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Instruments in Bahian *Candomblé*

The colonial slave trade between Africa and Brazil had many different consequences, one of the more important of which was the introduction and creation of musical instruments by the slaves, who felt the need to perpetuate their cultural heritage in the New World in the form of religious and secular music and dance. Since the slaves did not bring their musical instruments with them from Africa, they were forced to improvise with materials from American soil as they remembered their music from the homeland. In this article we will analyze some of the Afro-Brazilian musical instruments regarding ethnic origin and use in *candomblé*[1] and carnival, with demonstrations of playing techniques.

Since the paper deals mainly with *candomblé*, a definition of it would be in order at this time. The word *candomblé* stems from a combination of kikongo words, i.e., *nkàndu* 'small drum' and *mbé* 'onomatopoeic expression for the sound made when someone beats on something'. Ironically, this Bantu origin is found among the descendants of Kwa slaves in Brazil, of Sudanic origin, stemming mainly from Nigeria, Togo and Benin - the Yoruba, Ijesha, Ewe and Fon peoples. However, since the slaves taken to Brazil were many times mixed with regard to ethnic origins and languages in order to prevent uprisings and disturbances, we do find some usage of Sudanic and Bantu words in the same religious (and other)[2] kinds of contexts, and this is one example.

Within the *candomblé*, however, most of the spirits, which are worshipped, have names stemming from the Yoruba language, e.g., Yemanjá, Oxalá, Ogum, Oxum, Oxunmarê, etc. Likewise, many of the musical instruments used during the *candomblé* ceremonies are of Kwa origin. The three drums used, the *rum*, *rumpi* and *lé*, *rum* being the largest, *rumpi* the second largest, and the *lê* the smallest, stem from the Ewe/Fon nations. Juana Elbein dos Santos (1967:18, 25) has written the following concerning the origins of these three central musical instruments of *candomblé*:

> *It is important for us to record the name 'Hun' used for drums, as the instrumental group in the Jêje-Nagô [Ewe-Yoruba] cult houses in Brazil is made up of three drums:*
>
> *The Run or Ìlù is the largest, beaten with a rod in the right hand... The word Ìlù is of Yorùbá origin, just as the name Hun comes from the Fon, the aspirated h having been replaced by r*[3].

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[1] *Candomblé* is the Afro-Bahian religious cult practice, which the slaves brought with them from West Africa. There are different forms and types of *candomblé*, including *de caboclo*, *gêge*, *nagô*, *banto*. See Pessoa de Castro (2001:196) and Béhague (2000:274) for more details.

[2] The secular parts of society in Brazil also use many African derived words and expressions. It has been calculated that roughly 10% of the daily vocabulary used in many parts of Brazil (e.g., Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, etc.) is of African origin. Cf. Megenney 1978.

[3] The initial "h" of the Fon word was replaced in Brazil with an "r" because in Brazilian Portuguese word initial "r" is pronounced as a voiceless velar fricative, i.e., [x].

The Rumpi... Its name also is of Fon derivation and it seems to correspond to the drum recorded by Clemente da Crus, which Pierre Verger records as Hunpevi[4].

The Le is the smallest... It is also known as Omele and its name is derived directly from the Yorùbá Omele.

Variations of rhythms played on the *rumpi* and the *lê* (following notations as registered in Béhague (2000:275-276) are as follows:

12/8 ε ε ε ε ♫ ε ε ε ε ε ε ♫

Variations in rhythms as played on the *rum* (following notations as registered in Béhague (2000:275-276) are:

12/8 ε γ ε (rest, either quarter or eighth) ε (rest, either quarter or eighth) ε ε ε ε ε ε

Other rhythms of the *rumpi* and the *lê* consist of a 12/8 time signature with the following:

θ. θ ε θ ε θ ε,

while the *rum* is playing the following simultaneously:

rests until the final note of the other two drums, then, with the last note of these drums,

ε_θ ε_η,

– this rhythm while the other two drums play:

θ θ ε θ ε θ ε (one must hear this to appreciate it!).

Pierre Verger (1954:2-3) has given us a comparison of the three drums as they appear in Sakété, Benin, Africa and in Bahia, Brazil. The outward appearances are different, yet the sizes are remarkably similar, indicating the fact that the slaves had to rebuild the drums from memory with local Brazilian materials, which they did rather well despite the many hardships suffered during the Middle Passage[5] and the experience of slavery.

In addition to the three drums played during the *candomblé* ceremonies, clapping with the hands and with pieces of wood may accompany the drumming and the singing. At certain times, special clapping is done by the initiates to indicate that they wish to call down the spirits (*orixás*); this clapping is called *macó* and is usually done only when the cult house (temple) leader, the *mãe-de-santo* or the *pai-de-santo*, gives the appropriate sign.

At times, a bell-shaped metal instrument called a *gã* (if only one "bell" [*campânula*] is used) or an *agôgô* (if two "bells" are used) may be played at the ceremonies. Varying rhythms also exist, depending upon the *orixá* being summoned (each one responds to different rhythms). One such rhythm, taken from Béhague (2000:275) is the following:

C ε. ε ε ε γ ε ε

Another *agôgô* or gã rhythm is steady, in 12/8 time, i.e., quarter notes, each followed by an eighth rest. Yet a third rhythm used for the *agôgô* or the *gã* is in 2/4

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[4] Verger, 1957:165. Here, Verger spells it *Hounpèvi*. Pessoa de Castro (2001:331) says it comes from Fon *hunkpi/vi*.

[5] This expression refers to the slave trade between Africa and the New World and carries connotations of its harsh and cruel nature. See, for example, pp. 47-56 of Edward Reynolds' *Stand the Storm*.

time and consists of a triplet of eighth notes followed by three sixteenth notes. Another is made up of combinations of eighth and sixteenth notes in C time. With respect to the musical styles themselves, Béhague 2000:274 states the following:

> *The music of the Gêge-Nagô groups retains a strongly Yoruba style, both in the pentatonic and hexatonic melodic structures and in the rhythmic organization of the accompaniment. Overlapping responsorial singing prevails, the solo vocal lines performed in general by the cult leader, the master drummer, or less frequently by any of the official civil protectors of the group, known as ogans.*

Further down the page, Béhague continues his description of rhythmic patterns used by way of drum beating:

> *The rhythmic structure of Candomblé music reveals a typically African sense of rhythm whereby regular motoric, unchangeable parts are contrasted with improvised parts. Ritual drumming occurs as an accompaniment to sung performances and in solos. Specific rhythmic patterns are associated with specific gods, such as alujá for Xangô (god of thunder and fire), bravum for Ogum (warrior deity and god of metal tools), aguerê for Oxóssi (god of hunting), and igbim for Oxalá (god of creation). To each rhythm corresponds a given choreography associated with the specific god...*

Another percussion instrument oftimes used in *candomblé* ceremonies is the so-called *quêrêrêquêxê*, or *reco-reco* (an onomatopoeia), which is usually made from a gourd with one side ratcheted so that it makes a scratching or scraping sound when a stick is rubbed over its surface. Interestingly, there is a kiKuyu (Kenya) word, *kerereke∫e*, which means 'maracas'. This seems somewhat strange given the fact that Kenya was not a source of slaves for Brazil. In fact, there were very few slaves extracted from this part of Africa, most of them having come from the west African coastal areas from Senegal to Nigeria, from Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), Angola, and Moçambique (east coast of Africa). There was also quite a bit of slave gathering in the interior regions east of the coastal areas of these regions, but this did not extend to Kenya. It is, of course, possible, that the word was borrowed into another language from kiKuyu, perhaps filtering down into Zaire through Rwanda and/or Burundi, just as many words from Hausa in northern Nigeria filtered down into Yoruba in the south. KiKongo (Zaire, northern Angola) has *kelekesa* 'to grate'. This could have reduplicated the second syllable while changing [l] → [r][6] (common in many Bantu languages, where [l] and [r] are allophones of the same phoneme in free variation) and word-final [-a] → [-e] by way of vowel harmony. At the same time, there may have been some influence from the Hausa word, if in fact it was present among the kiKongo-speaking people. In Swahili we also find *kereketa* 'to scratch', a similar sounding word which is semantically viable and which could have easily changed phonologically according to the pattern of *kerereke∫e*.

Another percussion instrument sometimes found among the *candomblé* initiates is the *ganzá* or *canzá*. This is similar to the *reco-reco*, only a bit smaller in size and producing a higher-pitched tone when played. The *canzá* is made from a

[6] The brackets indicate phonetic transcription, e.g., [l] = alveolar lateral, [r] = alveolar tap.

piece of bamboo (*taquara*), closed at one end at one of its junctures (knots). Transverse slits are made across the surface, which produce a rasping sound when a stick is rubbed over it, usually in both directions, up and down. According to Cacciatore (1977:83), a similar instrument, called a *macumba*, used to be played at many Afro-Brazilian cult ceremonies, but is no longer used. It was suspended between the wall of the temple and the stomach of the player, who scraped two wooden sticks over the slits cut into its surface.

Cacciatore (1977: 133, 134) gives Yoruba as the language of origin of the word: *gún* 'is straight' and *sa*[7] 'cut, slit'. Interestingly, we have found a kiKongo word, *kánza*, which means either 'to wound slightly' or 'to scrape or rasp, as across furniture' or 'a rasping sound in the voice'. It would seem that the kiKongo possibility is more viable than the Yoruba suggestion given by Cacciatore, both phonologically and semantically. In Kongo, the old language of San Salvador, Angola, as described in Bentley (1887), the word *kanza* exists, meaning 'to snap, to bite', which could have been extended semantically to 'rasp, scrape'.

Yeda Pessoa de Castro (2001:199) gives a kiKongo origin (*nsanza*, *nkwanza*), as well as a kiMbundu (Angola) origin (*dikanza*) for what she describes as:

> *idiofone feito de cortes transversais em taquara de bambu no qual são feitos regos transversais por onde se esfrega uma vareta para ressoar. Var.* ***caracaxá, ganzá, querequexé, reco-reco***. (*Idiophone made of transverse cuts in bamboo in which slanted slits are made and a stick rubbed over them to make a rasping sound*).

One particular percussion instrument used only on certain special occasions (according to my own observations in Salvador, Bahia) in *candomblé* ceremonies is the *caxixi*, a small enclosed basket-like cup or container made of reeds or heavy grasses, with dried seeds placed inside. When shaken, the seeds make a maraca-like sound (i.e., either like that of the familiar Spanish-American or Caribbean *maraca*, with the seeds inside, or like that of the Brazilian *maraca*, a larger gourd, usually with *búzios*, 'cowry shells', strung together and wrapped around the outside of the gourd; the shells are then held in one hand while turning around the outside of the gourd to produce a rasping sound). The *caxixi* is used in *capoeira*[8] and samba bands much more than in *candomblé*. The word itself may stem from Hausa *kaʃiu gwanki* 'a prostrate gourd', probably borrowed into Yoruba. Other possibilities, although

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[7] In Yoruba, sub-dots are used under certain consonants in the orthography to indicate palatalization: "s" [s] "s → "ṣ" [ʃ].

[8] *Capoeira* is a coreographed dance which originated in Salvador, Bahia during the colonial period. It represents a fight between either a slave or his master or between two slaves and is sometimes referred to as "Brazilian martial arts". It is accompanied by the *berimbau* (the principal instrument), drums, the clapping of hands, and singing. Béhague (2000:278) describes the musical instruments used in *capoeira* in the following manner: "*Capoeira* is accompanied by an ensemble of musical bow (*berimbau de barriga*), tambourine (*pandeiro*), double bell [*agôgô*], and at least one drum (*atabaque*), and the singing is responsorial. The main instrument, the *berimbau* has a calabash resonator and is played by a wooden stick with a basket rattle (*caxixi*). By using a coin as a bridge, the player of the *berimbau* can produce two distinct pitches (usually a second apart), but the simultaneous performance of several bows of different sizes allows multipart and harmonic textures."

perhaps somewhat remote, would be kiMbundu/ kiKongo *saʃi* 'rattle' + kiMbundu/ kiKongo *ʃika* 'to rattle', or kiMbundu *kaʃaʃi* 'half', which would not seem to fit semantically, even though it is close phonetically. Pessoa de Castro (2001:208) lists kiKongo *kisisi* and kiMbundu *kisasi*, although she does not explain the meanings of these words. Cacciatore (1977:87) also gives kiMbundu *kaxaxi* [kaʃaʃi] 'half'(of the hand?).

One other percussion instrument, which is sometimes used in *candomblé* on special occasions, is the *engoma* drum. The word stems from kiKongo, kiMbundu, uMbundu and Cinyanja (Democratic Republic of the Congo) *ngoma ~ ngoma* 'drum' or, in kiMbundu, 'a dance accompanied by drums'. Cacciatore (1977:115) explains that the *engoma* is "nome dado ao tambor ritual em candomblés bantos kimb.: 'ngoma' – 'tambor'" ("name given to the ritual drum in Bantu *candomblés* kiMbundu: 'ngoma' ─ 'drum'"). Since there are relatively few *candomblés bantos*, at least in Bahia, this particular instrument is not often seen as part of the ceremonies; by far most of the *candomblés* are of Sudanic origin, as readily noted especially in the names of the spirits, which stem mainly from Yoruba or from Ewe/Fon. Pessoa de Castro (2001:86) provides equivalency charts for some names in the various "nations"[9] represented in Salvador, Bahia; here are some examples:

Exemplos de equivalência e atributos

'nação'	Jeje-mina	Nagô/queto	Congo-Angola
Deus	Hunsó	Olorum	Zâmbi (apungo)
Demônio(?)	Lebá	Exu	Bambojira/Pombajira
santo	Vodum	Orixá	Inquice
Língua de santo			
'nação'	jeje-mina	nagô-queto	congo-angola
mãe-de-santo	rumbon(d)o	ialorixá	mameto/nêngua
pai-de-santo	rumbon(d)o	babalorixá	tateto/tata
iniciado	vodunce	iaô	muzenza
terreiro	rondemo	ilê	Unzó/canzuá

The *engoma* or *ngoma* drum is also sometimes called the *angomba* in the Bantu *candomblés*. Cacciatore (1977:48) speaks of this name in the following manner:

É também chamado ingono, imgomba, angona – kimb: 'ngoma' – tambor, talvez misturado ao kimb. 'ngombe' - gado (couro). (*It is also called ingono, imgomba, angona – kiMbundu: 'ngoma' - drum, perhaps mixed with kiMbundu 'ngombe' - cattle (leather)).*

Percussion Instruments in Brazilian Carnival

Just as the famous Brazilian *samba*[10] stems from many of the musical percussion arrangements used in *candomblé* (and the other genetically related Afro-

[9] "Nations" is a term used for the relatively small groupings or "tribes" found in sub-Saharan Africa, such as the Yoruba, Ewe, Fon, Mbundu, Serer, Diola, Fulani, Hausa, etc.

[10] The word *samba* has its origins in several sub-Saharan languages, where we find phonological fits and semantic similarities (cf. Megenney 1978:149). These languages are: Ngangela, Tshiluba, Hausa, Bobangi, kiMbundu, uMbundu, and Yoruba – all Bantu except Yoruba, which is Sudanic.

Brazilian cult organizations), after being filtered through the *samba de roda*, which came directly from *candomblé* music and the habit of dancing in a circle (*roda*) when initiating the call for the *orixás* to appear and possess initiates, so many of the percussion instruments used in today's carnival music have their origin in the music of the Afro-Brazilian (originally Afro-Bahian) cult houses or temples. Béhague (2000:263) states the following about the origins of *samba*:

> *All these genres*[11] *have elements that at some level can be traced to African origins, particularly to Bantu traditions organized in eight- and sixteen-pulse timelines. ...*
>
> *Brazilian musicologists argue about how and where the samba originated. Most concur that the word developed out of the Quimbundu (a Bantu language) [kiMbundu] term semba, which denotes the belly bump, one of the distinctive choreographic features of the batuque. According to Sílvio Romero (1954), the term was associated with a specific Bahian dance in the second half of the 1800s; Bahian ex-slaves then brought it to Rio de Janeiro, where it fused with such urban styles as the polka, the habanera, the modinha, and the lundu. Kazadi wa Mukuna (1979), however, argues that it may have developed on the coffee plantations of the Paraíba Valley before reaching the capital. Many rural forms of the samba are still danced throughout the coffee-producing areas, where they are known by various terms, such as samba rural and samba-lenço. In the contemporary forms of rural samba, the belly bump has been suppressed to make the dances more respectable. José Ramos Tinhorão (1986) argues that the samba was the product of a middle-class elaboration of Afro-Brazilian musical practices by professional musicians in Rio. It was then reappropriated in its more complex form by blacks and mulattos for their carnival parades.*

In his study of Afro-Brazilian traditions, Béhague (2000:283) draws our attention to his theory that it was, in fact, in the city of Salvador da Bahia where the roots of carnival music had their inception. Having been Brazil's first capital city, Salvador was inundated with African slaves from the very beginning of the colonial period, and therefore was witness to the development of (many times clandestine) African musical and religious traditions on Bahian soil. While discussing Bahian genres and some new types of music stemming from the *candomblé* and its derivatives, Béhague (2000:283) mentions the *afòxé* group, which formed in the 1960s (actually he says the 1970s and 1980s, which is somewhat late). Concerning this Afro-Bahian group, as well as the newer *carnaval ijexá* and the very recent *bloco afro*, Béhague states the following:

> *The traditional music and culture of Candomblé played an important role as a creative source and force in the concept of black ethnicity in the 1970s and 1980s. The emergence of an African consciousness among young people of African descent represents a social and human history of great significance, in which traditional music has had a fundamental function in the movement of ethnic and political vindication. Local black and mestizo young people have contributed to the re-Africanization of carnival* (Risério 1981; repeated by Crook 1993). *The process of a new black-consciousness movement, though it has much to do with the ideology of negritude, was never based on the cultural incorporation of contemporary African elements; rather, it originated in a new interpretation and rendition of the most traditional elements of Afro-Bahian culture. It would appear more accurate, therefore, to refer to*

[11] These are *samba carnavalesca, samba-enredo, samba baiana, samba-lenço, samba rural, samba de morro, samba de cidade, samba de terreiro, samba de breque, samba de partido alto, samba corrido, samba canção, samba choro*, and many others.

a re-Afro-Brazilianization within a new concern of validation of the contemporary black culture and the necessity of expressing a new ethnicity.

It follows, then, that even though we do find new influences creeping into the Afro-Bahian religious celebrations and certainly into carnival traditions, we must also note that for the most part the older traditions have been kept and even revived in certain instances where some of the practices had been almost forgotten. Today's carnival, then, is a true reflection of past customs, including the percussion instruments played in the parades and at some parties.

What are these instruments? We may mention the most common ones, which are used by the *escolas de samba* (samba bands) and attempt to pinpoint their African etymologies, if their referents are of African origin. First, we should mention the large drum called the *surdo*, which under girds all the other superimposed rhythms. In the *Novo Dicionário Aurélio* of the Portuguese language, p. 1351, we find the following definition of a *surdo* drum: "Tambor de fuste alto, sem cordas sobre a membrana inferior, e que tem, por isso, uma sonoridade abafada". ("Drum with a high shank, without strings on the lower membrane, and which therefore has a muffled sound"). The word *surdo* comes from Portuguese *surdo* meaning 'deaf, almost deaf, of very low sound'.

Other drums used in Brazilian carnival are the snare drums and the *repiques* or high pitched drums, which are smaller than the *surdos*. The word *repique* is Portuguese and means 'chime, peal'. Much as the rhythms of the *candomblé* ceremonies start off slowly and pick up in speed as the ceremonies progress, the samba rhythms vary from slow to very fast. As Béhague (2000:284) states, speaking of the samba: "At first, the basic rhythmic organization, known as the *toque afro-primitivo*, consisted of a slow-to-moderate-tempo samba in a rich and forceful percussive texture."

One other instrument, which resembles a tambourine, is held in one hand while striking the surface with the hand, the elbow, or any part of the body able to do so; this is called the *pandeiro*. Olsen and Sheehy (2000:383) define the *pandeiro* in the following way: "Brazilian frame drum like a tambourine with jingles". The *Novo Dicionário Aurélio* describes the *pandeiro* as

> *Quadrado ou aro de madeira, com guizos ou sem eles, e sobre o qual se estica uma pele, que se tange batendo-a com a mão, com os cotovelos, nos joelhos e até nos pés. (A square or circle of wood, with or without [metal] rattles, on which a skin is stretched, which is played by striking it with the hand, the elbows, the knees and even the feet)*. (p. 1024)

The *tamborim*[12] is a small drum-like instrument played by striking the surface with a stick or baton. In Olsen and Sheehy's glossary, we find: "Brazilian membranophone consisting of a small metal or plastic frame covered with a tight skin, played with a stick."

One of the most exotic instruments used in carnival is the *cuíca*, a barrel-like percussion instrument producing high-pitched grunting sounds. Olsen & Sheehy (2000:380) describe it in the following way: "Single-headed Brazilian friction mem-

[12] The word *tambourine comes from the diminutive of the French word tambour? Tambourine*. It is a small drumhead with small jingling disks around the periphery.

branophone used in samba, sounded by rubbing a short stick attached to and protruding from the bottom of the drum skin into the wooden or metal body." The origin of the word is no doubt kiMbundu *kwika* 'to resound, reverberate, to sound'. Pessoa de Castro (2001:215) lists *cuíca* as stemming from kiKongo/ kiMbundu/ uMbundu *mpwita ~ opwita ~ pwita*, presumably the names of a similar instrument in Bantu-speaking Africa, although she does not say that directly.

The *agôgô* is also used in carnival groups, but not the single funneled *gã*, as in *candomblé*, as far as I am aware. It is, of course, possible, that the *gã* may be used in some carnival activities such as those held in the smaller towns, such as Feira de Santana, of Bahia state, which is small but famous for its lush carnival. The *reco-reco* or *quêrêrêquêxê* is also used in carnival processions, as is the Brazilian *maraca*, which is a large gourd covered on the outside with strings of seeds or shells (usually *búzios* = kaury shells). The player holds the gourd by its handle while holding the strings of shells with the other hand and making turning motions around the gourd so as to produce a rasping sound. Oddly, Olsen & Sheehy do not include this particular variety of *maraca* in their *Handbook*.

It should be mentioned that many urban and suburban groups who come together once a year for carnival celebrations gather "instruments" such as pots and pans, spoons and knives, which they astutely convert into wonderful percussion tools, making some of the best and most rhythmic music I have ever witnessed. I recall several occasions, while living in Salvador da Bahia in the late 1960s, when I visited gatherings of such groups in the Pelourinho section of the old city. There I witnessed about 50 to 60 musicians, most of whom were playing these kitchen utensils. The mood could not have been more festive nor the percussion rhythms more enchanting. They surely must have won prizes for their marvelous use of such unique rhythm producing objects.

Another, more recent group, which has sprung up in Bahian carnival, is called *afòxé*. Béhague (2000:283,284) states the following concerning *afòxé*:

> *The revitalization in the 1970s of the Afro-Brazilian carnival associations called afoxés gave the new black movement a starting point. Afoxés whose members were devotees of Candomblé represented the first attempts in Bahia to transfer to the street, during carnival, the aura of the mythical world. The name of the oldest afoxé, Filhos de Gandhi (Sons of Gandhi), paid homage to the great statesman a few months after his assassination (1948) and revealed the ideological affinity of the group with Gandhi's anticolonialism, philosophy of nonviolence, and activism against European domination. Traditionally, the music performed in the carnival parades of afoxés was actually Candomblé music, specifically ijexá songs and rhythms. Filhos de Gandhi developed its own music but retained the main stylistic features of ijexá music*.

I was able to observe the Filhos de Gandhi *afòxé* group while in Salvador. At that time, their participation in carnival included one rhythm of (12/8 time) ♫ ♪ (rest) ♫ ♪ (rest) ♫ ♪ (rest)[13] ♫ ♫ ♫ ♪, over and over, with intermittent trumpet playing of the same three or four notes. They also sing in Nagô, "Eh, mojubá", which in

[13] Although these rests are usually quarter rests, sometimes they can be half rests or, on occasion, eighth rests.

Yorùbá is *mo* = 'I', *júbà* 'acknowledge or regard or beg the elders for permission [to enter the *terreiro* or to begin a ritual]', while playing the *agôgô* at the same time.

More recently, the newer *afòxé* groups and the very new *blocos afro* have been drifting away from the original *candomblé* traditional rhythms and the songs no longer stem from the liturgical repertoires. Many of the participants, however, still retain some of the old traditions from *candomblé* and on occasion will interject rhythms and songs from rituals, some of which are still being practiced in Bahia. Béhague (2000:284, 285) states the following regarding this practice:

> *The members of the new groups, however, did not fail to recognize and adhere to some aspects of Candomblé traditions, as some members are Camdomblé worshippers. Before celebrating an important festivity (such as carnival), people sometimes perform rituals of offering to the orixás in the name of the groups. Some Candomblé rhythms have occasionally been incorporated into bloco afro's rhythmic section. In general, however, whether or not they are close to the Afro-Bahian religions, leaders of blocos afro are aware of and in tune with Candomblé's traditional function as a center of cultural resistance and of social and ethnic identity.*

One of the most important and well-known Afro-Brazilian instruments which has not been used in carnival until relatively recently and never used in *candomblé* is the *berimbau*. Olsen and Sheehy (2000:378) list it in the following way:

> *(1) Struck musical bow with a calabash resonator common to Bahia, Brazil, and derived from Angola* (278); *(2) berimbau de Angola, another more complete name for the berimbau* (278); *berimbau de barriga, 'berimbau of the belly', another name for the Afro-Brazilian musical bow, so called because the calabash resonator is stopped by pressing it against the player's stomach*.

Two distinct tones are produced when playing the *berimbau* by pressing and releasing either a large coin or a stone against the taut wire strung from each end of the wooden pole (about 3 feet long). Although not used much in carnival and never in the Afro-Bahian religious cult ceremonies, it is the principal instrument used in *capoeira*, along with the several drums, a *tamborim*, a *pandeiro*, and an *agôgô*. The other musical instrument used in *capoeira* is the voice, as every *capoeira* group has an extensive repertoire of songs, which accompany the percussion instruments. Some of the titles of the more famous and most repeated are (1) *Paraná*, (the name of a Brazilian state) (2) *Samba do mar*, (Samba of the sea) (3) *Vou dizê a meu sinhô que a manteiga derramou* (I am going to tell my boss that the butter spilled out).

In closing, we may make mention of a type of ensemble called the *batucada*, which, according to popular belief, stems from *candomblé* via the samba (i.e., *candomblé* → *samba de roda* → *samba* → *batucada*). Also according to popular belief, the word *batucada* comes from the Portuguese verb *bater* 'to strike, beat', which would be logical. However, since the origin of these groups is African, it would behoove us to consider the possibility of some kind of influence from the Yoruba word *bàtákoto* 'a kind of drum', which could have easily turned into *batucada*, perhaps itself influenced by *bater*, although the four syllables of the Yoruba word parallel more closely the word *batucada* than do either the two syllables of *bater* or even the three syllables of the past participle of *bater*, *batido*. Olsen and Sheehy (2000:378) supply definitions for *batucada* and *batuque*. For the former, we read:

1) Brazilian percussion ensemble and percussive dance music (282)*; (2) drumming session or performance of a samba percussion ensemble* (263).

For the latter, we read:

From Portuguese bater 'to hit', (1) Afro-Brazilian religion and dance in Pará, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul states (273, 280); *(2) batuque, Afro-Brazilian round dance of Angolese or Congolese origin* (253, 257, 263, 280); *(3) Argentine variant of Afro-Brazilian religion* (313-15).

In Olsen and Sheehy (2000:282) we find the following explanation for *batucada*:

In emphasizing a percussive ensemble and traditional responsorial singing, the so-called samba of the slums in the hills (samba de morro) maintained a closer identity with the folk samba. Out of this ensemble developed the batucada (percussion ensemble and percussive dance music) associated with the samba school (escola de samba), first organized as a carnival association in 1928.

Percussion instruments, then, have served as the core of musical ensembles in sub-Saharan Africa since before the days of the slave trade and have continued to do so in the Americas, albeit in different formats and with different raw materials, based on the availability of these materials in the New World. As the African slave felt the need to continue his/her religious experiences on the other side of the Atlantic, the African religious and social experiences were camouflaged behind Catholic and other European traditions and so were kept alive. Over the centuries, some of these African traditions and customs changed and melded with the European ones, a phenomenon, which is noted in the use of neo-African musical instruments, used in Brazil today. It is noteworthy, however, that so many of the rhythms, songs and instruments have retained much of their "African" substance and originality, even after having been forbidden by the government and suppressed by society. Recently, we have even seen revivals among Afro-Brazilian religious and musical groups in those who would maintain old traditions while developing exciting new musical ensembles.

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