LOCAL MUSICKING AND THE PRODUCTION OF LOCALITY

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DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT

Today we live in sonic environments where we are exposed to a great diversity of musical styles from a range of different eras. Ethnomusicology, however, has focused on the study of musical genres and practices that are considered "traditional" or "proper" to the context or ethnic group of the study. Thus, many musical activities that are part of the daily lives of many people – their "local musicking" – are ignored. By being integrated into everyday life, musicking creates spaces that promote feelings of belonging and commitment toward the contexts in which they were experienced and toward those with whom they were shared. This article explores perspectives on the relationship between these activities and the localities in which they occur, seeking to understand how musicking affects localities and how, in turn, it is affected by them. The argument being made here is that local musicking plays a major role in the "production of localities" (Appadurai), evincing its eminently political character.

KEYWORDS
Local musicking; Production of locality; Musical community; Space; Musical experience.

According to the Minutes of the Chamber of the small town of Campanha, Minas Gerais, regarding the celebrations of the declaration of independence, the local population demonstrated "due gratitude to the Founder of the Empire" with a *Te Deum*, "accompanied by ... the excellent music of two choirs, ... conducted by the Reverend Vicar João Dias." There was also a rich procession at night followed by "a splendid tea," where "many good music concerts and excellent piano sonatas were played ... [followed by] beautifully executed contradances by the principal ladies, [and] there was waltzing to musical pieces, and in this way the dance proceeded." At dawn the next day the band played, and the festivities culminated with "the Opera, ... offered ... by the Latin grammar students." Throughout the early morning, there was also music in the streets, performed by street musicians (*seresteiros*) with their *violas*,[1] guitars, and tambourines (Valladão 1940, 56-59). The Campanha memorialist Francisco de Paula Ferreira de Rezende (1832-1893) (Rezende 1987) remembers the great Holy Week celebrations in the city, with performances by a choir and orchestra, as well as the celebrations on the Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary, with the participation of at least two rival drum ensembles (*congados*) made up of enslaved and free Blacks, who also regularly performed *batuques*[2] on Sundays.

This musical legacy is still evident today in Campanha and it encompasses all sectors of the population, which currently consists of approximately 16,500 people. Among the popular classes, besides the *congados*, one finds the mummer-like groups known as *folias de reis* and *folias do divino* making pilgrimages through the peripheral neighborhoods of the town at different times of the year; it is also predominantly in these neighborhoods that the carnival ensembles (*blocos*) recruit their members. There is a great proliferation of choirs and vocal groups in the town, some linked to schools and educational institutions, others to churches, and still others operate as autonomous associations. One can also hear instrumental music in Campanha, the main ensembles being the *fanfarra*[3] (or Banda Marcial Irmão Paulo) and the brass band (or Corporação Musical Maestro Walter Salles), both subsidized by local government. An orchestral string tradition present up to the 1970s has not been preserved, and for Holy Week, the setting in which the Campanhense Choir presents an eighteenth-century repertoire by composers from Minas Gerais, with special emphasis on the music of Manoel Dias de Oliveira (Tiradentes, 1738-1813), it is now necessary to hire string players from out of town. But the legacy of popular street traditions has remained and is found mainly in the group Seresta e Companhia. And, of course, Campanha also has

1 Guitar-like instruments, but smaller than a guitar and often using six double courses of strings.
2 Percussion-based dance circles.
3 *Fanfarras* are made up predominantly of percussion instruments and a few brass instruments; they are typically linked to schools and are dominated by young performers.

several rock bands, funk, *pagode* and other popular music genres that are particularly popular among the youth; and several duos perform a regional country style called *música sertaneja*.[4]

From this quick overview of the musical universe of Campanha, one can see that there is space in the town for a wide variety of musical practices, which, collectively, mobilize a significant portion of the population, either regularly or seasonally. Many of these practices are directly associated with contexts of special relevance to the local population, such as Holy Week, marked by the performances of the Campanhense Choir and the funeral marches of the Walter Salles Brass Band, and the Festival of Our Lady of the Rosary, centered on the performances of the *congados*. Since the colonial period, these are the two central events in the local calendar. But local ensembles perform for other celebrations in the town as well, such as civic festivals, holy days, carnival, Christmas, weddings, graduations, birthdays, family barbecues, among other events of intense sociability. This wide variety of musical practices is strongly imbedded in the town's daily life and also evinces its diversity and the relationships between its different social sectors.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF LOCALIZED SONORITIES

Campanha emerged in the colonial period during the great gold rush at the beginning of the 18th century. In the local colonial context, as in many parts of Brazil and other parts of the world marked by colonialism, people with significant differences in terms of ethnicity, cultural baggage, social values, and economic orientations found themselves in direct contact within a highly hierarchical society. In this setting, the town continuously absorbed new cultural elements, forging a history of encounters that is present to this day in its musical universe.

This history can be perceived, for example, in the local choirs. To identify an origin for the "standard" format of the contemporary choir is, perhaps, impossible, but in the middle of the 19th century it was already well consolidated in the western world. The Campanhense Choir, which follows the standard model with female and male singers lined up by vocal range (soprano, alto, tenor, and bass) before a conductor, was founded in 1958, when the parish priest formed it to ensure the local Holy Week celebrations would continue the tradition of "baroque" pomp typical of the colonial towns of Minas Gerais. The vocal formation for sacred music in

4 Since 1995 I have been documenting the musical life of Campanha, Minas Gerais. The historical and ethnographic data presented here were colected over the years. See: Reily (2006; 2011; 2013).

the colonial period, however, did not involve a choir in this format; it ewas performed by a small group of male musicians, predominantly "*mulatos*" (Lange 1966), of at most two people per vocal part (Neves 1997).[5] Moreover, colonial music in Minas may have been composed locally, but it used compositional procedures strongly influenced by European practices of the time, particularly Portuguese trends (Neves 1997). I further note that, from the start, the repertoire of the Campanhense Choir was extended to embrace pieces by consecrated European composers of the 19th and 20th centuries, Brazilian imperial *modinhas*,[6] and arrangements of popular songs, since many of the group's performance opportunities involved weddings and graduations, for which it needed an appropriate repertoire.

The Campanhense Choir is just one among several choirs in the town. Thus, in Campanha today, one can participate in choirs that sing repertoires ranging from colonial pieces to gospel music associated with the contemporary evangelical churches; the repertoires of the Campanhense Choirs also include Brazilian and international popular music, classical pieces, and arrangements of folk songs. Each of these musical genres reveals a complex history of encounters, tensions, and hybridities spanning the centuries, which, on reaching Campanha, was re-signified by the different ensembles that appropriated it.

This same complexity is present in the "hidden histories" (Jarritsma 2016) of all musical ensembles in Campanha. The brass band model developed in Europe, to then be spread to many parts of the world in the second half of the nineteenth century, constituting an emblem of colonial power (Boonzajer Flaes 2000; Brucher and Reily 2013). The main traditional repertoire of Brazilian bands, the *dobrado*, is a march form that developed in Brazil from the European double march. After the Paraguay War (1864-1870), this genre spread throughout Brazil and became the basis for civic festivities, but also for religious processions in various parts of the country, Minas among them (Reily 2013, 106). Many Brazilian bands, however, including the Walter Salles Corporation, have been reconfiguring themselves, acquiring profiles that resemble the North American "big band" (Fagundes 2010). To this end, they adopt repertoires of a "presentational" character, better suited to a listening audience,[7] and, increasingly, they avoid to accompanying processions.

Mendicant traditions, like the *folias de reis*, also came to Brazil with the Portuguese colonizers, particularly those of the peasant classes. Some of

5 Although the Holy Week repertoire is commonly referred to as "baroque," in terms of style it is actually closer to the classical – or pre-classical – than to the baroque style, though it does evence some baroque elements, such as virtuosic solos (Neves 1997, 17-18).
6 "*Modinha*" was a term used to refer to Brazilian popular songs influenced by the Portuguese "*moda*" in the nineteenth century.
7 See Turino (2008, 51-65).

these traditions are still present today in some communities in Europe and its colonies. In Campanha, the *folias* circulate in the peripheral neighborhoods of the town, concentrating their visits at the homes of people of the same socioeconomic level as their members, articulating a subaltern popular Catholicism (Reily 2002). As for the *congados*, these associations have their origin within the black brotherhoods of Portuguese America, particularly the brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary, but also of Saint Benedict, Saint Ephigenia of Ethiopia, and Saint Elesbão, institutions that provided a refuge for the enslaved and the freed Africans in the colony. The first associations known as "*congados*" emerged in the historic mining town of Vila Rica (now Ouro Preto), from where they spread to other mining centers, and then to agricultural areas, following the movements of the enslaved (Kiddy 2005). Their repertoires, which center on drums and percussion instruments, fuse European and African elements, while celebrating the resilience of their ancestors in the face of captivity. They criticize the violence that the Black population continues to face and create ways of preserving a Black ancestral knowledge (Lucas 2002).

Popular music genres, such as country music, samba, MPB, rock among others were assimilated through contemporary media, such as radio, television, and now the internet; like the other musical spheres in the town, each genre has its own history, encompassing its articulation with the people who perform it.

Campanha, therefore, like all of Brazil, was a place of encounter for people, cultural manifestations, and sounds of different origins, which, in the midst of intense conflict, tension, negotiation, and adaptation, generated a sonic arrangement in which historically established social differences have been reconfigured and rendered evident. For the population of the town that lives with these ensembles and their repertoires, this diversity, a product of both internal differences within the town and of a vernacular cosmopolitanism (Bhabha 1996), is experienced as natural and typical of local daily life.

What one observes in the musical universe of Campanha is hardly unusual; quite the contrary: perhaps it is only in a few contexts that are isolated from the complex societies of the modern world that one does not encounter such musical diversity. Indeed, the diverse music scene of Campanha has its parallel in Ruth Finnegan's meticulous study in *The Hidden Musician: Music-making in an English Town*, published in 1989. Finnegan documented the "musical worlds" that she found in 1980s Milton Keynes, each organized around a musical genre. Among the genres she identified in the town were: English folk music, particularly the repertoire associated with the British folk music revival, but also the brass bands of the region, the various choirs and local orchestras, rock and pop bands and

even the "country & western" movement, very popular in Milton Keynes at the time of her study. If she were doing this research today, perhaps she would have included the samba bands, the belly dance groups, the flamenco scene among other globalized practices that are now among the music scenes of many British towns.

These cases exemplify the finding of Doreen Massey (1993); she argued that a locality acquires its particular identity from its relationships with other localities. Throughout its history, each locality has become unique due to the specificity of the encounters that it forged in the rearrangements of its "moving elements" through the practices of its inhabitants. Music presents itself as a sphere of practices particularly conducive to investigating how the confluence of sounds in a given locality is rearticulated to mark its unique profile.

The eclectic musical reality of the contemporary world, however, presents itself as a challenge for ethnomusicology, which, in general, has privileged the study of local traditions understood as "authentic," that is, considered to belong to the group and/or geographic context of the study. Thus, those who go to Dublin have generally focused their studies on traditional Irish music; in Japan, one turns to *gagaku* or *min'hō*[8] among other traditional Japanese forms; whoever wants to study *maracatu*, preferably goes to Pernambuco. However, the group Beoir, from the city of Americana, São Paulo State, specializes in Irish music, while the group Kawasuji Seiryu Daiko from Atibaia, also in São Paulo State, plays *taiko*, a musical practice of Japanese origin involving percussion instruments, mainly drums. In Campinas there is a *maracatu* group called Maracatucá, whose members are mostly university students, and there is also the group Urucungos, Puitas e Quijengues, composed predominantly of Blacks, which also includes *maracatu* in its repertoire, but within this group it contributes to the positivization of Black identity (Giesbrecht 2011). Today there are *maracatu* groups in different parts of Brazil as well as abroad. The Maracatu Nação Celta, based in Dublin, is mostly composed of Irish people who enjoy their engagement with this participatory practice. Baque de Axé is based in London; like many *maracatu* groups around the world, this ensemble is understood as a "community band" that "encourages people to participate from all backgrounds and levels of experience"[9] who are interested in getting involved with music from the Northeast of Brazil. Annually, the group participates in London's Notting Hill carnival, but the group also performs at other street festivals and in city parks; moreover, the ensemble accepts engagements for events in clubs, schools,

8 *Gagaku* refers to an ancient Japanese court music tradition; *min'yō* is a general term that encompasses a range of Japanese musical folk genres.
9 See the group's website, where they state their objectives: https://www.meetup.com/pt-BR/Brazilian-Maracatu-Drumming-and-Percussion-Group/.

and various associations. Thus, Baque de Axé is part of the London context and contributes to the construction of the city's sonic profile.

Given that the musical profiles of many locations today are so diverse – and, as we saw in the opening of this text, this is also true of the past – ethnomusicology must rethink its theoretical and methodological orientations so as to embrace the multiple arenas in which musical activities are promoted, whatever their origin or ethnic associations. Thus, ethnomusicology is best defined by the way it approaches music and human musical experiences instead of in terms of the musical traditions and styles it investigates. Here we explore perspectives on the relationship between activities involving music – any music – and the localities in which they occur, seeking to understand how musical activities affect these localities and how, in turn, they are affected by them. In other words, this orientation seeks to investigate how "musical communities" (Shelemay 2011) are formed and organized according to the localized conditions in which they are found and how they impact on their localities.

SPACES, PLACES, LOCALITIES

Alfaias, the *maracatu* drums, are among the instruments that, due to their volume, can hardly be ignored. As a rule, ensembles that play outdoors make use of powerful instruments, such as brass instruments, bagpipes or drums and percussion instruments. The volume of the performances attracts attention and indicates that something extraordinary is happening: the space changes with the sounds produced there. Brass bands, for example, with their powerful brass instruments create environments and mark them with a specific ethos, as portrayed so memorably in Chico Buarque's song, "A banda" (the band). Similarly, other musical styles also give a particular feeling to the contexts in which they are sounded. The "*neofanfarra*" brass bands that are now prevalent in Rio's street carnival, for example, sound out satirical songs, promoting collective sociability and political contestation. Bossa nova, on the other hand, with its intimate style, of sophisticated harmonies and an almost spoken vocal style, found a home in the romantic sphere of bars and nightclubs of the 1960s, a soft sound for the exchange of kisses between passionate lovers. Music, therefore, is a central tool in the construction of social environments, or, as Steven Feld and Keith Basso (1996) would say, they produce a "sense of place" and practices conducive to it.

The distinction Michel de Certeau (1998 [1980]: 201-203) made between "space" and "place" can be useful in understanding the musical construction of a sense of locality. For de Certeau, a "place" is constituted by the ordering of elements in a given location; thus, a place is a static

entity where each element has its position. “Space”, on the other hand, emerges through acts that occur in places. A space is composed of the “intersection of mobile [elements]” and produced by actions, movements, and practice. If a place can be identified by what is present in it, a space acquires its contours from what is done in it; a space is, as de Certeau says, “a practiced place.” For example, many places have *maracatus*, but the *maracatus* in each place constitute spaces in different ways; the spaces that emerge from their practices are distinct, as they interact with other elements and practices present there. In other words, the spaces produced by *maracatus* in Recife contrast with those that emerge through the performances of Baque do Axé, since their members are integrated into groups with radically different cultural understandings and expectations. While the *maracatus* from Pernambuco predominantly involve Blacks from the lower classes, whose practices center on ways of marking and preserving a Black identity, *maracatus* in the United Kingdom are made up predominantly of white people who see their participation as an enjoyable way to spend time with other people with similar liberal and cosmopolitan orientations to life as themselves.

A study of particular interest to exemplify the articulation of music with the place in which it occurs was conducted by Thomas Turino (1993), who investigated the performance of *siku* (pã flutes) ensembles in three different contexts in Peru: the peasant communities of the Peruvian highlands known as *ayllus*; Conima, a highland urban center; and Lima. He traced the impact of each location on the music (the sound) and also on the musical practices associated with its production. Turino demonstrated that, although his recordings of ensembles in Lima and those in the *ayllus* did not differ significantly as sonic structures, the practices of the groups were so distinct that they could not even play together. Since in the *ayllus*, musical pieces played at previous festivals should not be repeated, the ensembles developed collective practices that enable the composition and learning of new *sikuris* (piece for *sikus*) for each event; it is worth pointing out that these practices have a fundamentally horizontal character, neutralizing leadership roles. The Limeño ensembles, on the other hand, in order to be “authentic,” make pilgrimages to the peasant festivals to record the repertoires of the *ayllus*, which are then taught, phrase by phrase, to the members of the urban ensembles in a vertical manner. Moreover, in the *ayllus*, it is the agricultural cycle that motivates the ensembles to maintain their activities and festivals are the main moments in which the community renews its reciprocal relationships with the saints and supernatural beings of the land and the cosmos to guarantee local productivity. In the city, ensembles are made up predominantly of migrants from the highlands – referred to, by many in the city, as *indios* – who moved to Lima in search of better living conditions. Even if they are able to achieve partially this objective, their

daily life marked by discrimination and prejudice. Thus, participation in an ensemble is, for many, a way of belonging to a community of mutual assistance composed of people who understand their experience, but it is also a sphere of collective empowerment and cultural affirmation in the face of continuous hostility.

De Certeau's spaces, as we have seen, emerge from acts and practices. Thus, a musical group, be it a brass band, a choir, a *maracatu* or a *siku* ensemble, creates a space when its members are playing, singing, and dancing, linking themselves to the peculiarities of the place in which they perform. Even the physical characteristics of the place of a performance can be maximized in the production of spaces. Matt Sakakeeny (2010), for example, reports on how New Orleans jazz bands known as "second lines," that play for the burials of Blacks in the city, usually stop to play for a few minutes under the Interstate 10 Overpass, due to the way in which the amplification provided by this place promotes strong reverberations in the bodies of the participants. Promoting these experiences has even become a political act in these communities, since the overpass, built in the 1960s, split the traditional Black neighborhood of Tremé in half, destroying, in the name of "progress," a space of intense sociability for the local population. Every time a Black funeral procession stops below Interstate 10, this space – or practiced place – acquires a new layer of meanings, reminiscent of the struggles of Blacks in the city over the centuries.

SPACES AND MUSICAL EXPERIENCES

Given that spaces are "practiced places," they are also contexts of experiences. In a *maracatu* performance, the rhythm of the instruments, the tunes and the dance steps exist as structures in the memory of the participants, but their power to promote feelings of empowerment in a Black community is only experienced during the act of performance, when the sounds are produced and bodies are in movement in space. It is for this reason that many ethnomusicologists make a distinction between "music" and "making musical" or "musical performance." This distinction is central to John Blacking's thinking, where music is understood as a product of human activity, while music making marks the process of musical production (Blacking 1969). Thus, music as a mental structure is seen as a guide to performative acts and the production of music emerges during processes of social interaction between performers who share this knowledge and performative competence. In fact, for Blacking, during making music, people become engaged in intense processes of non-verbal interaction; for music to emerge, the performers must become tuned in to the other participants and coordinate their behavior with the co-participants. Thus, as I argued elsewhere, the objective of musical performance can often have more to do with the opportunity to experience

this interactive intensity than with the quality of the music produced (Reily 2002, 111-12). It is not surprising, therefore, that often the quality of the sound product is evaluated in terms of the experience of the participants in the act of producing it: the more pleasurable the making of the music, the more "beautiful" or pleasant the music.

In a landmark passage from his book *How musical is man?*, John Blacking (1973) discussed *tshikona*, the national dance of the Venda people in the Transvaal region of South Africa. The Venda told Blacking that when *tshikona* is organized, "people rush to the scene of the dance and leave their pots to boil over"; *tshikona* had the power to make "sick people feel better, and old men throw away their sticks and dance." He was also told that *tshikona* brings "peace to the countryside" (1973, 51). Clearly, *tshikona* had – and continues to have – the power to mobilize people in a very profound way. It is worth pointing out, however, that the summoning of a *tshikona* when Blacking did his field research (1956 to 1958) was the prerogative of chiefs, and this could occur, for example, at the death, coronation, or marriage of a chief as well as for other events of political importance. As Jaco Kruger (2007, 38) pointed out, the hierarchies of Venda society are evinced in the ordering of the participants in the dance formation: the members of the chiefs' clans took the front positions, followed by their subjects, from eldest to youngest. Recognizing the dance's associations with the political structure, Blacking claimed that *tshikona* symbolized the power of the chiefs, but, since the central role of the leaders was to care for the well-being of their subjects, when they effectively managed to do this, the performance of the dance was presented as "a sonic emblem of national pride". In his own words:

> Although [*tshikona*] was often an expression of the political power of its sponsors, the experience stimulated individuality as much as a strong sense of community, and people talked more the refreshment that it brought to their lives rather than the adherence to a political order that it was supposed to consolidate (Blacking 1985, 87).

It is not surprising that some critics find, in the writings of John Blacking, a marked romanticization of the Venda people, but, even so, his representations of the ritual-musical universe of these people serve to exemplify what Arjun Appadurai (1996) called "the production of locality." Appadurai understands the production of the locality as the construction of "a local terrain of habitation, production, and moral security" (Appadurai 1996, 181). The production of locality, therefore, constitutes a political project: it involves the collective construction of a space in which to live, encompassing the distribution of labor and resources in such a way as to guarantee the security of the group. Appadurai's model is premised on a distinction between "locality" and "neighborhood:" while the locality is not understood as a physical space, but as

a “structure of feelings,” the neighborhood demarcates a physical (or virtual) space, in the which people interact with each other and get on with their daily lives. Locality, then, identifies the way in which people lead their lives in a given context (or, in de Certeau’s terms, in a given place). Thus, Appadurai sees locality as a “property of the social life” of this community, its experiences in what de Certeau called spaces. The concept of locality in Appadurai, therefore, envisages the articulation of place and space in everyday life to produce a “structure of feelings” that, ideally, establishes this local terrain of habitation, production, and moral security for the population of the neighborhood / place. However, sustaining this terrain, says Appadurai, requires a continuous collective effort, since localities are “inherently fragile social achievements.” This warning was demonstrated in a dramatic and quite tragic way in the rapid dismantling of traditional Venda society during Apartheid, particularly from the 1970s onwards, when the region came to be seen as “the capital of fear” (Lyncaster 2014, 57); in the new structure of feelings that took hold of the territory, the traditional contexts and opportunities for musical performance diminished and the transmission of musical expressions of the Venda repertoire to the new generations was compromised (Kruger 2007; Mugovhani and Mapaya 2014).

It is worth remembering that the concept of “structures of feeling” was initially formulated by Raymond Williams (1977), for whom it indicates “a particular quality of social experience and relationship, historically distinct from other particular qualities, which gives the sense of a generation or a period” (1977, 131); it articulates the ways in which “meanings and values ... are actively lived and felt,” and, for Williams, art constitutes a privileged arena for the expression of structures of feeling. Appadurai captures aspects of Williams’ thinking, rearticulating them to his concept of “collective technologies of interactivity” implemented by groups involved in efforts to sustain their neighborhoods as viable terrains, in light of the fragility of localities. Indeed, collective technologies of interactivity are tools for the implementation and support of political projects.

For Appadurai, these “technologies” focus on ceremonies, rituals, and other community practices. They constitute interactive technologies precisely because their staging involves neighborhood communities that engage in intense processes of interaction and negotiation; only in this way is it possible to guarantee that all tasks related to their performance are carried out and that the necessary resources for their accomplishment are made available. Appadurai also observed that, in the performance of ritual acts, the structures of feeling they articulate become inscribed on the bodies and minds of the residents of the neighborhood that stages them. Evidently, as an ethnomusicologist,

I cannot fail to point out that ritual and ceremonial arenas are often marked by music and, as we have seen, musical performance requires intense interaction between performers. But the musical performance itself can be understood as a ritualized act, since it is based on the synchronization and coordination of the performers (Reily 2002, 16). Thus, musical performance, particularly that which occurs communally, can be a very efficient collective technology for the production of the locality. It is worth pointing out that, since the end of Apartheid, many Venda have turned to musical practices in the difficult process of restoring a structure of feelings capable of providing them with a community spirit that leads to the reduction in violence and better living conditions (McNeill and James 2011; Mugovhani and Mapaya 2014).

When relating the production of the locality to the formation of structures of feelings, Appadurai points to the construction of an affective relationship that connects people in a neighborhood to the context in which they live and to each other. Anthropologist Kay Milton argues that emotions "connect us, as individuals, to our surroundings" (2005, 25). Our emotions shape our feelings about the places we occupy and those with whom we share them. It can be said, therefore, that they promote the formation of "emotional geographies" (Smith et al 2009), leading us to "feel" the spaces that surround us and to evaluate them in relation to these feelings. There are places in which we feel good; others that evoke feelings of joy, amazement, admiration, nostalgia, anxiety, fear, loneliness or some other feeling. What we feel about different places, says Milton, affects the way we engage with them; our emotions show this involvement and mark our memories (Milton 2005, 34). Thus, places where we have had strong feelings of well-being will also occupy a prominent – and positive – place in our emotional geographies. These feelings connect us to the places where we have had these experiences; therefore, many feel strong emotional connections to the place they call "home" (Smith et al 2009).

Understood as contexts of collective interactivity, rituals and ceremonies (or musical performances) are often spaces in which people from the same or related neighborhoods engage in joint activities. Since these community practices are also structured to promote intense experiences, they allow participants to experience their emotions in a context in which other people can also be having intense experiences, generating experiences of shared feelings, which, in turn, promote the emergence of shared emotional geographies. Thus, the effectiveness of technologies of interactivity in producing locality lies in their potential to promote collective feelings of commitment to a place (or neighborhood) among its inhabitants so that together they seek to implement for themselves a viable project of locality.

THE MUSICAL PRODUCTION OF LOCALITY

The staging of the Holy Week celebrations in Campanha provides an example of collective mobilization that can be understood as a musical production of locality, as it occurs annually only because a large number of people are willing to give of their time and resources to stage it. One of the first signs that this great event is about to take place is the recruitment of people willing to raise funds among the population for its production. A few months before Holy Week, the Campanhense Choir begins its preparations, a process that begins with checking the condition of the scores to ensure that all members, especially new ones, are equipped with the entire repertoire to be sung. A rehearsal schedule is drawn up and the repertoire is sung through to evaluate how much work will be required in preparation for the first performance of the great collective drama. It is also necessary to check that everyone has the appropriate black clothing worn by the choir during Holy Week. Similarly, the band begins preparations to guarantee the quality of their performances in the various processions. Certain ceremonies are reserved for other choirs and musical groups, which also need to get prepared. Each year some people are chosen to be the apostles, for whom special outfits need to be made, just as it is necessary to organize the outfits for the characters involved in the staging of the Passion of Christ. The *passos*, small chapels with scenes from the stations of the cross scattered along the route of the processions, need to be made ready. There are preparations to be made in churches and outdoor sermon venues; to decorate the *andores* (mobile alters carried during processions), flowers, ribbons, vases, paints and other items need to be purchased. Volunteers are recruited to move about the town during Holy Week with *matracas* (wooden beaters), since the bells do not ring during this period. Thus, as Holy Week approaches, there is a marked increase in effervescence throughout the town as a growing number of people are mobilized in preparation for the ceremonies, with different teams taking responsibility for different aspects of the celebrations. Right before Holy Week, the population as a whole spring into action: many families with houses along the route of the processions decorate them, extending lace table clothes out the windows and adorn them with flowers; many former residents return to participate in the festivities, engaging relatives who reside in the town; in many homes, cod dishes and special foods are made for Holy Week.

Holy Week itself is marked by a series of processions, masses, and dramatizations of the Passion of Christ. On Palm Sunday, the Blessing of the Palms takes place and once blessed, the palms are carried by the faithful in procession, marking the beginning of the festivities. But for many, the first significant event of Holy Week is the Procession of the Deposit, on Monday evening, in which the image of Our Lord of the Passion, contained within the *velário*, a large box frame cloaked in black cloth, is carried

from the Cathedral to be "deposited" in the small Church of [Our Lady of] Sorrows (Igreja das Dores), a procession in which the population walks silently behind the saint. The procession begins as soon as night falls, accompanied by the melancholic chords of the funeral marches played by the band. When the procession arrives at the Church of Sorrows, the faithful find the doors closed; after the first sermon of the week, however, the doors open, revealing the choir, which sings, a cappella, a *Miserere* by Manoel Dias de Oliveira.[10] The way in which this event is staged is particularly conducive to evoking feelings of piety, respect, and compassion among devotees, establishing a somber atmosphere in the town that is maintained and even deepened throughout the week.

This is just the first procession, with five more to take place before the celebrations are over. On Tuesday, the Procession of the Encounter is celebrated, in which the images of Our Lady of Sorrows and Our Lord of the Passion "meet," a moment of great emotion for many people. Along the route, the procession stops at each *passo* it encounters; during these stops the band stops playing to allow the choir and string ensemble to perform the *Motets of the Passion*, also by Manoel Dias. The Procession of Our Lady of Sorrows takes place on Wednesday, accompanied by the band and the performance of the *Motets of the Sorrows* (Manoel Dias de Oliveira) in front of the *passos*, each motet recalling one of the sorrows Mary witnessed at the death of her son. On Thursday there is no procession as the evening is reserved for the ceremony of the washing of the feet of the Apostles.

Undoubtedly, the most anticipated moment of Holy Week occurs on Good Friday, an event in which the Descent of the Cross is staged. In a highly dramatic fashion, the Passion and Death of Christ are presented to the faithful in front of the Cathedral. When I was told about her experience of the Descent, a woman said to me: "It is the saddest moment of Holy Week here. We see Jesus there on the cross - how he suffered! ... Then they take the crown of thorns off [his head], they take out the nails – that arm is lowered – the other – and the mother beside him. Every year I cry." In a drama aimed at promoting strong emotions among many faithful, a life-size image of solid wood is taken from the cross and placed in a bier for the beginning of the Burial Procession. Before the procession sets off, the first performance of "Veronica's Chant" (attributed to Manoel Dias de Oliveira) is heard: *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam*, *attendite et videre si est dolor sicut dolor meus* (To all of you that take this path, look and see if there is pain similar to mine); this is followed by the "Chorus of the Beús," which represents the three Marys present at the crucifixion. To the sound of funeral marches and the occasional performances of "Veronica's

10 There are numerous recordings of this piece on the internet for anyone interested in experiencing its sonority.

Chant" and of the Beús, singing *a cappella*, the procession makes a long and slow journey through the town, before returning to the Cathedral for Mass in the presence of the images of Our Dead Lord and Our Lady of Sorrows. At the end of Mass, the choir stands at the altar and sings sections of its Holy Week repertoire while the faithful line up to kiss the two images. It is not until midnight that all the Good Friday ritual acts are finally concluded.

The festivities end with the Procession of the Resurrection, which begins before the sun rises. The sounds of this procession are different, since the band now plays festive *dobrados* and the choir performs *Surrexit Dominus Vere* by Manoel Dias, the lyrics of which are replete with "hallelujahs." When the procession turns to make the climb towards the Cathedral, the sun appears on the horizon and, as the crowd approaches the church, the bells begin to ring, redefining the sound space of the town, which now celebrates the Resurrection. Mass is then celebrated, and it ends, as it should, with the performance of Handel's "Hallelujah" chorus!

Holy Week in Campanha, like such celebtarions in many historic Brazilian towns, is configured as a great collective drama, composed of a series of celebrations that progressively promote ever deepening feelings of sadness and melancholy among the members of the local population. As we have seen, the population is mobilized in a variety of different spheres to produce this event of great affective impact. It is not surprising, therefore, that Holy Week is a source of great pride for the town and a major emblem of local identity.

I have provided a lengthy description in order to demonstrate that, although music and sounds play a central and continuous role in all the main rituals of the Week, other expressive practices and forms, including dramatizations, costumes, the making of *andores*, sermons, culinary arts and much more are also present. Throughout the week, the population is bombarded by sounds, poetics, colors, smells, sensations, their sensitivities continually stimulated during their engagement in ritual acts. The experiences produced during Holy Week in Campanha are the result of the collective efforts of all those who contributed, in some way, to guarantee the success of the celebrations. It is also worth remembering the long history of contributions and negotiations made in previous celebrations, since the emergence of the village in the eighteenth century, which established the basis for the drama as it is performed in Campanha. It was during these past celebrations that the repertoire of the event was established, that the trajectories of the processions were defined, that the *passos* were constructed, that the schedule for the activities was set in order to maximize the effect of the evening darkness for some rituals and the sunrise for another. Each year aspects of the celebration are

renegotiated, but this takes place in light of negotiations and practices that form a shared knowledge among the population.

We could say, therefore, that Holy Week in Campanha emerges from a long history of engagements with the celebration, which constitutes a history of local "musicking." As already indicated at the beginning of this text, musicking is understood as any activity involving music. The term was coined by New Zealand musicologist Christopher Small (1998), who argued that musical processes are not restricted to the making of music, but also include listening to music, discussions about music among friends, the organization of musical events, and many other activities involving music.[11] Undoubtedly, Small has challenged the limits of musicology, particularly with his controversial contention that even the sale of tickets to a concert or the moving of a piano from one place to another is musicking, since these acts "contribute to the nature of the event that is a musical performance" (1998, 9). Instead of establishing an inventory of activities that should or should not be included as forms of musicking, I prefer to understand the term as any act that involves human musicality and that, through music and sounds, creates a space for interactions that mobilize people's musical sensations and sensibilities. Thus, the spaces created by musicking do not only depend on shared knowledge and practices, but also promote shared experiences and, often, they are of great intensity and, for this very reason, memorable.

Returning to the example of Holy Week in Campanha, there is no doubt that many practices associated with the festivities have rather tenuous relations with music, but it is worth noting that music is heard during most of the street rituals – particularly in processions; in these events, it is suspended only during the various outdoor sermons. Musical performances, therefore, give temporality to the rituals and to Holy Week as a whole. Thus, it plays a primary role in sustaining the structure of feelings sought after in the celebration of Christ's Passion and Death. By underlying the collective activities, the characteristics of the music performed generate the ethos – or pathos – of the celebrations: a procession accompanied by funeral marches, for example, is experienced in a very different way from one that involves *dobrados*, given that their tempos are very different just as there are contrasts in their sounds and rhythms, the relationship between the parts of the instruments, the modes used, among other musicological factors. The funeral marches induce silence and contemplation and impel the bodies of the participants to dragged and move slowly. When the band starts playing *dobrados*, a small bounce can emerge in people's steps

11 See the texto for FAPESP Framework Project by Suzel Ana Reily, Rose Satiko Hikiji e Flávia Toni Camargo (2016).

as they process, promoting the onset of positive feelings, particularly when people see themselves walking along with many other people in their community towards the sun, as occurs during the Procession of the Resurrection. Indeed, the properties of the music and sounds of the ritual affect the bodies of the participants (DeNora 2000), and in Holy Week processions, they can play a role in the organization of collective practices. Thus, even though some participants in Holy Week may be "theatring" (Pimentel 2020), walking, praying, "sermaning", they may also be "musicking;" to musick, all that is necessary is that one be engaged in an event involving music and be affected by it.

LOCAL MUSICKING

It is possible to argue that there is no music that is not localized, both geographically and temporally, since, being an activity, it needs to happen somewhere and at some time. However, it is being suggested here that the *investigation* of "local music" as an analytical category involves the study of the articulation of musicking to the place where it occurs. Thus, based on concrete ethnographic cases, the study of local musicking seeks to identify how the musical activities under investigation affect the locality in which they occur and how the specificities of the locality affect the musicking that takes place in it.

Throughout this text, I have sought to present the articulation of musicking and locality from a variety of perspectives. We observed how localities are contexts of diverse forms of musicking in which each musical practice reveals a hidden history of encounters, involving negotiations, appropriations, conflicts, competitions, voluntary and forced transmissions, processes that are integrated into complex networks that have continuously overlapped over time. Thus, in each locality a particular sonic reality emerges, which reverberates its unique identity. It is at the local level that musical communities are formed amidst encounters and misunderstandings, demarcating spaces through the mobile elements at their disposal.

As a highly effective technology of interactivity, local musicking plays a major role in producing and sustaining localities. It is integrated into the political project of the production of each locality. As a central dimension of everyday life, musicking creates spaces that promote feelings of belonging and commitment to the contexts in which they are experienced and toward those with whom the experiences are shared. It is not surprising, therefore, that musicians frequently told Finnegan (1989) that they felt that their musical activities constituted a valuable service for their town. Similarly, the musicians in the *folia de reis* that I investigated in Brazil

repeatedly stated that they undertook their annual journeys because of a divine obligation they had to bring the blessing of the Three Kings to the faithful (Reily 2002).

The globalized world in which we live is increasingly marked by difference, encompassing diverse identities, based on race, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, political ideology, disability, among other factors. Local musicking is inserted in the midst of this diversity – and the tensions it can evoke in view of classism, racism, xenophobia, misogyny, homophobia, religious intolerance, prejudice against the disabled and conflicts linked to ideological differences. Thus, music can reinforce dominant positions, create spaces of sociability with peers, provide safe havens in hostile environments, contest daily violence, demarcate spaces to transcend and neutralize differences. By starting out from a perspective in which local music is seen as a tool for implementing and sustaining the production of locality as a political project, investigation in this field seeks to understand how people mobilize and organize themselves, musically, in their neighborhoods and how they make use of diverse musical practices to produce a local terrain of habitation, production, and moral security in their search for communal coexistence.

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