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The Music and Flute of Joaquim Antonio Callado A Study of Selected Compositions

Denis Almeida dos Santos

University of Kentucky, denisflute@hotmail.com

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Denis Almeida dos Santos, Student

Dr. Scott Wright, Major Professor

Dr. David Sogin, Director of Graduate Studies
THE MUSIC AND FLUTE OF
JOAQUIM ANTONIO CALLADO
A STUDY OF SELECTED COMPOSITIONS

Dissertation

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Music Arts in the College of Fine Arts At the University of Kentucky

By
Denis Almeida dos Santos
Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Scott Wright, Associate Professor of Clarinet
Lexington, Kentucky

2015

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE MUSIC AND FLUTE OF
JOAQUIM ANTONIO CALLADO
A STUDY OF SELECTED COMPOSITIONS

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a survey of eight selected compositions for flute by the nineteenth-century Brazilian composer and flutist, Joaquim Antonio Callado (1848-1880). The aim of the survey is to identify early structural, melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic elements of the popular Brazilian instrumental genre, called choro, in Callado’s compositions. In addition, this study will investigate the hypothesis of Callado’s use of two different flute models to compose and perform: a nineteenth-century, simple-system, five-keyed wooden flute and the, then, newly invented silver, multi-keyed, Boehm flute. The study will also look for evidence of Callado’s use of both instruments in different stages of his short life.

Joaquim Antonio Callado is considered to be the father of choro. Born in 1848 in Rio de Janeiro, this flutist, teacher, and composer was part of the first generation of choro composers and performers. He was crucial to the formation of this authentic instrumental genre (choro). In fact, Callado is credited as the first person to use the term choro. In the 1870s, he formed the group “choro Carioca” or “choro do Callado.” The pieces performed by the group included European dances, such as polkas and waltzes, as well as Afro-Brazilian music, such as modinhas and lundus. The blending of music from different cultural backgrounds resulted in a well-structured, yet dynamic, unique, and improvisatory style that is the choro.

The period in which the choro emerged coincided with an important time in flute history. In 1847, after intense research, the German flute maker Theobald Boehm (1794-1881) unveiled his revolutionary flute. The instrument had a new mechanism and scale and it was made of different material: metal, which is more stable and durable than the standard wood. Its superior intonation, projection, and fingering mechanism provided a better playing experience. The flute acquired great popularity in Europe and beyond, eventually replacing the pre-Boehm, simple-system flutes in orchestras and conservatories.

Years later, the Boehm flute arrived in Brazil through the hands of Mathieu Andre Reichert (1830-1880), a Belgian flutist who traveled to the country in 1859 and adopted it as his own, becoming one of the pillars of the Brazilian flute school, along with Joaquim Callado. There is no proven evidence, however, that Callado actually played a Boehm flute. From a few historical accounts, it is known that he performed on a pre-Boehm wooden instrument. But through the analysis of his music, one can speculate that Callado did indeed compose some of his pieces with the Boehm flute in mind.

This study presents significant and relevant information for
performers of Brazilian music, as well as flute teachers who seek to understand the history of the evolution of the style and the role of the flute in the *choro*. This document will include a brief history of the *choro*, a short biography of Joaquim Antonio Callado, a survey of eight selected compositions, and a conclusion. It will also include two appendices: Appendix I will briefly describe the history of the flute from ancient times until the Boehm flute. Appendix II will provide a complete list of Callado’s compositions in alphabetical order; the list will contain the titles and the style in which the pieces were composed.

KEYWORDS: Joaquim Antonio Callado, Flute in *choro*, *choro* Music.

Denis Almeida dos Santos
August 29th, 2015
THE MUSIC AND FLUTE OF
JOAQUIM ANTONIO CALLADO
A STUDY OF SELECTED COMPOSITIONS

By

Denis Almeida dos Santos

Dr. Scott Wright

Dr. David Sogin

11/18/2015
To my dearest Madalena Maria dos Santos (in memoriam),
Thank you for twenty five years of unconditional love, support and care. We will meet again one day.
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First and foremost, I’m thankful for the one who gave me life, my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, from whom all blessings flow and without whom all endeavors are futile. I thank Him for the gift of music and for allowing me to serve Him with my talents.

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To my family, thank you for your support. To my wonderful children, Sophia and Nicholas, for giving me reason to move forward despite the challenges. Finally to my wife Ana Almeida, for believing, encouraging and loving me through this journey, I love you more than words can tell.
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Chapter I: Introduction

Brazil is an extraordinarily rich and diverse country. Its playful, colorful, and unique music, with innumerous styles, genres, and rhythms, has captivated audiences all around the world.

Such diversity is primarily due to the fact that the country has been, throughout its history, a “melting pot” of Indigenous, European and African cultures.¹ Brazilians became familiar with European music mainly through Portugal. The European country colonized Brazil in the beginning of the 16th century. The colonizers brought with them slaves from the west coast of Africa who worked in the fields and house farms². Inevitably, African music made its way into Brazilian culture, enriching it with its intricate, syncopated, and sensual rhythms.³

Although very succinct, the statements above provide a general picture of the birth of Brazilian music. The European and African use of rhythm, melody, and harmony served as the foundation for several genres and styles of Brazilian music. In fact, acclaimed Brazilian styles

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such as *bossa nova*, *samba* and even *choro (chorinho)*\(^4\), would not exist if it were not for the influences of European and African music.

**Purpose of the Study**

This dissertation will focus its attention on the last style mentioned above. *Choro* is the first authentic instrumental Brazilian urban style from Rio de Janeiro, “brewed” in deep traditional classical European harmonic and formal foundation, fused with syncopated African rhythms. Yet, despite such traditional harmonic and formal structures, *choro* carries a great amount of freedom and improvisation.\(^5\)

Joaquim Antonio Callado (1848-1880) is considered the father of *choro*. He was fundamental to the development of the style due to his creativity as a composer and virtuosity as a performer. He helped craft elements of the style such instrumentation, form, melody, rhythm and even harmony.

This document will provide a study of eight selected compositions for flute in *choro* style by Callado. The analysis of these selected compositions will trace the structural, melodic, harmonic and

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\(^4\) An affectionate way Brazilians use to call *choro*, it means “little cry” or “little lament”.

rhythmic language of choro. It will also shed light on the issue regarding the instrument Callado used to compose these pieces. Two instruments were available at the time, the nineteenth-century wooden, simple-system flute, and a newly-invented flute developed by the German flute maker Theobald Boehm (1794-1881). The analysis of the pieces will aim to identify whether Callado thought of one or the other, or perhaps both, when composing each piece.

**Need for the Study**

Although considered the father of choro, Joaquim Callado is relatively unknown to the Brazilian music community in general, much less musicians around the world. His name is generally only recognized in the Brazilian choro circles. Many of his works for flute remain unpublished, despite the influence he had on generations of composers and performers. Some of Callado’s music was published by Global Choro Music, a publishing house located in Fremont, CA, as part of an effort to make choro music known worldwide. The songbook made available by Global Choro Music is entitled *Classics of the Brazilian Choro: Joaquim Antonio Callado.* Some of the pieces published in this book will be used in the analysis portion of this document.

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Callado’s significance upon *choro* is tremendous, not only because he is regarded as one of the creators of the style, but also because he is responsible for establishing the flute as the most popular melodic instrument in *choro*. On a larger scale, Callado’s importance to the development of instrumental music in Brazil resides in the fact that he, together with the Belgian flutist Mathieu André Reichert (1830-1880), pioneered the school of flute playing in Brazil.

There is also a fundamental characteristic of Callado’s compositions for flute that has yet to be addressed in the available literature. Although he had already been exposed Boehm’s new system of flute construction, Callado often preferred to perform on the wooden pre-Boehm instruments, more specifically a five-keyed ebony flute, referred to as a simple-system flute.

Considering this fact, it is important to understand to what extent Callado’s use of a pre-Boehm instrument influenced the approach he took when composing *choro*. It is also important to

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recognize that, by analyzing some of Callado’s work, one can conclude that he might have eventually composed for the Boehm instrument.

By studying selected works for flute by Callado, researchers and performers will better understand the rise and development of the Brazilian *choro*. Through his music, flutists will also discover the importance of the flute for the *choro* and how the Boehm flute might have shaped the *choro* music that is still performed today.

**Explanation of the Process**

The document provided a brief history of the *choro*, and the flute in *choro* as well as a short biography of Callado. Research material available such as books, articles and other documents such as dissertations and online material was used to compile the information for the topics above.

This dissertation provided a study of eight selected flute compositions by Antonio Joaquim Callado. The analysis of the works identified early musical elements of the *choro* style. Elements such as form, melody, rhythm, harmony as well as stylistic influences, were taken into consideration in the analysis.

The study also investigated Callado’s use of both the simple-system flute and the Boehm flute when composing. Important
characteristics such as key signature, level of difficulty, range as well as fingering helped to identify Callado’s choice of instrument in each piece. The eight pieces were selected according to their relevance in Callado’s career, available date of composition, key signature in which they were composed, and their importance to the development of the style.

Related Literature

There are some references to Callado in books, articles, encyclopedias as well as other material related with the history of choro. Books such as Choro: A Social History of a Brazilian Popular Music, written by Tamara Elena Livingston –Isenhour and Thomas George Caracas Garcia, 11 were used as research material in this dissertation. The book provides an extensive historical background of choro as well as a biographical reference to Callado. Another relevant material researched was the songbook compiled by Global Choro Music, entitled Classics of the Brazilian Choro (You are the soloist): Joaquim Callado, which provided printed scores of eight of Callado’s compositions, along with a playback CD, with tracks recorded by a choro ensemble. The songbook also provides a short chronological biography of the composer along with a short biography. The “Instituto

11 Isenhour and Garcia, Choro.
Casa do Choro\textsuperscript{12} has compiled all but a few original manuscripts of Callado’s music and catalogued them online, which was important for the analysis of Callado’s compositions.

The book \textit{Joaquim Callado: O Pai do Choro}\textsuperscript{13} written by André Diniz, provided a more extensive and detailed biographical description of Callado’s life as well as his contribution to the creation of the \textit{choro} style. According to Diniz, his book is still the only material written exclusively about Callado. In it, his focus was to provide an historical account of the musician’s life and the atmosphere in which the \textit{choro} was developed.\textsuperscript{14}

Other documents were also fundamental in the process of writing of this dissertation. A masters dissertation written by Ruth M. “Sunni” Witmer entitled “Popular Virtuosity: The Role of the Flute and Flutists in Brazil Choro,”\textsuperscript{15} provided an excellent detailed picture of the importance of flute in \textit{choro}, while also highlighting important \textit{choro} flutists from both the past and the present.

Although relevant to the discussion of Callado’s importance to \textit{choro}, the materials mentioned above do not address in a detailed


\textsuperscript{13} Diniz, \textit{Joaquim Callado}.

\textsuperscript{14} André Diniz, telephone interview with author, January 27, 2015.

\textsuperscript{15} “Sunni”, “Popular Virtuosity.”
manner, through the analysis of the composer’s work, his influence to
the development of choro. To the best of this author’s knowledge,
there is also no academic research available about Callado’s use of
pre-Boehm and Boehm instruments.

Design and Outline of the Document

The document is divided into four main chapters, with
subchapters outlining important topics. Chapter one, the introduction,
contains the following sections: purpose of the study, need for study
and explanation of the process and design and outline of the
document.

The second chapter includes an overview of the birth of the
choro, tracing the historical background of the genre. The chapter was
divided into three major subchapters entitled: “The Birth of Choro – A
Brief History,” “History of the Flute in Brazil: Historical Background of
the Instrument in Brazil and How it Became Chorões’ Favorite,” and
“The Flute in Choro: a Brief Historical Background.”

The first subchapter describes the appearance of choro at the
arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Brazil in the early 1800s’. The
Portuguese brought many direct European musical influences to Brazil.
They also indirectly brought the African musical culture through slaves.
Such influences greatly contributed to the development of *choro* as a style.\(^\text{16}\)

A section presents the background of the most influential European and Afro-Brazilian dances to *choro*. The chapter also provides an historical account of the establishment of *choro* as a genre, from its beginnings as a social gathering of musicians, amateur and professionals, to its establishment as an authentic Brazilian instrumental genre. A third section describes the format of the unique ensemble that performs the *choro*. It lays out the role of each instrument in the *choro* ensemble which is also called “regionais do choro.”

The second subchapter, entitled “History of the Flute in Brazil: A Historical Background of the Instrument in Brazil and How it Became Chorões’ Favorite” provides a brief account of the history of the flute in colonial Brazil, as well as its use in the early *choro*.

A brief historical overview of the flute in *choro* as well as important musical figures of the early *choro* is discussed in a section entitled “Flute in Choro.” This is followed by a section entitled “The Boehm Flute in Brazil.” This section describes the arrival of the new and revolutionary Boehm flute on the Brazilian musical scene.

\(^{16}\) Coelho and Koidin, “The Brazilian Choro,” 36.
The third chapter, entitled “Joaquim Antonio Callado: His Wooden Flute and Golden Music, a Brief Biography,” begins with a short biography of Callado, followed by a description of his instruments, most notably the five-keyed, simple-system, pre-Boehm wooden flutes.

A subchapter entitled, “Callado, the Last Wooden Flute Player” highlights the transition from the pre-Boehm to the Boehm flute by Brazilian flutists, which occurred simultaneously with the development of *choro*. This chapter identifies three notable *choro* flutists who came immediately after Callado: Agenor Bens (1870-1950), Pattápio Silva (1880-1907) and Alfredo da Rocha Viana, Jr. (Pixinguinha) (1897-1973). The chapter contains historical pictures of all three musicians holding Boehm instruments. The pictures suggest that, by then, the Boehm flute was already well established in Brazil.

By learning the historical background of both the style and the history of the instrument in nineteenth-century Brazil, one will understand the importance of the flute in *choro* music and the changes that it went through as it shaped the *choro* style as a whole. The Boehm flute was crucial for the *choro* because it provided instrumentalists with a more mechanically fluid instrument, facilitating the composition and performance of more technically challenging melodies.
The final chapter highlights eight important compositions of Joaquim Antonio Callado in a subchapter entitled “Callado’s Music – A Survey of Selected Pieces.” This section traces his evolution as a choro composer and investigates his use of the pre-Boehm and possibly the Boehm flute when composing.

The analysis mainly focuses on melodic characteristics, but it also takes into consideration the rhythmic and harmonic elements of each piece when such elements prove to be relevant. Melodic qualities such as intervals, fingerings (for the pre-Boehm and Boehm instrument), articulations, and range are addressed in order to identify early elements of choro as well as the use of either the pre-Boehm or the Boehm instrument.

The following eight works were selected for the analysis:
"Carnaval (1867)," "Querida por Todos" (Cherished by Everybody) (1869), "Linguagem do Coração" (Language of the Heart) (1872), "Saudade do Cais da Gloria" (Missing Gloria’s Port) (1972), "Lundu Característico (1873),” "Cruzes Minha Prima!!!” (Gosh my Cousin!!!(1875), "A Flor Amorosa” (The Loving Flower) (1880), and "Improviso (N/A).“ The music was selected according to the following criteria: Chronology, the availability of an original manuscript or first printing, the key signature in which they were composed, the relevance to the
study of performance, and the influences and use of either pre-Boehm or Boehm flutes.

The fourth chapter presents a conclusion and is followed by a bibliography and two appendices. The first Appendix provides a brief history of the flute from ancient times until the invention of the Boehm flute. This Appendix provides historical support for a broader understanding of the flute’s evolution in the context of its history in Brazil. The second Appendix provides a list of all of Callado’s music along with the style in which they were composed.
Chapter II: The Birth of Choro, a Brief History

The meaning of the word *choro* is somewhat deceiving. The term is translated as "to cry or to weep," which has very little resemblance to the lively, energetic music typical of *choro* performers. The historian José Ramos Tinhórao associates the term with the common descending *weeping* scalar motion created by the bass line performed by the *choro* guitarist.\(^\text{17}\) Others, such as Jacques Raimundo, trace the roots of the word to African-influenced parties that took place on farms and featured festive dancing and singing. Such gatherings were called "Xolo."\(^\text{18}\)

Among the speculative definitions of *choro* crafted throughout the years by historians and musicians, one given by historian Ary Vasconcelos (1926-2003) seems to be more convincing. Vasconcelos stated that the word derives from "choromeleiros," which was a type of folk oboe from Spain and Portugal, also known as choromela, charamel, charamelinha, charamita and charumbela. Vasconcelos further describes the "choromeleiros" as a musical fraternity from the colonial period in Brazil that included not only the choromela, but other


instruments, as well.\textsuperscript{19} Eventually, the “choromeleiros” became known as “chorões,” this word was more closely related with the word \textit{choro}.

The earliest composers of this music were deeply influenced by European dances, such as \textit{waltzes}, \textit{polkas} and sentimental songs, brought largely by colonizers. Much of that musical and cultural influence began when Pedro Alvarez Cabral (1467-1520) and his fleet of thirteen vessels in search of India, arrived in Brazil in 1500.\textsuperscript{20} But perhaps, the most critical period of cultural influence during colonial times in Brazil took place when the Portuguese Royal family arrived in the colony in 1808. The Portuguese royal court, facing the eminent invasion by Napoleon’s troops, fled and found refuge in, by then, its most prosperous colony.\textsuperscript{21}

The arrival of the royal family, in fact, triggered significant cultural, economic and social changes; they brought with them European cultural sophistication and musical practices, styles and genre that would deeply influence Brazilian classical and popular music. Such cultural practices would naturally leave, years later, its marks in the development and popularization of choro.

\textit{In Brazil, the interest for European music begun with the arrival of D. João and his vast and extravagant court in Rio.... One of the first court decrees was to open the Brazilian ports to friendly nations. . . .}

\textsuperscript{19} Isenhour and Garcia, \textit{Choro}, 60.
\textsuperscript{20} Boris Fausto, \textit{História do Brasil} (Maceió, Brazil: EDUSP), 16. (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 25.
Living in the tropic, the Portuguese court wanted to bring to "tupiniquim" lands some of the benefits it enjoyed in Europe. The taste for music was a corollary of such thought. . . . The opening of the naval ports allowed for the popularization of pianos and its use as a primordial element in the construction of our musical language.

Structurally, *choro* is a mixture of European urban music and dances, with popular and traditional Brazilian music, dances, and rhythms, heavily influenced by African culture. The merging of different styles resulted in this complex and fascinating music.

The Europeans gave the *choro* its formal and harmonic structure, perhaps because of the fact that the early *choro* composers and performers aimed to mirror the European dances, which were performed by a solo singer/player, accompanied by a small ensemble using traditional chord progressions. The compositions were often in binary or ternary form with either repetitions or using the five-part rondo form (ABACA). Popular Brazilian dances, such as *lundu*, *quadrilha*, *modinha*, and *maxixe* (*tango brasileiro*) were also very influential in crafting the *choro*. This Brazilian dances however, can be traced back to European art songs and African rhythms. Such historical background defines one of the most interesting characteristics of the Brazilian music and its rich, diverse and complex roots.

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22 Popular term for the word “Brazilian.”
23 Diniz, *Joaquim Callado*, 287. (translated by author)
24 Fernandes and Silva, “Lundu Caracteristico,” 124. (translated by author)
Although resulting from a mixture of different European and African elements, historians such as Paulo Castagna argue that the *Lundu*, or *instrumental lundu*, is regarded as the oldest authentic dance created on Brazilian soil, becoming popular among all levels of society. It borrowed its name from the *Lundum or Landum* (a popular African dance) and together with the *batuque*, a percussive dance practiced by Afro-Brazilians on farms in the late 18th century, dominated the party circles of Brazil.\(^{26}\)

*In the mid eighteenth century, a dance which would be known as a national dance in the upcoming century was established in Brazil. Named lundu, londu, landu, landum, or lundum, this type of music appears to have been the oldest Brazilian dance to which we have printed musical examples.*\(^{27}\)

The *lundu* has Iberian origins. Through the analysis of early examples of *lundu* melodies, historians detected elements of Spanish and Portuguese dances, such the *fandango* and the *bolero*.

*Besides the social diffusion, [the historian] Rugendas also describes the direct relations between the lundu and certain Iberian dances (Portuguese or Spanish) such as the fandango and the bolero, which utilized castanets and finger snapping, accompanied by violas (guitars), even arguing that the Iberian versions were derivations of the lundu.*\(^{28}\)

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\(^{26}\) Paulo Castagna, “A Modinha e o Lundu nos Séculos XVIII e XIX,” in *Apostila do Curso de História da Música Brasileira* (São Paulo: Instituto de Artes, UNESP, 2004), 12. (translated by author)

\(^{27}\) Ibid., 13.

\(^{28}\) Ibid.
Although not invented in Brazil, the *quadrilha* or *quadrille*, when introduced in the beginning of the nineteenth century, was quickly embraced by the Brazilian society, becoming a popular dance in ballrooms and parties throughout the country. The dance has its origins in Normandy and England, but it was in the 18th Century France, that the style enjoyed a wider popularity.²⁹ Surprisingly, it was also popular in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Considered the precursor of the American *square-dance*, the *quadrilha* involves a set of four couples; together, they form a square, dancing only with each other.³⁰ Often containing either five or six parts, the music is normally composed in 6/8 or 2/4 meter and each part is considered a full composition.

In Brazil, the *quadrilha* evolved into a larger form. It was incorporated into the culture of country people and, through the years, gained musical, social, and cultural elements, using instruments and traditional native dances. It was also especially popular in rural areas of the country. The *quadrilha* grew into a celebration of folkloric,

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culinary, musical, and artistic character that is now part of an annual festival held in the month of June in many parts of the country.\footnote{Paulo Castagna, "A Música Urbana de Salão no Século XIX," Apostila do Curso de História da Música Brasileira (São Paulo: Instituto de Artes UNESP, 2004), 3. (translated by author)}

The \textit{modinha} also has its roots in Brazilian and Portuguese lands. It emerged during the second-half of the eighteenth century and is tied to the ascension of the European bourgeoisie and the shifting in musical taste of the nobles, who became interested in a lighter, more entertaining music often performed in small, informal, and intimate gatherings. Domingo Caldas Barbosa (1739-1800), a Brazilian poet and musician of the Colonial Brazilian period, is credited with popularizing the style in the Portuguese court of the eighteenth century. The word itself is a diminutive of the word \textit{moda}, meaning "style."\footnote{Castagna, “A Modinha,” 1-2. (translated by author)} The Brazilian variant of the style can be distinguished from the Portuguese by the use of the guitar instead of the keyboard.

As a style, \textit{modinha} can be labeled as a sentimental song that was commonly described as music composed by academic, classical composers, often with elaborate harmonic and poetic structure. The melody in this style has ties to the operatic melodies from Italy, Spain, and Austria, found in the presence of elaborate ornaments, parallel thirds and sixths, and virtuosic passages.
In this phase [of the Portuguese society] salon music and songs developed a special function...they united music with poetry.... Songs with one or more voices, sung in local idioms and accompanied by a harmonic instrument. In Italy, the canzonetta took place, in Spain, the seguidilla, in France, the ariette, in Austria and Germany, the Lied, and in Portugal the modinha. All these genres and songs derived from one theatrical singing style ... In Portugal, there are sufficient reasons to believe that the structural melody of modinhas was derived from operatic melodies adapted to local idioms and domestic practices. Therefore, as in the Opera melodies of the time, we see the presence of duos in parallel thirds and sixths, ornamented vocal lines and melodies rich in short rhythmic figures and fast passages.33

In Brazil, the modinha branched into two different sub-styles. Although similar in their structural and improvisational character, each had a distinct character and instrumentation and were targeted to different groups. One was more elaborate, usually performed in salons using a keyboard as an accompaniment instrument, and preferred by the Brazilian upper class. The other, more simple and sentimental, was sung by street singers and became popular among the lower class.34

The modinha de rua (street modinha), as it was known, consisted of a simple melody accompanied by guitar. This instrumentation is one of the characteristics transferred from the modinha to choro. Structurally, the modinha is commonly written in a sectional form: either a ternary

33 Ibid., 2.
34 Isenhour and Garcia, A Social History, 23.
form (ABA), a rondo form, or a simple strophic form (verse and refrain).\textsuperscript{35}

The \textit{maxixe} is probably the most controversial of all the dances that are considered to have influenced \textit{choro}. Its sensual character provoked outrage amongst the members of the high society, who often called it vulgar and lascivious. According to Isenhour and Garcia, \textit{maxixe} is “a fast paced couple’s dance in which the dancers’ bodies are pressed together and the legs are often intertwined, similar to the contemporary \textit{lambada}. Some believe the \textit{maxixe} to be the link in the stylistic continuum between the old \textit{lundu} dance and the modern urban \textit{samba}. \textsuperscript{36}

Tinhorão argues that the \textit{maxixe} was born out of the need of musicians to keep up with the fast pace that dancers wanted to impose on the \textit{polkas}. He wrote: “Maxixe was born as \textit{chorões} who accompanied the dance naturally adapted the rhythms of the \textit{polka} to include the Afro-Brazilian rhythm to better support the movements of the dances.”\textsuperscript{37} Tinhorão also points out that the dance was the first true contribution of the lower class to genuine Brazilian music.

Structurally, the \textit{maxixe} is very similar to the \textit{polka}, rhythmically similar to the \textit{habanera}. It emerged on the Brazilian musical scene in

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{36} Isenhour and Garcia, \textit{O Choro}, 30.
\textsuperscript{37} “Sunni,” “Popular Virtuosity,” 56.
the late 1870s. Its name can be related to a popular fruit commonly used in Brazilian dishes, but some argue that it has connections with the fact that the male, or the “macho,” is the one who leads the steps in the dance, hence the name maxixe (mākˈSHēSHə).

Despite its controversy, the dance became very popular among musicians and society in general. Interestingly, when performed in salons and high society parties, maxixe was renamed tango brasileiro, in order to mask and minimize its true character. Such practice was very common and shows the awareness of musicians and performers to high-society’s prejudice against the poor.38

**Choro as a Genre**

The history of one of the most traditional and iconic instrumental genres of the rich Brazilian music began in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Choro, which nowadays can be described as a genre, a style, or even an instrumental ensemble, begun primarily as a social gathering of amateur and professional musicians.39 Its birth took place in informal meetings, where groups of musicians would gather to play polkas, quadrilhas, waltzes, lundus, maxixes, modinhas among other genres.

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38 Isenhour and Garcia, *Choro*, 36.
39 Ibid., 3.
Choro is credited as being the first genre of genuine urban Brazilian music. Most of the first choro players were amateurs, coming from the middle class, who worked either for the government, national post office, or even military bands. The musicians would gather at the end of the day and craft the style “by ear.” There was a will to create, explore and diversify the established music of the time. In Rio de Janeiro, the early choro players were praised for their improvisational and technical skills. The musician and writer Alexandre Gonçalves Pinto (1870-1940), in a book entitled O Choro, written in 1936, praised the first generation of chorões, among them, Antonio Joaquim Callado:

...choro has not lost its prestige, even though today’s choro is no match for the [choros of the] old days,’ the true choro consisted of flute, guitars and cavaquinhos...In that time there were excellent musicians, who till this day are referred as comets that only pass every one hundred years.

Chorões were and still are bohemians at heart. They would often play in “botecos” (neighborhood bars), popular parties, weddings, birthdays and religious events, but could also be seen in the aristocrat’s ballroom dances and even in the imperial elite courts.

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40 Coelho and Koidin, “Brazilian Choro,” 37.
41 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 190. (translated by author)
42 A small four-stringed guitar, very similar to the Hawaiian ukulele.
43 Alexandre Gonçalves Pinto, O Choro (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1936), 11. (translated by author)
44 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 164. (translated by author)
Virtuosity and improvisation were characteristics of *choro*, present since the beginning of the style, due to the fact that *choro* was, essentially, born in an informal environment. Such a casual atmosphere in which the music was performed, favored the interaction between musicians who often "provoked" each other with subtle, unexpected melodic and rhythmic changes, and entertained each other and the public. Musicians refer to this interaction as `malicia`.45

The tradition of “playing-by-ear” allowed performers to not only improvise on top of the melodic line but also add their own rhythmic, harmonic, and melodic ideas to the tune.46 Since its origins, *choro* performers were expected to improvise using the melody as a reference. The improvisatory character of the *choro* is described as “conversational,” with players going back and forth, interacting with one another.47 Accompanists also frequently interact, adding improvisatory elements to their playing.48 As a result, *choro* became a well-structured, yet spontaneous style, crafted in a unique, fresh, and authentic manner.

47 Ibid., 3.
48 Ibid., 44.
Sociologically, the movement of what would be become *choro* emerged in a very unique period of Brazilian history. Society in the late nineteenth century was rapidly changing in Brazil’s capital, Rio de Janeiro.49 The capital began to prosper, largely due to economic development, the rise of industries, and the growth of the government during the mid-1800s. The population grew significantly and with it, the need for entertainment. As Diniz notices:

> Everyone wanted an opportunity to work in the imperial capital, in order to run away from small provincial cities and the country. They were, above all, freed black man after 1888 and runaway slaves before then. Rio became full of artists who ended up living in unhealthy and dirty places, joining music bands and performing in soirees and popular ballrooms.50

It was in the popular, informal parties of the mid 1800s’, often ostracized by the high society, where *choro* took its unique improvisatory form. Such events could, when there was enough food and drinks, last for many hours or even days and the musicians made sure that the guests were entertained by showing off their skills as performers and improvisers.51 By the 1930’s and 40’s, the style is marked by an even more improvisatory and virtuosic character with performers such as Waldir Azevedo (1923-1980) and Alfredo da Costa

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49 Rio was the capital of Brazil until 1960. Today, the capital is Brasilia.
50 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 191. (translated by author)
51 Pinto, *O Choro*, 17. (translated by author)
Vianna Junior (Pixinguinha) (1897-1973) taking *choro* to new heights of craftsmanship and popularity.\(^{52}\)

The example on Figure 2.0 represents how colorfully and creatively *choro* players could twist the melody in a tune. Such practice would highlight the performer’s creativity and technical abilities. The excerpt was taken from the *choro A Flor Amorosa* by Callado and the transcription is from a performance by Altamiro Carrillo (1924-2012), an icon of the twentieth century *choro*. Carrilho is regarded as one of the most recognized and influential figures not only in *choro*, but in Brazilian instrumental music in general.\(^{53}\)

Figure 2.0: *A Flor Amorosa*, mm. 1-8.

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\(^{52}\) Isenhour and Garcia, *Choro*, 93.

\(^{53}\) Ibid., 125.
The original melody is transposed one octave higher in Altamiro’s version, a common practice in *choro* performance. In fact, it is almost expected that the melody will always be played in the second and third octaves, despite how it is written. Such practice facilitates sound projection, allowing the flute to soar above the other instruments.

Altamiro also used a diminution of the melody in the first measure, underlining one of the trademarks of the melodic line in *choro*: its virtuosity. Fast arpeggiated figures (mm. 4-6) are also part of the vocabulary of *choro* players and are commonly used in order to embellish the tune and highlight the harmony. Other features such as flutter-tonguing and double notes are also common.

*Choro Ensemble*

*In early choro ensembles, the violões [guitars] played the bass and harmony, the cavaquinho played the harmonic/rhythmic pattern, and the flute played the solo melody. These three instruments, collectively referred to as the terno, or pau e corda (wood and

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54 A video recording of this piece, performed by Altamiro Carrilho can be found on youtube at: Flor Amorosa (Callado) - Altamiro Carrilho & Regional. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8833NaZYhVI, (accessed April 30, 2015).

55 “Flutter tonguing is also called Flatterzunge, coupe de lange roulé, tremolo dental, en roulant la langue, tremolo avec la langue, tremolo roulé, vibrato lingual, vibrando, colpo di lingua, frulato, frullante, rullato, tremolo. The technique requires the player to roll the tip of the tongue against the roof of the mouth as in the sound B-r-r-r-r, creating a rapid tremolo. There is also an alternative technique where the player performer a guttural R, same as is he or she is gargling. This technique, although not technically a flutter, is normally used by those who cannot produce a true flutter.” Nancy Toff, *The Flute Book: A Complete Guide for Students and Performers*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 120.
In terms of instrumentation, the core of the *choro* ensemble today includes a solo instrument, a bass instrument (often a guitar), a harmonic instrument and a rhythmic instrument. The solo instrument performs the melodic line. Often, the flute took this role in the early stages of the style, although the clarinet, and eventually, the mandolin and saxophone were also frequently used. The *bandolim*, an instrument very similar to the mandolin but with a flat back, was also incorporated to the *choro* ensemble as a solo instrument throughout the years.

*The choro ensemble is traditionally formed of one or more solo instruments (flute, mandolin, clarinet, or saxophone) and the cavaquinho, guitars, and pandeiro as accompaniment instruments.*

The bass line was played by the *violão* (guitar), which began as a traditional six-stringed instrument, but later was modified with the addition of a seventh, lower string, often tuned in B or C. The *choro* guitarist would be in charge of the *bordão* or *baixaria*, a contrapuntal bass line that interacted with the melody, often creating an intricate

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56 “Literally wood and string, referring to the combination of wooden flutes and plucked string instrumennts, which were the basis for the early choro ensemble.” Isenhour-Garcia, *O Choro*, 26.
57 “Suni,” “Popular Virtuosity,” 40
58 Ibid., 39.
59 Dalarossa, *Classics of Brazilian Choro*, 8.
and complex dialogue. Joaquim Callado is credited to be the first composer to introduce and require guitar players to play the “continuo” or bass line to the pieces.

As Ruth “Sunni” Witmer points out, such requirement changed not only the way instruments were presented in the group but also the style of the music itself. The guitar took a contrapuntal bass role, as opposed to a harmonic role. The player was now required to create accompaniment bass lines that would not only provide support to the melody, but also frequently interact with the soloist, creating a constant and evolving dialogue between the performers within the group.  

The role of the harmonic instrument was left for the cavaquinho. It carries a vital role in crafting the choro’s unmistakable style. By providing the harmony, it freed the guitar player to create a more ornamented bass line. At the same time, it provided a flowing and rhythmically intricate chordal progression. Chorões refer to the cavaquinho’s role as “o centro” or “the center;” in recognition of its fundamental part in choro playing.

The rhythm in the choro ensemble is maintained, essentially, by all of the instrumentalists in the group. This is perhaps why the

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60 Ibid., 66.
61 Isenhour and Garcia, O Choro, 5.
62 Ibid., 5.
*pandeiro*, a percussion instrument in *choro*, was only introduced later (around 1910) by the musician João da Baiana (1887-1974).\(^{63}\) The *pandeiro* has a small circular frame covered by a drumhead, with tension that is created by a rim with metal jingles very similar to the tambourine, but a bit larger and with a “dryer” sound. Its role is often to keep the sixteenth-note rhythmic line constant, with occasional syncopations and breaks sometimes called “quebradas.” The instrument fit perfectly into informal and “portable” character of the “rodas de choro” (*choro* circles).\(^{64}\)

The following example is a common *pandeiro* pattern found in *choro*. The letters represent the tones one would use for each note (*m* – muffled, *t* – tone, *o* – open). The first sixteenth-note of the grouping is always played with the player’s thumb hitting the middle of the drumhead, the muffled (*m*) sound is generally produced by muting the back of the drumhead with the index and middle finger of the hand that is holding the instrument, the tone (*t*) is produced when the player successively hits the drumhead with the tip of the fingers and the bottom of the hand. The open tone is similar to the muffled tone, except that the player releases the back of the drumhead to produce a more resounding sound.


\(^{64}\) Name given to informal performances and gatherings of chorões usually in bars, houses and other locations.
Such instrumentation, along with the way the music itself was performed, created the authentic and popular *choro*. The authors Marilynn Mair (n.d.) and Paulo Sá (n.d.) describe precisely the atmosphere of the “roda de choro” by saying:

*Although choro can be played in concert or recorded by bands, its true context is the ‘roda’ or session that involves a more spontaneous approach to the music. ‘Rodas’ can be presented by one group that meets regularly to play at a club or park or fair; and often invites guests to sit for 2 or 3 tunes. These ‘rodas’ usually have 5-6 players that function as an informal band. There are also ‘rodas’, usually directed by one person, where players simply show up and play. These ‘rodas’ vary dramatically in the number of players and the distribution of instruments. But, in either case, a certain etiquette remains in effect. Musicians sit in a circle, sometimes around a table, with the ‘kitchen’ grouped together: A choro tune is only played once in the course of the ‘roda,’ and soloists take turns suggesting what choro to play.*

In the center of the “roda de choro” lies the figure of the *choro* performer, commonly known as chorão. The irreverent and casual character of the first chorões helped form the stereotype often

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65 “The kitchen” is the nickname given to the foundation of the ensemble, which is the bass and the drums or percussion.
associated with musicians in Brazil throughout history: the “malandro” (rascal) or “brejeiro” (saucy or naughty) laidback, party-lover, creative, and almost mythological figure. Such identity became the very translation of Brazilian popular music.

The brejeiro (saucy or naughty) in Brazilian musicality it’s a joker, a player, he differs from the scherzando, because [he] assumes a more malicious and defiant character, less childish and innocent one. The figure of the ‘rascal’ in Brazilian ‘carioca’ society, in general, alludes to such topic: The rascal who ‘ginga com os pés’ (sways with his feet), is smart and competent (in swaying), defiant (Who can catch me?).

Choro attracted fans all across the Brazilian musical sphere. Due to its classical and popular roots, the style gathered musicians from these two worlds in a harmonious and unique way. The famous Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) even described it as “the integral translation of Brazilian soul in the form of music.” It has remained the foundation of authentic Brazilian music, as classical and popular composers found inspiration in its melody, rhythm, and character.

Choro is the main inspiration of Heitor Villa Lobos’ music, and blending itself with contemporary harmony, was transformed through the music of composers such as Radames Gnataki, Tom Jobim, Hermeto Pascoal... It is undoubtedly, to this day, the most

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68 Isenhour and Garcia, Choro, 177.
69 Ibid., 186.
representational genre of Rio de Janeiro’s instrumental music and the main source of inspiration for Brazil’s most important musicians.\textsuperscript{70}

The Flute in Choro

Brazilian musicians have always regarded the flute as a favorite. The instrument can be heard in the music of all corners of Brazil, from the southern styles such as \textit{Samba}, \textit{Bossa Nova} and \textit{Choro} to the Northeastern styles, such as the \textit{Bai\~{a}o}, \textit{Forr\~{o}}, and \textit{Xote}, the flute has captivated composers and musicians alike. They found in the instrument the true translation of the melodious, syncopated, and articulated character of Brazilian music. Such a connection is also due to the flute’s similarity in range and timbre with the human voice. Brazilian music is traditionally vocal; the country has a rich history of poets/musicians who, throughout the centuries, helped tell the story of its people through its music.

The flute has always being present in Brazilian culture. Even before the Portuguese colonizers landed in Brazil in 1500, the flute, in its more rudimentary form, along with percussion and voice, was largely used by indigenous tribes in ceremonial rituals. The instruments were made of wood, bone or bamboo and had a very simple construction.

\textsuperscript{70} Mario Sev\'{e}, \textit{Vocabulário do Choro} (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Lumi\'{a}r Editora, 1999), 5.-(translated by author)
It’s not hard to deduce that there was flute playing in Brazil even before the arrival of the Portuguese. To the indigenous, the music was always a ritual, a way of communicate with the divine, and the flutes were enchanted instruments.  

The historian Ary Vasconcelos (n.d.) describes the types of flute commonly played in tribes throughout the country during the time prior and after the Portuguese arrived in Brazil. They were “open in one or two extremities, with up to six holes and performed either horizontally or transversely.” The author also describes a nasal flute, often made of two dried cabaças (gourds) attached with wax.

Brazilians became acquainted with the European transverse flute when it was introduced by colonizers during the 1600s. The instrument was largely used not only in classical venues, but also in popular parties and gatherings and religious services. In religious services, it was commonly seen as part of an orchestral ensembles. This instrument was made of wood and contained few keys or no keys at all. Jesuit priests where accounted as the first ones to teach the instrument to indigenous and slaves as a tool to evangelize both to Catholicism.

72 Archeological researches suggests that there have been indigenous people in Brazil for more than 12 thousand years. Eduardo Góes Neves, Os Índios Antes de Cabral: Arqueologia e História Indígena, in A Temática Indígena na Escola, ed. Araci Lopes Silva & Luiz Donizete Benzi Grupioni, (Brasilia: MEC/MA-RI/UNESCO, 1995), 178,179. (translated by author)
73 Carrasqueira, “A Flauta Brasileira,” 33. (translated by author)
74 The historian Jose Ramos Tinhóraó describes the practice of slave owners known as “senhores de engenho,” bringing Jesuit priest to teach musical instruments to the slaves and their children, who would then form orchestras and choirs, performing
By the end of the eighteenth century, the flute was considered a common instrument in Brazilian culture. The researcher Mayra Pereira (n.d.) in her *O Comércio de Instrumentos Musicais no Rio de Janeiro no Inicio do Século XIX; Um Olhar Através dos Anúncios de Jornais.* (The trading of Musical Instruments in the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro: A Look Through Newspapers’ Ads), 76 found documents from the Brazilian customs agency in Rio de Janeiro, describing the commercialization and import of flutes from Europe, specifically from Lisbon and Porto, in Portugal.

Her catalogue shows the different types of flutes that were brought to Brazil, from 1796 to 1807. There is very little information about the flutes themselves and unfortunately, due to the unconventional and generic way that customs officials described the instruments, labeling them in one document as “flutes with more tubes” and “flutes with less tubes”, it is hard to identify specifically whether they were transverse, recorders, or another type of flute. 77

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77 Ibid., 650.
Nevertheless, Pereira’s research shows that the importing of flutes from European countries, specifically Portugal, was common and that Brazilian musicians therefore had access to more modern European instruments. These simple-system flutes would continued to be popular for almost one hundred more years, until the Boehm flute took its place of prominence. The foundation of Brazilian instrumental music was crafted by musicians who, among other instruments, used the wooden, European, pre-Boehm flute.

### A Brief Historical Background of the Flute in Brazil and How it Became Chorões’ Favorite

Perhaps the genre that is most associated with the flute since its beginnings is the *choro*. The flute’s relationship with the *choro* is one of inseparable character. Classics of *choro* such as *Carinhoso* by Alfredo da Costa Viana (Pixinguinha) (1897-1973) or *Flor Amorosa* by Joaquim Antonio Callado were written for the flute. By listening to these tunes, one can understand why it seems that the style was crafted exclusively for the instrument.

The flute was naturally “elected” to be the melodic instrument in *choro* music due to its portability and agility in the execution of the

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scales, arpeggios and leaps required by the new musical style. Both Callado and Pixinguinha where flute players themselves.

In her dissertation, Ruth M. “Sunni” Witmer (n.d.) also points out the fact that flutists were often the only ones who could actually read music; therefore they would be the ones teaching the pieces to the other musicians in the group. Their role as leaders of the groups was crucial especially in the early stages of *choro*.\(^{80}\)

Callado lead the first generation of flutists chorões, which goes from 1870 to around 1889.\(^ {81}\) Other musicians such as Viriato Figueira (1851-1882), Virgilio Pinto (n.d.) and Miguel Rangel (n.d.) also became household names of the new style during that time.

Important figures, such as Agenor Bens (1870-1950), Patápio Silva (1880-1907), and the aforementioned Pixinguinha, followed Callado’s footsteps, helping to establish *choro* as an authentic Brazilian instrumental music and flute as its main melodic instrument. Throughout the twentieth century, *choro* gained more popularity thanks to the technology of audio recording and to the creation of the radio.\(^ {82}\) Altamiro Carrilho (1924 – 2012) is regarded as the most prominent flutist of style; Carrilho recorded more than one hundred

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\(^{80}\) Ibid., 27.


\(^{82}\) Isenhour and Garcia, *Choro*, 86-90.
albums and is the most-recorded artist in Brazilian history. He was also a prolific composer with more than two hundred pieces composed.\(^{83}\) His contribution to *choro* was extremely valuable because it helped keep the authentic Brazilian music alive and left a treasured legacy to current generations of musicians and music admirers, who are still able to understand and learn from the master through his music.

**The Boehm Flute in Brazil**

Brazilian musicians where introduced to the Boehm flute by the Belgian flutist Mathieu Andre Reichert (1830-1880) who, in June of 1859, traveled to Brazil to perform for the Emperor Dom Pedro II, along with a group of virtuosic musicians from Europe.\(^{84}\) That tour proved to be crucial to the development of the school of flute playing in Brazil. Reichert was already a household name by the time he arrived in Brazilian land.\(^{85}\) His technique and musicality assured him a position as the principal flute of the *Teatro Provisório* (Provisory Theater) in Rio de Janeiro. The historian André Diniz (b.1970) describes the following:

*In one of Reichert’s performances in 1864, in the Salão Clube Fluminense (Fluminense Club Slalon), the thrilled audience, including the Royal family, heard the melodies of Donizetti, Verdi, Allard and*

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\(^{83}\) Ibid., 125.


\(^{85}\) Diniz, *Joaquim Callado*, 410. (translated by author)
Campana, played on his flute. In the chronicle of Semana Ilustrada of April 20, almost a month after the performance, Reichert’s concert still echoed in carioca’s society.\textsuperscript{86}

Reichert quickly became acquainted with the Brazilian musical atmosphere. One of his most well-known compositions is La Coquete also known as A Faceira (The Frisky One). This piece is a polka and clearly shows how familiar Reichert became with Brazilian musical nuances, through the years he lived in Brazil, from 1859 until his death in 1880.

Figure 2.2 features both the polka accompaniment and the flourished melodic line that requires precise embouchure and finger technique in execution. The challenging melody contains many of the elements of the Romantic era of flute playing, such as chromaticism, large intervals, and long, fast, arpeggiated phrases. Such elements explored the capabilities of the more modern flutes, including of course the Boehm flute. One can even argue that Reichert intended to favor the superiority of the Boehm flute by executing and projecting the large intervals and difficult melodic line featured in La Coquette.

The Boehm flute would, arguably, provide the flutist with a more accurate intonation and easier fingering. Although skilled pre-Boehm flutists, such as Joaquim Callado, would not find the piece impossible

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., 401.
to play since the key of D Major was comfortable for five-keyed, simple-system flutes. The fact that Reichert’s flute headjoint would also be made out of metal, most likely silver, and that the embouchure blow hole was larger and shaped differently from that of the wooden, five-keyed flute (headjoint), was made it easier for a louder projection, as well as clearer articulation.  

Figure 2.2: La Coquette (Mathieu Andre Reichert), mm.1-6.

Another of Reichert’s more famous compositions is Rondo Caracteristique. One can see Reichert’s familiarity with the Brazilian music due to the style in which the piece was compose, polka, and the cadenced rhythmic structure present in the piano accompaniment.

Author of a method for flute adopted in European [music] schools, Reichert composed one of his most characteristic pieces, the polka "La coquette,” in Rio de Janeiro, (for a long time ["La coquette”]

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88 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 411. (translated by author)
was played by chorões under the title "A faceira). For a concert flutist, to compose a polka with elements of our Afro-carioca’s culture, [this] is a remarkable example of [Reichert’s] assimilation of chorões carioca’s musical language. 89

According to Diniz, the historian Odette Ernest Dias (b.1929), author of the book Um Flautista Belga na Corte do Rio de Janeiro: Mathieu André Reichert, 90 goes further, arguing that certain elements of both pieces such as the particular rhythmic structure in the piano part that resembles of the Spanish habanera (a style that emerged from the added Latin-American flavor to the European polka), would suggest early elements of the choro, making Reichert an early chorão. 91

Reichert frequently performed accompanied by guitar players, especially when the performances took place in houses where there was no piano. He was, in fact, familiar with the informal and casual performance atmosphere that made choro not only possible but desirable in an array of diverse different venues. 92

After some natural resistance, flutists in Brazil began to adopt the new Boehm flute as they experienced the advantages of the

89 Ibid., 416.
90 Odette Ernest Dias, Um Flautista Belga na Corte do Rio de Janeiro; Mathieu André Reichert, (Rio de Janeiro: EDU-UNB, 1990). (translated by author)
91 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 416. (translated by author)
92 Dias, Um Flautista Belga, 37-38. (translated by author)
The newly invented flute had an improved mechanism that provided for easier fingering. Intonation and projection improved as well. Boehm’s use of a conical body and silver material allowed for a more balanced, brilliant, and powerful sound throughout all registers. The Boehm flute made it possible for *choro* musicians to explore and expand the capabilities of the instrument in the style. Because of its improved mechanism that provided easier fingering, both chromatically and diatonically, this innovative flute made *choro* music and improvisation more fluent and virtuosic.

In *choro* music, it is common for flutists to improvise freely using the melody as the foundation, often exploring the third octave of the instrument in their solos. In many instances, the melodies, written in the second octave, are played in the third octave. Flutists often used ornaments, scales, double tonguing, glissandos and arpeggios in order to improvise on top of the melodic structure. All these musical elements were easier to execute in the Boehm flute.

Another aspect of the “new flute’s” contribution to the *choro*, is the fact that it allowed flutists to execute pieces in keys that would have been considered difficult on the old flutes. Boehm’s new mechanism and acoustic advances allowed for an instrument that was

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93 “Sunni”, “Popular Virtuosity,” 27.
95 “Sunni”, “Popular Virtuosity,” 94-95.
96 Ibid., 38.
not only more in tune, but also provided a smoother chromatic scale throughout the full range of the flute. Fingerings were simplified and flutists, apart from a few exceptions, no longer needed to make use of an array of alternate fingerings in order to navigate between keys.

The introduction of the Boehm flute in Brazil seemed to have caused some discomfort at first as flutists did not immediately adopt the new instrument. An alleged “duel” between Callado and his pre-Boehm flute and Reichert and his silver Boehm instrument, helped make the case for the Boehm flute among flutists.97

According to Andre Diniz, some scholars have written of a rivalry between Reichert and Callado, but in actuality, this rivalry did not exist. What did happen was that Reichert, perhaps because he was European and not Brazilian like Callado, caused Callado’s fans to develop an animosity towards him at first, but there is no historical evidence of a personal rivalry between the two flutists. Indeed, they were friends who were known to rival each other only as virtuosi. It was also true that the Boehm flute (which Reichert espoused) was not immediately embraced by many flute players in Brazil, but again, most professional flutists then switched to the new flute (as opposed to the ebony/wooden flute) within a relatively short time. It was perhaps in response to a famous ‘duel’ between Reichert and Callado regarding the relative merits of each type of flute (as well as that of themselves as artists) that may have started the rumor of a rivalry....98

In reality, though, as “Sunni” states, Callado and Reichert where never rivals; they even performed together on a few occasions in which the atmosphere was never one of animosity or rivalry, but one

97 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 601. . (translated by author)
of cordiality.\textsuperscript{99} Reichert was older and more experienced, he, apparently even introduced Callado to the Boehm flute, teaching the technique and fingering of the instrument to the younger flutist.\textsuperscript{100} Despite Callado’s preference for the pre-Boehm instrument, he might have in fact, used the Boehm flute to compose some of his tunes. Chapter 3 will further investigate Callado’s use of the Boehm flute through the analysis of some of his compositions.

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 432, 604.
Chapter III: Joaquim Antonio Callado
His Wooden Flute and Golden Music, a Brief Biography

One of the earliest composers of choro, Joaquim Antonio Callado was a noted flutist, composer, and teacher. Callado is credited as the first person to use the term choro when, in the 1870s, he formed a group called “Choro Carioca.” The ensemble was also known as “Choro do Callado” because of the composer’s leadership role in the group.101

“Choro Carioca” featured Callado performing on an ebony flute, accompanied by three stringed instruments: two guitars and a cavaquinho.102 “Pau e corda” or “wood and string” was yet another name given to Callado’s group as well as other similar groups of that time.103 In its core, “choro do Callado” was a variation of an ensemble format entitled “ternos” (trio).104 It was not uncommon for only one member of the “terno,” usually the melody player, to be able to read music, with all the others playing “by ear” and improvising above the harmonic accompaniment.105 It was in such groups that the improvisatory character of the choro began to take shape.

101 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 166. (translated by author)
102 Ibid., 236.
103 Fernandes and Silva, “Lundu Caracteristico,” 123. (translated by author)
104 Coelho and Koidin, “Brazilian Choro,” 37.
Aside from compositions written by Callado for the Choro Carioca, the group also improvised popular European tunes in styles such as *waltzes* and *polkas*, which later, along with African and Brazilian styles like the *lundu* and *modinha*, became the foundation of the *choro* style.  

Callado is credited with crafting the *choro* and historians pinpoint the early 1870s, when Callado formed his group, as the birth period of the *choro* as a genre. As a scholar who taught at the Imperial Conservatory in Rio de Janeiro, he was fundamental in founding the Brazilian flute school alongside Mathieu Reichert. As a virtuosi flutist and fluent composer, he often amused his audiences by spontaneously writing down improvisations and compositions “on the spot.”

In total, Callado composed sixty-six pieces during his short life. The works were so much influenced by European songs and dances that some of his compositions where even entitled after such dances such as his *Polcas* and a *Valsa*. Callado also knew how to adapt

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109 Carrasqueira, “Flauta Brasileira,” 55. (translated by author)

110 Diniz, *Joaquim Callado*, 161. (translated by author)

111 See Appendix II for a list of all Callado’s music.
theses influences to the rhythms and flavors of African and Brazilian music.

Callado’s relationship with music began at an early age. He was born in Rio de Janeiro on July 11, 1848. Although they struggled financially, Callado’s parents were able to buy him a piano, and later a flute, when he was still a child. Callado’s father, a former slave, was also a musician himself who played trumpet and conducted a group called *Banda Sociedade União de Artistas*.\(^{112}\)

Very little is known about Callado’s early musical education other than the fact that he took lessons from Henrique Alves de Mesquita (1830-1906), a conductor who taught many of the musicians of that time.\(^ {113}\) Mesquita also influenced other popular figures, such as the pianist and composer Chiquinha Gonzaga (1847-1935), with whom Callado developed a great musical relationship later in life, and Ernésto Nazaré (1863-1934), an icon of Brazilian piano music.\(^ {114}\)

In addition to these lessons, Callado was also influenced by small urban bands that had been around since the eighteenth century. The creation of these bands is credited to slaves who were forced by their owners to learn additional skills other than farming, such as hair

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\(^{112}\) Diniz, *Joaquim Callado*, 63.
\(^{113}\) Ibid., 84,93.
\(^{114}\) Ibid., 81.
The barber was the only professional who had “free time” between haircuts, which was used by the slaves to learn musical instruments. The “barber bands” were then formed and became prevalent, not only in popular music but also for official and even religious events. 116

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, the “barber bands” were replaced by military and civil bands that performed in city halls, military events and civil gatherings.117 The young Callado attended these performances and rehearsals with his father.118 This music certainly influenced him as a musician and composer.

When Callado was a teenager, he attended a masterclass given by Mathieu Reichert. Callado was probably fourteen to sixteen years old, “Reichert had already heard about Callado, and expressed desire to hear him play.”119 The young flutist brilliantly sight-read one of Reichert’s compositions. The two apparently became friends and years later, in 1873, they met again in a charitable concert that Callado had

116 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 114. (translated by author)
118 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 108. (translated by author)
119 Ibid., 601.
organize to help Reichert, who by then, was struggling financially due to his bohemian life style.  

Callado began his career as a musician in the early 1870s. After graduating from his studies with Henrique Alves de Mesquita, he quickly became known in the “carioca” musical scene due to his high level of technical skill, as well as his charisma and superior talent as a composer and improviser. He was a creative and fluent composer; inspiration could strike at any moment, place and time. Callado would often stop at cafes to put down on paper new melodies. “As soon as inspiration struck, he would write….Very often, while walking through the narrow streets of Rio, [he] would enter a café singing, and begin to write down the melody that would come to his mind.”  

Newspaper, paper towels, or blank book pages were often the canvas for his “musical paintings.” Even animal propelled trolleys would serve as a place for inspiration.

Some of the titles of Callado’s conveyed the playful spirit of his personality. Tunes such as Durma-se com um Barulho Deste (Try to sleep with such noise), Como é Bom (How Good It Is), and Gago Não Faz Discurso, Dentuça Não Fecha a Boca (Stutterers Don’t Give Speeches, Buck-Toothed Don’t Close Their Mouths) were a few

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120 Ibid.
121 Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 226.
122 Ibid., 141.
123 Ibid., 137.
examples of the irreverent character of choro that emerged early in the style’s history. Many of his pieces pay tribute to women; Callado seemed to be “charming” and was popular amongst them. He was quite approachable and was a very pleasant figure who attracted many fans and admirers.

His [Callado’s] beautiful melodies pay tribute to women like in “Ermelinda,” loved ones like in “A Familia Meyer” (The Meyer family), some would carry a hidden meaning, like in “A Flor Amorosa” (The Loving Flower), his most famous composition, [Callado] most certainly is making reference to someone of the feminine universe. 124

The following titles further demonstrate Callado’s fondness for women: Adeláide, Às Clarinhas e às Moreninhas (To the Light and Dark Skinned), Aurora, Cinco Deusas (Five Goddess), Conceição, Dengosa (Dainty), Desejada (Longed For), Ermelinda, Ernestina, Florinda, Ímã, Izabel, Laudelina, Manuelita, Maria, Maria Carlota, Mariquinhas, Marocas, Mimoso, Pagodeira, Perigosa (Dangerous), Querida Por Todos (Cherished by Everybody), Rosinha, Salomé, Saudosa, Sedutora (Seductive), Souzinha, Suspiros de Uma Donzela (A Lady’s Last Sigh), Último Suspiro (Last Sigh).

In 1879, Callado was appointed assistant professor at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Rio de Janeiro. In the same year, he was

124 Dalarossa, Classics of the Brazilian Choro, 11.
awarded the Order of the Rose by the Emperor.\textsuperscript{125} Callado was already well known in “carioca” society, both as a skilled flutist and an innovative composer. His \textit{Lundu Característico} was the first \textit{lundu} to be performed in a concert setting and although disapproved by critics, who labeled the style inappropriate, sensual, and scandalous, it became extremely popular throughout Rio de Janeiro.\textsuperscript{126}

Callado did not live to see the publication of his last two pieces, \textit{A Desejada} (The Longed For) and \textit{A Flor Amorosa} (The Loving Flower) were published in 1880. Joaquim Antonio Callado died on March 20, 1880, a victim of Meningoencephalitis.\textsuperscript{127} He was survived by his wife, Feliciana Adelaide Callado and their four children: Alice Callado Correia, Luísa Callado Ribeiro de Castro, Elvira Callado and Artur da Silva Callado.\textsuperscript{128}

Callado lived only thirty-two years, but his compositions, along with his virtuosic playing and influential teaching assured him a place in Brazilian music history. He is part of the first generation of choro

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{126} Fernandes and Silva, “Lundu Característico,” 122. (Translated by author)
\textsuperscript{127} Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 443. (translated by author)
composers, along with other important figures such as Chiquinha Gonzaga, Viriato Figueira, and Ernesto Nazaré.\textsuperscript{129}

**Callado’s Flute**

Despite all of the information available regarding Callado’s life, influence, and compositions, there is only a limited amount of information regarding Callado’s flutes. Mr. Eduardo Monteiro,\textsuperscript{130} professor of flute of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), and Mr. Leonardo Miranda,\textsuperscript{131} an historian, performer of *choro*, and expert on Callado, both describe the topic as a mystery since they cannot find concrete information, documents, or traces of the instrument that Callado used.

> **Callado’s flute is a mystery, no one knows exactly which model he played, I believed it was a five-keyed pre-Boehm instrument, but looking at a piece like lundu, it makes me wonder how he possibility could have performed it on that flute.**\textsuperscript{32}

> A few descriptions of that period [mid to late nineteenth hundreds], and even after his [Callado’s] death, suggest [that he owned] a “six-keyed” flute. Which model would this be? F, extended F, G\#, B♭, E♭, and maybe C? So, this was a flute in D, without the C foot joint, right? By the way, you must be aware of A.G. Pinto’s descriptions in his Book [O Choro], [he describes] the great majority of the nineteenth century chorões playing in the old system flutes. The

\textsuperscript{129}Brun, “Choro.” (accessed August 31, 2015). (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{130}Leonardo Miranda, in a skype interview with the author, January 28, 2015.
\textsuperscript{131}In 2000, Mr. Miranda recorded an album under the label Acarí Records, featuring some Callado’s works entitled “Leonardo Miranda Toca Joaquim Callado.”
\textsuperscript{132}Leonardo Miranda, in a skype interview with the author, January 28, 2015.
author frequently refers to “five-keyed flutes.” They were, therefore, D flutes.\textsuperscript{133}

Alexandre Gonçalves Pinto lists nine flutists,\textsuperscript{134} contemporaries of Callado, who played five-keyed instruments. This first-hand documentation, suggests that the five-keyed simple-system flute was a standard among flutists in Callado’s time. Pinto describes flutists, such as Madeira: [he] played on a five-keyed flute, however [he] was as good as those who played the new system... [he] was obsessed with Callado’s music, and I appreciated that.\textsuperscript{135}

It is speculated that Callado owned pre-Boehm wooden instruments. Specifically, he owned “an ebony flute (made out of the same wood as its name and with a varied number of keys).”\textsuperscript{136} At least one of Callado’s flute was known as a simple-system flute.\textsuperscript{137} The instrument most likely was a five-keyed flute.\textsuperscript{138} Such instruments have the keys attached directly to their body, six open holes aside from the embouchure hole, and five closed holes that are opened by

\textsuperscript{133} Eduardo Monteiro in an email exchange, January 28, 2015.
\textsuperscript{134} Alexandre Gonçalves Pinto, O Choro (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1936/2009), 20-251. (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., 205.
\textsuperscript{136} Diniz, Joaquim Callado, 145. (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{137} “We use simple system flute (or sometimes, just the old flute) to mean a conical-bore flute with exactly six open holes, which when opened one by one produce a major scale (D major in the case of the standard size flute), and with, let’s say, at least four closed-standing keys (and no open-standing keys) on the body. The terms keyed flute or multi-keyed flute are somewhat more general.” (Richard Wilson, 19th Century Simple System Flutes, I: The keys, Old Flutes webpage, www.oldflutes.com/french.htm, last accessed on July 29, 2015.)
\textsuperscript{138} “Sunni,” “Popular Virtuosity,” 26.
the keys. The keys produced the following notes: D-sharp, F, G-sharp, and B-flat. This conical shaped flute had five parts: the head (larger in diameter), upper body, tuning slide, lower body, and foot joint (the thinnest part). The five keys facilitated the fingerings of the notes outside the D Major scale, providing therefore a full chromatic scale. These photographs of a 1945 five-keyed flute, depict a comparable model to this simple-system flute.

Figure 3.0

![Headjoint Tuning Slide Upper Body Lower Body Footjoint](image)

Figure 3.1

Closer look at the "Association Des Ouvriers" flute with labeled keys.

Figure 3.2

![Finger distribution of the five-keyed flute.](image)

The Boehm flute was introduced to Brazil in 1859 by the Belgian Mathieu-André Reichert. It would take some time for the new flute to become popular among Brazilian flutists. Callado, himself, was “often

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139 Photo of a 1945 five-key flute stamped "Association Des Ouvriers; Rue St. Maur 45, Paris." (Pictures provided by the author).
perceived of as preferring the [pre-Boehm] ebony/wooden flute”\textsuperscript{140}

There appears to be, only one documented first-hand description of Callado’s flutes, made by the performer himself. In it, Callado states:

> I own two flutes, one for concerts and pleasure, and another that I am “taming.” The woodwind instruments follow the piano’s character: at first, for a while, they “complain being beaten [played],” after so long, they come to a period of meekness [become easy to play], and after so long, they decrease [in quality], becoming out of tune and it is worthless trying to fix them.\textsuperscript{141}

But little is known about these flutes and whether or not they where Boehm or pre-Boehm simple-system flutes. Today, historians attribute two possible instruments to Callado, but even those flutes have dubious origins and only serve to add to the debate.

One instrument often attributed to Callado, and pictured in Figure 3.3, is an 1832 coccus-wood flute, made by the renowned French flute makers Godfroy-Lot.\textsuperscript{142}

\textsuperscript{140} “Sunni”, “Popular Virtuosity,” 27.
\textsuperscript{141} Diniz, \textit{Joaquim Callado}, 145. (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{142} Eduardo Monteiro, email exchange with the author. (January 28, 2015.)
The key system is an early Boehm model, which was known as a “ring-key” flute, introduced by Boehm in 1832. “The new mechanism of Boehm’s 1832 flute used ring-keys operated by interlinked parallel rod-axles, made to a design of his own which the Boehm and Grave keyed flutes had employed in a simpler form for some years. It carried over the fingering for F and F-sharp as well as the open key for G from the design of the previous year.”\textsuperscript{144} It had fourteen tone holes, with nine fingers operating the fourteen holes by either directly closing them, pressing a key, or through the ring keys mounted either on rods or axles. The flute that supposedly belonged to Callado had conical wooden body and it featured a metal lip-plate. Most notable about this flute is the curious inscription on that metal the lip-plate (see Figure 3.4)

\textsuperscript{143} Picture provided by Eduardo Monteiro. Used with permission.
\textsuperscript{144} Ardal Powell, \textit{The Flute} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 169.
Figure 3.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original:</th>
<th>Translation:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Callado</td>
<td>Callado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 de março de 1880</td>
<td>March, 20, 1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seu discípulo João Duarte</td>
<td>His pupil João Duarte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The name suggests possible ownership by Callado, however, March 20th is the date of the composer’s death. The flute, therefore, most likely belonged to Callado’s student, João Duarte, with the inscription possibly being just an homage to his late teacher.

_This flute was for many years catalogued [in the Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro flute collection] as “Callado’s flute,” but all the accounts of that period that I have had access to until now, make no mention of his [Callado’s] "conversion" to the Boehm flute. I requested therefore, for the notation to be removed when the instrument was catalogued._

One might consider that if, according to the lip-plate inscription, João Duarte was Callado’s pupil and that he possibly owned this early Boehm instrument. It stands to reason that Callado was perhaps using a similar instrument himself when teaching lessons, or was at least familiar enough with the mechanism of this flute that he accepted a Boehm flute player as a student.

To further add to the speculation, one can also look at a picture of the other instrument attributed to Callado. The picture below in

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Figure 3.5 is featured in two books, *Princípios do Choro*\textsuperscript{146} and *Joaquim Callado, O Pai do Choro*.\textsuperscript{147} The flute clearly has a distinct mechanism that resembles later Boehm models, although it still maintained the characteristic smaller finger holes of the simple-system flutes.

![Figure 3.5](image)

The similarity between this early version and the one Boehm patented in 1847 is obvious, but there are elements of this instrument that make it uniquely distinguishable from the now famous Boehm flute. The rings and holes seem bigger in diameter than earlier pre-Boehm instruments, but smaller than the later Boehm models. The rings do not actually cover the finger holes since there are no pads attached to them; their function was to trigger the keys that covered some of the extra holes, very similar to the modern mechanism of clarinets. But the historian Leonardo Miranda raises doubts about the

\textsuperscript{146}Maurício Carrilho and Anna Paes, *Princípios do Choro* (Rio de Janeiro: EDUERJ, 2003), 127. (translated by author)

\textsuperscript{147}Andre Diniz, *Joaquim Callado*, 160. (translated by author)

\textsuperscript{148}Inscription on the photograph states: Joaquim Callado’s Flute. Public Domain
veracity of the fact that this particular flute, indeed, belonged to Callado. He argues that this instrument was donated to the State University of Rio de Janeiro and it was “dumped” in a storage room together with many other historical flutes. Later it was mistakenly attributed to have belonged to Callado.\(^\text{149}\) Regardless of such a claim, both instruments are from Callado’s time and it is very likely that at least one of them, the one belonging to his student, passed through the Callado’s hands at some point.

The survey of the eight selected works in chapter three will investigate Callado’s use of a pre-Boehm instrument in D and shed light on the mystery that surrounds this topic. One argument considered in the chapter, is that many of Callado’s sixty-six compositions were either entirely in the key of D Major, or at least started in that key. In the other pieces, Callado used key signatures that were relatively comfortable when playing on the five-keyed flute such as G Major and C Major. There are fundamental differences in the fingering system of the pre-Boehm and the Boehm instruments and early composers of the simple-system flute would often choose specific keys\(^\text{150}\) due to easier fingering, projection and execution, as well as better intonation.

\(^{149}\) Leonardo Miranda in skype interview, January 28, 2015.

D Major is the easiest key for the one-keyed [simples-system] flutist. Keys closely related to D Major (keys with one or two sharps) are next easiest...The keys furthest away from D Major are the most difficult; the furthest one strays, the more one will encounter weak notes, intonation difficulties and awkward cross-fingerings. The flat keys (F, B and E-flat) are especially challenging.  

Pieces set in very difficult keys must be played only before listeners who understand the instrument [pre-Boehm, simple-system flutes], and are able to grasp the difficulty of theses keys on it; they must not be played before everyone. You cannot produce brilliant and pleasing things with good intonation in every key, as most amateurs demand.  

The addition of keys helped composers and flutists to explore other keys, but difficulties in intonation and projection remained due to the flute’s construction. Pre-Boehm flutists often had to resort to alternate fingerings in order to improve intonation.

The multi-keyed simple-system flute had evolved from the one key flute. The six open finger holes and the conical bore had been left as they were, under the fingers, and a variety of keys were added. The instrument was full of compromises. (Every musical instrument is, but some more than others.) Even with the numerous keys, there were problems. The instrument was still uneven: tone quality would vary from note to note. Some intonation was difficult. Some keys (modes) were quite awkward to play in.

151 Ibid., 30.
Leonardo Miranda argues that the key in which a *choro* is composed is fundamental for a smooth and effective execution. Miranda states that very often a passage that, to the listener’s ears, seems complicated, is in fact quite simple due to the way the fingering is laid out. He also adds that, as a five-keyed player himself, there are keys such as D Major and G Major that are more comfortable to the performer.\(^{155}\)

It is known that Callado’s flute was made out of wood, according to accounts, most likely ebony. Although boxwood and cocus wood might have also been reasonable options, due to their tone quality.\(^{156}\) In all, the wooden flute would have a smaller projection in comparison to the Boehm instruments due to the size of the holes and the material used.\(^{157}\) Another factor that counts as a disadvantage to the wooden instrument is its susceptibility to the weather and temperature changes.\(^{158}\) The instruments intonation fluctuates considerably in cold and hot temperatures, making it difficult to play in tune with others instruments.

\(^{155}\) Skype interview, January 28, 2015.
Boehm found that the cylindrical, metal instrument allowed flutists to have a better projection, especially in larger rooms, as well as a more stable intonation.\textsuperscript{159} The metal, would not crack or change intonation as easily due to temperature and weather changes.

The wooden headjoint of pre-Boehm instruments differed considerably from silver headjoints. The embouchure, most likely, had a smaller diameter; it was drilled directly into the headjoint itself. The difference in sound, projection and intonation between the wooden headjoint and a metal one is quite apparent.

\textbf{Callado’s Legendary Playing}

Taking in consideration his compositions and historical accounts of his playing, Callado was a virtuosic performer of the pre-Boehm wooden flute.\textsuperscript{160} The historian Alexandre Gonçalves Pinto, recounts an incident that helped spread Callado’s reputation as an extraordinary player. This legendary tale of Callado’s playing suggests he was performing on a simple-system, pre-Boehm flute:

\textit{Callado was called out to perform a concert in one of the town concert halls in Rio de Janeiro, to which he attended with his wonderful flute; [During a break], the great musician laid his flute on a stand. Meanwhile without Callado knowing, an unknown flute player, in an attempt to embarrass the musician, unscrewed one of the keys of his instrument. His attempt to jeopardize Callado’s performance proved to be unsuccessful because, although the key indeed felt out of place, the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{159} Theobald Boehm, \textit{The Flute and Flute Playing}, 8.
\footnotetext{160} Pinto, \textit{O Chôro}, 11. (translated by author)\end{footnotes}
musician [Callado] performed the [rest of the] concert with the power of his lips.\textsuperscript{161}

The occurrence was indeed impressive but the account is somewhat naïve since there would be no apparent relation between the unscrewed key and Callado’s powerful embouchure. Regardless of how much exaggeration was given to the tale, the event shows the musician’s control and knowledge of the instrument.

But more importantly, if one can argue that the flute in question was indeed a pre-Boehm instrument since, if such an incident had happened on a Boehm flute, with its interconnected mechanism in which the majority of keys trigger others throughout the system, it would have been impossible to perform a concert with a missing or faulty key.

A probable explanation for how Callado managed to continue to play despite a faulty key as that; the musician realizing that the key was malfunctioning, most likely resorted to alternate fingerings. The five-keyed flute can, essentially, be used as one-keyed simple-system flute, with the performer ignoring all but the D-sharp key and using the fingerings of a one-keyed instrument.\textsuperscript{162}

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., 12.
\textsuperscript{162} Richard Wilson, “The 19th century simple system flute, II.” (accessed February 11, 2015)
**Callado’s Successors**

The mystery surrounding Callado’s instrument is even more intriguing if one looks at musicians who lived shortly after him. The following pictures show important figures of the next generation of flutists, as it can be seeing; they are all holding silver Boehm flutes. Taking in chronological analysis of the pictures, one can assume that Callado’s generation was the last one to have used pre-Boehm instruments.

![Figure 3.6](image1.png)  
1. Agenor Bens (1870-1950)

![Figure 3.7](image2.png)  
2. Patápio Silva (1880 – 1907)

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164 Ibid.
The flutist featured in figure 3.6 is Agenor Bens. The historian and musician Alexandre Pinto was friends with Agenor, having performed with him on some occasions. He described Mr. Bens as “of splendorous playing” and refers to the musician’s flute as “the new system.” Such a statement suggests that the Boehm flute was not 100% accepted by flutists, otherwise Mr. Pinto might have not found worth commenting about it in his book.\(^{166}\)

The musician in figure 3.7 is the acclaimed Patápio Silva, who Callado indirectly influenced since Patápio was a student of Duque Estrada Meyer (1848-1905), a student of Callado himself who had become the Imperial Conservatory flute instructor after Callado’s death.


\(^{166}\) Pinto– O Chôro, 109. (translated by author)
in 1880.\textsuperscript{167} Mr. Meyer was also professor at the National Institute of Music.\textsuperscript{168} A close friend of Mathieu Reichert, Mr. Duque is responsible for the transition in the conservatoire from the simple-system flute to the Boehm flutes, Duque, in fact, was the person who introduced Callado to Mathieu Reichert.\textsuperscript{169}

Patápio (or Pattápio) was perhaps the most famous successor of Callado in the “carioca” musical scene, acquiring great success as both classical and popular musician not only in Rio de Janeiro, but also in São Paulo. A composer himself, Patápio’s works were considered to be difficult and elaborate, with elements of European Romanticism and, of course, Brazilian popular genres.\textsuperscript{170} One of his most popular pieces is \textit{Primeiro Amor} (First Love).\textsuperscript{171} Because of the melodic line, an acrobatic and frenetic waltz, it was most likely composed and performed on a Boehm instrument.

The flute featured in Patápio’s picture is probably a Louis Lot silver flute that he received as a prize for winning a competition.\textsuperscript{172} He can be found in several other pictures with the instrument and most likely used it in 1902, when he performed in the first audio

\textsuperscript{167} Diniz, \textit{Joaquim Callado}, 422. (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{168} Garcia, "Pattápio Silva," 17. (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{169} Diniz, \textit{Joaquim Callado}, 415. (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{170} Garcia, "Pattápio Silva," 147. (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{171} Original recording of Patápio Silva performing \textit{Primeiro Amor} https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=17TeuDVgVec, (accessed January 12, 2105)
\textsuperscript{172} Garcia, "Pattápio Silva," 82-83. (Translated by author)
recordings, made in Brazil by the Casa Edison. After Patapio’s death, his flute went missing and, to this day, there are no reports of what happened to it.

Alfredo da Rocha Viana Junior, also known as Pixinguinha, is featured in Figure 3.8. This flutist and saxophonist is regarded as one of the greatest composers of choro music in the twentieth century. Pixinguinha was considered an ambassador of Brazilian popular music, acquiring national and international fame, primarily due to audio recordings and radio broadcasts. Despite some disapproval by racist groups who opposed having the Brazilian culture represented by black musicians, Pixinguinha traveled to Paris in 1922 and performed with his group “Os Oito Batutas,” helping to spread the new Brazilian style. Pixinguinha also incorporated jazz bands into his recordings. From 1928 to 1932, perhaps in search of a national identity for the larger ensemble music of Brazil, Pixinguinha established a partnership with Radamés Gnattali, a composer who later became a leader in Brazilian instrumental music in the 20th century. The pair arranged and recorded a series of compositions using horns, plucked stringed

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174 Garcia, “Pattápio Silva,” 82-83. (translated by author)
175 Isenhour and Garcia, *Choro*, 91-98.
instruments and Brazilian percussion, an innovation that became a trademark of Brazilian orchestral instrumental music.  

As Jazz emerged and Pixiguinha was made aware of the role of the saxophone in the style, he incorporated it into his music and his own performing, giving up the flute in the 1940s. Pixinguinha is responsible for solidifying the improvisational character of the choro. Also influenced by the style, he brought elements of the intricate jazz harmony to his compositions which took the genre to new heights. Amongst his most famous choros are 1x0, Lamento, Segura Ele (Hold Him) and Carinhoso, which is considered an “anthem” of choro and the popular music in Brazil.

Callado’s Music – Survey of Selected Pieces

The fact that Callado’s compositions survived the test of time, remaining relevant and frequently performed in “roda de choros” throughout Brazil, is largely due to the work of the chorões themselves, who passed his melodies either orally or through manuscripts from generation to generation. Very few of Callado’s compositions were published after his death. But tunes such as

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177 Isenhour and Garcia, Choro, 98.
178 Ibid., 91-98.
Salomé, Linguagem do Coração, and Cruzes Minha Prima!!! although not published at first, remained popular among chorões.  

Callado’s compositions represent precisely the character of the popular instrumental music movement that emerged in Brazil during the end of the nineteenth century. His compositional body was made entirely of popular dances such as polkas, quadrilles, and waltzes. Callado was credited with leading this movement by influencing other composers and providing the foundation of the school of the instrumental Brazilian music as it is known today.

The majority of his pieces were written with the piano as the accompanying instrument. A pianist himself, Callado expressed resistance to arrangements for flute and piano, arguing that the accompanying instrument did not quite translate the true character of the style. However, publishing houses did not share the artist’s views, preferring to serve the needs of the growing number of professional, amateur, and student pianists, who were eager to purchase printed music.

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180 Diniz, Joaquim Antonio Callado, 297. (translated by author)
181 See Appendix II.
182 Garcia, Patápio Silva, 62. (translated by author)
183 Isenhour and Garcia, Choro, 68.
184 Isenhour and Garcia, Choro, 297, 307, 316.
Unfortunately, Callado’s published pieces were not big sellers, mainly because they were technically challenging.\(^{185}\) Callado even tried publishing his own compositions. In 1869, he funded the publication of *Querida Por Todos* ( Cherished by Everybody), printed by the publishing house *A Casa do Narciso* (Narciso’s House). Aside from two other pieces, *A Sedutora* (The Seductive one) and *Linguagem do Coração* (Language of the Heart), also printed by *A Casa do Narciso*, publishers refused to invest in his music.\(^{186}\)

His flute parts required a high level of proficiency. Callado masterfully explored the technical capabilities of the flute in his works. As an enthusiast of the simple system instrument, he stretched its boundaries, sometimes defying its limitations. His compositions, aside from musicological and historical relevance, also provide important clues on how the pre-Boehm and the Boehm flute co-existed during the time *choro* was established in Brazil and how Callado, might have gone back and forth from one instrument to another.

This chapter will investigate eight compositions that can provide evidence of Callado’s use of the pre-Boehm flutes in a time when most flutists were on the verge of switching to the new instrument. The

\(^{185}\) Ibid., 317.
\(^{186}\) Ibid., 297, 307, 316.
hypothesis that he used, at least in some of his works, the Boehm flute, will also be explored.

Fundamental analytical factors such as the tonality in which the pieces were composed as well as the level of difficulty and the range of the melodic lines will provide the basis for the argument of Callado’s choice of instruments. The eight pieces will also provide a view of Callado’s evolution as a composer and his treatment of the melodic lines which contained much of choro’s core characteristics. Therefore, the pieces will be listed in chronological order. The polka, a style that Callado seemed to have preferred, perhaps due to its popularity during that time, is more frequently used in his compositions, but other styles were also used by the composer.

In certain pieces, specific intervallic progressions are highlighted in order to indicate notes or passages that would present execution difficulties for the simple system five-keyed flute player. A particular interval, F to D in both first and second octave can, at times, prove to be challenging due to the fact that the same finger needs to operate the F key and close the E hole, creating an awkward motion from one note to the other. A chart, comparing the fingerings on both the pre-Boehm and Boehm flutes will be provided.

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It was extremely difficult to move the right-hand third finger from the E hole to the F natural cross key; thus it was almost impossible to slur from F to D or D-sharp without involuntarily sounding a "grace note" E between them.  

Although the addition of the five keys allowed greater tonal freedom for both composers and performers of the simple-system instrument, the flute still lacked precision, accurate intonation and projection, especially when playing flat keys. Boehm flutes, due to their scale construction and the number of keys (17 or 18 in general), provide a more comfortable chromatic fingering and better intonation.

There is no doubt that many artists have carried perfection to its last limits on the old flute, but there are unavoidable difficulties, originating in the construction of these flutes, which can neither be conquered by talent nor by the most persevering practice. ~ Theobald Boehm.

The great majority of Callado’s compositions are in sharp keys and amongst those, there is an overwhelming number of pieces written in the keys of either D Major (18 pieces), G Major (17 pieces), or C Major (17 pieces). Of the sixty six pieces, fifty two were written in keys that are comfortable for the simple-system instruments. Compositions in flat keys amount to fourteen; six of them are in the key of F Major and often modulate to the key of B-flat Major, three

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188 Toff, *The Flute Book*, 47.
189 Ibid., 50.
begin in the key of B-flat with one, the polka *A Dengosa*, written for piano solo.\(^{190}\)

In certain pieces, however, Callado chose keys that would be quite challenging for performers of pre-Boehm flutes. In *Lundu Característico*, for instance, the composer chose the key of F minor for the opening A section and the key of D-flat Major for the B section. Such keys are not as comfortable on pre-Boehm simple-system instruments because they are both technically difficult to execute on an instrument with a limited number of keys, and also because of intonation\(^ {191}\) issues due to the instrument’s construction.\(^ {192}\) Because of these challenges, *Lundu* requires a highly skilled simple-system player to perform it.\(^ {193}\)

Even today, simple-system flutists resort to alternate fingerings\(^ {194}\) in order to facilitate the execution of these technical issues. Quite frequently, they also face challenges in intonation\(^ {195}\) and projection. In the examples analyzed, when highlighting difficult passages, the chart will show the basic, common fingerings for both

\(^{190}\) Analysis by the author.
\(^{192}\) Ibid., 43.
\(^{193}\) Fernandes and Silva, *Lundu Característico*, 122. (translated by author)
\(^{194}\) Brown, *The Early Flute*, 42.
the five-keyed\textsuperscript{196} and Boehm\textsuperscript{197} instruments, highlighting alternate fingerings in specific situations.

Due to its key signature and challenging melody, \textit{Lundu} provides reasonable support to the hypothesis of Callado’s use of the Boehm flute. Although there is no concrete evidence of Callado owning or playing the modern instrument, he was surrounded by flutists who were experimenting with the new flute. Callado was also certainly influenced by Mathieu Reichert.\textsuperscript{198} There are important elements in Callado’s music that help in the search for answers regarding the composer’s choice of instrument. Elements such as tonality, melodic shape and range, rhythmic figures, and structures will be discussed in the pieces chosen. Such elements are fundamental for the identification of the type of flute (pre-Boehm or Boehm) used by the composer.

The table below provides information regarding the pieces studied. They are mostly in chronological order, except for \textit{Improviso} (Improvise) where its date is unknown. The piece was included in the list due to its keys, B-flat Major in the A section, and E-flat Major in the B section, and its intricate, virtuoso character, difficult to perform

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{197} Celso Woltzenlogel, \textit{Método Ilustrado de Flauta}, (Rio de Janeiro: Irmãos Vitale, 1986), 52-54.
\item \textsuperscript{198} Diniz, \textit{Joaquim Callado}, 405. (translated by author)\
\end{itemize}
on both the pre-Boehm and Boehm instruments. Aside from the titles and their translations, the table also contains styles and the forms in which the pieces were composed. Many were written in Rondo form, where the recurrent main theme (A-section), called refrain, or ritornello, is followed by episodes, contrasting themes (B-section, C-section, and so forth) that appear between the refrain. 199 Two of the pieces, *Linguagens do Coração* and *Cruzes Minha Prima*, were written as medleys, also known as chain forms, which are “self-contained sections (ABCD) sometimes with repeats (AABBCDD...).” 200

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>STYLE</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>OPENING KEYS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
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<td>Carnaval de 1867 (Carnaval of 1867)</td>
<td>Quadrilha</td>
<td>1) ABACA</td>
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<td>1867</td>
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<td>2) ABBA</td>
<td>2 – G Major</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3) ABACABA</td>
<td>3 – A Major</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4) ABBA</td>
<td>4 – D Major</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5) ABCBA</td>
<td>5 – G Major</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Querida Por Todos (Cherished By Everyone)</td>
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<td>AABBAACCAADDA</td>
<td>A – G Major</td>
<td>1869</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Rondo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C – E minor</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>D – C Major</td>
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<tr>
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<td>AABBCDDC</td>
<td>A – G Major</td>
<td>1872</td>
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<td></td>
<td>B – E minor</td>
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<td>C – G Major</td>
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<td></td>
<td>D – C Major</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Polka</td>
<td>AABBACCA</td>
<td>A – E♭ Major</td>
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<td>B – C minor</td>
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<td>C – A♭ Major</td>
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<td>Lundu Caracteristico (Characteristic Lundu)</td>
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<td>ABBACCA</td>
<td>A – F minor</td>
<td>1873</td>
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<td>Rondo</td>
<td>B – D♭ Major</td>
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<td>C – D minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Improviso (Improvise)</td>
<td>Polka</td>
<td>AABBACCA</td>
<td>A – B♭ Major</td>
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<td>Rondo</td>
<td>B – D Major</td>
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<td>C – E♭ Major</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cruzes Minha Prima!!! (Gosh my Cousin!!)</td>
<td>Polka</td>
<td>AABBCADDAB</td>
<td>A – C Major</td>
<td>1875</td>
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<td>C – A minor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>D – F Major</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Flor Amorosa (The Loving Flower)</td>
<td>Polka</td>
<td>ABBACCA</td>
<td>A – C Major</td>
<td>1880</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rondo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>C – F Major</td>
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1) *Carnaval de 1867* (Carnaval of 1867) – 1867

*Carnaval de 1867* was composed as a five-movement quadrilha. Different from the polka, the quadrilha is formed of separate parts or movements, often five or six. Such movements have particular forms and titles.\(^{201}\)

The first movement of *Carnaval*, entitled “Le Pantalon” (a pair of trousers), was written in 6/8 and it draws directly from elements of the European waltz. Callado was in the beginning of his career as a composer and was still very much influenced by the European music taught and played all throughout carioca society.

*Such dances [quadrilles, polkas, waltzes, the redowa, the chottisch and the mazurka], introduced in Brazil in the first half of the nineteenth century, became so popular in the Brazilian “elite” parties during the second half of that century, that the majority of composers contributed [wrote in such styles] until the end of the monarchic period...*\(^{202}\)

The stepwise motion of the melody in the first movement is found mostly in the second and third octaves. Such choice of range helped the sound projection in the simple-system flute. The modulation pattern from tonic to subdominant, with the A section in

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\(^{202}\) Castagna, *A Música Urbana*, 1. (translated by author)
the key of D Major and B section in the key of G Major, will be used in many of Callado’s subsequent compositions.

The second movement of *Carnaval*, “Été”, was written in 2/4 meter in the key of G Major. The melody in both the A and B sections begins with an anacrusis and navigates linearly, primarily in the third octave, with pitch A\textsuperscript{6}\textsuperscript{203} as its highest note. Beginning the tune with anacruces will later become a common feature of *choro* melodies.

The following are excerpts from three popular *choros* composed by Pixinguinha. “Carinhoso” (Figure 3.10), “1x0” (Figure 3.11), and ‘Segura Ele” (Figure 3.12) all feature anacruces in their opening melodies.

Figure 3.10: *Carinhoso* (Pixinguinha) mm.1-2.

Figure 3.11: 1X0 (Pixinguinha & Benedito Lacerda) mm.1-2.

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\textsuperscript{203} SPN (Scientific Pitch Notation). “In American Standard (or Scientific) Pitch Notation, The octaves are numbered, with middle C being C4. Every C begins a new octave number, so the B just below C4 is B3, and the D just above C4 is D4. Accidentals don’t change the octave; B\#4 = C5, and Cb5=B4.” Mark Feezell, “Music Theory Fundamentals”, LearnMusicTheory.net. Dr. Mark Feezell, http://learnmusictheory.net/PDFs/pdffiles/01-01-03-AllAboutOctaves.pdf. (accessed September 2, 2015).
In the third movement of *Carnaval*, written in 6/8 and entitled “Poule,” Callado adopted new, distantly related keys: A Major in the A section and F Major in the B section. The waltz-like melody is built mainly in the second octave register of the instrument. It contains longer rhythmic figures for the most part, with a short sequence of eighth notes that is mostly developed in scalar motion with occasional leaps.

“Trénis,” the fourth movement of *Carnaval*, returns to 2/4 meter. Callado begins the piece in the key of D Major, then modulates to G Major for the B section. An anacrusis figure of three sixteenth notes sets the mood for a faster melodic line. Again, the composer explores the third register of the instrument. In the original manuscript, there is what appears to be a coda in 3/4 at the end of the fourth movement (see Figure 3.13). However, it seems out of place as it does not quite fit in the structure of the piece.
The fifth and last part of *Carnaval*, the “Pastourelle,” is written in the key of G Major, with the B section written in the expected subdominant key of C Major. In Figure 3.14, the melody features chromatic intervals in measures 3 through 8, as well as ornaments such as the grace notes in measures 3 and 7.

Figure 3.14: *Pastourelle*, mm.1-8.

The chromatic motion\textsuperscript{204} exemplified above, as well as appoggiaturas and ornaments,\textsuperscript{205} became a melodic trademark of *choro* throughout the years. The passages below feature examples of how Pixinguinha made use of chromaticism (Figure 3.15, measure 1

\textsuperscript{204} Almeida, *Verde e Amarelo*, 111. (translated by author)
\textsuperscript{205} Ibid., 106-107.
and 7-8 and Figure 3.16, measure 8) and ornaments (Figure 3.16, appoggiatura in measure 7 and thrills in m.8) when crafting his melodic lines.

Figure 3.15: *Cochichando* (Pixiguinha, João de Barro & Albeto Ribeiro) mm.1-4.

![Cochichando](image1)

Figure 3.16: *Naquele Tempo* (Pixiguinha & Benedito Lacerda) mm.7-8.

![Naquele Tempo](image2)

The tonal analysis of *Carnaval 1867* suggests that Callado composed and played this piece in a simple-system instrument due primarily to his choice of keys which would provide comfortable fingering execution. Also, as shown in the excerpt below (Figure 3.17), from the first movement, the melodic range of the tune is played in the second and third octaves, with a range of about an octave and a half, which would favor the sound projection in the simple-system flute. Although not particularly ground-breaking aesthetically or stylistically, the piece serves to trace the beginning of the composers style and also to suggest his preference for the five-keyed flute.
2) *Querida por Todos* (Cherished by Everybody) (1869)

*Querida por Todos* (Cherished by Everybody) was the first composition Callado published. The piece was dedicated to his close friend Francisca Edwiges Gonzaga (1847-1935).\(^{206}\) Chiquinha Gonzaga, as she was known, was one of the pillars of popular Brazilian instrumental music, having written hundreds of compositions for piano. Her works, strongly influenced by popular music, added some “Brazilian flavor” to the European piano music that many performers were playing.\(^{207}\)

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\(^{206}\) Carrasqueira, “A Flauta Brasileira,” 54. (translated by author)

\(^{207}\) Edinha Diniz, *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, 26. (translated by author)
Chiquinha frequently performed with Callado and later became a member of one of his most popular ensembles, “Choro Carioca.” Callado needed a capable player who could also understand and translate the language of the new style, following the flutist’s requests and suggestions. ²⁰⁸

The pianist of choro of that time went into history as “pianeiro”, a performer of peccary formation but a bossa interpreter. The ‘balanço’ (swing) is what mattered. Chiquinha Gonzaga felt Callado’s intention and followed him. [Chiquinha] was the first piano professional linked to choro: first ‘pianeira’, first ‘chorona’. ²⁰⁹

There were rumors that Callado was actually attracted to Chiquinha, and that his next composition, A Sedutora (The Seductive One), was written for her. The relationship never materialized but the two maintained a close musical relationship through the years. ²¹⁰

The playful arpeggiated melodic line of the polka Querida por Todos indicates how skillfully Callado wrote for his instrument. Written in the key of G Major, with its C section modulating to the relative key of E minor and the D section going to the key of C Major, the overall melody seems to have been written after the composer had laid out the chord progression. In all but one section, the composer explored either large steps or arpeggios that are based on the harmony.

²⁰⁸ Edinha Diniz, Chiquinha Gonzaga, 26. (translated by author)
²⁰⁹ Ibid., 52.
²¹⁰ Ibid., 65.
Despite the dynamic, chromatically-drive, and arpeggiated melody (see Figure 3.19), the piece could be performed by a skilled five-keyed flutist since both keys are comfortable for the pre-Boehm instrument. The large intervallic motion that dominates the melody in both the A and C sections is counterbalanced by a more linear, conjunct progression in both the B and D sections.

The A and C sections open with a chromatically descending bass line. The first chords in both sections are secondary dominant chords (V7/V) in their respective keys of G Major and E minor. Such harmonic choice indicates Callado’s attention for the structural character of the piece (melody, harmony and rhythm) as a whole. The secondary dominant will be widely used by *choro* composers along with other harmonic elements, such as inverted chords, harmonic progression based on tonic-dominant relations as well as altered chords.\(^{211}\)

The passage below (Figure 3.18), taken from the tune *Naquele Tempo* by Pixinguinha, demonstrates the use of inverted chords (Gm6/B\(^b\) on measure 48), altered chords (Am on measure 46 and B7 on measure 49), and secondary dominant chords (E Major on measure 50).

\(^{211}\) Almeida, “Verde Amarelo,” 121-134. (translated by author)
The excerpt below (figure 3.19) illustrates the harmonic progression and how the bass-line, commonly known as “baixaria” in *choro*, and the melodic line lock themselves together in a linear motion in the first few measures. Also, of note is how the bass-line evolves from simple quarter-note motion in measures 1-8 to a more elaborate progression in measures 9-16 when the melody is repeated.

Figure 3.19: *Querida Por Todos*, mm.1-16.
Such melodically driven bass-lines will later become a trademark of *choro* music.\(^{212}\) Since Callado’s time, performers of *choro* are traditionally expected to elaborate on the chord progression of a piece by adding elements of diatonic, chromatic, modal, or symmetric scalar motion, as well as arpeggios, appoggiaturas, anticipations and other melodic, rhythmic and harmonic elements.\(^{213}\)

3) *Linguagem do Coração* (Language of the Heart) – 1872

The polka *Linguagem do Coração* was written for a friend, Francisco Ferreira de Albuquerque, and was one of the few works printed by the publishing house *Casa do Narciso* while Callado was still alive.\(^{214}\) It became a popular tune amongst *chorões* at the time.

Initially, the analysis of this piece presented a challenge. The available published score\(^{215}\) was printed in the key of G Major. In studying the original manuscript however, it can be seen that Callado had written the piece in the key of C Major, a fourth above the printed score (see Figure 3.20).

\(^{212}\) Almeida, “Verde Amarelo,” 117. (translated by author)
\(^{214}\) Diniz, *Joaquim Callado*, 309. (translated by author)
Callado deviates from the Rondo form by building the melodic outline in chain form. In the original manuscript, the opening section A, in C Major, is followed by a B section in the parallel key of A minor. The Section C, in G Major, begins with the same melodic structure of the A section but ends with a phrase that prepares the piece to the contrasting D section, which modulates to F Major. The D section is lengthier than the previous ones: the motive, a two-measure melodic progression, is constantly reiterated, with new melodic elements that are added to the phrases every time the motive appears.

Figure 3.20: Original manuscript of *Linguagem do Coração*

The overall conjunct melodic line, with only few arpeggiated sections, suggests that the piece can be comfortably performed on the simple-system flute. Callado composed the opening melody using
elements of the Lydian mode; particularly the raised 4th degree. Therefore, when played in the original key of C Major, the melody features the F sharp (see Figure 3.21). Such melodic treatment, favoring notes that play comfortably on the five-keyed flute, can also be seen in the D section. Callado frequently features F-sharp and B natural in the melodic line, even though the section is written in F Major (see Figure 3.22).

Figure 3.21: *Linguagem do Coração*, mm. 1-8.

![Figure 3.21](image)

Figure 3.22: *Linguagem do Coração*, mm. 43-50.

![Figure 3.22](image)

The four sixteenth-note figure featured in both pick-up measures of the two sections above is a recurrent motive throughout the piece. In the contrasting D section, the motive is a constant reminder of the main opening melodic line (see Figure 3.22).

Although there are no tempo markings in the piece, Callado wrote “Gracioso” in the beginning of the A section and “Com Graça” (graciously) in the beginning of the C section. The expressions, although primarily intended to convey the mood of the piece, can also
suggest that it should be played in a comfortable, playful, *andantino* tempo. Considering the points analyzed, Callado’s writing in *Linguagens* seems to focus on the five-keyed flute player.

4) *Saudades do Cais da Gloria* (Missing Gloria’s Port) – 1872

Another of Callado’s pieces dedicated to his friend Franscisco Ferreira de Albuquerque, *Saudades do Cais da Gloria*, was composed in 1872; the same year *Linguagem do Coração* was composed. The rhythmic structure in the melodic lines of both pieces is very similar. Both begin with pickup groupings of four sixteenth-notes, with middle notes acting as double neighbor non-chord tones, and both maintain the sixteenth-note groupings throughout, with slower rhythmic figures between them (see Figures 2.23 and 2.24.) They also share the joyful, blissful, almost ingenuous character of the polkas of the mid to late nineteenth century.\(^{216}\) The “taste” of salon dance music, meant to entertain, is very present in these two pieces as well as in most of Callado’s music.

Figure 3.23: *A Flor Amorosa*, mm.1-8.

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Structurally, this polka is built as a simple five-part Rondo form (AABBAACCA). The five-part form (ABACA), along with the seven-part form (ABACADA), was widely used by Callado and became the standard in *choro* composition. The melody tests the five-keyed flute player’s abilities due to its tonal structure, rapid large intervallic motions and constant octave changes. The A section for instance, begins in the key if E-flat Major, the piece then moves to the key of C minor in the B section and then modulates to A-flat Major in the C section.

The excerpt below, taken from the A-flat Major section, represents how challenging the execution of the score was for both simple-system and Boehm instruments due to its chromaticism, challenging intervallic progression, and large leaps. In several instances, the interval between the last note of a measure and the first note of the next is a seventh or higher (see Figure 3.25: mm.37-38, 39-40, 41-42, 43-44, 45-46, and 46-47).

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Due to the characteristics of this piece, one can even argue that *Saudades* is the first tune that favors the Boehm instrument over the pre-Boehm flute. The choice of keys, as well as the challenging melodic layout, would better suit the chromatically more advanced Boehm flute.

5) *Lundu Caracteristico* (Characteristic Lundu) - 1873

*Lundu Caracteristico* was written in 1873. The steady piano accompaniment provides a constantly paced rhythmic pattern (see Figure 3.26), characteristic of the lundu dance and its cadenced feel, almost like the Argentinean habanera. The piece enjoyed great success among the public but was not popular with Callado’s critics who saw the “urbanized” lundu as a scandalous dance.

Why was the Lundu scandalous? Because it was a percussive dance unique of slaves. It was the fusion between the African Lundu and the foreigner genres of the nineteenth century, above all the polka
that characterized our [Brazilian] musical culture, making the choro and the maxixe its direct offspring.\textsuperscript{218}

The melody is constantly driven by sixteenth-note arpeggios with occasional use of eighth and quarter notes. Common performance practice suggests that the pieces should be played in an Andante tempo which benefits the performers of the simple-system instruments since the key of C minor would cause intonation and fingering challenging for such players.

Figure 3.26: \textit{Lundu Caracteristico}, mm.1-4.

In fact, the execution of this piece on a simple-system flute can present a series of particular challenges, especially in the B section. Callado chose to modulate to the key of D-flat Major, which for a five-keyed instrumentalist would have been more challenging than for a

\textsuperscript{218} Diniz, \textit{Joaquim Callado}, 250. (translated by author)
Boehm flutist, due to the lack of extra keys to facilitate the fingering of flat notes.

Comparably, it would have been as if a Boehm flutist was executing a piece in C-sharp Major with the aggravating fact of the far fewer keys present on the five-keyed flute. The figure below exemplifies the full arpeggiated character of the melodic line in *Lundu.* (see Figure 3.27)

Figure 3.27: *Lundu Característico,* mm.141-148.

The passage above (Figure 3.28) is one example of the obligatory use of an alternate fingering for practical and technical purposes in the five-keyed flute. The regular fingering for F5, requires the player to use the right hand (RH) index finger to close the F-sharp hole, the middle finger to close the E hole, and the ring finger to press the F key (see Figure 3.30), the same ring finger in this intervallic progression, was previously closing the D hole for the E-flat5 note (see
Figure 3.29). In order to execute the intervallic motion from E-flat5 to F5, the player would have to rapidly slide or lift the finger from the D hole to F key. The alternate fingering shown in Figure 3.30 (Five-keyed Alternate Fingering) would facilitate the fingering but compromise intonation.

**Figure 3.29**
Five-keyed Flute

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<tr>
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<td>Eb5</td>
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**Boehm Flute**

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<td>Eb5</td>
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<td>x o o x</td>
<td>0 o 0 0-E\textsuperscript{b} Key</td>
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**Figure 3.30**
Five-keyed Flute

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<td>0 o 0-F Key x</td>
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**Five-keyed - Alternate Fingering**

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**Boehm Flute**

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<td>o o o x</td>
<td>0 x x o-E\textsuperscript{b} Key</td>
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</table>
Fig. 3.31: *Lundu Característico*, mm. 98-101.

In figure 3.31 above, the interval on measure 101, where the melody moves from G₆ to F₆ (see arrow), requires a finger change that would be quite awkward for the five-keyed flutist, whereas the same passage on the Boehm flute, although demanding the same number of finger changes, does not require as much effort from the player due to finger placement. (see Figure 3.32 and 3.33)

Figure 3.32
Five-keyed Flute

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Boehm Flute

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Figure 3.33
Five-keyed Flute

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Boehm Flute

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<td></td>
<td>o-E♭ Key</td>
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*Lundu* is a lengthy work, 218 measures total, a long tune in comparison to the other pieces analyzed in this dissertation, which average 40 to 80 measures in length. The overall melody is relentless, with the performer playing sixteenth notes from the beginning to almost the end. On measure 210, Callado finishes the piece with a virtuosic thirty-second note cadence. (Figure 3.34)

Figure 3.34: *Lundu Caracteristico*, mm. 210-218.

*Lundu* is a challenging piece for both the pre-Boehm and the Boehm flutist, however, after considering the key signature, fingering and melody, the analysis of this pieces suggests it is easier to perform on the Boehm flute than the five-keyed instrument, making a strong case for Callado’s use of the Boehm flute.
6) *Improviso* (Improvise) – Date Unknown

The period from 1872 to around 1875 was one where Callado seemed to be refining his compositional skills, exploring new keys, and crafting more intricate and challenging tunes. The melodies became more technically challenging as he used new keys such as B-flat Major, E-flat Major, C minor, D-flat Major, F minor. Works such as *Mariquinhas* and *Não Digo* as well as *Saudades do Cais da Gloria*, appear to show a more mature composer. The showmanship of the performer seems to have reached new heights. The playfulness portrayed in Callado’s melodies suggests a more virtuosic tendency in his work.

The polka *Improviso* was most likely written during this period of Callado’s life. The melody has a syncopated character. The sixteenth-note leaps and the constantly moving melodic lines capture the informal, improvisatory atmosphere that are present in similar works from this time.

Fig.3.35: *Improviso*, mm.1-8.
The example Figure 3.35, taken from the opening theme of section A, features several melodic characteristics that became part of the *choro*’s vocabulary. Two of the characteristics particularly stand out: the tie from the weak part of the second beat to the strong part of the first beat on measures one and three create a syncopated motion, and the grace notes on beat two of measures 2 and 4.\(^{219}\)

A rhythmic feature used in section C highlights the character of Callado’s tunes. Callado shifts the natural accent of the first and second beat of each sixteenth-note group by emphasizing the third sixteenth-note, which are either the lower or the higher note in the grouping (see accented notes on Figure 3.36). Such rhythmic character would also be frequently used by *choro* composers.\(^{220}\)

Figure 3.36: *Improviso*, mm 28-34.

One would argue that the overall tonal structure of *Improviso*, favors the Boehm flute. However, one can also argue that a skilled five-keyed instrumentalist, such as Callado, could also perform.

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\(^{219}\) Almeida, “*Verde e Amarelo*,” 109. (translated by author)

\(^{220}\) Ibid., 114-115.
Improviso with some effort. The tune would be a “showpiece” in Callado’s repertoire.

7) *Cruzes Minha Prima!!!*(Gosh My Cousin!!!) – 1875

The polka *Cruzes Minha Prima!!!* (Gosh my Cousin!!!), was published in 1875, two years after *Lundu Caracteristico*. Although written in C Major, it makes abundant use of chromatic notes and constant use of grace notes, particularly in the A and B sections. He also maintained the melody in the second and third octaves of the instrument, going as high as A6 in all but the C section.

The piece shares many characteristics with the previously analyzed tunes: the melody begins with an anacrusis. The piece consists of seven parts: AABBCDDAB coda. The following passage (Figure 3.37) shows elements of the characteristic melodic syncopation (m. 24) as well as Callado’s use of a chromatic descending progression (m. 26).

Figure 3.37: *Cruzes Minha Prima!!!*, mm. 23-27.
The modulation to F Major in the C section (figure 3.38) from the previous C Major, shows the common motion from tonic to subdominant, which was frequently used by Callado. In the melodic lines, Callado made use of elements of the Lidian mode, where the 4th degree of a Major scale, in this case B-flat, is raised a half step, (see the B naturals on measures 47-first beat, 44-45, 48-49 and 51, all in the third beat). Elements of syncopation (measure 4, first and third beat) and scalar chromaticism (measure 4, second beat) are constantly present in the melodic structure.

Figure 3.38: *Cruzes Minha Prima!!!*, mm. 44-51.

Although chromatically challenging, this would be another showpiece for Callado and his five-keyed flute. The flourished but mostly conjunct melodic line falls comfortably “under the fingers” of a five-keyed instrumentalist. The keys in which the pieces were
composed, C Major and F Major, would still be relatively accessible in the simple-system flutes. Callado cleverly makes use of strategic placement of “difficult” notes. An example of such placement can be seen in the Figure 3.37. Two notes, F6 (see arrow on m.24) and B-flat5 (see arrow on m.26), precede D and A respectively. Such intervallic motion provides a smooth fingering flow (see charts below).

Figure 3.39  
Five-Keyed Flute: F6-D6

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<td>F6</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0 0 x x</td>
<td>0 x x x 0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Octave</th>
<th>Note</th>
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<th>Right Hand</th>
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<td>3rd</td>
<td>D6</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x 0 0 x</td>
<td>x x x x</td>
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Figure 3.40  
Five Keyed Flute: B-flat5 – A5

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<td>3rd</td>
<td>B♭5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 0 x x</td>
<td>x x x x</td>
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<table>
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<td>x x x x</td>
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As the study of Cruzes suggests, at this point of his career, Callado seemed to have found a balance between composing for the pre-Boehm and the Boehm flute. Both pre-Boehm and Boehm flutists would find the piece comfortable to perform. The following piece helps to further illustrate such statement.
8) *A Flor Amorosa* (The Loving Flower) – 1880

This 2/4 meter polka was written in 1880, the same year that Callado died. He did not live to see its publication and success. *A Flor* became the most well-known of his compositions among not only *chorões* but musicians and *choro* admirers in general. The piece was the first and the most recorded tune by the composer. ²²¹ In 1902, the flutist Agenor Bens recorded *A Flor Amorosa* at “Casa Edison,” the recording was made by Eymard brothers. In 1904, “Casa Edison” was renamed “Odeon,” and in 1912, it became the first South American LP manufacturer. ²²²

The excerpt below (Figure 3.35) was taken from Callado’s piano version of the piece. Several trademarks of the *choro*, already pinpointed in the previous tunes, are featured in the opening chromatic melodic line: it begins with anacruses and develops with characteristic features, such as large intervals, appoggiaturas and syncopated progressions. All of these elements combined, along with some accented notes, sometimes noted and sometimes added by the performer, create the unmistakable swing of *choro*.

The bass line in the opening section also presents a few chromatic progressions that are circled in the score. The bass line moves chromatically from the root of one chord to another, which is,

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²²¹ Diniz, *Joaquim Callado*, 46. (translated by author)
²²² Ibid., 654.
again, another trademark of guitar players in the *roda-de-choro*. In this piano version, the left hand is responsible for carrying both the bass line itself and the harmonic progression, freeing the right hand to play the melodic line.²²³

Figure 3.41: *A Flor Amorosa*, mm. 1-8.

A variation of a common bass line progression (see Figure 3.41), can be heard in the recording made in 1957 by the pianist Mario de Azevedo (1905-1970).²²⁴ In the audio recording, the bass line is doubled by possibly a seven-stringed guitar. Notice the subtle chromatic passages which help one chord to move to the next (measures 2-3, 3-4 and 4-5). The *baixaria* players are expected to

²²³ Almeida, "Verde e Amarelo," 115. (translated by author)
²²⁴ Mario de Azevedo, Youtube: *SenhordaVoz*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xQWFKpmmPs0.(accessed October 22, 2014.)
dialogue with the melody in *rodas de choro* by adding such elements to the bass accompaniment line.

Figure 3.42: *A Flor Amorosa*, mm. 1-8.

Structurally, the piece is a simple five-part Rondo form: ABBACCA. Callado explored the keys of C Major (A section), A minor (B section) and F Major (C section) with a melody range that extends from C5 to G6. Due to its melodic structure, this piece could be comfortably performed on a Boehm instrument as well as on a five-keyed flute. One passage that would show the advantages of the Boehm flute fingering system however, is located at the end of the C section, particularly in intervals from the F6 to F5 (measure 40, second beat) and B5 to B-flat5 (measure 41, first to second beat) intervals. (see Figure 3.43).

Figure 3.43: *A Flor Amorosa*, mm. 40-41.

The chart below illustrates the fingering used in both pre-Boehm and Boehm flutes in measure 40 and 41.

Figure 3.44
## Five-keyed Flute

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**Boehm Flute**

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**Figure 3.45**

**Five-keyed Flute**

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**Boehm Flute**

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**Figure 3.46**

**Five-keyed Flute**

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**Boehm Flute**

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**Figure 3.47**

**Five-keyed Flute**

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**Boehm Flute**

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104
By the end of his life, Callado seemed to have acquired a compositional style of his own. Although classically trained, he was drawn to the Brazilian popular musical scene, choosing to compose melodies in popular styles, which entertained audiences all throughout Rio de Janeiro. As a result of his creativity, talent and charisma, Callado went down in history as an accomplished flutist, composer and entertainer and the creator of the authentically Brazilian instrumental genre *choro*. 
Chapter IV: Conclusion

Joaquim Antonio Callado was a composer of great historical value for Brazilian instrumental music. As a pioneer of *choro* music, Callado helped shape the *choro’s* characteristic features, while also creating a musical movement that became the core of Brazilian music.²²⁵

Chapter II offered an overview of the history of *choro* and the role of the flute, in its various forms, in the development of the genre as it emerged in the late nineteenth century. This part provided background historical information for Part II.

What follows in chapter III is a discussion of Callado’s compositions, listed in chronological order. When comparing changes in keys, chromaticism, difficulty of melodic materials, and range over time, the analysis supports the claim that Callado played a Boehm flute. The analysis also aided in the research of how the various elements of the style emerged through Callado’s music.

The evidence that exists regarding Callado’s instruments is questionable. But, taking into consideration first-hand accounts of Callado’s playing, his known associations with Reichert, and the many flutists who studied with him and were influenced by him (all of whom

²²⁵ Isenhour, Garcia, *Choro*, 68.
performed on Boehm model flutes), it appears likely that Callado played on a Boehm-style flute of some kind.
APPENDIX I
The Flute Before Callado: a Brief History

The flute is an ancient instrument. Civilizations such as the Egyptians, Israelites, Greeks, and Romans featured the instrument in musical and religious events. Recent excavations in southern Germany found a forty-thousand year-old bone flute; scientists believe this is the oldest musical instrument ever discovered.

The first documented proof of the instrument in performance came during the Medieval period. Manuscript illustrations provide accounts of the presence of the instrument in the tenth century Byzantine Empire. Some of the illustrations portray entertainers, such as minstrels, troubadours, and shepherds playing variations of the instrument. In the early fourteenth century, the Cantigas de Santa Maria, a Spanish manuscript comprised of monophonic songs and drawings, portrayed two musicians, perhaps monks, in a picture, performing on side-blown transverse flutes. This document was one of

the earliest European manuscripts with visual information about the Medieval flute.\textsuperscript{229}

In the Renaissance, the flute was documented in Sebastian Virdung’s \textit{Musica Getusth} (1511). The instrument was described as “...a single piece of cylindrical shaped wood with six closely spaced finger holes in order to facilitate finger placement....”\textsuperscript{230} The flute was in the key of D. The document was the earliest known treatise about musical instruments.\textsuperscript{231}

Virdung’s flute was most likely the type brought to Brazil by the Portuguese Jesuit priests, who, in the early sixteenth century introduced European musical instruments to the Indigenous during the country’s colonization.\textsuperscript{232} A particular Jesuit group, named \textit{Companhia de Jesus}, successfully educated natives in schools they built on the Brazilian coasts, where they taught many subjects, including music. In these classes, they taught musical instruments such as \textit{pífaros} (small-one piece transverse flutes), reed instruments such as \textit{charamelas}, cornets, and horns.\textsuperscript{233} The Brazilian natives also made use of

rudimentary flutes in religious and daily rituals. The instruments were made of bamboo, wood, and bone.234

It was in the Baroque period that the transverse flute began to take a more prominent place in music. Both the recorder and the transverse flute were common instruments. Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), in his book *Syntagma Musicum* (1619), was the first to catalogue the transverse flute.235 In his manuscript, Praetorius listed three different sized flutes, each with a range of two octaves and four higher notes. Marin Mersenne (1588-1648) also described the transverse flute in his *Universallis Musica* (1636). He pointed out that the instrument “was made at ‘ton de chappelle,’ or consort pitch, for playing in ensembles.”236 In the document, which aimed to catalogue all instruments that existed at the time, two flutes were shown; one in D and the other G. Mersenne’s book was the first to describe chromatic fingerings and to suggest the use of keys. The type of flute Mersenne described was known as the *Flute Allemande* since they were common instruments in German lands.237

By the middle of the Baroque period, the transverse flute had become more popular than the recorder due to its third octave range

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236 Ibid., 57.
237 Ibid., 57-59.
and more brilliant tone. Composers took interest in the instrument due to important improvements in its construction that allowed for improved intonation and projection.\textsuperscript{238}

The Hotteterre family is credited with having a fundamental role in improving the flute. Jean Hotteterre (1677-1720) was a musician, composer, and flute maker who, in 1660, added an extra hole to the bottom of the Baroque flute, making it possible for the D-sharp to be played without the need of a cross-fingering, therefore improving chromaticism and playability. Hotteterre closed the hole with a pad that was placed inside a rounded cup. He devised an attached key that would lift the cup, therefore opening the hole. Thus, the one-keyed Hotteterre flute was born. A new system of fingerings developed by Hotteterre facilitated not only the production of that specific note, but also, “it increased the brightness of the tone, although it also increased the tendency of flatness of intonation.”\textsuperscript{239} Hotteterre’s flute appeared in Jean Baptist Lully’s orchestra in 1670 and enjoyed great success. By then, the instrument was divided into three parts. The head with the embouchure hole, the body with the six finger holes, and the footjoint with the new devised key.\textsuperscript{240}

In the 1720s, another invention facilitated the adoption of the transverse flute into orchestras and ensembles throughout Europe. It

\textsuperscript{238} Toff, \textit{The Flute Book}, 43.  
\textsuperscript{239} Ibid., 44.  
\textsuperscript{240} Ibid., 43-4.
was very difficult for flutists to adjust their instruments to the variety of pitches that were used in orchestras at that time. The range was wide, from A=392 up to A=430. A system named *corps de réchange* also known as *corps d’amour* was invented and became popular.\(^{241}\)

Flutes that had the *corps the récharge* were divided into four parts: Head, upper-middle joint, lower-middle joint, and footjoint. The upper-middle section was interchangeable. A flutist could carry two, three, or even four different joints that had different sizes and, therefore, different pitches.\(^{242}\)

The equal temperament\(^{243}\) system came in the mid-Baroque period and solved many, but not all, of the flute’s intonation problems. In fact, the instrument was known for being out of tune. Composers were often aware of the limitations of the instrument. Some key signatures were more comfortable or successful, such as G, D and A, while others were practically impossible to play in tune. A good example of how composers handled such limitations can be seen in Georg Philip Telemann’s (1681-1767) *12 Fantasies* for solo flute. Telemann used a progression of major and minor keys from A to G from one *Fantasie* to the other but avoided the keys of B Major, C minor, and F minor.

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\(^{242}\) Boland, *Method for The One Keyed Flute*, 4.  
The problems with intonation were never fully resolved until the development of the Boehm flute. It is very probable that, although already better and improved, Joaquim Callado’s flute was an instrument that required a great amount of technique in order to be played properly in tune.

Regardless of its problems, the transverse flute began to rise in importance as a solo instrument. Great composers such as Georg Phillip Telemann, Jean Hotteterre (1677-1720), Jacques-Martin Hotteterre (1674-1763), Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741), Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), Georg Frideric Handel (1685-1759), Michel Blavet (1700-1768), and Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) all wrote for the instrument. Quantz was, in fact, the most prolific of all with more than five hundred compositions and a popular method for flute. The environment in which Quantz lived was ideal for such achievement. He served as the music instructor for Frederick the Great of Prussia, himself a talented flutist. Quantz was also a flute maker; many of his instruments were made for the King, who had a habit of giving them as presents.244

The Classical period brought more advances to the flute and flute playing. In 1760, a group of London flute makers, Pietro Florio (c. 1730-1795), Caleb Gedney (1754-1769), and Richard Potter (1728-244 Toff, The Flute Book, 212-214.
1806), devised a flute with three extra keys (G-sharp, F, and B-flat), because the music of the period demanded a more tonally flexible instrument. The four-keyed flute gained popularity and Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) increased the role of the instrument in their later symphonies. There was some resistance, though. Lew Granom wrote in his treatise

*Instruction for Playing the German Flute* an extensive critique of the use of gadgets for the sake of drawing attention to the flute. He argued that a true musician should play in tune regardless of any mechanism; he should only need a good ear and proper technique.

Despite the resistance, even more keys were added to the instrument. By the end of the Classical period, the eight-keyed flute with an extension to the low C (two more holes and keys were placed on the bottom of the instrument by Florio and Gedney) became the most popular instrument used in Europe. This particular flute gained several names such as “german,” “ordinary,” “old” or “simple.” Composers such as Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788), Mozart, Haydn, and Friedrich Kuhlau (1786-1832) wrote brilliantly for the instrument; the latest was also an accomplished flutist.

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246 Ibid., 113.
247 Bate, *The Flute*, 97.
Some of the greatest innovations in flute making came during the Romantic period. Larger orchestras demanded better and louder instruments. The Classic flute, although improved, still had its limitations. It had a small sound due to its relatively small finger and embouchure holes. Intonation was still a challenge because the finger holes where still placed according to hand and finger position, disregarding acoustical properties of hole placement. More keys were added; some makers even built flutes with ranges as low as a fourth from C, the lowest note being a G. It was this flute, among others, that Antonio Callado might have used to compose and perform his choros as well as traditional repertoire.

By the mid 1820s, a German flutist, composer and flute maker began a journey that would change the history of the flute and flute making as well as that of other instruments, such as the clarinet and oboe. Theobald Boehm (1794-1881) started building old-system flutes early in his life. As an accomplished flutist, he also travelled to perform. Boehm’s life changed when he met a famous British flutist named Charles Nicholson (1795-1837). As he heard Nicholson playing, he became overwhelmingly impressed by the musician’s full tone and brilliant sound. He took notice that Nicholson’s flute had larger finger and embouchure holes.

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I did as well as any continental flutist could have done, in London, in 1831, but I could not match Nicholson in power of tone, wherefore I set to work to remodel my flute. Had I not heard him, probably the Boehm flute would never have been made.\textsuperscript{251}

Boehm was a proponent of one of the two schools of flute making, favoring the complete repositioning of the holes to mathematically proper places. Other flute makers were in favor working with the already positioned holes of the instrument, arguing for tradition and hand comfort. Inspired by Nicholson’s flute, Boehm resized the finger holes, placing them in acoustically correct places. He also expanded the bore of the instrument and reshaped the embouchure hole. He placed metal cups with pads covering the larger holes.\textsuperscript{252} Boehm took advantage of a revolutionary system of key mounting introduced first by Claude Laurent (1805-1848) in his Glass Flute.\textsuperscript{253} Most of the keys kept the holes open, as opposed to earlier instruments where cups kept the keys closed. In 1832, Boehm presented his first model, known as the “key-ring flute,” in London and Paris.\textsuperscript{254}

In 1847, Boehm improved his 1832 flute by replacing the conical wood body with a cylindrical metal one. He then presented it to flute

\textsuperscript{252} Powell, \textit{The Flute}, 164-175.
\textsuperscript{253} Ibid., 147.
\textsuperscript{254} Toff, \textit{The Flute Book}, 55.
makers Louis Lot, in France, and Rudall & Rose, in England, who began building the instrument on a larger scale. The instrument was awarded many prizes and quickly gained popularity, especially amongst French players. Other makers continued to improve Boehm’s instrument. Lot and Godfroy opened the center of the A, G, F-sharp, and E keys, giving birth to the “French Model” flute. Later, Italian flutist Giulio Briccialdi (1818-1881), devised the B-flat thumb key in order to facilitate a frequently used fingering.²⁵⁵

The 1847 Boehm flute was the inspiration for all these improvements. Boehm’s search for perfection pushed him to create a superior instrument. The instrument’s popularity also produced some controversial stories. The most famous was about a French flutist named Victor Coche (1806-1881) who claimed that Boehm had stolen the concept of his flute from a gentleman called Capitan Gordon (n.d.), an amateur flute maker. Gordon had met Boehm in London and had showed him his flute, which had larger holes that seemed to be in the acoustically correct place. But Gordon’s flute was mainly the fruit of trial and error and it was far from being perfect. According to Philip Bate in his book The Flute, the controversy was fueled by Coche’s jealousy.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ Bate, The Flute, 240.
Boehm’s crowning moment came when Louis Dorus (1812-1896), a flute professor at the acclaimed Paris Conservatory, begun to use his flute in 1860. The flute was officially adopted as the instrument of the Conservatory. Throughout the years, the instrument gained popularity all over the world and it is now standard among flutists, amateur and professional alike.

APPENDIX II

List of Compositions in Alphabetical Order by Joaquim Antonio Callado

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258 List provided by Daniel Dalarossa Ed., Joaquim Callado: Classics of the Brazilian Choro (You Are the Soloist!) (São Paulo: Global Choro Music Corporation, 2008).
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VITA

AUTHOR’S NAME: Denis Almeida dos Santos

EDUCATION:

Master of Arts in Music
Campbellsville University
May 2008

Bachelor Degree in Music, Flute emphasis
Ceará State University
May 2002

AWARDS:

Macauley Chamber Music Competition, College Division. First Prize, 2010
University of Kentucky

MTNA (Music Teachers National Association), Young Artist Chamber Music, Honorable Mention 2010
University of Kentucky

TORA assistantship, 2009-2013
University of Kentucky

Graduate assistantship 2008 – 2009
Campbellsville University

Undergraduate Assistantship Award 1999-2002
Ceará State University

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