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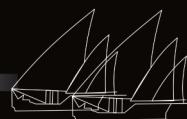
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TEXTOS EM PORTUGUÊS/INGLÊS



INVISIBLE CATTLE:
 THE IMAGINARY OF PEASANT IN THE BIG CITY¹

Jean Carlo Faustino²

ABSTRACT: Based on suggestions given by the Invisible Cities from Ítalo Calvino, about the different ways of seeing and perceiving the city, this paper develops a reflection about the peasant from São Paulo state in front of the Brazilian rural exodus of mid-twentieth century. This reflection is based on the analysis of the lyrics of *moda-de-viola* (an important genre that compound the *música caipira*) as a counterpoint to some sociological analyze about the subject.

KEYWORD: música; caipira; *moda*; viola; migration; music; countrymen.

RESUMO: Com base em sugestões dadas pela obra *Cidades Invisíveis* de Ítalo Calvino, sobre os diferentes modos de ver e perceber a cidade, este artigo desenvolve uma reflexão sobre o caipira paulista diante do êxodo rural brasileiro de meados do século XX. Reflexão esta baseada na análise das letras de *modas de viola* (importante gênero que compõe a música caipira) em contraponto a algumas análises sociológicas sobre o tema.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: música; caipira; moda; viola; migração.

1 This article was originally published in French in Caravelle magazine, with the title *Des troupeaux invisibles. L'imaginaire du caipira dans la grande ville*, with translation made by Teresa Cristina Duarte-Simões and Marc Gruas. Available in <http://caravelle.revues.org/427>

2 Jean Carlo Faustino hold a Bachelor's Degree in Sociology from State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Master Master's Degree in Sociology from UNICAMP also, PhD in Sociology from Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar) and currently is Visiting Research Associate in the Faculty of Arts & Humanities at King's College London.

Introduction

In the book *Invisible Cities*, Ítalo Calvino (2013), presents a different way to observe cities; that is from the backstage and from social relations in which they develop, as well as from the affective marks that appear, for instance, from the memory of their inhabitants.

In this book one of the chapter dedicated to memory, the author talks about a city in which the visitant may relish the old pictures of a small and provincial town that it once was prior to becoming a metropolis of financial relevance. The joy of observing those pictures refers to an idyllic beauty that contrasts to the present, which is remarkable for its rationality. However, the points out that the current metropolitan and modern city solely exists due to the overcoming of the previous town that at the moment the pictures aspire to cultivate by means of a transposition to the past of a harmonious and romantic structure that do not necessarily existed before (CALVINO, 2003, p.30).

Ítalo Calvino does not explain the reasons of such transposition to the past of an ideal reality which is better than the current one – perhaps he presupposes that the reader, who may have experienced something equivalent, is able to comprehend the meaning of such reflection. However, if we go back to some sociological studies carried out about the *paulista*³ countryman in mid twentieth century, or for the *modas-de-viola* composed within this period, we may find the similar phenomenon that took place in the Brazilian context at a very important and decisive moment of change for the country while it was progressively becoming less rural to predominately urban.

The purpose of this work is, therefore, to analyze some of the *modas-de-viola* in order to verify the presence of such transposition to a utopian past, which represents the first step towards the understanding of the fictional universe that follows along the *paulista countryman* when he left the field in order to live in the city which forced him to necessarily adapt it self to the social realm.

In this fictional universe, which corresponds to what we call the thoughts of what once was the rural life of a countryman, the country fields appear, not rarely, as the location for the accomplishment of its humanistic aspect and the achievement of its honor as well as the manifestations of its dignity. This is what was observed, for example, in one of the first and most famous doctorate theses in sociology that focus on studying

3 People that was born in countryside of São Paulo state

the transposition of traditional country culture. I am referring to *Parceiros do Rio Bonito* by Antônio Candido (1977).

In his research, which was carried out throughout the 40's and the 50's; that is, three decades before the demographic switch from rural to predominantly urban, Candido outlines that the precarious situation that the countryside of São Paulo encountered due to the end of the development of capitalism. In this precarious situation, the ecological imbalance and the disruption of the previous socio-economical order, the author has noticed that the development of what he dubbed the *saudosismo transfigurador*: the idealization of an idyllic past better than the present.

Em primeiro lugar, observamos o que se poderia qualificar de saudosismo transfigurador – uma verdadeira utopia retrospectiva, se coubesse a expressão contraditória. [...] Consiste em comparar, a todo propósito, as atuais condições de vida com as antigas; as modernas relações humanas com as do passado. As primeiras, que interessam diretamente a este trabalho, referem-se principalmente a três tópicos: abundância, solidariedade, sabedoria.⁴ (CANDIDO, 1997, p. 193-1994)

Thus, this is something equivalent to the previous chapter of the Ítalo Calvino's book in which the old town appears idealized; representing the harmonious society that has never necessarily existed. Instead of the past depiction, what this phenomenon reveals in reality, are the difficulty to conquer and achieve the dignity in the current times.

Throughout this article, we are going to analyze the *saudosismo transfigurador* in the *modas-de-viola* composed and recorded in the sixties, seventies and eighties; that is, the next three decades that followed the accomplishment of the *Parceiros do Rio Bonito* when the solution of the exodus to urban sites had become more and more frequent. However, not only the presence but also the dialog with the psychological phenomenon embedded in such *modas*.

The reasons to the songs

The country music in Brazil as well as the Brazilian popular music in general often provides complex lyrics that expresses not only

4 Translation: Firstly, we observe what may be qualified as transfigured nostalgic feelings – a real retrospective utopia, if not the word contradiction. [...] It Consist in comparing the current life conditions to the previous ones; the modern human interaction with those of the past. The first ones, which are of great interest to this work, refer mainly to three topics: abundance, solidarity, wisdom.

collective feelings of a generation but also written testimony of its social and political issues. With respect to such premises, lyrics may enable the reconstruction of a historical period.

Obviously, this is not, therefore, the general rule. Indeed, there were compositions composed as the result of market rules, as well as in compliance with the cultural record industry or trends. Split genius and significant compositions from others is a primordial task accomplished in the first sociological analysis regarding the country music composed by José de Souza Martins (1975).

This analysis, which corresponds to chapter “*Música Sertaneja: a dissimulação na linguagem dos humilhados*” (Country Music: the dissimulation in the language of the downtrodden) of the book “*Capitalismo e Tradicionalismo*”, the author (MARTINS, 1975) emphasizes the transformations through which the *música caipira* has encountered due to the requirements of the market, which resulted, consequently, to the music regression (ADORNO, 1991). Nevertheless, Martins is able to select some good compositions by means of an analyzes which reveals the sophistication and the complexity of the compositions that are characterized by the dissimulated language, that is, by a discourse that apparently says some whereas hides the true question.

This article was published in 1975. In the following decade, the interpreters of the country music who have come closest to the rural roots and to the country public began to take a less significant place in the cultural industry that promotes the country music, which would dominate the interpreters that adopt the modernist trends such as the electric guitar and of more urban oriented themes. One of the duals that, however, reached the beginning of the eighties enjoying success and at the same time relatively loyal to the country esthetics and culture, mainly represented by Tião Carreiro & Pardinho. This therefore is the first and primal reason that justifies this study.

Another important reason for working with the *modas-de-violão* of composed by this dual relies on the fact that, differently of the *modas* of other duals or even the country music as a whole; its narratives reveal an alternative for the conciliation between the past and the present, which outweighs the *saudosismo transfigurador*.

The choice for *moda-de-violão* instead of other music styles and genres comprised by the *música caipira* justifies due to the elaborate esthetics rules of such style that, beside the complexity in interpretations and composition, when it comes to narratives, is characterized essentially

by vicissitudes of the countryman, thus, to our necessity to reconstruct the history of the integration process of the country men to modernity.

Poeira: a starting point

Before we effectively Begin the analysis of *modas-de-violão* by Tião Carreiro & Pardinho with the purpose of verifying how *saudosismo transfigurador* operates in them, it is necessary, however, to consider the cultural universe to which it belongs: the *música caipira*.

Therefore, we will initially address a song that is not *moda-de-violão*, but is part of the country music; a song that is very recognizable to its public and enjoyed a lot of success, which made it a classic according to a survey performed by José Hamilton Ribeiro (2006) in his book *Música Caipira: as 270 maiores modas de todos os tempos* (Country Music: the 270 most successful *modas* of all time).

This book by Hamilton Ribeiro compensates, initially, the lack of researches among the public opinion regarding the most popular in that period. The research archive of this type in IBOPE (Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistic), available at the Edgard Leuenroth Archive at UNICAMP, provides innumerous researches carried out with listeners of popular music in general, however, none of them including specifically the *música caipira*.

The song chosen to begin this reflection is call *Poeira*, which is not only comprised by the survey conducted by Hamilton Ribeiro but it was also recorded by a company that could be called defender of the *música caipira* in the Brazilian T.V.: Inezita Barroso, t.v. host that presented the program *Viola, Minha Viola* that has been aired by TV Cultura for uninterrupted twenty eight years.

Prior to the record of Inezita Barroso, Sérgio Reis and other famous interpreters, this song was recorded for the first time in 1968 by the Duo Glacial, that, according to the *Dicionário Cravo Albin da Música Popular Brasileira*, has begun its carrier in the music industry after ranking the first place the First Sertanejo Festival of the National Radio interpreting this same song that would be part of the first album. Composed by Luiz Bonan & Serafim Gomes (Ribeiro, 2006, p. 205), its lyrics say:

O carro de boi lá vai
 Gemendo lá no estradão
 Suas grandes rodas fazendo
 Profundas marcas no chão

Vai levantando poeira, poeira vermelha
Poeira, poeira do meu sertão

Olha seu moço a boiada
Em busca do ribeirão
Vai mugindo e vai ruminando
Cabeças em confusão
Vai levantando poeira, poeira vermelha
Poeira, poeira do meu sertão

Olha só o boiadeiro
Montado em seu alazão
Conduzindo toda a boiada
Com seu berrante na mão
Seu rosto é só poeira, poeira vermelha
Poeira, poeira do meu sertão

Barulho de trovoada
Coriscos em profusão
A chuva caindo em cascata
Na terra fofa do chão
Virando em lama a poeira, poeira vermelha
Poeira, poeira do meu sertão

Poeira entra meus olhos
Não fico zangado não
Pois sei que quando eu morrer
Meu corpo irá para o chão
Se transformar em poeira, poeira vermelha
Poeira, poeira do meu sertão
Poeira do meu sertão, poeira
Poeira do meu sertão⁵

5 Translation: The cattle truck goes away/Moaning on the long road/its large wheels/ Leaving thick tire marks on the ground/Stiring up the dust, red dust/ Dust, my countryside dust // Look at the cattle, boy/In search for the big river/it goes moaning and mooing/Confusing Heads/Stiring up the dust, red dust/ Dust, my countryside dust. // Look at the cowboy/Mounted on his brown horse/Leading the whole cattle/With his horn in his hand/His face is dust, red dust/ Dust, my countryside dust. // Thundering sounds / many bolt of lightning /The rain is falling heavily/On the soft dirt on the ground/Became dirt and red dust/ Dust, my countryside dust.// The rain is falling heavily/On the soft dirt on the ground/Became dirt and red dust/ Dust, my countryside dust. // Dust gets into my eyes/I don't get angry/As I know that when I die/ My body will go to ground/ If it transforms itself into dust, red dust/ Dust of my countryside, dust/ Dust, my countryside dust.// Dust gets into my eyes/ I don't get angry/As I know that when I die/ My body will go to ground/ If it transforms itself into dust, red dust/ Dust of my countryside, dust/ Dust, my countryside dust.

A primary reading of this lyrics reveals punctual aspects and at the same time references of the rural context in which the country culture has developed: cattle truck, the cattle, the cowboy and finally the integration between nature and men by means of a reflexion that the “dust in eyes” do not bother for it reminds us that one day we will also become dust, alluding, therefore, to a Christian belief embedded to the catholic formation of the countryman, whose evidence we can attest, for example, on the following excerpt of the biblical book Ecclesiastes:

Remember your Creator in the days of your youth, before the days of trouble come and the years approach when you will say, “I find no pleasure in them” [...] and the dust returns to the ground it came from, and the spirit returns to God who gave it. (Ecclesiastes 12:1,7)

All in all, it is a composition that alludes to the realm of material culture to which the countryman belongs whilst establishing a link to what is transcendent and is also part of this same cultural universe.

A second reading of this lyrics reveals, however, that the centralization of the cattle whose herding provides meaning to the cowboy’s life that, when conducting its work, deals with the material culture while experiences the nature, which makes him think about his human condition. This relation between material culture, interaction with nature and existential reflections, which is often associated to spirituality, is a recurrent combination in one of his most famous compositions of the country music. Mainly, in those songs that have a cowboy as a central figure.

This is a heritage that the country music of this age has left for the future generations of composers and interpreter as we can verify, for example, in the famous song *Tocando em Frente*, which was recorded in the beginning of de nineties by Almir Sater & Renato Teixeira which have also composed it (RIBEIRO, 2006, p. 86), whose excerpt follows below:

Penso Que Cumprir A Vida
Seja Simplesmente
Compreender A Massa,
E Ir Tocando Em Frente.

Como Um Velho Boiadeiro
Levando A Boiada
Eu Vou Trocando Os Dias
Pela longa estrada eu vou, estrada eu sou⁶.

6 I believe that the fulfillment of life is simply/ to Comprehend the march/and moving forward /As an old cowboy/lead the cattle/I leading the days/ Through the long road I will, road I am.

Regarding the *saudosismo transfigurador* of the song *Poeira*, he is hidden and concealed according to what the analysis of José de Souza Martins suggests, which is here referred. Thus, this entire lyrics alludes poetically and idyllically to a professional context (of the cowboy) that found its twilight due to social transformations, which reveals he is absent of the reality of the cowboy that migrated to big cities. This song, therefore, corresponds to a nostalgic anthem of a time in which there was integration and balance among men, its profession, the nature, its spirituality and its consciousness. A past time that is better the actual time characterized by the urban environment and by the break of this balance and previous integration.

Poeira, however, is not the only *música caipira* hit that alludes to the cowboy profession that addresses the *saudosismo transfigurador*. Another example is *Mágoa de Boiadeiro* (Cowboy Sorrow) that will be addressed as follows.

Mágoa de boiadeiro: nostalgic feeling revised

Another composition of the *música caipira* that addresses the cowboy as a central figure of its narrative that was very successful and is as well as found in the “270 biggest *modas* of all time” of José Hamilton Ribeiro (2006, p. 78), was *Mágoa de Boiadeiro*.

Song composed by Nonô Basílio and Índio Vago, this song was recorded by a dual that is almost unknown today (Vadico & Vidoco). Its success, however, was reached by its new recording by Pedro Bento & Zé da Estrada: dual that was on performing concerts until recently throughout Brazil. However, the pinnacle of its fame may have come in 1975 when, by recording Sérgio Reis, the song has become the soundtrack of a movie starred by the interpreter itself. Its lyrics say:

Antigamente nem em sonho existia
tantas pontes sobre os rios nem asfalto nas estradas
A gente usava quatro ou cinco sinueiros
prá trazer o pantaneiro no rodeio da boiada

Mas hoje em dia tudo é muito diferente
o progresso nossa gente nem sequer faz uma idéia
Que entre outros fui peão de boiadeiro
por esse chão brasileiro os heróis da epopéia

Tenho saudade de rever nas corrutelas
as mocinhas nas janelas acenando uma flor
Por tudo isso eu lamento e confesso que
a marcha do progresso é a minha grande dor

Cada jamanta que eu vejo carregada
transportando uma boiada me aperta o coração
E quando eu olho minha tralha pendurada
de tristeza dou risada prá não chorar de paixão

O meu cavalo relinchando pasto a fora
certamente também chora na mais triste solidão
Meu par de esporas, meu chapéu de aba larga
uma bruaca de carga, o meu lenço e o facão

O velho basto, o sinete e o mateiro
o meu laço e o cargueiro, o ginete e o gibão
Ainda resta, a guaiaca sem dinheiro
deste pobre boiadeiro que perdeu a profissão

Não sou poeta, sou apenas um caipira
e o tema que me inspira é a fibra de peão
Quase chorando encolhido nesta mágoa
rabisquei estas palavras e saiu esta canção

Canção que fala da saudade das pousadas
que já fiz com a peonada junto ao fogo de um galpão

Saudade louca de ouvir o som manhoso
de um berrante preguiçoso nos confins do meu sertão⁷.

A first reading of this lyrics leave no doubt regarding the coherence of its parts in relation to the whole, which is summarized by its title: *Mágoa de Boiadeiro* (Cowboy Sorrow). Such sorrow originates from the fact that cowboys, here represented as pioneers of the progress, have no place in the world anymore. Therefore, it is an evident manifestation of the *saudosimo transfigurador* that alludes to a glorious past in opposition to a present that is remarkable for its exclusion and by the lost of dignity, echoing, therefore, the same perspective of the previous song here addressed explicitly.

Cowboy Modas: epic nostalgic feelings

The first part of this article, we present the conception of *saudosismo transfigurador*; as it is part of the sentiment that the countryman from São Paulo state before the transformations. Following a brief presentation of the country music and of the reasons why we have chosen *moda-de-violão*, we demonstrate how this feeling can be verified by two success of the música caipira in general.

Now it is time to verify this nostalgic feeling in the proposed context; that is, the *modas-de-violão* by Tião Carreiro & Pardinho; in particular in those *modas* that bring the cowboy as the protagonist of its narratives.

The cowboy theme, which is present and meaningful in the country music as a whole, is also a common topic in the following *modas-de-violão*. When first listening to the whole set of more than

7 Translation: In the past, not even in dreams it existed/so many bridges over river with no pavement/ We used four or five cattle watchers/ in order to bring the cattle from the Pantanal // But nowadays everything is very different/ the progress, our folks, have no Idea/ of That among other I was a cowboy/ throughout this Brazilian territory, the heroes of the epopee // I miss the little villages/ the ladies at the window waving a flour/ For that all I miss and I admit that/ the journey to progress is my greatest pain // Every truck that I see loaded/ transporting a cattle hurts my heart/And when a see my stuff hung out/ of sadness I laugh in order not to cry of passion // My horse neighing throughout the fields/ certainly also cries in loneliness/ My pair of spurs, my rat of large flaps/ an saddlebag, my lace and my knife // The old saddle, the seal ant the bushman/ my lace and loader, the rider and the gibbon/ still remains, the wallet without money/of this poor cowboy that lost his profession // I am not a poet, I am just a countryman/ and the theme that inspires me is the toughness the cowboy/ Almost weeping shrinking in its sorrow/ a scratched such words and this song came out // Song that talks about how I miss the boarding houses/ that I have composed along with the other cowboys of a barn/ I miss so much the sound/ of a lazy horn in the aloof of the countryside

sixty *modas* that result in a discography of almost forty vinyl in long play format, this show that more than half them have narratives that address the cowboy and cattle themes, as well as other aspects linked to this environment – with special emphases to the bull, that seldom has a proper name and a protagonist role in the narratives.

One of these bull *modas* is dubbed *Boi Soberano* and its narrative tells the story of a herd of bulls led by many cowboys spread out when it entered the city of Barretos in the countryside of São Paulo state. Since the first strophe, it is possible to notice the *saudosismo transfigurador* when the composer refers to a past time when he used to be a cowboy, “he was never sad” and “he was always singing”.

Me alembro e tenho saudade do tempo que vai ficando
Do tempo de boiadeiro que eu vivia viajando
Eu nunca tinha tristeza vivia sempre cantando
Mês e mês cortando estrada no meu cavalo rumando
Sempre lidando com gado, desde a idade de 15 anos
Não me esqueço de um transporte, seiscentos bois cuiabanos
No meio tinha um boi preto por nome de Soberano⁸!

This *moda* was so successful that it originated others, whose narrative allude to its original narrative, such as *Retrato do Boi Soberano* that was recorded by the same duo, Tião Carreiro & Pardinho, in 1968. In addition to them, there were other compositions that originated the original narrative as the *O Chifre do Boi Soberano*, recorded by the duo Cacique & Pajé; and *Laço do Boi Soberano*, recorded by Abel & Caim.

Another *moda-de-violão* that addresses the same cattle theme and was so successful that it led to other *modas* whose narrative referred to the original story was *Ferreirinha*, from which *Companheiro do Ferreirinha* and *Irmão do Ferreirinha* originated. Both recorded by Tião Carreiro & Pardinho, originally between the decades fifties and sixties.

The narrative of the original *moda*, *Ferreirinha*, is centralized in one episode that the narrator is hired, along with a friend *Ferreirinha*, to recapture a bull that had been lost in the fields. Arriving at the place, both

8 Translation: I remember and I miss the time that is left behind/ cowboy times that I lived traveling/ I was never sad, I was always singing/ month after month on the road on my horse on the way/ I have been always gathering cattle, since I was fifteen/ I never forget once with six hundred bulls from Cuiaba/ In the middle there was a black bull called Soberano!

of them have separated in order to research in that grounds that they meet later. However, after some time, *Ferreirinha* did not show up and his friend feels there is something wrong and rides away looking for him.

Following that, his friend finds *Ferreirinha* dead as he had fallen from the horse that he was riding. Aiming at providing his friend a dignifying funeral, he then takes *Ferreirinha*'s body to the nearest town, presenting it to the local authorities. On the way, however, he faces difficulties of this compromise as it ties up his friend's body on his own body since there was only one horse.

The loss of his friend here corresponds in reality to the loss of his own cowboy profession, due to the social transformations that were taking place at that time. It is noticeable, for instance, in the last verses of such *moda-de-viola* when, after this episode, *Ferreirinha*'s friend quits the cowboy life. Thus, this *moda*, which is practically an anthem to real friendship, reveals the *saudosismo transfigurador* of a past time that is full of meaning that was lost forever.

A morte deste rapaz mais do que eu ninguém sentiu
Deixei de lidar com gado minha inclinação sumiu
Quando lembro essa passagem franqueza me dá arrepio
Parece que a friagem das costas ainda não saiu⁹

In the *moda Companheiro do Ferreirinha*, we see the same narrator of the previous *moda* returning to the field in which a friend passed away with the purpose of accomplish the task for which they were hired. Thus, upon the payment of his debt, he dignifies his own name as well as his friend's.

The third and last *moda* of this trilogy was named *Irmão do Ferreirinha*. In it the narrator is the same of the last two *modas* that now, by the end of the narrative, is revealed or referred as *Ferreirinha*'s brother. In the narrative, we also see that the horse that killed *Ferreirinha* was sold for a rodeo circus whose challenge to all cowboys was to ride it. The cowboy that managed to ride would win a prize. The narrator decided then to take the challenge with the purpose to build one headstone to his friend in case he won the prize.

9 Translation: The death of this boy nobody hurts more than I/ I no longer deal with cattle, my vocation damped/ When I remember this passage, really, I get goosebumps/ I seems that the coldness one back hasn't relieved.

Other two *modas* that also talks about the importance of a dignifying death that is honored by other cowboy are *Arreio de Prata* and *Velho Peão*. The first of these *modas* tells the history of a young cowboy that during his first voyage leading the cattle (his graduating voyage), has to encounter a cattle spread out and ends up dying. Equivalent to the narrative of Ferreirinha's *moda*, his fellows provide him a dignifying funeral, burring him with his silver harness that he liked so much and got as a prize as the result of his skills as we can see in the last verses of the *moda*:

O seu Oscar Bernardino, sua alegria acabou
 Pegou o arreio de prata, pro Antonio ele falou
 Esse arreio é do menino, deixe com ele, por favor,
 Na sombra de um anjiqueiro, uma cruzinha fincou
 E na cruz fez um letreiro: aqui jaz um domador
 Que apesar da pouca idade nem um
 peão com ele igualou¹⁰.

The second *moda*, *Velho Peão*, has a narrative that also talks about the dignifying and honored death, which also curiously refers to the *anjiqueiro* as the site to bury someone, as we may verify in the last verses that follow below:

A Deus eu fiz uma prece pedindo pros companheiros
 Que perdoem todas as faltas deste peão, velho estradeiro
 Quando eu partir deste mundo, meu pedido derradeiro
 Desejo ser enterrado na sombra de um anjiqueiro
 Pra ouvir de quando em quando, as boiadas ali passando
 E os gritos dos boiadeiros¹¹

The whole lyrics of this *moda* describe the current life of an old cowboy who is now retired somehow, marked by a contrary condition to the dignity and the honorability of his past. Nowadays, old and ill, he lives

10 Translation: Mister Oscar Bernardino, your happiness is over/he got the silver saddle; he told Antonio/Such saddle belongs to the boy, leave it with him, please/In the shadow of a *anjiqueiro*, a cross remained/and in the cross he made a sign: here is a tamer/That although young no other cowboy is matched.

11 Translation: To God I prayed for my fellows/ That forgive every fault of this cowboy, old road traveler/ When I leave this world, my last wish/I wish to be buried under the shadow of *anjiqueiro*/ In order to listen every once in a while the cowboys there going by/and the shouts of the cowboys.

at one of his son's house as a favor, where he is mistreated by his daughter in law. Thus, even if the past as a cowboy was not that glorious, it is how he appears to the narrator in a clear evidence of *saudosimo transfigurador* as evidenced by the excerpt bellow:

Eu saí lá pro terreiro lembrei nas glórias passadas
 Me vi montado num potro correndo nas invernadas
 Também vi um lenço acenando de alguém que foi minha
 amada
 Que há tempo se despediu pra derradeira morada
 Tive um desgosto medonho, ao ver que tudo era um
 sonho
 E hoje não sou mais nada¹²

Another *moda* that composes the set of cowboy narratives is called *Travessia do Araguaia*, which was recorded by Tião Carreiro & Pardini in 1975. This *moda* presents an old cowboy as the protagonist, who was the leader of a group, whose authority derives from knowledge and from the professional experience. The narrative is centered in one episode in which the cowboy needs to manage the cattle to cross a river full of piranhas e, thus, sacrifice one of the bull that would attract the piranhas, allowing the rest of the cattle go through in good conditions. In the other margin, the method is questioned by another cowboy to whom the old and experienced fellow responds by means of a philosophical support of religious background and, thus, irrefutable in the context of the traditional Christian context:

O ponteiro revoltado disse: que barbaridade,
 sacrificar um boi velho pra que esta crueldade.
 Respondeu o boiadeiro: aprenda esta verdade,
 que Jesus também morreu pra salvar a humanidade¹³

12 Translation: I went out to the yard which reminded me of my glory past/ I saw myself in a colt running through the winter times/ I also saw a sheet waving; it was someone a loved/ That has said good bye for a final home/ I had a tremendous disgust when I saw everything was a dream/ And today I am nothing

13 Translation: An angry indicator said: what an absurd, / sacrificing an old bull; what is the reason of such cruelty/ Answered the cowboy; learn this truth/ that Jesus has also died to save the humanity.

For the dual Tião Carreiro and Pardinho, *modas* centralized in cowboy narratives belong to a tradition that also alludes to the first song that they recorded and that brought them success: *Boiadeiro Punho de Aço*, which also released originally in an album of 78 rotations in 1956, which integrated the long play discography of the dual in 1975.

The protagonist of its narrative is a young cowboy that acquired the knowledge of the profession through his father. Knowledge that never was restricted to the technic, being complemented by moral teachings, as can be seen in the first verses of the lyrics:

Me criei em Araçatuba laçando potro e dando repasso
 Meu velho pai pra lidar com boi desde pequeno guiou
 meus passos
 Meu filho, o mundo é uma estrada cheia de atalho e tanto
 embaraço
 Mas se você for bom no cipó na
 vida nunca terá fracasso¹⁴

Following a *moda* narrative, it says that when one becomes twenty, a young cowboy leaves its parent's house in order to break new ground in the world in a cowboy convoy, receiving the blessing and the orientations of his father who gives him his lace. After a while, following a professional and financial success, the young cowboy goes back home. The deftness developed in his profession, whose knowledge he received by his father, enabled him obtain success and make a living. However, the values that he received along with the lacing technique led him to interrupt his trip back in order to save the life of a cowboy did not know who had fallen into the river and, taken by the water current, would drown. The young cowboy manages to save the cowboy from the current lacing him at his hand; when pulling him out to the margin of the river, he get emotional to see that it was his own father.

In the previous two *modas*, the *saudosismo transfigurador* appears in a very disguised fashion. They do not show any reference to a past that was lost forever. On the contrary, the past is told as if it still is part of the present, as the case of song *Poeira*, addressed previously.

14 Translation: I was raised in Araçatuba, lacing the little horse and checking it / My old father to deal with bull since I was little guided my steps/ My son, the world is a road full of shortcuts and of confusion/ But if you become good at lacing in life, you will never fail.

Other songs: the creation of meaning

As we could attest, all cowboy *modas* addressed in the previous *moda* have a common perspective toward *saudosismo transfigurador*; something that emerges as a counterpoint to a present that is marked by precariousness and by the difficulty to adapt to the urban environment. Such adaptation, as revealed by the analyses of Eunice Durhan (1984), is based in the tentative to conciliate the immediate reality to the images of a vivid past in the rural countryside.

A carreira do migrante rural na cidade se apresenta, portanto, como tentativa de conciliar, dentro de possibilidades limitadas, ideais ocupacionais contraditórios. E a mobilidade ocupacional constitui uma série de tentativas para encontrar soluções mais felizes e que propiciem a realização sempre parcial de um ideal de vida inatingível¹⁵ (DURHAN, 1973, p. 181).

For these migrants, listening to such songs makes them inevitably allude to the past in the countryside and to a sense of joy, even for those that have never been a cowboy could, thus, identify itself with the rural universe of the protagonists of the *modas-de-violão* herein addressed. And although none of them was able to explain the end of it, the fact was known and remembered by songs as, for instance, *Mágoa de Boiadeiro* – herein mentioned. There is, however, two *modas* of the dual that recognize explicitly the end of this era: *Saudosa Vida de Peão* and *Pousada de Boiadeiro*.

Saudosa Vida de Peão is told by a cowboy that remembers that life he used to take conducting the cattle by the state of Mato Grosso. The difficulties and the danger that he encountered in this transport, dealing with the threat of cougar and the losing the control of the cattle, among others, did not prevented him, however, to miss this time and be proud of it, as well as of what he had experienced along with his fellow cowboys, whose professional life was disrupted due to the advent of the “*expressos boiadeiros*”; that is, the transport of cattle by trucks.

Ao deixar o estradão para o meu coração foi um forte
veneno

15 Translation: The carrier of a rural migrant in the city is therefore a tentative to conciliate, within limited possibilities, occupational ideals that are contradictory. And the occupational mobility consists of a series of tries in order to find happier solutions that may provide the accomplishment, which is always biased, of an ideal of intangible life.

Minha rede macia que nela eu dormia até no sereno
 Expressos boiadeiros deixou os pioneiros com a vida
 arrasada
 Acabou-se o berrante, o transporte elegante
 E uma boiada¹⁶.

The *moda Pousada de Boiadeiro*, even though it refers to cowboy in the title, it does say much about it. Instead, its narrative describes a broader social context which led to its end. Every lyric is nostalgic, referring to things that no longer exist and that vanished throughout time: the profession to begin with, as it is noticeable the dismantle of the rural world due to the abandonment of the cowboys boarding house, useless now, not to mention the exodus of parents and friends echoing, thus, a phenomenon experienced by hundreds of people that, in a few years, left the field in the state of São Paulo.

Esse tempo já vai bem distante, tudo, tudo na vida mudou
 O piquete das vacas leiteiras cobriu-se de pasto e por fim
 se acabou
 Os parentes mudaram de rumo e ninguém sabe também
 onde estou
 Despedi-me numa madrugada, seguindo
 do a estrada que Deus me traçou¹⁷

These two *modas-de-violão*, by recognizing explicitly the end of this era, have brought meaning to all other *modas* whose glorious stories are made of memories or transpositions of a past that no longer exist; of a past that has always seem to be superior and more glorious, and that denounces a present marked by precariousness and by the difficulty of integration.

There is, however, a set of *modas-de-violão* of Tião Carreiro & Pardinho, that bring the cowboy as the protagonist of narratives; a set dedi-

16 Translation: When leaving the road was poisonous to my heart/ My soft hammock in which I slept until dawn/ Express cowboys disrupted to lives of the pioneer/ The horn has gone, the elegant transport/ a cattle.

17 Translation: This has already been a long time, everything in life has changed, everything! / The picket of milky cows has been covered by bushes/ All relatives have changed their routes and nobody knows where they are/ I saw goodbye during the night, following the road that god set for me.

cated specifically to the theme of other loving encounters. It is *Sabrina*, *As Três Cuiabanas* and *Boiada Cuiabana*.

The first of these *modas*, *Sabrina*, narrates a platonic love, which happened during the transport of cattle. Even though the encounter happened a long time ago, it still remains in the memory of the cowboy that remembers it whenever he listens to the sound of the horn. Curiously, the same sound brings memories of a nostalgic past to the narrator of the song *Mágoa de Boiadeiro*, which has already been addressed herein.

In *moda-de-viola* called *As Três Cuiabanas*, the young cowboy flirts three young women concurrently that he met in his boss's house, who has been contracting this cattle transport. After this random encounter, the cowboy starts to talk to them while he plans a future meeting. In *moda-de-viola* called *Boiada Cuiabana*, it is no longer a platonic love and becomes real. After a successful flirt, the cowboy brings a new girlfriend that he got to see on the way back to his house in which she becomes his wife.

What do this *modas* change in relation to the *modas* addressed previously? At first place the inclusion of the love theme that operates of a kind of counterpoint to the omnipresence of death that, in the other *modas-de-viola*, it appear explicitly (*Arreio de Prata*, *Ferreirinha*, *Companheiro do Ferreirinha* and *Irmão do Ferreirinha*), as current threat (*Velho Peão*, *Boi Soberano*, *Travessia do Araguaia* and *Boiadeiro Punho de Aço*) or figuratively when treating the death of the cowboy profession (*Pousada de Boiadeiro* and *Saudosa Vida de Peão*).

With regards to the main article, the *saudosimo transfigurador*, *modas-de-viola* with loving themes are coherent with the set of the others; which refers to it in a nostalgic way, the past time of the cowboy profession. However, the *moda Sabrina* reveals an aspect that is also found in another *moda* previously addressed: the tentative to conciliate the values of the country with the values of the capitalism.

This tentative of conciliation of values is also found in *moda-de-viola* called *Boiadeiro Punhos de Aço*, in which it appears very slightly by means of the indication of the professional and financial success that the young cowboy had obtained due to his deftness, discipline and knowledge that he develop in the rural realm. In *moda Sabrina*, however, this tentative of conciliation of values appear explicitly on the flirt of the cowboy with a capitalist.

Era uma garota linda, vinha vindo no volante
 Disse que chamava Sabrina, me respondeu num instante
 Vi que era capitalista, sua fortuna é bastante
 Calcule mais de mil contos só em pedras de brilhante
 Perguntou da onde eu era: sou da firma bandeirante
 Todos os negócios que eu faço minha firma é quem
 garante
 Eu sou o dono da firma, não tenho representante¹⁸

As we can see in this excerpt, the fact that the pretty woman is capitalist has established the dialog with the cowboy that not only is able to identify of signs of richness but also presents itself as some kind of business man, referring to a historical figure which is almost mythological for people from São Paulo from the mid of the XX century: the *bandeirante*, who explored the country as a kind of pioneer of development of the state of São Paulo (ARRUDA, 2001).

It is worth noticing that the tentative to conciliate opposed values was also present in the daily life of a rural migrant that had migrated to the city of São Paulo. It is, thus, another aspect of the painful process of social transformation (DURHAN, 1973, p. 125) to which unfortunately there is no room here to development that belongs to a broader set of analyzes of the relations between society and *modas-de-viola* that I have been developing.

Final Considerations

In this article, based on the suggestions provided by *Cidades Invisíveis* of Ítalo Calvino, I tried to develop a reflection about regarding the thoughts that the countrymen began to develop, while in the cities, of a sight that he still feels to belong emotionally in the rural environment that he had lived. Such reflection, which was accomplished due to one of the most respectful sociological works about the reality of the countryman from São Paulo state – *Os Parceiros do Rio Bonito* of Antônio Candido –, and which also opposes one of the central aspects of this analyzes (*saudosismo transfigurador*) in relation to the *modas* by Tião Carreiro & Pardiniho, one of the most popular duals in the interpretation of the music genre in question.

18 Translation: A beautiful woman was coming behind the steering wheel/ She Said that she was called Sabrina, she answered me immediately/ I saw that she was a capitalist, she is very wealthy/ Roughly two thousand in precious stones/ She asked me where I came from: I am from the company *bandeirante*/ all businesses that I make my company backs up/I am the owner of the company, I have no representative.

The *modas-de-violão* herein analyzed were those whose narrative are centralized in the figure of the cowboy, that is, the rural worker that not only has the deftness on the horse (which means inaccurately country worker), but also worked in the transport of cattle. I did not include, however, all *modas-de-violão* with narratives that refer to this same universe of material culture. If I had included in the current analyzes, we would also see the presence of the *saudosismo transfigurador*, which is present in the majority of the *modas-de-violão* herein addressed; and the tentative of conciliation of traditional values with the modern ones presented in some of them.

Including all these *modas* with close themes, as the ones that have the country workers and of bull in the centers of the narrative, as well as the other *modas* of Tião Carreiro & Pardinho (present mainly in four albums that comprise the best of the dual interpretation of the genre of *modas-de-violão*¹⁹, which are available today on internet) is part of a major plan that we are accomplishing to which this article is part of.

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19 I refer to albums (in *long play format*) called “*Modas-de-violão Classe A*”, whose first volume was recorded in 1974; the second in 1975, the third in 1981, the fourth and last in 1984.

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