiro, recognized as the cultural epicenter of Brazil. The study aims to understand how musical production, influenced by class interests, reflects and anticipates urban changes in the city. To this end, the study analyzes the evolution of musical genres

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in Rio de Janeiro as a thermostat for social and spatial dynamics. The research adopts a historical-cultural methodological approach, investigating how musical expressions relate to the processes of technological urban modernization and their implications for the working class. A discussion is held around the concept of popular and erudite since the 19th century in Brazilian music, its relationship with Rio de Janeiro's urbanism, and how these same issues and contradictions reappear contemporaneously in the context of digital technologies in the city. In addition, the article explores contemporary perspectives on music in the context of ongoing social and cultural transformations.

Keywords: Urbanism; Rio de Janeiro; Musical Genres; Phonography; Analog and Digital Media.

PASSADO E PRESENTE DA MÚSICA CARIOCA: NARRATIVAS URBANAS E EVOLUÇÃO TECNOLÓGICA

Resumo: Este artigo examina a interseção entre música e transformações urbanas no Rio de Janeiro, reconhecido como o epicentro cultural do Brasil. O estudo tem como objetivo compreender como a produção musical, influenciada por interesses de classe, reflete e antecipa as mudanças urbanísticas na cidade. Para tanto, analisa-se a evolução dos gêneros musicais cariocas como termostato das dinâmicas sociais e espaciais. A pesquisa adota uma abordagem metodológica histórico-cultural, investigando como as expressões musicais se relacionam com os processos de modernização urbana tecnológica e suas implicações para a classe trabalhadora. É realizada uma discussão em torno do conceito de popular e erudito desde o séc. XIX na música brasileira, sua relação com o urbanismo carioca, e como essas mesmas questões e contradições reaparecem contemporaneamente no contexto das tecnologias digitais na cidade. Além disso, o artigo explora as perspectivas contemporâneas da música no contexto das transformações sociais e culturais em curso.

Palavras-chave: Urbanismo; Rio de Janeiro; Gêneros Musicais; Fonografia; Mídias Analógicas e Digitais.

1. Introduction

The urban phenomenon in Brazil occurs together with the circumstances related to the uneven and combined economic development typical of late capitalist economies (Löwy, 1995). In the case of the city of Rio de Janeiro, these circumstances were, most of the time, at the center of the most important decisions for national urban planning.

This is because Rio de Janeiro was, for almost 200 years, the Brazilian capital, receiving substantial public and private investments in the construction of its entire urban fabric.

This urbanism, as a model not only of cities, but of exchange between society, culture and economy, came to be revealed in contexts in which music, as an artistic expression of classes, had already previously announced the social contradictions existing in the heart of this city in transformation. Thus, it can be observed, alongside the most drastic urban interventions of the time, sociocultural manifestations that sometimes led to these changes in the flow of economic interests of the hegemonic classes, sometimes denouncing such transformations, pointing out not only the discomfort of the lower classes in relation to this often more excluding city, but mainly its disruptive and advertising character.

In this sense, music not only artistically updates the social conflicts in the replication and historical sustenance of a musical genre, but also indicates the new political directions of the city. According to David Harvey, one of the "*myths of modernity is that it constitutes a radical break with the past*" (2015, p. 10), and any interpretation of the urban phenomenon that does not take into account the clues left not only by music, but also by the arts in general, by literature and even by spoken language would be unreasonable.

In view of this panorama, the present work proposes to investigate the constitution of the city of Rio de Janeiro in the face of the notion of popular music from the second half of the twentieth century. Interconnecting the domains of urban planning with musical historiography. It starts from the following question: to what extent did the notion of popular music in this city present a scenario through which the construction of a future middle class is perceived, as well as a still incipient urban bourgeois class? And: How does Rio, due to its cultural relevance as a capital, point to a pattern in the social construction of urban popular culture in Brazil?

To this end, the dialectical methodology will be used, which, from the observation of the conflicts between the lower and higher classes within the time frame considered, observes the existing conflicts in the construction of a city that is sometimes "erudite", sometimes "popular". The theoretical references of José Ramos Tinhorão (1990), Jacques Attali (1977) and Nicolau Sevcenko (1985) will be used. While in the first moment, the urban panorama of the city of Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth century will be presented, in the second moment, the theses that allow the identification in the city of effects that had already been contextualized by music will be addressed.

It is already clear that the division between erudite and popular in Brazilian music until the twentieth century reflects the class struggle in the city of Rio de Janeiro, and that the emergence of the modernist movement from the Week of Modern Art of 1922, was the main agent of recognition of the Brazilian popular as a manifestation. This, however, was done by adapting regional manifestations to paradigms external to their own – based on orality – and then formatting them to the visuality of musical notation inspired by European forms of the concert tradition. The city did not go unpunished for such concepts, being actively transformed by these elitist patterns.

Identifying how this happened in the past enables a current analysis of how music, in the second decade of the 21st century, introduces the urban transformations that we will experience in the coming decades, serving as a sensitive-descriptive manual of the contemporary directions that the city will take in the material and metaphysical fields. Because if music acts, on the one hand, rocked by class conflicts, on the other, it absorbs the ontology of "*being in the city*", hence the fact that there is a central abyss between "*I just want to be happy, and walk quietly in the favela where I was born*"⁴ and "*today I want to go out alone, it won't be long before I'm back*".⁵

2. Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the nineteenth century to the mid-30s: sanitary-hygienist policies and the cultural revolution

The city of Rio de Janeiro had, since the move of the Imperial Court to Brazil, a strategic importance. Converted to the capital of the Empire, many changes in the economic, political, architectural and social order were undertaken with considerable emphasis on it during the years in which it played this role as the seat of power, sometimes imperial, sometimes governmental. It can be said that the eagerness for foreign investment on the part of the local elite, added to the politically advantageous conditions for private capital, triggered a driving impetus for the conversion of Rio into a cultural and economic epicenter capable of evoking European cities. More "civilized" contours were created, hiding its slave-owning past and constituting a cosmopolitan argentine center. To this end, popular demonstrations were brutally persecuted. The intention was to modulate the city to the influences of a European nature, exhibited by the high social classes.

⁴ Music composed by the duo Cidinho & Doca, released in 1994 and produced by DJ Marlboro.

⁵ Music composed by Brazilian popular music (MPB) composers Lenine, Caxa Aragão and Mu Chebabi and released in 1997.

The new financial philosophy born with the Republic called for the remodeling of social habits and personal care. It was necessary to adjust the local expansion of pecuniary resources with the general expansion of European trade, tuning the traditional mismatch between these societies in accordance with the speed of the most modern transatlantic ships (Sevcenko, 1983, p. 28).

The presence on the streets of people who were aesthetically unwanted by the standards of the time, such as poor and non-white people, was not well liked. Nor that these groups gathered in the most important corners of Rio, causing a stir for outsiders and, most worrying of all, scaring away possible foreign investors. Against this, the house was arranged so that the visitor could enjoy it with everything. Popular groups were segregated in the confines of the city, in bushels far from the refined southern zone, where heavy investment was made to be constituted as a place for the high social classes (Abreu, 2006, p. 44). An antidote to the poor, Rio's transformation took place through four perceptible dimensions, which are

the condemnation of habits and customs linked by memory to traditional society; the denial of any and all elements of popular culture that could tarnish the civilized image of the dominant society; a strict policy of expulsion of popular groups from the central area of the city, which will be practically isolated for the exclusive enjoyment of the bourgeois layers; and an aggressive cosmopolitanism, deeply identified with Parisian life (Sevcenko, 1983, p. 30).

As far as popular music is concerned, this persecution took place through the prohibition of serenades, bohemia, modinhas, and the guitar, viewed as a symbol of the so-called "vagrancy". After the expulsion of the humble population from the central area of the city, the favelas became denser. Target of social hygiene and, later, of state sanitation, they were eagerly destroyed to make way for places like Aterro do Flamengo: the road that connects the central area of the city to the south zone. As you can imagine, there was simply no physical persecution of these people. The denial was also of a symbolic nature.

From the mid-1950s onwards, the contradictions of the occupation of the city's land intensified considerably, requiring immediate resolution. The increase in the population density of the southern zone, the concentration of numerous private investments there, and the need to diversify the options for the reproduction of capital at the level of the city as a whole, then reduced the urban question to a "road problem", and began to require a broader transformation of the urban form. A transformation that would now be commanded by

individual transport, the ultimate symbol of the process of income concentration that was then intensifying in the country (Abreu, p. 138, 2013).

Figure 1: Dismantling of Morro de Santo Antônio⁶, 1950-1960.



Source: General Archive of the City of Rio de Janeiro.

⁶ The Morro de Santo Antônio, located in the heart of the city of Rio de Janeiro and accessible from Largo da Carioca, underwent significant changes in the twentieth century. A large part of the hill was removed, covering an area that extended from the current Avenida República do Chile to the streets of Lavradio, Carioca, Senador Dantas and Evaristo da Veiga. In this process, as happened with Morro da Providência, one of the first favelas in Rio de Janeiro emerged. In the 1950s, much of the hill was demolished to provide construction material for the Aterro do Flamengo. Despite the removal, the area where the Convent of Santo Antônio (from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and the neighboring Church of the Third Order of São Francisco (from the eighteenth century) are located was preserved, both representing notable examples of colonial art in Rio.

Figure 2: Aspects of the Aterro do Flamengo in panoramic photography.



Source: General Archive of the City of Rio de Janeiro.

In fact, the dismantling of Morro do Castelo, also used in the Aterro do Flamengo, implemented by Mayor Carlos Sampaio (1920-1922), expresses this well. He continued the urban reform initiated by Pereira Passos, the tropical Haussmann, a few years earlier. Behind the myth of modernity, he signed the decree that deliberated the razing of the hill

and, in the space previously occupied by Morro do Castelo, the pavilions and palaces of the International Exhibition of the Centennial of Independence in 1922 would be installed. The works represented the search for the modern ideal as opposed to what was considered backward and, not occasionally, poor and devoid of the European aesthetic standard.

The aversion to popular music in the city received institutional support from the State, which even gave the order to contain popular music. In a passage from the section entitled Complaints and Claims of the newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, dated September 3, 1904, there is a complaint portrayed demanding energetic action from the police against the participants of a samba event that took place nearby.:

Batuque for three days now, with the tacit assent of the police and the Municipal Hygiene, a great batuque has been running at Cães do Barroso, almost with Companhia Bahiana. And what is more, is that the promoters of such entertainment, which is so different from our civilized forums, have set up an improvised shed, under whose roof about a hundred people, between men and women, washed in sweat, give themselves the furies of a desperate, insane cancan. In the very abnormal picture that we are passing through, from the hygienic point of view, it is clear that all the dangers that arise from such amusement, against which we have received a complaint from an established merchant.

As an example of hygienism, the creation of the law on the mandatory use of jackets and shoes by all people in Rio de Janeiro, illustrates well this intention of bourgeoisification of the landscape and customs of the city. Who does this fashion obey? Outside the thermal standards of the tropics, this garment was a way of creating, in Rio, the Parisian atmosphere that foreigners and the upper social classes liked. Popular religiosity was also prohibited, imposing restrictions on the festive manifestations of *Bumba meu Boi* and *Judas*.

It was common to identify in the newspapers, discredits against the *candomblé* and *samba* meetings. In the *Diário da Bahia*, the publication of November 3, 1901, for example, dates that *samba* practitioners were "*troublemakers, thieves and vagabonds*" who disturbed the "*good of tranquility of the industrious and honest population*". The allowed carnival was only the European carnival, composed of harlequins, pierrots, columbines and, it must be said, of measured emotions (Sevcenko, 1983, p. 33).

The consequence of this bourgeoisification in the city was the creation of a central public space completely adorned and Europeanized, created exclusively for the conviviality of the "argentarians". With the help of journalists and correspondents in Paris, the bourgeoisie of Rio de Janeiro adapted to its new urban equipment. Gone are

the days of balconies and colonial salons and conviviality arrived with everything in the avenues, squares, palaces and gardens. This brought structural consequences for society.

As the city changed its landscape to achieve an image that was at odds with its colonial past, new ways of relating also emerged. Neighborhood ties, and crony relationships were replaced by financial status. In effect, the new middle class became a standard to be conquered. From the consumerist and, therefore, capitalist point of view, this was essential, because consumer relations are reinforced, and profit is made, even if in the name of an abysmal social sectarianism. From a social point of view, however, these transformations greatly change the sense of solidarity that exists among people: Rio de Janeiro becomes the land of cosmopolitanism and greed of all nations that, in the city, seek to enrich themselves and make their gains in every way possible.

One cannot fail to mention the abysses created between different socioeconomic areas in the city. Its expansion, characterized in rich areas and peripheral areas, precedes national industrialization and is essentially related to its role as commercial headquarters. It is a pattern of urbanization, which occurred in Brazil, consisting of extreme polarization: *on the one hand, a very poor urban network and, on the other, an extremely polarized urban network in large and few cities, which were exactly the seats of control, whether bureaucratic or commercial capital* (Oliveira, 1982, p. 39).

The passage from the productive system of the agrarian oligarchies to the control of the productive system by the capitals was noisy. Looking at history, one can perceive the existence of many social conflicts that began to exist between the countryside and the cities, since the beginnings of colonial Brazil, although the latter have been consecrated as the locus of political and economic power to the detriment of the countryside. Although the model of urbanized society was victorious, the social bottlenecks pertinent to an aristocratic society remained on the agenda of the day. The hegemonic pattern of crony relations and colonelism came to be overcome only in the Revolution of the 30s, which brought national industrialization as the model for the city. Despite this, colonelistic practices still remain ingrained in the national culture, although easily associated with backwardness and vulgarity (Queiroz, 1989, p. 187).

Consequently, the lifestyle of the city also overlapped with the rural lifestyle, portrayed in the literature of Monteiro Lobato in the figure of the Jeca-Tatu (Melo, 1998, p. 261). The hegemonic pattern established and consecrated was that of the city, but not only, the city of Rio de Janeiro was elevated as the epicenter of the main urban changes, à la Haussmann in Paris. Made and remodeled to meet the expectations of the bourgeoisification of public spaces, the central area of the city was increasingly

distancing, with substantial help of the State, from the (sub)urban areas, considered to be of poor people. Thus, a symbolic dichotomy was created between what it means to be erudite and consecrated, therefore urbanized, and what is devoid of refined aesthetic sense, associated with the rural, grotesque, rude, outdated. The creation of a sense of modernity leads to a biased understanding of public space and also interferes with the conviviality between social classes, which are often more separated.

Urbanization as the predominant model was also an essential requirement for the industry. It could not be supported without any social division of labor within the agricultural units (Oliveira, 1982, p. 42). For the country to industrialize, which catalyzed urbanization throughout Brazil, there had to be physical and spatial conditions that only an urban fabric, previously built for the flow of goods and their free circulation, can offer. These circumstances shape social manifestations so much that the manifestation of music, meetings and urban festivities will never be the same again, if we have as a reference the pattern of coexistence in the physical spaces of cities, which are increasingly segregated. In fact, it is these changes that provide new forms of encounter and music, as a social manifestation typical of a time, introducing these transformations into its expressions of the time.

See the song below, made by the musician José Barbosa da Silva (Sinhô). He was born on September 8, 1888, at *Rua Riachuelo*, house nº 90, in downtown Rio de Janeiro. He was Tené's son, a painter and decorator of the walls of bars and clubs. He had two more brothers, Ernesto (nicknamed Caboclo) and Francisco, an adopted son. He also lived at *Rua Senador Pompeu nº 114*, where he lived with the future samba musicians João da Baiana and Caninha. Later, at the time he became ill with tuberculosis, he lived on Ilha do Governador, at *Rua Pio Dutra 44*. On August 4, 1930, while taking the *Barca Sétima*, on the Island, bound for Rio, he died of hemoptysis, at the age of 35, before docking at the Pharoux Pier, in *Praça XV*.

A Favela Vai Abaixo, Sinhô

My cabocla, the slum is going down
How much you will miss this clod
From the tiny wooden house
that fills our hearts with affection

How we miss remembering the promises
that we constantly did in the chapel
So that God never stops looking
for us from the rascality and for the favela hill

See now the ingratitude of mankind
 The power of the sumitic, yellow flower
 Who lackluster lives in the city
 imposing homelessness on our people in the Favela

My cabocla, the Favela goes down
 Gather the stuff, let's go to Bangú
 Hot Hole, goodbye forever my Hole
 I only forget you in the hole of Caju

This must be in spite of these people
 Because samba doesn't pass for her
 'Cause the moonlight is different there
 It's not like the moonlight you see from this Favela
 In Estácio, Querosene or Salgueiro
 My mulatto won't wait for you at the window
 I'm going to live in Cidade Nova
 To turn my heart to the Favela hill

Sinhô reveals how the changes brought about by hygienism, later transformed into a technique of urban planners and sanitary doctors, negatively affect the poorest population of the city. The song shows where these people are going after being expropriated by the Government, at the behest of the interests of the various fractions of capital that dispute, on urban soil, their place in the sun. Among these fractions, the most symbolic of the "*bota-abaixo*" (demolitions) experienced in Rio de Janeiro in the 1900s was that of real estate capital. By tearing down the tenements and raising the price of rents, the poor had no other place to live than in the confines of the city, where the square meter was – and continues to be – cheaper than in the central area; or in the favelas close to work, but in unhealthy conditions.

The European lifestyle, raised to the highest standard of social style, permeated all aspects of urban life and was imperative, at least among the literate classes. The transformation, therefore, did not take place only in the urban landscape of the city of Rio de Janeiro. It began in the city as the commercial headquarters of the colony, developed in Imperial Brazil as a port and locus of circulation of goods, changed the logic of sanitation and hygiene of the environment and "*extended through habits, customs, encompassing the way of life itself, ideas and how it organizes in a particular way the entire system of understanding and behavior of the agents who experience it*" (Sevcenko, 1983, p. 41).

The hygienism trend gained momentum in the 1920s, when urban and architectural transformations became more intense during the visit of King Albert of Belgium to Brazil. At the same time, railway lines were also built connecting the national capital to the North, South and West of the country. This movement of expanding circulation routes, expanding the urban fabric, and dissipating the urban way of life was worldwide. Vigorous changes in economic activity were undertaken throughout the globe at this time of expansion of capitalism as a universal economic model.

The result of this prodigious scale of growth would be the great demand for raw materials of animal, vegetable and mineral origin, destined either for industrial processing or for the consumption of the large workers' and bureaucratic armies maintained in the cities, around the large productive units. But as the high amount of production exceeded the local consumption capacity, generating a chronic situation of overproduction that put the stability of the system at risk, a continuous pressure was also created within it for the expansion of the consumer market for industrialized products (Sevcenko, 1983, p. 43).

During the 1930s, the industrial sector was favored by President Getúlio Vargas, who encouraged, through music, the idea of a "hardworking" citizen, to the detriment of a "vagrant". At this moment, music begins to interpret the new reality, producing sambas that recognize and reaffirm the importance of the "good, hardworking citizen". A composition, in this sense, is that of Wilson Batista, a samba musician born on July 3, 1913 in Campos, in the interior of Rio de Janeiro. He belonged to the wing formed by the "marginals of the music" of Rio de Janeiro, transiting with samba dancers who wandered with suspicious friends through Lapa, the houses of low prostitution and the points of the *jogo do bicho*. Wilson knew the *carioca* rascality like no one else. He had friends involved with the "obscenity" of the city and acted like an authentic trickster: neat and with a razor in his pocket.

O Bonde São Januário, Wilson Batista

Those who work are right
I say it and I'm not afraid to make mistakes (2x)

The São Januário tram
Take another worker
I'm the one who will work (2x)

In the past I had no sense
But I decided to secure my future

Look at you
 I'm happy I live very well

Bohemia doesn't give anyone a shirt, yes
 I live well
 In the past I had no sense
 But I decided to secure my future
 Look at you
 I'm happy I live very well
 Bohemia doesn't give anyone a shirt, yes
 Very well!

A self-confessed vagabond, Wilson mocked the habit of work carried by the new air of the city, remodeled to meet financial and industrial interests, which were not very much his style. In fact, they were genuinely not the type of any worker, who, with his hands tied, had nothing to do but sell his labor power to the new imperatives of capital. Late and old-fashioned, in Brazilian lands, capitalism developed in a sea of people without any social rights. After the obligation to work, there was no protection from the State to these popular groups. On the contrary, the reprimand to those who refused to work was strong, and came with the force of the law, prohibiting vagrancy.

In fact, vagrancy is still a misdemeanor provided for in article 59 of Decree-Law 3.688 of 1941. It is the act of indulging "*habitually in idleness, being valid for work, without having an income that ensures sufficient means of subsistence or providing for one's own subsistence through illicit occupation*". The culture of work remains practically a philosophy of life, even more exacerbated in recent decades due to neoliberalism and the "do it yourself" doctrine seen in global societies, and also facilitated by today's labor law itself. Against this, however, Wilson would have to say that

Meu Mundo é Hoje, Wilson Batista

That's who I am
 Whoever wants to like me
 That's who I am

My world is today
 There's no tomorrow for me
 That's who I am
 So I'll die one day
 I won't have any regrets

Nor the weight of hypocrisy

I feel sorry for those
Who crouch to the ground
Fooling yourself
For money or position

I never took part
From this huge battalion
Because I know that besides flowers
Nothing else goes in the coffin

That's who I am
Whoever wants to like me
That's who I am

This is how Rio de Janeiro was formed. A city marked by urban transformations that began with urban reform projects in the last three decades of the 19th century until the "*bota-abaixo*" (*demolitions*) of the beginning of the last century, passing through several developmental phases until, with the loss of the state status of Guanabara (1964-1985), added to the international economic crisis, it progressively went into economic depression and the scrapping of its landscape (Santos, 2003 p. 139). In all these historical moments, from the main events of the Brazilian Empire, the First Republic and subsequent governments, there was the shadow of hygienism that from afar wanted to see the consequences of the Brazilian slave-owning past. Announcing that the city was changing, the music went there and confirmed what could already be glimpsed: it would not be easy for the poor social layer to remain in the recesses of the speculated urban land.

Thus, the Capital was born: staging modernity, but confessing, at the same time, the rural and backward sense of its traditions (Martins, 1978, p. 3). The aristocracy does not change its habits with the change of the landscape. On the contrary, it reaffirms stigmas and exposes the consequences of the city during its reformism. Poverty, disease, unemployment, segregation, are realities that do not change with the bourgeoisification of the landscape of certain parts of the city, always reinforcing its elitist and hygienist character. In this sense, the revue of the year 1886, by Arthur de Azevedo, called *O Tribofe*, taken from the work *As Revistas do Ano e a Invenção do Rio de Janeiro*, by Flora Süssekind (1986, p. 35), said

Those who are poor have no luxury
 Stop the emposturia!
 Just put beans in your belly
 And instead of wine, cold water!
 A man must walk cheerfully
 And have no pity
 To satisfy hunger
 Sleep where dogs don't sleep
 Perfectly
 You find here
 Hot bed
 To sleep
 If cute feathers
 Here you don't have
 Spend only
 Four cents.

Also, in one of Arthur de Azevedo's revues (1987, p. 370), the character Fritzmac asks the character Pedro Botelho if it is possible to exist in the world, a city that is still pure, when he replies that he does not believe it exists, and that Rio de Janeiro is not a pure city either: "*Let's not exaggerate. But it is far from European perfection, like China's*", when Fritzmac replies that "*It is indeed a sui generis capital*". This peculiarity of Rio de Janeiro entangled the social imagination, created verses, music, literature, spoken culture. In this, one could glimpse the announced forms that the city would take.

In fact, the impure character of the city is what is seen outside the hygienist plans, which intend to find a world free of "stains", the dirty, the ugly, the uncertain. Going beyond the sterilizing sense, the city, in its veins of circulation, is much more than that. Hence the importance of seeing urban life beyond the glass city, "*which stretches out, enormous and arrogant, before our eyes*" (Pechman, p.149-161, 2017), and considering one's life in what "*one does not see, in the search for a 'quantum' of urbanity that each one can have as a personal repertoire in collective life*". In the article entitled "*The city is not what you see from Pão de Açúcar: urban narratives in Rubem Fonseca*" (p. 149-161, 2017), Robert Pechman draws attention to what the modern city tries to cover up, from above, with its famous songs of cleanliness and erudition.

Just as the character Augusto in Rubem Fonseca's "*The Art of Walking the Streets of Rio*" does not seek to live in a city other than the real city, and not the staged one, Fritzmac, in Arthur de Azevedo's chronicles, also does not try to cover up the truth. The city of Rio de Janeiro, outside the sanitarian and hygienist plans, is what prostitutes, beggars, killers, collectors, lawyers, and the police experience. It is not, in short, the

bourgeois "*make-believe*" that was tried to be sold in the international headlines. As Pechman points out, there is a Rio beyond its architectural landscape. A Rio that we can see through the eyes of Rubem Fonseca through "*The art of walking through the streets of Rio*", when he tells how his character Kelly, an illiterate prostitute, was being taught to read by Augusto so that "*who knows, she can demand his rights as a citizen*" (Pechman, p.149-161, 2017).

In it there was pure tragedy, not as in the Greeks, a caprice of the gods, but as in the exclusive creation of men. There was everything that interested me: failure, fear, loneliness, heartbreak, corruption, cowardice, horror. The horror (Fonseca, 1992, p. 54).

As can be seen, new ways of meeting were made possible and, much more often than not, hindered by the urban reforms undertaken, primarily under the pretext of social hygienism. Tropical diseases were rampant in the city, bringing public attention to the clusters of people present in the central tenements. Thus, music, sensitive to these phenomena, sang that changes were coming, and that, invariably, the lower classes would be the most affected by these new airs.

In 1982, the exponent of Brazilian popular music, Gilberto Gil, would already say in *Esotérico* that "*mystery will always be painted around*", that "*People will love you much more/ Even much more difficult than me for you/ Than me, than two, than ten, than ten millions/ All equal*". Was it already an announcement that the meetings in the city would become more and more intense? If at the beginning of the twentieth century, 17 million people lived in urban centers, by the end of that century, there were 170 million (Santos, 2017, p. 18). Apparently, the author hit the nail on the head with the frenzy that would take over the cities. Are so many people living together at such an accelerated pace, in search of their urban affections, in fact, spectators or witnesses of the new public space constituted? How do they deal with the possibility of encounters marked by a destroyed and segregated scenario? Perhaps it is a question asked, at that time, for the Brazilian funk of the last two decades to be able to answer.

3. Popular music versus classical music from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century

The second half of the 19th century was one of the most fertile in terms of the development of popular music in Rio de Janeiro. In the context of the arrival of the Portuguese court to Brazil, and the consequent creation of the Brazilian Empire – and at

the end of this century, of the Federative Republic of Brazil – the city experienced an incorporation of European paradigms that were both a consequence of the transfer of the court, and of the immigration of non-Portuguese European populations, such as the French and English. In the musical sphere, this influence gave rise to the creation of singing cafés (*cafés-cantantes*) and loud beers (*chopes berrantes*); quickly succeeded by the effervescent enterprise of the revue theater companies. In them, there was an intense mixture between musical genres, whether European or Brazilian. Performances performed in Brazil by Spanish, French and Portuguese musical companies were responsible for introducing European music, such as waltzes and polkas. These were soon nationalized based on the rhythm of the lundu and the style of the choro ensembles.

The singing cafés - also known as *tavern music-halls* in England - were European urban establishments that emerged from 1830 onwards in the modern cities of the industrial era, especially London and Paris. They mixed the structure of a café or a tavern, but where there were also presentations of "*singing numbers (...), dances and other types of exhibitions*" (TINHORÃO, 1990, p. 167). In Brazil, the singing cafés proliferated as a decadent imitation of European models, with the first Brazilian establishment of its kind being the *Alcazar Lyrique*, founded by the Frenchman Joseph Arnaud in 1859. They operated, for the most part, in the center of Rio and were frequented by men from the city's middle classes. The *chopes berrantes*, in turn, were versions of singing cafés intended for the lower classes of Rio and were also located in the central area.

Figure 3: Kiosk "Chopp Berrante" on the *Passeio Público*, Rio de Janeiro, in 1900.



Source: Moreira Salles Institute

This same year, 1859, saw the debut of the "*genre of the revues of the year, that is, of shows with a sense of petty-bourgeois criticism of the main facts that occurred in the previous year*" (Tinhorão, 1990, p. 181). The revues were already a more elite environment, with the adhesion of the middle class, including the female public, whose access to singing coffees and loud beers was restricted. They were seen as inappropriate environments for a woman of the home, who, according to bourgeois patriarchal paradigms, could not be confused with a "woman of life".

Certain notorious class contradictions are directly expressed in the musical practice of Rio de Janeiro. This practice was constituted sometimes by the elite, sometimes by the popular strata. While the former was based on a Europeanization⁷, the latter was the true generator of really new musical genres. In fact, from the *modinha* and the *lundu*, to the *maxixe*, the *choro* and the *samba*, the openers of the new fashions – later incorporated by the elites – have always been the non-dominant classes:

⁷ For example, from the presence of dances, the importation of French and English forms of clothing and fabric, even though the Brazilian climate was not compatible with such forms of dress, and the repercussion of the piano as an amateur musical practice in the homes of a middle class still in consolidation.

Now, if we consider that, at that same time, the lower classes vigorously performed resounding national *umbigadas* in the *terreiros*, while at the churchyard festivals the music of the black barbers from Bahia. Cariocas announced with their 'slave quarters rhythm' the future 'choro style' with which whites and mulattoes of the lower middle class of the second half of those same nineteenth century would nationalize waltzes, polkas and mazurkas, it can be understood that urban popular culture – thus divided into classes – reserved for the little people the authentic creations, and for the middle and upper classes the mere consumption of imported fashions (Tinhorão, 1990, p. 166-167).

The opposition between serious music and light music in nineteenth-century concert music is another facet that explains the Brazilian elites' disdain for popular music. They considered European genres such as waltzes and mazurkas (on which Brazilian popular music was based) as second-rate, compared to "serious" works, such as symphonies. It was this same elite that, in 1882, founded the *Beethoven Club*, in an express attempt to Germanize Brazilian music. Not to mention the influences of artists such as Leopoldo Miguez (Pereira, 2013, p. 1-3), who represented, in Rio de Janeiro, the positivist concert current in tune with the German classical-romantic tradition.

Musical creation was the responsibility of the lower social classes, who were responsible for the Brazilianization of imported genres. They were responsible for engendering truly new *cultural capitals* that made sense for the Brazilian sociocultural reality. In the century. In the 19th century, such nationalized genres marked the effervescence of the singing *cafés*, *chopes berrantes* and revue theaters in the center of Rio. Then the carioca songs originate.⁸ In the revue theaters, several compositions were successful during Carnival, and the carnival songs influenced the compositional style of the revues.⁹

The Brazilianization of European genres that took place first in the singing *cafés* and in the *chopes berrantes*, when giving rise to the revue theaters, therefore shaped the urban space of the 19th century in two important ways. The first was the emergence of a family environment for the consumption of musical shows among the middle classes (the singing *cafés* and in the *chopes berrantes* were male environments). There was a predominance of conductors in the revue orchestras, mainly Portuguese (but also Spanish), which is explained by the fact that many of the small merchants of the time were Portuguese, and constituted an audience for the revues, taking their families. It was

⁸ The carioca songs were marked by the penetration of colloquialism in the sphere of song, where in fact all sorts of Brazilian and European genres (from *modinhas* to operettas) could coexist.

⁹ In fact, through the nationalization of the Portuguese march in the revues, it was possible to give rise to the first "*truly carnivalesque rhythm composed of middle-class music capable of reading and writing on the score*" (TINHORÃO, 1990, p. 190).

not by chance that the carnival marches resulted from the Brazilianization of the Portuguese marches (Tinhorão, 1990, p. 181-182). The second derives from the fact that, by establishing exchanges with Carnival, the revue theaters have fostered the consolidation of Carnival festivities as an urban festival present in Rio.

With Carnival comes the Carnival march - which, due to its martial structure, could organize the carnival processions - as well as samba. The first of these two genres can be associated as a practice more adherent to a middle class still hesitant to incorporate the samba rhythm in their festivals, since it actually came from the cordon practices of the lower classes, who, because they did not even have access to melodic instruments, focused on the percussive element. However, as early as 1918, due to the success of the samba *Pelo Telefone*, composed approximately one or two years earlier (the exact date is not known for sure), the genre was able to be incorporated with weight in the carnivals of Rio de Janeiro (Tinhorão, 1978, p. 123-125), laying the foundations for it to later be converted "into a symbol of Brazilianness, [when] the notion of nation is central to the mediation of conflicts between the State and the urban masses" (Ulhôa, 2001, p. 52).

At the same time, already in the context of Brazilian modernism, the idea that regional sources would be mere raw materials for the conception of a national music, reiterates the hierarchy between popular and erudite at this time. The production of composers such as Heitor Villa-Lobos, Francisco Mignone and Lorenzo Fernandes is a consequence of the thinking of modernist nationalism, whose theoretical standard-bearer was Mário de Andrade. According to this paradigm, the urban popular was "popularesque", which reveals, above all, a disdain for the cultural capital of the lower social classes. Even so, this historic moment opened the door for a discussion about Brazilian popular music to begin to be made.¹⁰

With the end of the Belle Époque, the incorporation of French aesthetics was replaced by the North American one. The practice of acculturation, during the Good

¹⁰ It is worth mentioning that what is being referred to as modernism is alluding to the period of the Modern Art Week of 1922 and the artists involved in this cultural scene. However, this allusion is only made in this way in this article because modernism is not the main subject of this text, and we would not have the appropriate focus if we debated in depth the problem involving Brazilian modernism. However, briefly, it should be pointed out that we know that the very notion of modernism is highly debatable, as Rafael Cardoso points out in his book *Modernity in Black and White*, when he discusses the existence of "modernism before modernism", that is, of new practices prior to or parallel to what came to be known as modernism, and which have only recently been discussed as effectively modern practices in their time (this is the case of Lima Barreto and João do Rio). Part of the discussion about why modernism as we know it today came to be considered relevant must also certainly pass through the fact that it was financed by the bourgeois elites of São Paulo (CARDOSO, 2022, p. 18).

Neighbor policy, remained. The phonographic technologies of radio and television transmission, incorporated into the national music, only induced it to adapt, this time, to the artistic and musical culture of the USA. This is particularly observed by the mixture of Brazilian music with *jazz*, which engenders bossa nova in the 1950s, and with *rock*, a little further on, with the *Tropicália* movement. Both genres can be regarded as contemporary status symbols of a supposedly sophisticated musical taste¹¹, and this supposed sophistication could be read in part in light of their openness to foreign genres.

In contemporary times, the globalizing influence of the United States unfolds in the ramification of popular phonographic music into genres that emerged mainly from pop and hip-hop, such as Brazilian *funk*, the *Brega* genres, the electro-Bahian genres (such as *Axé*), the *Piseiro*, and the *sertanejos universitários*. Phonographic reproducibility makes music subject to a treadmill of global capitalist production of art. Thus, new musical practices need to remain reproducible, becoming "*more and more the reproduction of a work of art created to be reproduced*" (BENJAMIN, 1969, p. 171) and sold. This is relevant because it points out the extent to which the dynamics of updating this acculturation is phonographically mediated by the logic of capitalist production in space.

4. Parallels and perspectives for music in the second decade of the twenty-first century: how the popular and the erudite contribute to the formation of new conjunctures in the city

If in the 20th century, the emergence of technologies such as recording was fundamental to the relationship between spaces in the city and musical creation, in the 21st century this process is even more accentuated, due to digital expansion. Emerging in 1877 by the inventor Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinville (Piccino, 2003, p. 2), the phonoautograph inaugurated audio recording technology, having been followed about 10 years later by the gramophone (Silveira, 2012, p. 2). Audio recording technology has given rise to new roles in the industry, new musical relationships, and propelled a new market. In Rio de Janeiro, it was founded in 1900 by Federico Figner, a then Czech immigrant who arrived in Brazilian lands, the first record company not only in Brazil, but also in South America, called *Casa Edison*. Naturally, it becomes a kind of epicenter for

¹¹ Tom Jobim and Caetano Veloso, to cite just two examples, have a public image associated with cultural sophistication.

the dissemination of musicians of the caliber of Xisto Bahia, Donga and Bahiano, responsible for the first recordings made in the country.¹²

Since then, phonographic technology in Brazil has generated a huge consumer market, evolving from consumption through records (since the early 19th century), to radio, CD, and more recently non-physical digital formats (such as MP3, WAV, used on social networks and streaming platforms). Listening is currently mediated by new consumer devices: cell phones and computers, for the most part. We have gone from the situation of live listening (pre-emergence of recording technology) to such a decentralized possibility of listening, that it is possible to do it in any environment and time, as long as you can use digital devices. Listening, mediated by the technological device, modifies the experience of music – whether in halls, dances or in the domestic environment – and allows new forms of interaction previously unthought of. The discrepancy that arises, then, with the *choro* circles of the early 20th century, for example, is not only in the musical style, but in the possibility of sharing musical experiences live or not.

It is known, therefore, that the mutation of the production of music, its reproducibility and the conviviality around it, begins from the moment it starts to be mediated by an electronic media. Thus, if before music was made primarily in *terreiros* or in private environments through scores, nowadays, it has been moving to domestic studios, fostering the perception of music in the private sphere. This process, which triggers record companies from the emergence of turntables in the twentieth century, is virtualized in this century. The musical performance, previously performed live as in the case of carnival marches, can now be done asynchronously. The conviviality around it is also transformed. The interface of electronic media allows people to listen to music alone or in distinct groups, which are not necessarily culturally or geographically close to the generating group of a musical genre in question.

Music, market-experienced by different segments of society, loses its character of cultural identification. In a globalized world, this makes perfect sense, since the scale of industrial production generates uniformity of practices, tastes, encounters; now subjected to the aspect of consumption. Just by having a cell phone, one can have access, almost instantaneously, to very varied music banks, which cover very different musical genres, and from different parts of the world, by paying a periodic fee. Music *streaming* platforms represent a leap from the face-to-face model of making music, to one in which it can be consumed like any other commodity available in the capitalist

¹² *Isto é Bom*, by the composer Xisto Bahia, in the voice of Bahiano, was the first song recorded in the country. And *Pelo Telefone*, of controversial authorship, the first recorded samba, also in the voice of Bahiano.

exchange market. And although the model of music acquisition based on physical media (for example, when buying a vinyl or CD), has fostered the distance between those who make and those who listen to music, in the contemporary musical era, this distance has definitely been increased. Music then ceases to be a communal manifestation, a collective expression of geographical resistance to assume an intangible, ethereal face: the artist who produces the music, in contemporary times, is most of the time, completely deterritorialized from the group through which the musical genre was born.

In effect, people stop getting together to make music and become more willing to listen to it mediated by technological instruments. The acquisition of the radio, the record player, the speaker, the MP3, the cell phone, in sequence, is characterized by the removal of music from the public space to place it in the increasingly private space. According to Sennet (1999, p. 319), the crisis in public life that has worsened over the last two centuries following the victory of bourgeois ideals of society and the surrender by people of the right to actively express their emotions to charismatic artists and politicians has emptied public life in the city of meaning. They become, therefore, more spectators than witnesses of public life. This bond can also be established with music. The listener of a bossa nova is, today, much more a passive taster than an executor of the genre, although the same cannot be said so immediately, of the songs engendered by the lower social classes.

"The more people conceive of the public domain as an opportunity to reveal themselves to each other, the more they will be diverted from the use of their fraternity to transform social conditions" (Sennet, 1999, p. 319). It is not strange, therefore, that samba, from the 90s onwards, segmented into pagode; and Brazilian funk, also fragmented, already in the second decade of the twenty-first century, in Brazilian trapfunk and bregafunk, among other ramifications, are genres in turn more collectively experienced by marginalized groups than the musical genres accessed by the upper classes. This is due to the convivial nature of these songs, performed in the favelas and backyards as a form of social catharsis: it is through the musicalization of peripheral life that the *funkeiro* and *pagodeiro* citizen is constituted.

On the other hand, the intimate society makes the individual an actor deprived of his art. In fact, taking the concept of civility as part etymologically tied to the city, one understands why a society constituted within bourgeois civic standards is, first and foremost, a society that represses its most intimate intentions in the name of a well-behaved public. People are protected from embarrassing intimacy, from *"unseemly and noisy politics"* in order to spare people from the intimacy of other people while taking advantage of their company in a restrained and polite way (Sennet, 1999, p. 319).

Therefore, the modern city annuls the concept of personality because its expression is the opposite side of the public. The personality dichotomizes with an amorphous audience.

Despite this reach of music, however, instead of creating an audience engaged with the public cause – which would bring music in general to reproduction in public spaces – it generates a frustrated society, narcissistically focused on its "I". When social groups stop interacting with the public and start to stage civilized behavior, that is, when people identified with specific social behaviors act in *the theatrum mundi* evoking the sense of fraternity among equals, they do so by transforming everyday action into a mere performance. It is for this reason that the universalization of access to diverse music does not imply the assumption that these groups identify themselves as a group with the musical genre being listened to, nor that this becomes social rights conquered in common.

Thus, the gathering of people around music can be, paradoxically, both more solitary and more inclusive. Just by having a radio, TV, record player, speaker or cell phone in hand, it becomes possible to reproduce very different types of music. On the other hand, the existence of music festivals that aggregate different musical genres also makes it possible for groups not identified with the musical making of the music collectively heard, to be in the same environment. A factor that cannot be ignored and that comes in the wake of an expansive and homogenizing capitalism is this commodification of music. Idealized, produced and reproduced for commercial purposes, music distanced itself from the musical making identified with the cultural matrix that generated its genre. This makes the musical experience in the twenty-first century very dissipated. Just by having a specific audio snippet, it is possible for artists from the Midwest to use songs from the Northeast or the North to create a new rhythm.

In the case of Rio de Janeiro, Brazilian funk takes the lead, alongside genres such as pagode. It was born from the incorporation of hip-hop and became a genre of resistance in the favelas¹³. The process of popularizing funk is inevitably accompanied by the dilution of the genre, as it mixes with other genres, outlining new practices, which is inherent to digital decentralization. This process of dilution generates very diverse by-

¹³ Having antecedents in the dances of the 1970s, initially influenced by American soul and funk, Brazilian funk was consolidated after the nationalization, in the 1980s, of hip hop subgenres, mainly Miami Bass (Essinger, 2005; Beschizza, 2014). Coming from the culture of *sampling* – the reuse of recordings by other artists, through the turntable, an instrument of the DJs – Brazilian funk was born in this deterritorialized place, despite having nationalized itself as an eminently Brazilian genre. In this sense, its ramifications are many, and grow as technology itself expands: funk melody, funk ostentação, proibidão, 150 BPM, bregafunk, trapfunk, funknejo, among others.

products, which, when compared, reveal social trends associated with cultural spaces and power disputes. What cannot be lost sight of, therefore, is how these musical genres identify and contextualize themes that will later become new hygienic-sanitary practices, updated, this time, to the problems related to electronic devices and the consequent atomization of community life.

In this way, the mixture of Brazilian funk and trap, genres created in the peripheral context, open spaces for artists such as Mc Cabelinho and TZ da Coronel, both coming from the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. On the other hand, funk, when mixed with indie, gives rise to *funk pelúcia*, which, because it is already so far from its original genre, has very few symbolic and territorial similarities with it. The creation of this last subgenre reflects the metabolization of the denunciations of the favela into themes that are specific to the interests of the middle class, emptied of the original meaning of the territories where funk and trap flourished. Thus, the purge of those who really do not belong to the musical making of gentrified funk, creates a narrative dispute against which the following analysis is appropriate: in a neoliberal world, human relations introvert towards equals, resuming the search for the problematic concept of fraternity, which is nothing more than the dialogue of a group with itself without public exchange with the environment in which it is inserted.

In other words, the commodification of territory, ways of life and sociability has emptied public life. The logic of twentieth-century communications technology was determined by this openness to individual expression of personality. However, this same media that reaches the masses of the population also fosters an even greater passivity on the part of those who are the spectators. Civil society, as an amorphous mass, attributes to charismatic artists and politicians the license of public expression that was stolen from them, during the development of liberal democracy, to express their collective dramas, without this generating civic and territorial engagement. In this vein, Júlio Secchin, an artist from Rio de Janeiro who represents *funk pelúcia*, writes:

Pretend
That Pedra da Gávea is a volcano
Erupting on sin and Leblon

There is a parallel of geographical locations (upscale neighborhoods in the south zone of Rio) between what he writes and what Vinicius de Moraes, decades earlier, had written:

Remember that happy time
 Oh, how I miss it!
 Ipanema was all happiness
 It was as if love hurt in peace

In contrast, Cesar Mc, Vk Mac and Mc Cabelinho, one of the most relevant representatives of Rio de Janeiro trapfunk, contemporary of Secchin, has other themes:

Ah, it was at the top of the hill [the favela], the view from up there is worth gold
 Gold, our place, our treasure
 Gold shines and can even be valuable
 But it doesn't shine as brightly as the smile of our people
 Hey, if the slum lives, I don't die anymore
 Ahn, our place, our treasure

Decades earlier, Roberto Martins and Valdemar Silva wrote about themes similar to those of Cesar Mc, Vk Mac and Mc Cabelinho:

Hi Favela, Favela,
 Favela that I keep in my heart
 By remembering with nostalgia
 My happiness
 Favela of love dreams
 And the *samba-canção*

The whitening of cultures whose original locus was that of Africanity had already been happening since before the nineteenth century, and, as we have observed, in the nineteenth century, "*cariocas announced with their 'slave quarters rhythm' the future 'choro style' with which whites and mulattoes from the lower middle class of the second half of those same nineteenth-century years would nationalize waltzes, polkas and mazurkas*" (Tinhorão, 1990). Therefore, the process of digital decentralization does not escape this announced trend of erasure of the poorest social groups from the city's musical avant-garde, with the difference that, from the technological device, the city of Rio de Janeiro becomes subject, in an even more virtual way, to the effects concerning the emptying of the territory as an environment of musical occupation to compete for space on streaming platforms.

The immediate effect of no longer having in the territory an environment for the encounter of physical corporalities in the same way as before¹⁴, is the displacement of the class struggle to the digital environment, as part of the possible strategies of survival. Júlio Secchin, on one side, and Cesar Mc, Vc Mac and Mc Cabelinho, on the other, were both talking about the area in the south zone of Rio, but one from the point of view the favela, and the other from the point of view of the upper middle class, both based on the recording media. The facilities raised by the cheapening of digital technologies favor two trends. The first is that people who belong to the upper classes will have more access to technologies that allow the creation of musical products.

The second stems from the fact that streaming and social networks are platforms accessed by broad classes – from the low to the high. From this it can be deduced that the genres that have commercial vogue – such as Brazilian funk – can be fully accessed in the virtual space of the city, by classes ranging from the lowest to the highest. Not only is *funk pelúcia* announcing this trend of dilution of music with cultural appropriation, but for example songs like *Masculinidade*, by Tiago Iorc, or *Meu Coco*, by Caetano Veloso, which include in their production allusions to Brazilian *funk* style, without being able to be framed within the funk genre in any way. In an interview for the *podcast Expresso Ilustrada*, in the episode *Funk de pelúcia, entre a fofura e a batida*, DJ Iasmin Turbininha, an important DJ in the Rio scene, says: “[Brazilian funk] is the community, the beat, the people. Funk is not this pelúcia stuff.” When asked in the same *podcast* about what they think of *funk pelúcia*, Mc Carol, an important MC in the national Brazilian funk scene, and DJ Iasmin Turbininha, comment on the contradictions that the appropriation of the funk musical genre can provide:

They [Mc Carol and DJ Iasmin Turbininha] don't believe that [*funk pelúcia*] is funk and they are not against it, but they don't like it. (...) They say that when a middle-class artist uses Brazilian funk, he often ends up having a very quick success and doing nothing for funk culture, in the sense that he has nothing to do with the genre, and ends up being sold as part of the genre. They also complain that it is very common for white and middle-class artists to achieve much greater prominence than funk artists. Even with an entire career, even funk artists who are consecrated, have more difficulty, for example, to get on a TV show, than a white middle-class funk artist, who takes that aesthetic and uses it in another type of music.

What does the song have to say about the new conjunctures of the coming years? It points to the conformation of a dispute of narratives in the virtual space, making the geographical space secondary. To what extent physical spaces will be molded to this

¹⁴ Before technical reproducibility via digital platforms.

characteristic, the future will yet tell. Thinking according to Attali's paradigm that music has an annunciatory and "prophetic" character (Attali, 1977, p. 8), one can think that the fusion of musical genres driven by technology may be pointing to a parallel in other sectors of society, and to an attenuation of social values focused on locality, and a primacy for values focused on hyper connection.

It is also pointed out that, due to the fact that contemporary listening to music is predominantly mediated by cell phones and computers, and because it is a technology accessible to broad classes, the mechanism through which musical genres can recombine can give rise to a recycling of the processes of cultural appropriation of the upper classes towards the lower classes that has already happened in the heart of Brazilian society since its formation. It is understood that such appropriation may be facilitated by the fact that the technology over which consumption predominates (the cell phone and the computer) is highly decentralizing. Therefore, it creates room for the interpenetration of genres and their consequent dilution and recombination, and may, in this process, cause some erasure of historical struggles of marginalized social groups, such as favela residents, an example that was demonstrated through carioca funk. From this it can be deduced that in future decades, genres such as Brazilian funk will cease (at least to some extent) to be associated with marginalized urban groups, such as those in the favela, and will become less political acts (in the sense of affirming and exalting a group that is oppressed) and increasingly more commercial. As MC Lupín's viral song, based on bregafunk and released in 2023, would say: *Addicted to making video/ With the dance that shakes/ It's the tiktok passinho/ In a few seconds/ You show your talent/ Dub video, duet/ I want to see who takes it/ The challenge of the moment/ Open tiktok and send your passinho*. Made as venal, Brazilian funk dissociates itself from its potential in the character of class struggle and adapts to the music market, in spite of the territorial origin of its genre being the favelas.

5. Final Thoughts

Music is a means of expression proper to an era. Music tells us how people have lived, what they seek, how they resist urban transformations in their lives, how they develop their affections in the city. This makes the physical environment of urbanity completely imbued with themes that can only be created from human culture. In the Brazilian case, music was able to follow the main developments arising both from the European and, therefore, colonizing point of view, and from the experience of the popular

classes of abandonment by the State and persecution by it in its hygienist-sanitary impetus.

Thus, if there has been removal of poor people from areas targeted by real estate speculation, if there are unique laments experienced by those who understand material deprivation in the favelas, or if there is enjoyment of a stable condition and a city built to be beautiful: there will be music telling us what is happening. When socio-spatial conditions change, music, sensitive to them, has a lot to tell us, humming the new directions that the city takes and how people behave towards them, what expectations they have, where and how they perform music in urban encounters. In this sense, the song has the power to reveal what airs the city takes and can take. It gives strong indications that some change in the form of social conviviality is to come. What could be glimpsed is that this announcement is always accompanied by a class aspect: poor and rich sing different subjects. Music is made in different places and in different ways if this same class factor is taken into account. If in the peripheries, the dilemma is where to live, what to eat and the simplicity of ways of life, in the upper classes, the enjoyment of the beautiful landscapes of Rio, love and hope become the motto.

The perception of these distinct experiences does not lie. The class factor is fundamental to understand the perception of music as an instrument of cultural manifestation, but not only. Its psychological character is encompassed in the face of a historical conjuncture read in the city as a transformation of its urban equipment. Which greatly affects people's ability to gather around music. With the development of phonographic technologies, however, the space of symbolic distancing experienced by different social classes has been shortening, although the emptying of the territory in its concrete dimension shifts the class struggle to the virtual sphere, where the tools available to the lower classes are unfair.

It is common that in current times, a music of the poor, such as Brazilian funk, is heard by the middle class and the bourgeoisie, even if the space for the creation of rhythm is sociologically and spatially separated from it. The bourgeoisification of music continues to exist, the result of social appropriation, with the difference that the classification of "erudite" and "popular" becomes gradually more outdated. Although the differences in technical practice, collective experience and social space remain segregated, that is, even though the poor and the rich make different musical genres and that they still serve a hierarchical standard of what is considered "in good taste" and "in bad taste", these same differences are becoming increasingly tenuous and difficult to distinguish, since the cultural appropriation of one rhythm by the other has been increasingly diluted due to the popularization of the digital technical apparatus.

As a consequence, discussions of "erudite" and "popular" music are falling apart, although materially they still exist. The article also revealed that old habits of whitening national music seem to have not ceased to exist. With the difference that, because they no longer need a record label, the poor and the rich can produce artistically on their own. But because they have more technical resources, the social group of richer people end up with more subsidies to create music publicly considered as "good". This causes a historical erasure of the fight for social justice among peripheral classes.

The popularization of technical devices, however, makes it possible for a poor and peripheral person to surf a wave of momentary or lasting musical success. Which does not prevent that, later, this can be converted into an artistic reference for the dominant social class that, using it, ends up being even more successful than the marginalized musical author himself. In any case, this phenomenon points to an announcement that music has been making regarding the dynamics of occupation of the city. Increasingly virtual and part of a context of sharpening of fictitious capital - via capitalism of the platforms - the dynamics of occupation cease to be exclusively concrete and also start to be disputed in the virtual space, often as a *sine qua non* condition for the effectiveness of collective organization. Thus, virtual space ceases to be an attribute and becomes, in extension, a materially constructed necessity.

As Marx says in *Grundrisse*:

The more production is based on exchange value and, consequently, on exchange, the more important the physical conditions of exchange – means of communication and transport – become for it. It is in the nature of capital to move beyond all spatial barriers. The creation of the physical conditions of exchange – of means of communication and transport – becomes a necessity for capital in a totally different dimension – the annulment of space by time (Marx, 2011, p. 699).

Thus, the production of music not only meets a need of the music market as a whole, but also creates needs for its production. Thus, production provides not only the material for the need, but also the need for the material (Marx, 2011, p. 1.151). As social engagement is inseparable from music, as it is the artistic means of expression and political action, it is not surprising that with the digitalization of music, the historically and materially constituted need to occupy virtual spaces as modern means of the current class struggle arises. Therefore, contemporary music allows us to glimpse the current political space of social networks and streaming platforms, enabling the reach of social struggles to the impersonal masses and dissipated in concrete space.

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