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256

AFRO-BRAZILIAN MUSIC AND RITUAL

**Part 1. From Traditional Genres to
the Beginnings of Samba**

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AFRO-BRAZILIAN MUSIC AND RITUALS.
Part 1. From Traditional Genres to the Beginnings of Samba

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This is the text of some of the lectures I presented in the Graduate Seminar in Ethnomusicology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, in the Spring of 1999. These notes correspond to approximately ten of the fifteen classes. They do not include the notes on candomblé, shango, mina, batuque, umbanda, Afro-Bahian popular music (Afro-bloco, axé music, etc) nor the discussions on the globalization of Afro-Brazilian musical genres today. I hope they will be the subject of a second part of this essay in the future.

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VI. I. Afro-Brazilian Music: A general Overview

I will try to present here a general overview of the various musical traditions of African origin, which started to be developed in Brazil since the first decades after the arrival of slaves, brought to the country from the African continent. The discussions will therefore encompass both ritual and secular forms of Afro-Brazilian music. Written so far as a guide for a lecture course, the arguments had to be presented here in a highly synthetic form. I hope the reader will be able to grasp the general theoretical perspective which is partially implicit in the analysis and interpretations of concrete musical examples I will offer. Nonetheless, I believe that by the end of the text, a certain approach will become established. In a few words, this is one which aims at making sense of a musical tradition such as the Afro-Brazilian (in which practically all musical genres are at the same time singing genres) through the articulation of three main dimensions of a cultural text: musical texture, poetics of songs, and social history. The latter is here understood broadly as the overall set of practical conditions which shaped the musical genres that managed to acquire a formal stability which allowed to develop a life partially detached from the initial social and historical circumstances which they comment by means of aesthetic signs.

I am particularly interested in devising a conceptual model which allows us to understand how genres are created, expanded and transformed through time and how certain pieces of a repertoire are recreated when they pass from one genre to another. This implies a hypothesis of a unity behind the Afro-Brazilian musical experience. There is a national space that at a certain point forced a process of intertextuality, even if based on the harsh and horrifying conditions of slavery. But I have strong reasons to believe that Afro-Brazilian music evidently expanded enormously after the second half of the nineteenth century and especially in the mid twentieth century - thus, precisely after the nation was consolidated and its borders defined and closed. It is only recently, at the end of the twentieth century, that Afro-Brazilian religions and music are transcending the national boundaries and expanding inside Argentina and Uruguay, where probably new - and probably very different from what we have seen so far - processes of fusions, syncretisms, cross-fertilizations are taking place and need to be studied in relation to the Argentinian and Uruguayan musical traditions..

There are two very distinct models of Afro-Brazilian religious traditions that have reflected two different musical organizations. The first model, which I can identify in one word as the *candomblé* model, of which the shango cult of Recife I studied is an equivalent, has kept itself extraordinarily cohesive and close to influences and experimentations. Being a highly aristocratic form of cult, with a very elaborate and demanding process of initiation, shango cults have somehow captured musical expression and made it captive of its liturgy. So, orthodoxy, conservatism, is the main push. The result is a fascinating world of symbols, organized internally with such control on the part of leaders that they invite a structural analysis. Since it is a universe that is ideologically closed, one can look for structural transformations, oppositions, equivalences, so that a unity can be sustained in the end of the interpretation. In this model, therefore, the theory most readily at hand will be of a kind which makes wide room for functionalist and structuralist arguments. A context-sensitive analysis will practically be unavoidable. This is not a criticism on this kind of analysis, but rather a remark on the fact that one's theory depends on the question we are putting to the material we try to understand; and, the other round, one's usually responding to the intellectual and aesthetic (mainly in the sense of sensuous) challenges the music material

itself is imposing upon us.

The second style is the Angola religious tradition. It was organized in such way as to allow an open window to influence and be influenced by other musical genres. This is an old argument in Brazil, but which need more historical and empirical research to be reformulated. The Angola nation of candomblé has a liturgy which is more mixed in terms of the musical and linguistic material used. So, we can actually trace the passage from strictly ritual, orthodox Angola repertoire, to the repertoire of umbanda cults, which are a much more syncretic kind of cults and finally to secular traditional genres - ones which we can call rural, or communitary, such as capoeira, maculelê, samba de roda, jongo; and finally to the variety of genres of popular music, from commercial to “experimental”, or “cult”. As can be expected, studies of Angolan tradition will most likely emphasize dynamics and deal with issues of change, ambiguity, polysemy, hybridity, and so on. To exercise these two theoretical trends simultaneously is what I believe should be done in order to arrive at a general picture. This Seminar is an opportunity which was allowed to me to attempt at formulating a more general interpretation of Afro-Brazilian musical genres and their connections (influences, borrowings, commentaries, hybridism, etc) with popular and secular genres.

We can identify two very distinct models of aesthetic and symbolic influence:

1. In the case of Yoruba Nations, both of shango and of candomblé, popular commercial songs evoke the orishas via a musical language which has not come from Yoruba. João Bosco, Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, among others, they mention names of gods, praise names, fragments of Yoruba song texts or invocations, but the MPB material itself goes in another direction. There may be some degree of experimentation with Yoruba material (songs and drumming patterns), but there is a stock of musical grammar in the hands of listeners. If experimentation goes beyond a certain limit, the public cannot assimilate the aesthetic message and the process of communication doesn't grow or is not fully accomplished. With the risk of pushing the structural argument too far, we can sometimes speak of a musical paradox: popular musicians want to compose songs that refer to orishas in the Yoruba tradition; but when they take the MPB idiom, they are in fact working with a grammar that is closely linked to Angola background: variations of samba, binary rhythms, melodies which have a closer affinity with Portuguese repertoire, strophes more similar to Iberian models and even harmony, already a result of this long process of fusion which occurred throughout the nineteenth century and which resulted in the vast, but recognizable world of Brazilian popular music (what is usually defined as MPB). ¹Yoruba repertoire implies time line pattern, usually in 12, be it 7+5, or 5+7, which sets the ear in a clear aesthetic direction; antiphonal style of singing; song texts with strophes which do not adapt easily to Portuguese versification; melodic lines which are remote from the styles coming from the forms generated out of an old fusion of Portuguese and African musical styles; and finally, polyrhythmy, which until today doesn't appeal much to the public.

¹ I will return to MPB in the last section, where I discuss the group of urban musical genres broadly known as styles of samba.

2. In the case of Angola, popular music pieces can be built as contiguous with the religious repertoire. This is due to various factors pertaining to music and language: for instance, mixing between Portuguese and Bantu words has been historically much more intense than mixing between Yoruba or Fon and Portuguese. As a passing commentary, let us not forget that this argument about language is a typical analytical argument, because Afro-Brazilians are scarcely aware of it.

II. Theorizing Musical Genres: Music, Text, Social History

Many times we talk about musical styles which actually form part of wider events, and then they take a life on their own and become independent from the point of view of analysis.

A sound analytical reason to study song texts can be made clear if we think there is so much hidden behind the levels of symbolic and aesthetic expression activated in these complex cultural events: drumming, dancing, costumes, acting, miming, moving; and, besides all this, we realize that people are muttering some words. It seems irrelevant, because there is so much already, so why listen carefully to people who most often don't pronounce in standard language, cut half of the words, chose to use voice production that make their own language difficult to be understood by an outsider, when not by themselves?. So, I am interested in what they are saying. For instance, as we will see later on, what are the Taieiras, or the Congos, saying in front of the church.

Hybridity implies necessarily that you have structure in the first place. You can only make hybrids if you have structure. The listener is supposed to follow the fusion. If the listener is not aware of the structures that were fused together, he would lose a lot of the aesthetic pleasure and some of the plausible meanings offered by the musical piece. The mere qualification of an aesthetic form as hybrid implies the existence of others which are certainly not hybrid. When a composer uses a so-called "native" material, he knows that it appears as a citation, a parody, a collage, an allusion, an element of experimentation. The final expression, therefore, is not a hybrid, because it alludes to a subject who establishes a relationship with this work of art not in a condition of being a hybrid.²

We need musical genres, and we need them to be stable because we have different keys of our selves that should be expressed: the social key is to be expressed, the political, the spiritual, the affective, and so on. A musical genre is many things at the same time: it is a rhythmic pattern, a drumming pattern, a precise, or at least a recognizable harmonic circle or sequence, sometimes it is a set of words or fixed literary tropes that combine with this

²For hybridity in music, see Simon Frith (1996); for a general discussion of hybridity in the contemporary context of globalization and transnationality, see Homi Bhabha (1996).

rhythmic pattern and with this particular kind of harmony and melodic movement because these words or tropes evoke a certain social landscape, a historical landscape, a geographical landscape, a divine landscape, or even a landscape of the mind. All that is a musical genre. Once you have this big articulated whole together as a genre, then you have all these fusion experiments that part from them and overlap between two or more genres. That is what makes it so rich: that it is able to evoke the structures of the genres which were put into contact in a single piece. Usually the different genres from which the hibridity is being formed, were somehow structured in a previous era. And they don't seem to have the same kind of importance or meaning today that they then had. So hibridity becomes necessary to bring it up to date, to propitiate the sensuous atmosphere which will hopefully allow it to sound revealing and surprising once more. You have to experiment constantly; you have to go forward, even as a way to go to the past, in order to retrieve an aesthetic experience that runs the danger of disappearing..

A very clear parallel can be drawn between the theory of genres in music and in literature. The already classical study of Tzvetan Todorov, for instance, will sound familiar to music theorists, especially when he emphasizes the historically instituted character of literary genres, which allows them "to function as "horizons of expectation" for readers and as "models of writing" for authors" (Todorov 1990:18). Even Jacques Derrida's powerful attack on the normative character of genres in art and literature presupposes the constant necessity of shaping expression in order to find aesthetic leeways to expand its contingently pre-ordained limits.³ Of course, one could argue that the case of musical traditions is more complex, or at least more demanding, since it requires paying close attention to at least two relatively separate traditions of institutionalization and consequent de-institutionalization of genres: musical genres and poetical genres. When it comes to ritual music, that agenda will have to be expanded to accomodate theories on other dimensions of symbolic expressions - for instance, an articulation of music and poetry with choreographic genres.

As we shall see later on, in our discussion of samba, there has always been (especially in the New World) strong inter-class pacts in the symbolic and aesthetic spheres. Styles have moved upwards and downwards in the social ladder, and hibridity was constantly appearing to express these movements. A great example is, of course, tango - from the bas fond of Buenos Aires to the grandeur of Bohemian life in Paris. Changes or fusions in music, text, harmony, certainly expressed this transformation of its social basis. We should bear in mind, however, that there is one dimension (obviously, one among many) in these processes which pertains to the life of aesthetic forms, and as such it is not linked exclusively to the culture of modernity. The retro wave, for instance, in films, books, post cards, dance, and finally in music, is just one aspect of the life of musical genres today.

³See Derrida (1980).

Awareness of these changes was the background for the signing, in the sixties, of the “Samba Chart” (Carta do Samba), by all the members of the League of Samba Schools of Rio de Janeiro, to preserve samba as a genre. This movement of preservation has to be understood beyond the simple trope of conservatism, reaction, fossilization of culture, etc. It actually addressed aesthetic issues of song, poetry, rhythm, to stimulate creativity within a framework of competition: how to evaluate a good samba without a discussion of samba as a genre? We will return to this later when we discuss the history of samba.⁴

Names of music and dance genres are quite often revealing of stereotypes, positions, historical events, traumas, slips, counter-images, etc - in other words, they are almost invariably expressions of contestation within a field of social inequality and contrasting ideologies. In the case of the Kalunga quilombos of Goiás, for example, their main, sacred dance, made central to the construction of their identity as a unique group of communities of descendants of runaway slaves, is called *súcia*.⁵ Curiously, *súcia* in standard Portuguese is a pejorative word, a category of accusation, referring to people of bad reputation joining together; in short, a *súcia* is a gang of bad people! Instead of rejecting the word, used against them, to describe negatively their forefathers at the time they were trying to escape from slavery, the Kalungueiros kidnaped the word to identify them and inverted its meaning, to represent a desirable kind of dance, the best of all dances, their dance!. An etymological study of most of Afro-Brazilian musical genres would probably lead us to similar conclusions.

Another question that should be addressed in all cases is that of mediations: which part of these genres was actually imposed on the slaves and ex-slaves by the whites? There was never a plan of musical education in Brazil for the poor classes - nothing more than some basic harmony in Church hymns. The *folias* may reflect this influence, especially because there was some connection with Baroque orchestras. Some of the dramas may have been written, at least partially, by Jesuits. In the Congadas, Taieiras, St. Gonzalo Dance, some verses were probably produced outside the popular classes. This might have been quite different from the USA: Protestants taught Western harmony, choir singing. In the case of candomblé, shango and similar traditional cults, an entire cultural tradition came to Brazil; so, systematic knowledge was transmitted in an integral form. In the case of the candombe, no such integration ever happened and the whole process of structuration of musical ideas was one of reconstitution.

⁴The text of the Samba Chart was edited by Edison Carneiro (1962).

⁵The *súcia* dance can be seen in the Video *Quilombos do Brasil* (1995).

In the case of Afro-Brazilian ritual musical genres, the fate of a particular dance, a festival or a musical practice, is dependent upon transformations which may occur inside an institution that carries out a global project: the Vatican. So, the difference between one tradition and another may be a direct consequence of the positions taken by two persons inside the Church's hierarchy: firstly, on the receptiveness (or lack of) of the local priest towards these unofficial Catholic practices; secondly, and most decisively, the bishop's attitude towards the positions taken by the local priest. The Bishop can, at any time, at his own will, keep a priest in a parish or remove him to somewhere else. A case occurred in Salvador in 1998 illustrates this point quite clearly: a new bishop arrived in Bahia (being the first Black Bishop ever to preside the Church in the most "Black" city of the entire New World) and soon stimulated the integration of African culture inside Catholic rituals, a tendency which already had some limited precedents. The Cardinal of the state of Bahia, however, reacted strongly against that politics of "Blackening" the Church practices and removed him from Salvador, transferring him to a city in the hinterland of the state, where his singularity as a Black bishop would be less relevant and where Afro-Brazilian cultural expressions are much less prominent. In the few months that he was in charge of the Salvador dioceses he already stimulated the creation of new cultural forms in the Afro-Brazilian scene, with groups such as Ilê Ayê, Sons of Gandhi, Olodun, etc. The Black community complained about his leave, but the Cardinal's power is absolute and every priest is bound to his superiors by an oath of obedience. Thus, recent developments in the Black cultural scene in Salvador will probably include a component of response, or reaction, to the attitude of the Cardinal. A certain 'African aesthetic fundamentalism', for instance, may grow as a kind of statement, to repudiate the denial of integration expressed by the Church's hierarchy.

Images of blacks dancing and playing music by travellers: it is always an image of fun. The black girl is playing the marimba, very nicely. Since she is playing, everything is fine with her; the image of music making helps obliterate the agony of the slave regime. In this case, she doesn't look particularly sensuous or erotic. It is worth remarking that the marimba was used in sacred events, and the painter might have been aware of that. As Richard Leppert has stressed, the sight of sound is as important, for a certain class, as the sound itself.⁶ In the case of Brazil, it is almost always the blacks who are playing music, and not the whites. The blacks bring fun to life; whites just pose, show their rank and status symbols, and they are hardly depicted doing any productive activity. From the perspective of the whites - who painted slaves and commissioned the paintings - performance was the natural expression of slaves when they were not being punished. We can trace a continuity of this regime of images, from colonial days up to contemporary Brazilian media. The setting to film the capoeira dance, for instance, in the JVC series,⁷ is very similar to Debret's

⁶See Leppert (1994).

⁷See the Video Vol. 5 of the JVC Anthology of Music and Dance of the Americas.

emblematic poses.⁸

On the other hand, we see in many songs and in the voice production of many singers, a touch of melancholy and sadness, which can pass as part of the 'black perspective'. This melancholic touch never gets to the point of emotional intensity and stress of American spirituals; neither the voice production, nor the arrangement, nor the body language utilized in performance can be compared to it. If we contrast it with the African-American musical aesthetics, in this sense, Afro-Brazilian styles will certainly sound, look and feel much more low key.

I am interested in presenting Afro-Brazilian music also from the perspective of social history. Musical genres open up, describe and inscribe a landscape, social, geographical, historical, aesthetic (in its original Greek connotation of *aesthesis* as sensation; thus: sensuality, or sensuousness). I take as important to analyse the various spaces that are mentioned in song texts and the landscapes that are symbolized in the performances, be it in dances or in the name given to the places where the music happens.

Although we are inevitably working with intertexts, we as analysts should bear in mind that the actual expressive musical object of our analysis may be an absolutely singular text - who knows, a particular musical piece might be performed under such special circumstances to the point of becoming unrepeatable; so, the theoretical treatment we might choose to give while discussing it has to take this factor into account. Because the idea of repetition is a primary idea for analysts of musical genres. Another factor which influences intertextuality is musical performance itself. The playing of instruments, dance movements, formalized costumes, kinetic displays, dramatization, etc, all these aesthetic expressions put together create an environment which passes the idea of continuity and of articulation of the lyrics being sung - whereas sometimes it is just a medley that probably will not be repeated in the same order or even with the same aesthetic elements. This is a process similar to what we can experience in the other arts, such as poetry and literature. Take, for instance, the facsimile edition of Ezra Pound's intervention in what was supposed to be a final draft of the *The Waste Land*, by T. S. Eliot, taken to be one of the most important poems of the century: dozens of verses and parts of verses were cut off from the poem as it appeared when it was published. Yet, the poem would also get another unity, another sense of whole and balance if Pound had left them stay. Critics and readers who, for decades, were not aware of Pound's corrections and cuts, were marvelled by the conciseness of the text. So, macro-meanings are always imposed upon by the reader, interpreter or, as in our case, listener. Example:

That is, the conditions for intertextual reading are clearly given, but it can be misleading to reduce the meaning of the entire whole to a unified aesthetic consciousness. The singing subject does not have to be consistent, coherent or even unified. Heteronimity, masking, fragmentation, plurality, multivocality, these are all standard expressive devices available for singing practices in many of the Afro-Brazilian musical genres we will be

⁸See Debret (1978).

discussing - and, probably, a feature of many musical genres in other musical traditions as well.

Another question has to be put here, though: is the musical community more consistent (if not more coherent) than each individual singer or player? To what extent is a musical genre something more than just the sum of all individual singers and players that subscribe their aesthetic belonging to a particular genre? Constitutive to genres is a pressure towards stability in space and time. Dialectically opposed to genres is the logic of individual musical pieces, which tend to reveal the tensions and confrontations experienced in the realm of social interactions - be they racial, ethnic, class originated, religious, etc - and transfer them to the realm of the aesthetic - imaginary, structural and performatic.

Some musical pieces are the result of three modes of expression put together at a certain time, but which could have, each one on its own logic, be generated and acquired a communicative life on their own, independent of each other. Mythically, at least, popular music, with a known author, appears as an aesthetical object which belongs to historical (and professional, technological, productive, material) time, whose biography of gestation and realization can be traced. Thus, there are endless programs, documentaries, interviews, books, articles, etc, explaining in great detail how the lyrics of a particular song was put together, combined with the melody, how it demanded a certain arrangement, and so on.

As to *candomblé* and *xangô*, the story of the music is not narrated as a biography, but it is presented as if that was a particular Yoruba or Fon piece which used to be performed in Africa at a certain time and then brought to Brazil, where it has been preserved. If it presents changes, these should be seen as hazards of use - much like a painting, a sculpture, an idol, a chair, all get fissures, little damages, repairs and inevitably worn out through time.

On the other hand, dramatic genres don't appear with these same narratives. In them, the collage aspect is much more visible; strophes come and go, narratives are fragmented, numerous variants of the same text are a common feature. The *candombe* piece from *Matição*, for instance, it is more like a heteroclyt expressive object, result of a drumming practice developed and transformed on its own; a song text acquired, probably, from other ritual traditions such as Catholic Mass, novenas, *trezenas*, etc; and a repertoire of melodies and a harmonic singing practice that may have been assimilated by practicing with song texts distinct from the ones now in use.

III. Traditional Rural Genres

a) *Vissungos*

Vissungos are songs of power. They were originally sung during the work of mining in the rivers of Minas Gerais in the early eighteenth century. Taking the standard comparative ethnomusicological perspective, they could be classified as work songs; though, if we bear in mind that people who sang them were carrying out their activities under severe physical coercion, by calling them "work song" we would be hardly reflecting the singing subject's point of view. The setting for the performance of *vissungos* is well depicted in Plate XLII of Carlos Julião's *Riscos Iluminados*, produced in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and

published around 1800.⁹ After the decline of mining in that region the *vissungo* became a ritual singing tradition, in which the actual work in the line of digging gold was dramatized into an occasion of communitary effort. Under this ritual form they were recorded in the region of Serro (exactly in the same place quoted in Plate XLII almost two hundred years earlier) by Ayres da Matta Machado Filho. Quality of the recording was terrible in the thirties. For what I heard of them, the rhythmic base was most likely composed of a trio of drums, playing interlocking parts, who knows, connected with *candombe* drumming, as remote from mainstream Afro-Brazilian secular and commercial music as the *vissungos*. In the sixties, Clementina de Jesus recorded them with a group of musicians. The rhythmic base chosen didn't reproduce original *vissungo* drumming, but used a kind of generalized *umbanda* binary rhythms, such as *barravento*, which we hear in *umbanda*, *macumba* and *jurema* houses all over the country.

1. *Vissungo* (slave song from the mining area of Minas Gerais)- Sung by Clementina de Jesus

Êi ê covicará iô bambi
 tuara uassage ô atundo mera
 covicara tuca tunda
 Dona Maria de Ouro Fino
 crioula bonita num vai na venda
 chora chora chora só
 chora chora chora só

(Miss Mary from Fine Gold
 the beautiful mulatto girl won't go to the grocery shop
 she cries cries cries alone
 she cries cries cries alone)

Bantu linguist Yeda Pessoa de Castro offered me the likely following translation for the first part of the text: It is raining, early in the morning, and the hens are scratching the soil [in their typical backward movement].

In this song one can perform the typical exercise of mishearing; many times the listener adds his own desire and changes what he hears in a song lyric. Here, for instance, Clementina de Jesus lets the energy of her voice drop almost to silence in the words "na venda". For a long time, I thought she had said, "não vai nascer": a lovely mulatta girl shall not be born.

To start with, the text unfolds a very prosaic and domestic scene, which is related to the slave quarters of a village in colonial Minas Gerais: early in the morning (chickens usually wake up at dawn), it is pouring rain and that is why the young mulata cannot go to the groceries. However, since all *vissungos* convey an esoteric meaning, we can venture the following: the two sets of signifiers: her incapacity to leave the house, and the heavy drops of rain, both may form a coherent chain with the tears falling from her eyes. Miss Mary because of the incapacity of female beauty generated under those inhuman circumstances.

⁹See Carlos Julião (1960).

In this *vissungo*, Clementina breathes in a moment which can be considered ‘wrong’, from the point of view of popular commercial music. In a commercial recording, the producer would probably have asked her to repeat the piece in another take. However, her ‘wrong’ breathing can be heard as symbolically right, for it becomes iconic of the text, which says: he cries, he cries, alone. The blot in the voice, the wrong breathing, can be heard as the sobbing of the slave who didn’t have the chance of running away to the quilombo together with the young man.

2. *Vissungo* - Slave song from the mining region of the state of Minas Gerais
(Sung by Clementina de Jesus)

Muriquinho piquinino,
ô parente
muriquinho piquinino
de quissamba na cacunda.
Purugunta onde vai,
ô parente.
Purugunta onde vai,
pro quilombo do Dumbá.
Ei chora-chora mgongo é de vera
chora, mgonga, chora.
Ei chora-chora mgongo e cambada
chora, mgongo chora.

(Very small little boy
oh my kinsman [oh brother]
with a quissamba in his back.
Ask where he is going to,
oh brother,
ask where he is going to -
to the Dumb’a quilombo.
Eh cry [cries], cry [cries], mgongo, a lot
cry, mgongo, cry
Eh cry, cry, mgongo, eh people
cry, mgongo, cry.

Translation offered by maroons who descend from the slaves who worked in the mines in the regions of Sêro and Diamantina:

"The boy, with the bundle of his clothes on his back, is running away to the quilombo of Dumbá. Those who stay are crying because they cannot go with him."

Vissungos, just like Umbanda song texts for some deities such as Pretos Velhos and Pretas Velhas (Black Old Men and Black Old Women) dramatize a particular use of Portuguese language with sounds heard as infantile, especially with diminutives. A correlation has been established historically between the way Bantu speakers change the Portuguese morphology by adding vowels and thus expanding the original number of phonemes of words, and the way children speak. In short, the process of Bantuization of Brazilian Portuguese was ideologically constructed as if the subject has become mentally

infantile, retarded or incapacitated. There is also an overtone of lack of self-esteem, of cowardice, of accepted and overt inferiority in speaking in a Bantuized manner. “Muriquinho” is a Bantuization of “mulequinho”, little boy. Muriquinho piquinino means a “very small little boy”.

Who is the I that is speaking in the song? To whom is he speaking - that is, who is the Thou for him - and who is the third who guarantees the communication he is attempting to establish? The subject here says someone asks where is the boy heading to; someone cries a lot; probably the cambada is crying. We have here what Bakhtin calls the double voice: he is crying through the statement that the others are crying.¹⁰

3. Vissungo - Clementina de Jesus

Iáuê ererê aiô gumbê
Com licença do Curiandamba
com licença do Curiacuca
com licença do sinhô moço
com licença do dono de terra

(With the permission of the curiandamba
with the permission of the curiacuca
with the permission of the young man
with the permission of the land owner)

Curiandamba is a supernatural being who leads the way and demands to be appeased not to cause trouble for the black slaves who work on the mines. Curiacuca is another supernatural being, which would also have a menacing power for the subject who sings and for those listeners who agree in sharing the community of meaning and experience formulated by the song. Both supernatural beings are probably mythical equivalents of the role played by Eshu, or Bara, or Legba, the trickster god in Afro-Brazilian religions. Despite of the fact that it is a genre of very restricted circulation, this vissungo states a certain attitude of Blacks in Brazil which is emblematic. The subject unites the supernatural and the natural world, the religious and the social, the celestial and the human hierarchy; he seems obliged to surrender to African as well as to Brazilian spheres of his experience. On the one hand, he pays ritual obligation for the spirits, exactly as it is done in candomblé, shango, umbanda; on the other hand, he pays his homage to the young man, who is probably the son of the white master, mentioned explicitly in the following verse. That can be taken as a guide for the behaviour of ex-slaves in twentieth century Minas Gerais.

Clementina de Jesus' record circulated only among an elite of middle-class people with a refined taste for popular music (what is generally called MPB: popular Brazilian music). It is the kind of music utilized in plays, university concerts, special television programs, and similar contexts.

Vissungo songs gives us a good opportunity to differentiate words which are taken allegorically, or metaphorically, from words which are meant to be secret. This mechanism of hiding meaning is common to most ritual genres in Afro-Brazilian music. Samba, pagode,

¹⁰See Bakhtin (1984).

coco, they all use strong sexual innuendos through words which clearly have double meaning. As if the singer is saying to his\her public: I know you are following me, you are translating what I am singing. On the other hand, in ritual styles is listener is constantly pushed out of the agreement between members of a particular cult, brotherhood, sisterhood, or exclusive community. What Clementina de Jesus does here is to reintroduce secrecy in the potentially universal mode of expression, which is commercial recording.

b) Jongo

The jongo is a genre which expresses neatly one part of the historical process lived by blacks in Brazil of having to leave the plantations, just after the abolition of slavery in 1888, and starting to get integrated in cities, especially in Rio de Janeiro. A ‘rural’ dance, it is sometime also known as *caxambu*. It is part of the general pre-industrial, pre-urban styles which Edison Carneiro grouped together under the rubric of *samba de umbigada*. Another dance and musical genre connected to the jongo is the cafezal, which celebrates the skill of holding a tray to clean the coffee and making circular movements with it. If we saw, first, life in the quilombos as they exist today, jongo, capoeira, maneiro pau and maculelê describe this intermediate world, between the entire rural area, where plantations were, and the full urban area. Some of the skills displayed in these dances are, to a certain degree, rural skills: hand dexterity, muscular power in the arms, legs and thighs, resistance and disposition to cope with open physical confrontation, etc. Paralell to the physical display comes the poetic and singing display: samba de roda, capoeira, jongo, among other similar genres, they all incorporate improvisation and poetic contest and challenge between singers, articulated with the responses by the chorus.

1. Jongo - sung by Clementina de Jesus

Tava durumido
cangoma me chamou
disse levanta povo [fogo]
cativeiro se acabou

(I was sleeping
cangoma [the drum] called me
he said: wake up, people [fire]
slavery is over)

The drumming mentioned in this jongo is probably taking place in a small village, a kind of continuation of the senzalas that were abandoned not so long ago. The kind of waste land (terreno baldio), end of secondary street, backyard of an abandoned house, peripheral area, equivalent of the space where popular soccer used to happen (*futebol de várzea*), each time more rare these days).

As I will be arguing in the last section, one of the referents which surround those Afro-Brazilian musical genres is the process of urbanization itself. Musical styles have built inside their textuality the social space where they mythically originated, where they are supposed to be performed and the listener is expected to transport herself to that place. On

the other hand, in most situations of commercial music, the listener is more likely to be situated somewhere distant from the place evoked in the music.

A good example of this imagination of space in Afro-Brazilian music is the word *terreiro*. It is used to define two different territories, one of them sacred and the other secular. In the sacred sense, *terreiro* is the yard of the house (nowadays, just the lounge of temple houses) where the main public celebration for the gods take place (what is called *toque* in Recife): in the moment cult members start the ritual, the *terreiro* is transformed into African soil: people step on African land, not in Brazilian land anymore. The same word, however, is used to define, in the imaginary, the place where secular dance styles of Afro-Brazilian music takes place: samba, pagode, tambor de crioula, carimbó, samba de caboclo, etc - they are all played in the *terreiro*. Thus, both sacred and secular traditions of Afro-Brazilian music comment on the process of industrialization of the country. It is much more than a coincidence, for instance, that the first samba song ever recorded, called *Pelo Telefone*, tells us about the conversation of a police officer with Black musicians who were playing a samba, probably in a *terreiro*.

2. Jongo - Candongueiro (Wilson Moreira & Nei Lopes) - Grupo Batá Cotô

Eu vou-me embora pra Minas Gerais agora
 eu vou pela estrada afora
 tocando meu candongueiro
 Eu sou de Angola, bisneto de quilombola
 não tive e não tenho escola
 mas tenho meu candongueiro
 No cativo, quando estava capiongo
 meu avô cantava jongo pra poder assegurar, ô
 E a escravaria, quando ouvia o candongueiro
 vinha logo pro terreiro para saracotear
 (eu vou me embora...)
 Meu candongueiro bate jongo dia e noite
 só não bate quando o açoite quer mandar ele bater, ô
 Também não bate quando o seu dinheiro manda
 isso aqui não é quitanda
 pra pagar e receber
 (Eu vou-me embora...)

Meu candongueiro tem mania de demanda
 quem não é da minha banda
 pode logo debandar, ô
 Pra vir comigo, tem que ser bom companheiro
 ser sincero e verdadeiro
 pra poder me acompanhar

(I am leaving to Minas Gerais now
 I am going about the road
 playing my candongueiro drum
 I am going from Angola, greatgrandson of a maroon

I did not and do not go to school
but I have my candongueiro

In the time of captivity, when I was sad
my grandfather sang a jongo to be able to resist, oh
And all the slaves, when they heard the candongueiro
would soon come to the terreiro in order to dance

My candongueiro plays jongo day and night
it only does not play when the slash gives him order to play, oh
He also does not play when his money commands him
this here is not a shop
where you pay and receive money

My candongueiro has the habit of confrontation
whoever is not from my side
may leave soon, oh
If you want to come with me, you have to be a good companion
to be true and sincere
in order to follow me)

In this example, due to the systematic device of making up lyrics with a certain content, the interlocking pattern of the jongo becomes associated with an idea of a rural setting in a kind of "regressive" mood. The subject has moved from a village in the interior of Minas Gerais to the city (mythically, Rio de Janeiro) and now feels the same sadness (capiango) that his greatgrandfather felt during slavery days and then wishes to go back to Minas. This migration - both in space and in historical time - is iconically expressed by the elegant shift in rhythm, from the 2x4 of the samba to the the byrhythmic hemiola pattern of the jongo. The sounds of the marimbas interlocking with the drums evoke the singing subject walking along dirt roads, on his way to the farms and small villages where the candongueiro drum played to ease the hardships of slavery and post-slave conditions. In the last part of the song, the vocal harmony evokes the two-part or three-part singing of Congadas, waving their colored sacred flags as they cross the countryside, uniting the environment and transforming the hell of life in the senzalas as a kind of blessed peacefulness and communal integration which can only take place, according to the subject's phantasy, in a rural setting, and never in an industrial megalopolis. Thus, by listening carefully to the text and the context of this samba-cum-jongo, we have been able to exercise in full the three dimensions of analysis I outlined in the Introduction: musical language, poetical imagination, and social history.

IV. Ritual Genres Connected with Catholicism

a) Candombe of Minas Gerais

The candombe pieces which appear in the video by Gloria Moura come from a highly isolated community, if we opt to describe it from the point of view of the white national society.¹¹ As a cultural form, the candombe is a spectacular case of socially constructed remoteness within a framework of deep musical interrelationship. Matição is a village quite protected from the outside world, especially from the central institutions of the state: very poor formal education, no television, a minimum access to radios, inaccessible dirt roads, very few economic activities apart from subsistence agriculture and some crafts. Yet, seen from the point of view of the great Afro-Brazilian musical text I mentioned before, Matição shows a high degree of integration and contact, probably over hundreds of years, with other Afro-Brazilian traditions of the area.

The candombe is a highly developed aesthetic form which combines very precise harmonic singing of a Western style with a drumming ensemble developing rhythmic patterns that seem to be very distinct from the Yoruba and Fon drumming tradition in Brazil and which count among the most 'African' of our drum ensembles. The trio of candombe drums resemble very closely Bantu drum ensembles known in other parts of the New World, such as the redondo drums of Barlovento, in Venezuela. How could such an articulate musical genre be created? Certainly a long process of experimentation, observation and exchange with musical patterns coming from other traditional Black communities and from important centers irradiating Catholic musical cultures in Minas Gerais and in the neighbouring states of Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, Bahia and Goiás. Somewhere around the borders of these four states a line could be drawn to trace the limits of a candombe musical area. Thus, candombe music can only be regarded as isolated from the point of view of those sectors that control the circulation of music in a wider scale, be it state-wide, regional or nationwide.

The candombe ensemble consists of a trio of drums, whose organological principles count among the most purely African of all Brazilian drum ensembles. They are called: *requinta*, *crivo* and *santana*; one friction drum called *puíta* and one ordinary barrel drum called *caixa*. On this basis, a melodic pattern unfolds, in singing in two voices, generally in thirds, with precise measures, tempo and perfect adjustment to the drums' beat - different, therefore, from the flow and fluctuations which are so characteristic of the singing style of candomblé and xangô music. Words are scarce, with numerous vowels, isolated syllables and exclamations. Certain melodic and harmonic patterns of candombe show clear connections with similar singing styles of Congadas and Folias de Reis of Minas Gerais. For instance, the size of verses and musical phrases, the strophe composed of two phrases moving around the dominant and two around the tonic, always finalized with long exclamations. What is unique, though, of candombe, is the powerful drumming (together with the preservation of an extensive knowledge of drum making) adjusted to a refined two-part singing. The dance is also very singular, in Brazilian terms, and clearly different from the dances performed by Congadas and Folias. Unfortunately, information about candombe music in Brazil is still very scant and there is not a single recording available of this music.

¹¹See the Video *Matição, Comunidade Iluminada*, directed by Gloria Moura.

b) Congos and Black Catholic *Irmandades* (Fraternities)

The Black *Irmandades* represent, in the cultural history of Brazil, an expression of the colonial pact between Blacks and Whites. There were *Irmandades* just for Blacks all over the country. They came from Portugal in the XVIIth century and some of them which are still active today, started in 1690. Slaves built churches for whites and for themselves. Two *Irmandades* were especially important: the Order of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks (*Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos*) and the Order of Saint Benedict, apart from others dedicated to other saints who also had their festival days. They are somehow similar to the *Cabildos* in Cuba and in other parts of the Spanish Caribbean. That was one of the ways through which Blacks would be incorporated into "civilized" colonial Portuguese life in the tropics. They would enter into the colonial order with a difference. They would have one day to celebrate their devotion. There were separate churches and separate days for their celebrations. It was a ritual of reversal: they could parade in the public space as if they were civilized, because they were Catholic. As long as (or at least during the period of precise period of time) they were celebrating Our Lady of the Rosary, Jesus and so on, they could be taken for full human beings. They would use drums, African melodies, dresses, that could somehow keep their African cultural heritage alive. While white *Irmandades* tended to reproduce Portuguese songs, dances and costumes, the Black *Irmandades* would be a first chance of preservation of African traditions. As soon as they were set up by the priests, they developed their own aesthetics, basically using African songs, musical instruments and sometimes dance patterns. They might replicate melodies of the Church.

What is relevant is that they didn't mere imitate the behaviour of the White Portuguese *Irmandades*, but all the time they enacted, or dramatized, the condition of the Blacks. Their celebration had a flavour of its own. They would state: we are the blacks who are now singing. And they would also incorporate their social positions in the songs, always within a ceremonial framework of compromise: festivities of a Catholic saint together with a recuperation of African mythical and religious traditions. Certainly they were all Catholic to a certain extent, because they would all go the church at a certain stage, or moment, of their parade, in their dance, or in their dramatic performance. But they would also enact some aspect of slave life (and post-slavery as well, since these traditions are very live today) inside the church. Sometime they would mock the colonial social and political order, sometimes they would do things which would be considered irreverent for someone who was not a member of a *Irmandade* to do inside the church; sometimes they would perform only until they reached the stairs outside of the church, without never crossing the actual threshold of the Catholic temple.

The majority of Afro-Brazilian musical genres (and, who knows, dance genres too) are connected with these Brotherhoods. Unfortunately, they have not received yet the attention they deserve from scholars. Usually they have been studied by folklorists; and then you have a lot of descriptions of rituals, festivals, dances, musical instruments, etc, from various states of the country. St. Benedict, St. Anthony, St. James, St. Gonzalo. It as real world of oblique expression: one thing is happening "officially", let us say; and another thing is happening beneath that supposedly straight Catholic devotion. To hide, camouflage, parody, ironize, are actions constantly there. Usually they come from poor districts,

neighborhoods or remote quarters of towns and cities and at a certain stage in their ritual activities they have to negotiate aspects of their worship with the local priests. Some priests are more conservative, and give a hard time to these Irmandades; other are more lenient, tolerant, and hardly indifferent to the activities of the Irmandades. And some (a minority so far) can be even supportive and enthusiastic about their artistic expressions; in other words, with their devotion to the saints. Ninety per cent of the priests are whites, coming from the different Catholic orders; so, no matter what music is being played, no matter what dances are taking place, there is an almost a European-minded priest around. The Vatican distributes these priests all over the world according to its own logic, regardless of the local cultural traditions where they will be sent to. It is not context-sensitive institution at all.

Once the Irmandades organize their feast day, they also celebrate kingly embassades; they display a replica, sometimes a parody, of African embassies. Most of them refer to fifteenth century Portugal, when they dominated the area of Angola, Congo, Mozambique, and refer to the way they dealt with African kingdoms there. Many of these Congadas in Brazil celebrate a meeting of a Portuguese General with a certain African Queen known as Dzinga Bandi from the Lunda area, between Angola and Congo. These brotherhoods parade in the street with King, Queen, Vassals, Ministries, Ambassadors, Guides, people at the front leading the march. Sometimes the embassy is preceded by a group of dancers, whose task is to announce the arrival of the King and the Queen. Sometimes most of the singing, dancing and other aesthetic expression comes from the group of the people who is leading the parade.¹²

A great part of Afro-Brazilian music and dance traditions is somehow connected with these Catholic (though not exclusively so) celebrations. Even popular musical styles, are all the time filtered from these "Catholic" genres. Thus, a constant aesthetic overlapping occurs between songs, lyrics, and rhythmic patterns of different ritual and secular genres. So far, the majority of studies of Afro-Brazilian music have tended to concentrate either upon styles of traditional Afro-Brazilian religions (especially music of candomblé) or on popular, commercial music (MPB, samba, bossa nova, etc). That is why I take it as important to investigate the world of ceremonial genres, because they are practiced throughout the country, presenting an amazing variety of styles, genres, unique configurations and also because they are aesthetically and formally linked (both influencing and being influenced by) the two main styles mentioned above (traditional cult music and popular music). In this sense, we have to consider the historical implications of the establishment of a national space. Once a nation is defined, an arbitrary number of cultural texts is forced to begin interacting with each other. It definitely constraints, provide limitations and stimulate mutual fertilizations between cultural forms, to the extent that, after five centuries of African cultural presence in Brazil, we can formulate the hypothesis that there is a great Afro-Brazilian musical text, with signifiers cutting across numerous socially defined aesthetic boundaries. A certain melodic movement, associated with sequences of words, can be part of the standard repertoire of dozens of different musical genres. So, by showing examples of various rituals genres, secular and commercial, I hope to provide evidence for some melodic, rhythmic, literary and instrumental connections between all of them. We are here in a typical process of what Hans-Georg Gadamer defines as effective historical consciousness: every time one tries to trace the limits and characteristics of a particular musical genre, one has already entered

¹²For a general description of the Congadas, see Ayres da M. M. Filho (1974).

into a circle of meaning previously established.

The video *Festa do Rosário dos Homens Pretos do Sêrro* begins with an off voice telling the following story:

Dizem que Nossa Senhora tava no meio do mar. Aí vieram os caboclos e lhe chamaram, mas ela não veio não. Depois vieram os marujos brancos, mas ela só balanceou. Aí chegaram os catopês. Eles cantaram, tocaram, só com caco de cuia e lata véia. Ela gostou deles; teve pena deles e saiu do mar.

(They say Our Lady was in the middle of the sea. Then came the caboclos and called her, but she didn't come. Afterwards came the White sailor, but she was only shaken [by their presence]. Then came the catopês. They sang, played, only with pieces of calabash bowls and worn out cans. She liked them; she felt sorry for them and got out of the sea). This is a myth of reconciliation, integration, as well as a symbolic compensation for the historical experience of Black slavery in Minas Gerais. This experience is openly expressed in many song texts of the Congadas.

1. Moçambique - Congo groups from Oliveira, Minas Gerais

Deus seja louvado
ai, meu Deus, o que há de fazer
rêgo tá rombado
moinho quer moer
chora engoma,
êolelê-leô, olelê-leô

Salve o nosso Capitão
salve a Princesa Isabel
salve os Congo

Ê louvado seja, nossa princesa
louvado seja, ué - olê- oleleô
vamos começar
Mamãe do Rosário mandou me chamar, ué
buscar minha bandeira
prá banda de cá

ê taquaiiana de taruê
de taruê, de taruá
os carrombo na paiça

(Praised be God
Oh my God, what can one do
the stream is damaged
the mill wants to work
cry, engoma [drum])

Greetings to the Captain
greetings to Princess Isabel

greetings to the Congos

Praised be our Princess
 Mother of Rosary has sent for me
 to pick up my flag
 to this side

Here, the Moçambique player mentions the ngoma, the generic Bantu word for drum. As it is frequently expressed in many of these ritual genres, the ngoma, symbolic witness of the regime of slavery suffered by Bantu people who were brought by force from Africa, cries. Through the ngoma, the subject cries for his condition.

2. Catupé

Senhor, senhor,
 tem pena de mim, tem dó
 a volta do mundo é grande
 seu poder inda é maior

(Lord, Lord, have pity on me,
 take pity on me, be merciful
 the turn of the world is big
 thy power is even greater)

We can identify exactly these same verses in a Umbanda song for Oxalá, the father god:

Oxalá meu pai
 tem pena de mim tem dó
 as voltas do mundo é grande
 seus poder inda é maior.

(Oxalá my father
 take pity on me, be merciful
 the turns of the world are big
 thy powers are even greater)

It remains to be decided which version came first, but it is more probable that this song firstly made part of the repertoire of the Congadas, and from there it migrated into the umbanda cult, sometime in the beginning of the century. The Congo King himself (Rei Congo) is also one spirits of the pantheon of Preto Velhos (Old Back Men) of umbanda. So, at a certain point, probably at the end of nineteenth century, the Congo King, a "real" character of the Congadas, was transformed into a supernatural being of the macumba or jurema, and later, of umbanda cults.

3. Catupé

1888
 naquele dia de ano
 [es]tava dormindo no mato
 soldado me procurando

(1888
 in that day of the year
 I was sleeping in the woods
 a soldier was after me)

4.
 Quando Deus andou pelo mundo
 ôi que beleza
 abençoando o povo tudo
 louvado seja

Ô siriema
 canela fina corredeira
 nunca vi páss'ro de pena
 deixar rastro na ladeira

Senhora do Rosário
 foi quem me trouxe aqui
 a água do mar é boa
 eu vi, eu vi, eu vi

(When God walked this world
 oh what a beauty
 blessing everybody
 praised be He

Oh siriema
 thin knee, good runner
 I never saw a bird of feather
 to leave a trace in the ladeira

It was the Lady of Rosário
 who brought me here
 the water of the sea is good
 I saw it, I saw it, I saw it)

The Congadeiro (especially the Black, or catopê, of whom Our Lady took special pity) is declaring how good is the water of the sea. It is worth knowing that Sêrro and all this area is considerably far from the sea, and the singer of the song probably has never seen the sea, as is true of most inhabitants of Minas Gerais. When he says I saw it, he may also be making reference to the original myth mentioned above: he saw the Lady of Our Rosary at

the sea, before she decided to come to the land.

This same song text, with a minor variation, is present in the repertoire of umbanda cult houses in Rio de Janeiro:

Senhora do Rosário
foi quem me trouxe aqui
a água do mar é santa
eu vi, eu vi, eu vi

(It was the Lady of Rosário
who brought me here
the water of the sea is holy
I saw it, I saw it, I saw it)¹³

5. Moçambique

Princesa Isabel
foi ela que mandou

no tempo do cativo
quando o senhor me batia
eu gritava por Nossa Senhora meu Deus
quando a pancada doía

Óia o nêgo d'Angola, meu Deus
óia que vem saravá

(...Princess Isabel
she is the one who gave the order
[to abolish slavery])

In the times of slavery
when the master beat me, ay ay ay
I shouted for Our Lady, my God
when the beating hurt me

See the Angola Negro, my God
see he is coming to praise)

6. Song of the catopês - Sêro, Minas Gerais

Ô cuemba ô cuemba, ô cuemba ô cuemba
ôi no Rosário tem cuemba

¹³I owe to Michael Ferreira the apt information about this umbanda song.

ô cuemba ô cuemba no Rosário é o cuemba

(Cuemba cuemba, o cuemba cuemba
There is cuemba in the Rosary)

This song is heard at the end of the Video on the Festival of the Rosary of the Blacks of Sêro. In a kind of coded Bantu (cuemba means singing in Kimbundu), the woman is stating that the Rosary (Catholic, therefore Portuguese in origin) is an occasion to sing things African, or in an African mood.

Ô lelê catumbi ô lelê catumbi
arreda do caminho que eu quero passar
galinha d'Angola não é patuá

Ô lelê catumbi ô lelê catumbi
arreda do caminho que eu quero passar
galinha d'Angola virou patuá

(O lele catumbi,
get out of the way because I need to cross the street
guinea fowl is not a magic charm

O lele catumbi
get out of the way because I want to cross the street
guinea fowl has turned into a magical charm)

This song presents in a neatly designed aesthetic form, the multilevelled dilemma lived by the practitioners of the Congadas. In the first half of the strophe, the subject addresses the ambassade that is parading in the street in Bantu language, showing thus a familiarity, or intimacy, with the content of the celebration which is taking place: he asks the catumbi (another name for the member of a group of Congos) to get out of the way because he wants to cross the street. The signifier *galinha d'Angola* (guinea fowl) is evocative of offerings and blood sacrifices for the African supernatural beings. Since the celebration of Our Lady of Rosary is taken as a deep Catholic tradition, the subject then emphasizes that the guinea fowl is present there, but not as an emblem of Afro-Brazilian magic (patuá, a general name given to many types of amulets). Immediately after he has stressed that refusal of African magic, he states, at the end of the second half, repeating the same verse and meter, that the guinea fowl has become an amulet! Given the order of presentation of the halves of the strophe chosen by whoever composed the song, the general meaning tends to point out in the direction that the ritual of performing catopê leads to similar results to the rituals of sacrifice in umbanda or candomblé: to open a space to create magical elements, such as the patuá.

c) Taieiras of Sergipe

The Taieiras form the last part of the Congo Parade, which counts on the presence of a Queen, a King, Minister, General, Master, a Perpetual Queen, the Ladies in Waiting, the Guides (two men who play the drum) and the Taieiras, which consists of two lines of dancers. Each group comes from one part of the town and every year one of them is responsible for leading the parade up to the church. Sometimes you have the adult taieiras plus a parallel group of taieiras composed exclusively of children. They all vote for the Irmandade; they are dancing for Saint Benedict i.e., they are dancing for divinity. So, it implies a high status, especially if we think they are coming from poor quarters of the town (where invariably the population of descendants of slaves is concentrated). After the displays in the streets, the last stage is in the church. The taieiras sing accompanied by a drum and they all carry a querequexé (a rattle) in their hands. The following examples come from the recordings of Beatriz Góis Dantas.¹⁴

1.
 Ô estrela ô estrela
 ô estrela do céu
 ô caiu no mar

A São Antônio por piloto
 São José por generá

Vamos ver a barca nova
 Que do céu caiu no mar

Para São José a barca nova
 que do céu caiu no mar

(Oh star oh star
 oh star of heaven
 who fell on the sea

To Saint Anthony for pilot
 Saint Joseph for General

Let us see the new boat
 Which from the sky fell on earth)

The music of the taieira is a very remote kind of music, never heard in the radio, and which influences (and at the same time is influenced by) the country's musical scene in a very subtle and slow way. Nonetheless, even in this highly devotional and relatively unique tradition, one can spot in these song verses a classical trope of sung lyrics widely used in the tradition of Brazilian popular music: the image of the star of heaven that falls into the sea. This is a classical Brazilian song text trope, a stock verse, a familiar sign which connects this

¹⁴For an ethnography of the taieiras, see Dantas (1976); for their music, see the Record Taieiras (1976).

genre with the more widely spread styles of Afro-Brazilian secular and popular music. The sky, the stars, the sea: the taieiras are near the sea, so they are expressing this cosmic connection. They describe a sea scenery which is described even in capoeira and in many other genres: who is the pilot, who is leading, how is the boat (the boat being another important motif, like the canoe, whether it is rocking in the waves). So that is why St. Anthony for a pilot and St. Joseph for General. And one of the girls in front of the taieiras is carrying a miniature boat as a pedestal, with the statue of the saint inside. So, the song is commenting what the people are seeing as they move about the streets. Barca and barco, both mean boat. Here, it is group of women who are singing and dancing, that is why they are referring to a barca (a she-boat). Every year they will change the ornaments of that miniature boat in which they carry the saint.

2.

Olhe o rio fundo
 ô rema a canoa
 chega na janela, amor, meu bem,
 que a crioula é boa

Eu bem que dizia
 que dois covo dava
 da saia balão, amor, meu bem,
 inda subejava

Look, the river is deep
 oh paddle the canoe
 come to the window, love, my sweetheart,
 that the mulatta woman is lovely.

Small wonder I said
 that two measures were enough
 to make the bell skirt, love, my sweetheart,
 and it would even be enough)

3.

Alê lê lê ô cutia macamba - A lê lê
 A fazê maravia - A lê lê
 Na porta do Rosário A lê lê
 Do Rosário de Maria - A lê lê

Ô Virgem do Rosário
 ô Senhora do mundo
 ô dá-me um côco d'água
 ô se não vou ao fundo

Ô senhora rainha
 rabo de tainha
 Ah hoje tá na sala

Amanhã na cozinha

(A lê lê Cutia Macamba
to perform wonders
at the door of the Rosary
of Mary's Rosary
Oh Virgin of the Rosary
Oh Lady of the World
Oh give me one coconut with water
or I will sink to the bottom)

Oh Lady Queen
like a fisher's tail
ah today she is in the lounge
tomorrow she will be in the kitchen)

In this song, it is the epiphanic dimension of the taieira practice which acquires primal importance: in the proximity of Cutia Mucamba, wonders can be realized. The signifier for wonders, *maravilha*, is the same found in one of the better known Psalms sung in Brazilian Catholic masses: O Senhor fez em mim maravilhas\ santo é seu nome....

4.
S. Catirina Mubamba mandou me chamar
Ch. Louvô em terra, louvô no mar
S. Isto tudo é louvô, isto tudo é louvá
A rainha de Congo de Congoriá
Catirina de Congo de Congoriá
Isto tudo é louvô, isto tudo é louvá
A Rainha de Congo mandou me chamá
O seu padre vigário mandou me chamar
Me puxou pela cadeira
mandou-me assentar

(Catirina Mubamba has called me
Praise in earth, praise in the sea
This is all praise, this is all praising
The Queen of Congo of Congoriá
This is all praise, this is all praising
The Queen of Congo has sent for me
The priest of our parish has sent for me
He held by the hips and bid me to seat)

We have here an expression of two opposite desires put side by side in the same song. Whenever she sings The Queen of Congo has sent for me, the mythical connection with Africa is stated clearly: Africa wants the taieira back. In the next phrase, however, she sings that “The priest of the parish has sent for me”: the Catholic church, Brazil, or Europe is also

desiring her. This identity dilemma is iconically heard in the musical performance of the taieiras: the caixa passes directly from a binary rhythm to a ternary one (a six eight); the binary can be heard as the mainstream, European side of the music; and the ternary, in a drum, as its opposite - symbolically speaking, African, therefore.

In the last two lines we can see a brilliant use of the signifier *cadeira*: she seems to be saying, on the one hand, that the priest welcomed her inside the church: grabbed a chair and invited her to seat, so that she would feel more comfortable after the long and tiresome journey through the streets, dancing, singing and playing. On the one hand, she may be reporting to the listener that the priest grabbed her by the hip (which is also *cadeira* in Portuguese) and forced her to seat, i.e., forbade her to continue the performance of the taieiras - as if he said to her: seat, don't dance inside the church. Thus, he may have been kind and even courteous to her; or he may have been censoring her for indulging in an ambiguous practice, when seen from the official point of view of the Catholic church. A third, and compromising meaning for the phrase may be that the priest did participate in the ceremony of the Taieiras and by doing so, he has collaborated with an unorthodox form of worship through music and dance, even if *malgré lui*: he held her and made her seat to finalize that stage of the celebration.

5.

Ô meu São Benedito
tenho morro ao vento
fulô e o vento
pela porta a dentro

Taiê ajuê ajuê Jesus
ou tan tan tan taiê

Ô Virge do Rosário lhe venho pedir
saúde e gulora
para conseguir

Taiê...

Virge do Rosário
soberana bela
adorai as taieiras
de coroa e capela

Taiê...

Que santo é aquele
que vem no andor
é São Benedito
mais Nosso Senhor

Que santo é aquele
que vem na charola
é São Benedito

mais Nossa Senhora
 (Oh my Saint Benedict
 I have mount (?) to the wind
 oh flower and wind
 rushing through the door

Oh Virgin of the Rosary
 I have come to beg you
 health and glory
 to overcome

Oh Virgin of the Rosary
 beautiful sovereign
 love the taieiras
 with crown and mantle

Which saint is that
 who is coming in the andor
 it is Saint Benedict
 together with Our Lord

d) Dance of São Gonçalo - Rio Grande do Norte and Sergipe

The dance of São Gonçalo is found, albeit in many variants, all over the country.¹⁵ It is aimed at paying homage to Saint Gonzalo, a Dominican friar who is supposed to have lived in the city of Amarante, Portugal, in the XIIIth century. According to popular legends, St. Gonzalo was a fun loving young man who liked to play guitar and dance with prostitutes as a stratagem to take them out of their sinful practice. This legend works also as an ideological rationalization to incorporate, within the Catholic tradition, a ritual of singing, dancing and dressing which uses aesthetic symbols quite apart from the Iberic cultural patterns that the dominant classes wanted to impose upon slaves and the lower strata of Brazilian society in order to build a Christian civilization in the tropics.

It is a typical case in which a particular cultural form is associated with a particular racial group without being necessarily "African" in all its components. The story behind the dance can be read as a typical myth of incorporation, which could be used both by the colonizers and by the colonized.

In the variant of the São Gonçalo dance practised in Laranjeiras, state of Sergipe, there are eight dancers dressed as women and only one woman, called "Butterfly", who carries the saint's image inside a miniature boat. There is certainly no equivalent of this transvestism in any orthodox form of Catholic ritual in Brazil. Why should men occupy the role of the female prostitutes who used to dance with St. Gonzalo is something the ethnographer, Beatriz Dantas, could not find any explanation among practitioners. This aspect in itself points towards a layer of meaning of the worship that most likely goes beyond

¹⁵For a documentary of the dance, see the Video *Dança de São Gonçalo* (1996).

Catholicism. The dance is accompanied by four types of instruments: two guitars, two ukuleles, one ordinary frame drum (caixa) and two pulés (bambu sticks with transversal stripes, a kind of rattle equivalent to the reco-reco and the ganzá). As far as musical instruments can be regarded as floating signifiers, we can identify in the ensemble an oscillation between two "Western" types of instruments - plucked strings, guitar and ukulele - and two 'African' ones - percussion, drum and rattle. So, behind an European belief (a Catholic saint), an Afro-derived culture can continue to flourish.

Song of the Dance of São Gonçalo - Laranjeiras, Sergipe

Adeus parente que eu vou me embora
 Pá terra de Congo, vou vê Angola
 Ai eu vou me embora, ai eu vou me embora
 Pá terra de Congo, vou vê Angola

(Goodbye my brother, I am leaving
 To the land of Congo, I am going to see Angola
 Oh I am leaving, oh I am leaving
 To the land of Congo, I am going to see Angola)

As in the case of the Congos of Pombal, and the taieiras, the subject expresses his desire to go to the land of Congo and Angola.¹⁶ An analysis of this song text which is sensitive to the performance can unravel an extremely subtle convention included in the song text. We normally assess the interplay of leader and chorus as a division of tasks which works as a binding element to construct an imaginary (and, in many cases, also a real one) community of fellow worshippers. In this particular case, however, this device may work as an ideological or political alibi: the subject (the I of the song) states: "I am leaving, I am leaving". But it is his partners, and not himself, who define (or decide for him?) where he is heading to: "To the land of Congo, I am going to see Angola". The singing subject, as the leader of the performance, has hidden his desire under the cloak of the dominant musical etiquette proper to this genre, which obliges his fellowmen to sing the second verse of the lyrics.

This same desire to go back to Africa is much more explicit in umbanda, jurema and macumba cults. It is remarkable that they never mention Nigeria, or Benin, or Yorubaland, in this context; it is always the Bantu regions which are invariably invoked: either Congo, Angola, or Moçambique. These three countries (or continental regions) seem to stand for an intimacy which doesn't seem to exist with the other African peoples who came to Brazil. We can think that, more than a historical reference, or a phantasy space to escape from the hardships of the slave regime, Angola and Congo can be thought of as a region of the mind as well; to practice music, dance and costume - in other words, to worship Saint Gonçalo within this particular aesthetic framework - is to embark on a spiritual journey, whose final goal is

¹⁶For the Congos of Pombal, see the record and the work by Roberto Benjamin (1977).

not the Christian heaven (or at least not only), but the Bantu heaven. As we will see in jurema and umbanda, other celestial spheres are named after regions of Bantu Africa, such as Luanda (Aruanda).

One of the dominant ways through which Afro-Brazilian communities enter into Brazilian "civilization" (and this has been happening from colonial days until now) is through expressing a desire to go back to Africa (and, above all, to Bantu Africa). We can read this statement in two opposite directions: either Afro-Brazilians mark their difference by rejecting Western civilization; or they are interested in transforming Brazilian space into an African territory. In one aspect, at least, these two alternatives coincide: in either option, the space of Portugal is never mythified, that is, it is never converted into a privileged object of desire.

In the case of the São Gonçalo of Laranjeiras, ambiguity or even contradiction is stretched to the extreme: in the performance it is the saint himself and Our Lady of the Rosary that will help them to go back to Africa. This way, Christianity will be there to play a role of reintegration, instead of conversion. The lyrics indicate a movement which is opposed to the ideal of Westernization through Catholicism. The elements of disguise we have seen in other Afro-Brazilian cultural forms are therefore present in these song texts. In the middle of a Christian celebration, and just after they sing a song in praise of Our Lady of the Rosary, they are expressing their desire to flee to Angola.

e) Tambor de Crioula - Maranhão

Tambor de crioula is a dance and musical genre from Maranhão, a state in Northern Brazil. It is one of the richest Afro-Brazilian traditions, integrating singing, drumming, dancing with worship of saints, while preserving at the same time its general profane or secular profile.

Instruments of the tambor de crioula: trio of drums - *meião*, *crivador* and *tambor grande*; sticks which are played in the body of the tambor grande: *matracas*.

The tambor de crioula is the style of Afro-Brazilian music which resembles more closely the styles of music of the African Diaspora which are found in Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. In the case of Venezuela, the similarities with the tambores of San Juan of the Barlovento area are really striking: the drum ensemble, the singing, the dance, the social occasion, the content even of song verses, which alternate praising of the saints and making social commentaries, celebrating the dance, the contest between singers and drummers, praising women (as well as stating male superiority!). Even the custom of the women dancing with the image of the saint in their hands is practised in the San Juan festival of Barlovento. It also resembles some of the traditions of the Pacific coast of Colombia, such as the drum music of Mompós and Choco areas.

One of the songs of tambor de crioula is practically equivalent to one of the taieiras songs for St. Benedict:

Meu São Benedito
 Eu sou seu escravo
 Se eu morrer nos seus pés
 Eu sei que me salvo

(My Saint Benedict)

I am your slave
 If I die at your feet
 I know I save myself)

Here, the motif of slavery receives a spiritual turn: the descendent of slaves declares to be slave, not of men, but of his saint protector. This image of inverting the meaning of slavery is unique in the entire repertoire of Afro-Brazilian musical genres.¹⁷

Tambor de Crioula of Master Felipe - São Luís of Maranhão

1. Boi bom caminhador
 boi bom caminhador
 lá em casa mamãe tem
 boi bom caminhador

Lá vai eu, lá vai meu mano
 boi bom caminhador
 lá vai meu mano mais eu
 boi bom caminhador

Hoje eu vim vencer a demanda
 e meu mano não venceu

Me dá outro chocolate
 que meu mano não bebeu

(Good ox walker, good ox walker
 there in my home my mother has
 a good ox walker

Today I came to win the contest
 and my brother didn't win
 give me another chocolate
 that my brother didn't drink

2. Na igreja, na igreja
 na igreja de São Pedro na igreja

Dei boa noite pro povo - na igreja
 junto com meu pessoal - na igreja
 pra fazer festa bonita - na igreja
 junto com meu pessoal - na igreja

São João fez um letreiro - na igreja
 na copa do meu chapéu - na igreja

¹⁷See the record *Tambor de Crioula do Mestre Felipe* (1996).

se eu morrer cantando boi - na igreja
eu me salvo no céu - na igreja

(In the church, in the church
in the church of St. Peter
in the church

I bid good night to the people
together with my friends
to make a beautiful festival
together with my friends

St. John wrote letters
in the copa of my hat
if I die singing boi
I am saved in heaven

3. Se tu vai me leva, se tu vai me leva
se tu vai pra São Vicente
ê tu vai, ê me leva

Se tu vai pra São Vicente
lembrança quero mandar
dá lembrança pra papai
coração que eu tenho lá

(If you go, take me with you
if you go to St. Vincent, take me with you

If you go to St. Vincent
I want to send greetings
give my greetings to my father
[to] the heart I have there)

Voice production in tambor de crioula and in bumba-meu-boi, another musical style also from Maranhão, is very unique within the universe of Afro-Brazilian musical genres. In both cases, singers follow the style of voice production of aboio, a type of song used in the Northeast by cowboys as they care of the cattle. It is a falsetto-like production, with the tongue almost immobile, which makes it very hard to distinguish the words of the text. The overall impression is of a sequence of vowels.

An interesting aesthetic disjuncture occurs here between the lyrical and the melodic narratives. The melody of the tambor de crioula is constructed in such a way that the entire musical idea finishes while only the first two verses of the poetic strophe are sung. Due to this fact, the musical expectation is closed before the poetical revelation brought about by the chain of four verses be accomplished. The entire musical phrase will have to be performed twice to allow the poetic strophe to come to an end. This is a narrative device which is practically unacceptable in commercial popular music, because it requires an extra-effort on

the part of the listener - even more so in the present case of the tambor de crioula, because the style of singing dilutes the precision of the consonants, making the text difficult to be followed. Doubling the musical idea for one poetical idea is a convention which is more commonly found in epic styles of singing, in various parts of the world.¹⁸

V. Beginning of Popular Music under Industrialization: *Pelo Telefone*, the Founding Myth of Brazilian Samba

As we have indicated before, samba is a macro-genre, or a family of musical genres somehow related to each other by various factors - formal, social, historical. I shall close this general interpretation of traditional Afro-Brazilian musical genres with a discussion of the origins of samba. This can be used as an interlude, or rather a preface, for another interpretation of the MPB musical world - MPB being an acronym for Música Popular Brasileira, a rather loose term which refers to the more wide field of Brazilian popular music. In a few words, MPB is the gathering of the composers and interpreters that have a name, a musical biography which marks them as full individuals within this multifaceted project of urbanization, industrialization and transformations of manners and values we associate with modernity. Samba is the main icon of Brazilian popular music. And the majority of MPB composers and interpreters can be also regarded as sambistas: sometimes they go out from the samba, ironize, parodize, comment, but invariably they come back to samba.

We will now discuss what is, mythically, considered to be the first samba ever recorded, a piece to which all the musicians and analysts inevitably make reference. Donga is then regarded as the composer of the first samba. As we saw in *It's All True*, Orson Welles guess was right, I believe, that the origins of samba might have lie in what he called "voodoo ceremonies"; more correctly: in *candomblé* and *macumba* of Rio.¹⁹ This is *Pelo Telefone*: By Telephone.

Telephone will be an apt signifier for modernity; we can hardly imagine people in the slums of Rio de Janeiro in the beginning of the century, who just managed to gather some pocket money to catch buses and trains, using telephone as an ordinary means of communication. It is also special in *Pelo Telefone* that it also inaugurates the constant sliding of signifiers which is a mark of Brazilian popular music: the samba genre starts in full, as far as song texts is concerned. It is equally crucial because it is a samba which celebrates... samba itself - the capacity to seduce, to enjoy, to sing for the others and for oneself at the same time. It is not historically clear whether it was the first recording of samba really, but what matters, for now, is that it is the founding narrative of samba.

Homophony is another aesthetical element which is explored in this first samba. This song also inaugurates the whole discussion about authorship, which came with industrially recorded music, circulated as a commodity.

This is not exactly the dominant musical form of samba which was standardized in Rio de Janeiro in the twenties. Some regarded *Pelo Telefone* as properly a *maxixe*, or a *samba de roda*, one those rural forms we saw earlier that were collective: every participant

¹⁸For a discussion of epic singing, see Lord (1960).

¹⁹See the Introduction by Welles of his unfinished film (Welles 1993).

would enter in the circle (the roda) and would sing a strophe, be it stock lyrics or an improvised set of verses and sing it, immediately leaving the space open for his/her companions. So, what Donga recorded was a medley, a collage, a juxtaposition of various strophes which are actually independent of each other. Thus, the song text does not aim at a sense of a whole. So, it is quite likely that the author of the strophe *Pelo Telefone* is not the same as the one of *O piru me disse*. There was even argument about Donga signing in the recording as the author of *Pelo Telefone*.

The crucial signifier of the song text is *o chefe da folia*. Let us discuss it. Most of the popular genres which came from the marginal, from the subaltern, they in general show a kind of double movement: part of the upper class kidnaps that which the masses are doing and put it in the salons. And we also have the reverse movement: the marginal classes kidnap part of what was being considered as the art forms (called high culture) of the elite. This strategy is clearly depicted in *Pelo Telefone*: the poetical subject is receiving an important message from someone through a medium which is not yet a popular medium, which is not yet available for the subaltern. This is what I understand in this Portuguese as spoken in the beginning of the century: the head of the Carnival is telling you there is no problem: you can enjoy yourself during Carnival - there will not be any censorship, there will not be any prohibitions. In short, someone is telling him he is allowed to party freely. The subtext can only be one: the author is referring to a period when samba was illegal, outcast, marginalized. It now becomes legitimized through a phone call.

The samba began in the part of old Rio de Janeiro which was known as Pequena África (Little Africa), which was close to the port and where lived a lot of immigrants from Bahia; many came in the end of nineteenth century, especially after the abolition of slavery. A lower black middle class started to grow in that area and they all gathered in the house a woman known as Tia Ciata, whose husband was a civil servant, with a certain degree of leeway in the so-called "society" of Brazil's capital. Tia Ciata was also a candomblé leader and in her house there were at least three universes of music which were performed, in different occasions and in different spaces of the house. Firstly, the sacred ritual music, which was kept apart from the eyes of the public; secondly, in the salon of the house, the instrumental genre known as choro, with flute, guitars and ukulele; and third, at the backyard, the samba de roda, the communitary, rural style brought from Bahia. It was in this context that Donga and others operated, putting together a fusion of the samba de roda with the Iberian tradition, of harmony and instrumental arrangement already developed in the choro and other genres more clearly of a Portuguese descent.

About the destruction of the Little Africa, we can see that the mayor of Rio de Janeiro in the first decade of the twentieth century, Pereira Passos, did the same that Hausmann had done with Paris in the nineteenth century. A similar process occurred in many big cities - in Buenos Aires, Havana, Berlin, Paris, Chicago, Rio de Janeiro. The vocabulary was one of sanitization, or cleansing; with the euphemism of urban renewal, to use a term from the US, the objective in fact was to dislodge a certain "promiscuity", a certain hegemony of the lower classes inside the city. This model is the epitome of modernity as a myth, as it is discussed by Marshall Berman in his book *All that is Solid Melts into Air*.²⁰ So many of these genres of the beginning of commercial popular music in the first two decades of the twentieth century tend to express this trauma: they incarnate, or embody, a certain social and historical trauma.

²⁰See Berman (1981).

Perhaps the blues may be an US equivalent of this same process we are discussing in samba: a memory of how that pact of the lower classes, with the subaltern, with people in power, in the beginning of modernization, how it was developed in various parts, both in the First and in the Third World.

Coming therefore from the jongo, the maxixe, the samba de roda, and other rural genres, samba represents aesthetically the assimilation, or the passage to modernity: arrangements with Western harmony, music industry that was starting with the phonograph - he even mentions in the beginning: Casa Edson of Rio de Janeiro, which is powerful until today, one of the original capital of the music industry and which still leads today, in the era of globalization. Samba, like tango in Argentina, and *son* in Cuba, encapsulates this history. A lower middle class could appear as urbanites, as legitimates participants, socially, of the modern city, through “appropriate dressing” dressing, “acceptable” nice dancing movements, etc.

1. Pelo telefone- First samba ever recorded (1917) - Donga & Mauro de Almeida

Spoken: Pelo telefone: samba carnavalesco gravado por Baiano e o Corpo de Corda para a Casa Edson, Rio de Janeiro.

O chefe da folia
pelo telefone
manda me avisar
que com alegria
não se questione
para se brincar
Ai, ai, ai, é deixar mágoas pra trás, oh rapaz
ai, ai, ai, fica aqui se és capaz e verás

Tomara que tu apanhe
pra não tornar a fazer isso
tirar amores dos outros
depois fazer teu feitiço
Ai... se a rolinha - sinhô, sinhô
se embaraçou - sinhô, sinhô
é que a vizinha - sinhô, sinhô
nunca sambou - sinhô, sinhô
Porque este samba - sinhô
é de arrepiar - sinhô, sinhô
põe perna bamba - sinhô, sinhô
mas faz gozar - sinhô, sinhô

O piru me disse
se você bobice
não fazer tolice

que eu então saísse
 dessa esquisitice
 de disse e não disse
 Ai,ai, ai, ideal triunfal
 ai, ai, ai viva o nosso carnaval sem rival

Se quem tira amor dos outros
 por Deus fosse castigado
 o mundo estava vazio
 e o inferno habitado
 queres ou não
 (???)
 é ter folião
 de coração
 porque esse samba - sinhô, sinhô
 de arrepiar - sinhô, sinhô
 põe perna bamba - piô, piô
 mas faz gozar - piô, piô

Quem for bom de gosto
 mostre-se disposto
 não procure encosto
 tenha o riso posto
 passado no rosto
 nada de desgosto (?)
 Ai, ai, ai, dança o samba com calor, meu amor
 ai,ai, ai, pois quem dança não tem dor nem calor

(The chief of the folia
 through the telephone
 has sent word to me
 that, with joy,
 the play should not be questioned
 Ay, ay, ay, just leave your sorrows behind, oh boy
 ah, ah, ah, stay here if you can and you will see

I hope you will be punished
 so that you won't do this again
 to take other people's loves
 afterwards make your witchcraft

Ah, that the swallow
 Got herself trapped
 that is because that woman my neighbor
 has never danced samba
 Because this samba
 it gives you chills
 makes your legs tremble
 but it makes you feel good

Donga's version is a rarity, a historical piece which is only known by researchers of Brazilian popular samba. The standard rendering of *Pelo Telefone*, the one that is still played in the radio, was recorded four decades later by the two legendary samba musicians, Almirante and Pixinguinha. We can observe in their version the crucial sliding of the signifier we have mentioned above. In the first strophe, Almirante sings the word *folia* (festival, Carnival; ergo, samba itself); however, when he later repeats the strophe he shifts that word to *polícia* (deputy). This way, he finally inscribed as the alternative official text of that samba precisely the words people have been "mishearing" (as we discussed earlier) for decades in Donga's singing - namely, that they were talking about a chief of police, instead of a chief of Carnival. Probably Almirante only confirmed what already formed part of the popular imaginary in Brazil: *Pelo Telefone* is talking about a deputy which is a crook: he knows about the roulette that is going on in the Carioca square. And the samba is the roulette; samba is a gamble, samba is an outlawed behavior. However, everything is fine, because someone like Tia Ciata's husband will be able to phone the police; he will be one of the few people in Little Africa who could phone the police and negotiate a soft approach on the sambistas.

2. Pelo telefone- Almirante e Pixinguinha e Grupo Velha Guarda - 1955

O chefe da folia
 pelo telefone
 manda me avisar
 que com alegria
 não se questione
 para se brincar
 Ai, ai, ai, deixa as mágoas para trás oh rapaz
 ai, ai, ai, fica aqui se és capaz e verás

Tomara que tu apanhes
 não tornes a fazer isso
 tirar amores dos outros
 depois fazer teu feitiço
 Olha a rolinha - sinhô, sinhô
 se embaraçou - sinhô, sinhô
 caiu no laço - sinhô, sinhô
 do nosso amor- sinhô, sinhô
 Porque este samba - sinhô, sinhô

é de arrepiar - snhô, sinhô
 põe perna bamba - sinhô, sinhô
 mas faz gozar

O chefe da polícia
 pelo telefone
 manda me avisar
 que na Carioca
 tem uma roleta
 para se jogar
 Ai, ai, ai, deixa as mágoas para trás
 ai, ai, ai, fica aqui se és capaz e verás

Tomara que tu apanhes
 não tornes a fazer isso
 tirar amores dos outros
 depois fazer teu feitiço
 Olha a rolinha - sinhô, sinhô
 se embaraçou - sinhô, sinhô
 é que a vizinha - sinhô, sinhô
 nunca sambou - sinhô, sinhô
 porque este samba - sinhô, sinhô
 é de arrepiar - sinhô, sinhô
 põe perna bamba - sinhô, sinhô
 mas faz gozar.
 (The head of the folia
 has sent word to me
 through the telephone
 the play should not be questioned
 Ay, ay, ay, just leave your sorrows behind, oh boy
 ah, ah, ah, stay here if you can and you will see

The chief of the police
 has sent word to me
 through the telephone
 that in the Carioca square
 there is a roulette
 where one can gamble...

Now, the story of *Pelo Telefone* still goes on, as the story of modernization never ends, always entering into a new wave of fascination with a technology which comes from the First World. Gilberto Gil has revisited this song in his double album *Quanta*, just two years ago, in a song about Internet, which represents neatly the last push (and pressure) towards being a fully modern and urbanized citizen. As he describes tongue in cheek all the signs of Internet culture, he ends the song reminding his readers that political and legal institutions have not been really transformed, and the virtual reality is just another tool to

give continuity to the illegal gamble, all with the complicity of Rio de Janeiro's Police. And the same drive towards fetishizing electronic equipments which fascinated people in the beginning of the century, when telephone started to be used in everyday life in Rio de Janeiro, is alive and well today. The great fetish in the last years in Brazil is the cellular phone. Donga's *Pelo Telephone* still says something relevant today. Here is how Gil finishes the song called *Pela Internet*:

3. Pela Internet - Gilberto Gil- singer: Gilberto Gil

O chefe da polícia
avisa pelo celular
que lá na Praça Onze
tem um vídeopôker
para se jogar

(The deputy
has sent word by cellular phone
that in Onze Square
there is a videopoker
one can play)

In five lines Gil has elegantly united past and present of the samba in Rio de Janeiro: Praça Onze was the square where the great Carnival began, with the first Escolas de Samba. It was demolished in that Hausmann-like urge for reurbanization. In his unfinished documentary *It's All True*, Orson Welles filmed what proved to be some of the last images of that mythical square of samba, before a new wave of modernization wiped it out from the horizon of the Afro-Brazilian community in Brazil's capital. Gil guarantees, with the truth of art, that neither internet, videopoker nor cellular phones have really destroyed it: it is still there to witness a new generation of poor Blacks rebuilding their pact for survival with corrupt policemen. Here we can go back to the beginning of the first class, with all the predecessors of samba, since art forms are always ready to move full circle.

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