gesture
image
and sound

n.4 journal of
anthropology

gis

GIZ

TIR

FOUND ON THE NET

In normal circumstances, launching the fourth issue of a scientific journal is a challenge. After the fervor of the first number and its impact on subsequent issues, as seen in the whirlwind of ideas which may arise, the fourth requires stamina and demonstrates, with its launching, the continuity of a project and attainment of credibility among academic peers. However, these are not normal times. We are not speaking here of the birth of a journal in stable socio-political circumstances. In 2016, gis – Gesture, Image and Sound – Anthropology Journal launches its first number. As Brazilians, this year leaves a mark on our lives. In 2016, we saw the collapse of decades of work dedicated to the building and strengthening of democracy. We live at a moment of an incalculable political and social setback; progressive values which we deemed solid and secure are under attack, and shown to be vulnerable. The emancipatory project which we helped build now appears to dissolve into thin air. Nonetheless, were are not apathetic, we are not inert. In view of the offensive directed against public higher education and research in Brazil, whose quality, notwithstanding, has received international recognition, the publication of this number is an act of resilience. This is how we present the fourth issue of gis, as undaunted resistance.

The number opens with the **DOSSIER** "Arts and anthropologies: poetics and politics of the street and ways of doing ethnography". Here, expressions of how the world of senses is capable of potentializing experiences, resistances and social demands are presented in the sections **ARTICLES**, **GIS** and **TIR**. Various authors contributed to the dossier: Carolina Maia, Daniela Feriani, Eduardo Faria Santos, Fabiana Bruno, Francesca De Luca, Heléna Elias, Jasper Chalcraft, Luis Junior Saraiva, Marcia Vaitsman, Mariana Gonçalves, Otávio Raposo, Pâmilla Vilas Boas Costa Ribeiro, Paola Lappicy, Pedro Olaia and Rose Satiko Hikiji.

In dialogue with the dossier, the **ARTICLES** of Marcela Velon, Felipe Neis Araujo and Kelly Koide illuminate forms of resilience in music and poetry. In Marcela Velon's article, blues composers/singers, on the *carioca* (Rio de Janeiro) scene at the end of the 2010 decade, mobilize a musical style stoically created to confront (new?) prejudices. The world may have changed, but blues motifs and songs transgress frontiers of time and space.

The article of Felipe Neis Araujo shows how the fusion of music with visual, poetic and sensory aesthetics makes up the Rastafarian universe and spreads throughout Kingston, Jamaica, occupying spaces, making reparation demands due to State violence, denouncing the torments of slavery and calling out for social equality.

The poetics of Roberto Piva, materialized in a library committed to the diffusion of the author's literary work and to the dissemination of the practice of poetry, acquires other modes of expression, combining photography and other styles of writing in the article written by Kelly Koide.

In section GIƩ questions of existence posed by Etienne Souriau emerge in a synthetic adaptation by Renato Jacques Brito, involving a free translation of the introduction written by Isabelle Stengers and Bruno Latour (in *The sphinx of the work*) and translation into English of the work *Les différents modes d'existence*, 1943 (*The different modes of existence*, 2015). We also invite the reader to feel, through images, how music and dance can occupy urban spaces, enforcing and energizing enunciations of their performers. The film essay of Otávio Raposo, "Performances on planet break", highlights the sway of youth of São Paulo who, embodying symbols of hip-hop culture, challenge each other in dueling movements. The photographic essay by Débora Baldesi shows immigrants in the religious parade Ratha Yatra taking the streets of Lisbon, in an experience of transnational poetics.

In section TIR, two reviews, respectively written by Fabiana Bruno and Paola Lappicy, discuss works which, reinforcing propositions highly valued by GIS, highlight expressive forms and their potential for undermining hierarchies which still permeate the art of ethnography. The first work, *Between art and science: photography in anthropology*, organized by Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, presents reflections on the hybrid nature of photography – between art and science – and its potential for producing other forms of expression of knowledge, capable of mobilizing the senses and fostering understanding while making use of nonverbal narratives. The book by Arnd Schneider, *Alternative art and anthropology: global encounters*, decenters anthropological debate from Europe and North America, highlighting research experiences occurring in the rest of the world regarding contemporary art in film, photography, sound, instalations, painting, sculpture, poetry and other art forms, including theoretical discussions produced in each of these fields.

Also featured is an interview by Rose Satiko Hikiji with Jasper Chalcraft concerning the potentialities of visual anthropology to encompass other human senses, showing how tenuous disciplinary divides may be, and stimulating original forms of work arising from the breaches and openings in which the senses are combined.

giƩ volume 4 also includes translations of Carlo Severi's *Authority without author: forms of authority and oral traditions*, by Frank Nabeta, and of Félix Guattari's *Ritornelos and existential affects*, by Cristina Thorstenberg Ribas.

Finally, the section **FOUND ON THE NET** rememorates the ground moving speech given by Ailton Krenak 32 years ago, at the National Constituent Assembly, in defense of the Popular Ammendment of the Indigenous Peoples Union. In this historic speech, this important spokesperson of the indigenous movement, with piercing gestures and words, gave the first steps in the struggle against the anti-indigenous policies permeating the National Congress. This act was decisive for the approval of articles 231 and 232 of the Federal Constitution of 1988 by constituent members. Ailton continues to be active in a political scenario in which the usurpation of Amerindian rights is common practice.

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ON MODES OF DOING ETHNOGRAPHY AND MODES OF MAKING WORLDS

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In organizing this dossier, we continue an itinerary that we have followed for some time now, linked on one hand to the intersections between art and politics, and on the other to the overlapping of different practices and modes of ethnographic and artistic making. Along with another anthropologist and maker of body art, Julia Ruiz di Giovanni, absent here but ever present in a dialogue maintained over recent years, our aim has been to potentialize this exchange, taking place both during academic discussions in congresses, seminars and courses, and during hybrid events with artists and researchers, not to mention less formal conversations that have criss-crossed the Atlantic Ocean countless times.

The question that unites us centres on the possibility of conceiving simultaneously inspirational and unsettling modalities of interweaving artistic practices, anthropology and political activism. We are all anthropologists with social and political concerns and commitments in the practice of the discipline and all, in some form or other, connected to artistic or aesthetic universes.

This dossier is intended as a further contribution to these discussions and problematic fields at a juncture when the production of academic knowledge has been widely debated and critiqued for its difficulty in

incorporating and dialoguing with other kinds of knowledge. In this regard, the artistic practices and aesthetic modes of thinking and acting over the world are, without doubt, places of effervescence and insurgency that, despite all the interdisciplinary barricades, permeate and have increasingly gained ground in the scientific debate.

Daniela Feriani's poignant article, weaving and unweaving threads that take us along the paths of her haunting ethnography on Alzheimer's disease and dementia, utilizes names, faces, scenes and images to show us, paraphrasing the author, the potential for dissolution and articulation of new forms of seeing and narrating the experience, frequently blurred, of other possibilities of life.

Fabiana Bruno presents us with the result of what she calls a "pact of double inquiry." She advances and dwells delightfully on Etienne Samain's previously slumbering photographic archive on the Kamayurá indigenous people and, along the way, unveils it – the verb is not haphazard – through images and eloquent silences, stimulating heuristics and experimental visual processes and methodologies.

Experimentations are also realized in distinct forms by Heléna Elias and Francesca De Luca and by Carolina Maia. In the first case, the authors present texts and images that seek to demonstrate one possible mode of describing a site-specific installation, ATLAS: MATRIX, in the Belém Tropical Botanical Garden in Lisbon. This was an open device that combined the ethnographic research of Francesca De Luca on birthing practices and a set of ceramic works by the visual artist Heléna Elias that demanded further collaboration, enabling spectators to play and interfere with the elements, thereby also generating a reflection on processes of collaborative artistic behaviour.

In her article, Carolina Maia experiments by playing with epistolary language and – exploiting the seriousness of play, to cite Victor Turner's famous expression – mixes conceptual, political and personal daydreams. Anchored in the ancestrality of authors like Adrienne Rich and Gloria Anzaldúa, these present us with a deliciously challenging focus on convergences and divergences in the constitution of a politics based on lesbian *escrevivência* ('writexperience'), although the latter concept of Conceição Evaristo is not mobilized in the text.

Next we include the text by Eduardo Faria Santos, who returns to the discussion on LGBT social movements – via an ethnography of the Revolta da Lâmpada (Lamp Revolt) collective, to which one of the dossier's organizers belongs – in order to think about the new ways through which art and activism have become interwoven from a horizontal,

decentred and intersectional perspective that roots its political action in affectivity and the 'free body.'

Mariana Gonçalves, for her part, discusses an amateur film production company, *Cineground*, founded in Portugal after the revolution of April 25, 1974. Authors writing on gender and sexuality and on visual anthropology both feature in her analysis, which, corroborating the ideas of the company's founders, visual artist Óscar Alves and filmmaker João Paulo Ferreira, shows the expressly revolutionary nature of its production with Super-8 films containing dissident sexual-gender themes still criminalized during the period.

Films – or, more precisely, filmações e representações (*filmings* and representations) – are also the material analysed by Pâmilla Vilas Boas Costa Ribeiro. Taking a different but equally fecund approach, the author dialogues with the anthropology of performance in order to elucidate how aesthetic, social and ritual dramas overlap, in diverse manners, in the production of a film on Batuque de Ponto Chique and other neighbouring batuque groups connected by the São Francisco River.

Completing the textual part of our dossier we present the article by Luis Junior Saraiva and Pedro Olaia. Discussing an interactive drag performance by the latter, realized at three moments, the text aims to experiment and discuss – in a transdisciplinary intersection where theory dialogues with practice in extramural academic interactions – the need for experimentation that pervades both disciplinary fields (art, anthropology, performance, queer theory) and linguistic fields (auto-ethnography, images) as alternate possibilities for inhabiting and living gendered experience.

In the contributions to our section *Gestures, images and sounds*, the (auto) biographical dimension, combined with theoretical-conceptual discussion, also surfaces in Marcia Vaitsman's short contribution, which hyperlinks to other visual essays by the artist-researcher. Setting out from an inquiry into a "possible ethics-aesthetics of foreignness, transition and impermanence," she interrogates, between deliriums, sutras and images, lists of artists that are never just lists.

Otávio Raposo's film leads us through the universe of images and sounds produced by b-boys and b-girls in the breakbeat scene, showing us bodies in movement, dance circles, clapping and kinetic dynamics tracked by the camera from unusual angles, inseparable from music and sound in the constitution of processes of resistance in which artistic *battles* – insofar as they jokingly engage in symbolic confrontations – also affirm their own existential places with singular codes, aesthetics and postures.

Finally, in the TER section, the dossier presents two contributions related to questions with which the anthropologist Arnd Schneider has worked. These comprise a review of his last book, *Alternative Art and Anthropology: Global Encounters*, and an interview with him conducted by Rose Satiko Hikiji Gitirana and Jasper Chalcraft. In both, the border zone of collaboration between art and anthropology, and the mutual exploration of fields of intersection and shared practices, remains latent.

In the dossier, therefore, between texts and images that demand reflection and experimentalism in the modes of 'making ethnography' and merge diverse modalities and practices originating from the artistic and academic fields, the emphasis is on the debate and dialogue between categories, concepts, gazes and poetical and political forms of 'making worlds.'

The Cuban artist Tania Burguera, one of the people responsible for coining the term *arte* útil (useful art), not only proposed a new use for art but also argued, precisely, that it was capable of re-establishing aesthetics as a system of transformations (social, political, economic, cultural). Many of the contexts analysed here by anthropological and artistic gazes, multiple and at distinct levels of academic training and maturation, seek to give an account of precisely this commitment to processes of transformation on the part of artistic collectives, individual artists or diverse kinds of partnerships.

The aim here is not to launch into another discussion on whether art can change destiny, but to verify the existence of political projects that resort to aesthetic dimensions in order to make their protests and manifestos, or artistic proposals that demand a particularly significant political dimension and agency. This was one of the two axes explored here in this dossier and that we summarized in the call for papers as: an attempt to problematize and stitch together fields traditionally understood as art and politics, paying special attention to the questions involving the body and the political space in what has been conceived as the poetics and politics of the street.

On the other hand, there exist today stimulating challenges in methodological and creative terms, which arise, indeed, from a growing political awareness of scientific activity – whether we affirm or deny the overlapping of politics and academia – and from a reflexive disquiet concerning the ways of making science, which it is important to raise for discussion here. The majority of the presented texts contain reflections, discussions and reformulations of the general principles of making science.

Some texts, then, make visible the reflexivity and permeability of literary and academic discourses – not in itself a novel fact when we recall, back in the 1980s, the postmodern contributions of a set of authors epitomized in the famous work *Writing Culture*. In others, the dialogues between writing and artistic and academic practices are placed on similar levels.

In some cases, it is collaborative methodologies that are evoked, investing anthropological writing with native concepts and collaborative forms of thinking through research themes. In other cases, it is the forms of artistic textuality that literally invade the ethnographic text. Some contributions, on the other hand, maintaining an academic tradition of presenting the 'results' of investigation, seek to destabilize the discipline's theoretical setting through a kind of indiscipline in moulding the analytic reference points with which they work.

Consequently, the second axis of this dossier also seeks to highlight the articulations between new modes of making ethnography, freed from the conception of anthropology as a word-based discipline. Here we promote texts that explore images and think of images and sonorities, in films and in film production collectives, always open to the possibilities of renewing what it means for us anthropologists to make anthropology.

TRANSLATION
David Allan Rogers

We hope you enjoy reading this volume!

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FROM HALLUCINATION IN THE CLINIC TO THE HALLUCINATORY VISION OF THE IMAGE: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC JOURNEY

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ABSTRACT
Following the threads that compose Alzheimer's disease, including the lines of flight, became the trajectory shaping the course of my doctoral research. In this article, I demonstrate this ethnographic journey through the lines and images with which I wove the disease as a field of experiences and disputes, in which it manifests as a diagnosis, a mode of subjectivity and an aesthetic simultaneously. From medical consultations to deliriums, from medicine to shamanism and the viewpoint of those with dementia, the images opened me up to other ways of seeing and narrating the disease. Along this journey, an ethnographic proposal emerged. What did Alzheimer's disease reveal to me about doing anthropology – and vice-versa? How did the passage between living the disease and telling others about it help me envisage my own passage between living the field and its retelling? Since as Alzheimer's disease was gradually being composed, so too was an ethnography.
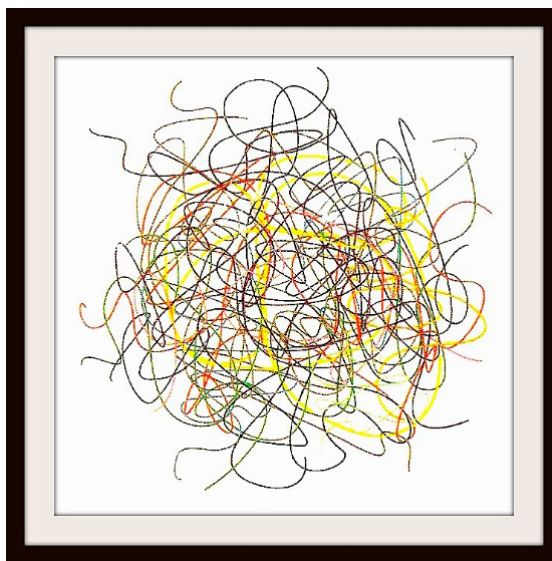
For the inhabitant, the line of his walking is a way of knowing. Likewise the line of writing is, for him, a way of remembering. In both cases, knowledge is integrated along a path of movement.
(Ingold, 2007)

"It's like the threads are slowly unravelling". This is how the coordinator of the Brazilian Alzheimer's Association (ABRAz) began talking about the disease to a group of family carers. Reassembling the threads of the disease, composing and dissolving them, has likewise been formative of my own ethnographic journey.

Over the course of the research, I became more and more interested in the accounts and scenes that escaped the more institutional dynamics. Although my field site began at ABRAz in the support group meetings and the neurology and geriatric psychiatry wards, accompanying medical appointments in a university hospital, the wish to witness more subjective scenes and accounts led me in search of other spaces. If the everyday is fundamental to the constitution of the disease by means of the clues left in domestic activities, I felt that researching these more informal spaces would allow me to weave more threads into the tangle.

Leaving the medical clinics and the ABRAz meetings, therefore, I would visit the homes of people diagnosed with dementia. I heard Rosa explain to her husband how to dress. "No, *nego*, it's not like that. That's a shirt, not a pair of trousers. You're supposed to wear it on your arms, not your legs". I saw Célia become alarmed with the monkey from the soap opera about to invade her living room. I waited with Olga for her mother – dead the past 20 years – to arrive back to a home Olga said was

not her own. I talked with João for hours, moving between memories, deliriums and mathematical calculations. I laughed with Arthur's implacable humour and cried with him when he became overwhelmed by the beauty of life.[2]

In this quest to compose Alzheimer's disease, some images cropped up again and again. Finding their way to me through narratives, scenes and gestures witnessed in the field, or via photographic essays, videos and actions produced by awareness-raising campaigns, or in the blogs and artworks of people with dementia, I began to collate them under names like *dandelion*, *house* and *mirror-face*[3]. Based on these images, I designed a research itinerary, superimposing questions, subjects, spaces and times. My wish here is to recount how these images – or metaphors – displaced my way of thinking and doing ethnography and opened me to other ways of seeing and narrating the disease. As this involves showing a path, the relations through which I passed will be mobilized to compose this trajectory, like threads being pulled but which, for now, I shall not dwell on specifically. By proposing to show a flux, I shall leave the pauses for other moments. If I run the risk of passing over some questions without capturing their density, it is, therefore, with the intention of allowing the movement of the research to become more clearly visible.

The *dandelion* – whose seed-head is formed by numerous filaments that when blown by the wind or a person's breath, are released and float away – is frequently used in informational material on Alzheimer's disease, whose most (im)potent image is one of dissolution. It is no accident that sites, pamphlets and leaflets frequently use it to speak of the irreversibility of dementia processes.[4]

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2. The people with whom I interacted in the research are mostly from underprivileged classes, users of Brazil's national health system (*Sistema Único de Saúde*: SUS). The curers are family members, mainly spouses and children. The patients were diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease at different stages – initial (light), moderate and serious. I met them while they were attending medical appointments at a university hospital and at meetings of the ABRAz support group (focused on the carers since the patients cannot take part). It was in these spaces that I was able to approach these families and obtain the contacts to accompany them more closely through home visits.
3. These include images produced by family carers and specialists (such as photographers, filmmakers, ABRAz volunteers, and myself, as researcher) and those produced by the people with dementia. My attempt has been to assemble these images and produce various compositions in an endeavour to see and take them as a visual thought of the disease.
4. I have preferred to speak of dementia and/or a dementia process because the diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease (the most common type of dementia) is extremely complex and always refers to a probability – "probable Alzheimer's disease" in the expression used by doctors – since a definitive diagnosis, which may still entail some degree of uncertainty, can only be made through necroscopic examination of the brain. Furthermore, the boundaries and nuances between various types of dementia (Alzheimer's, frontotemporal, vascular and Lewy body dementias) are tenuous, uncertain, susceptible to reformulation and thus controversy. For a deeper discussion of diagnosis, see Feriani (2017a).

FIGURES 3 and 4
Leaflet of
the Brazilian
Alzheimer's
Association
(ABRAz).
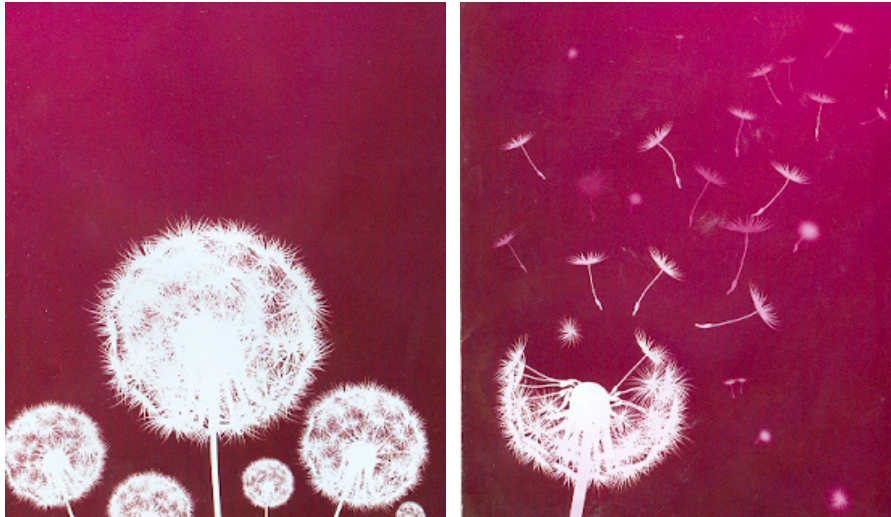
FIGURES 5-7
Images found
on news sites
on Alzheimer's
disease.

What is the potential for dissolution?
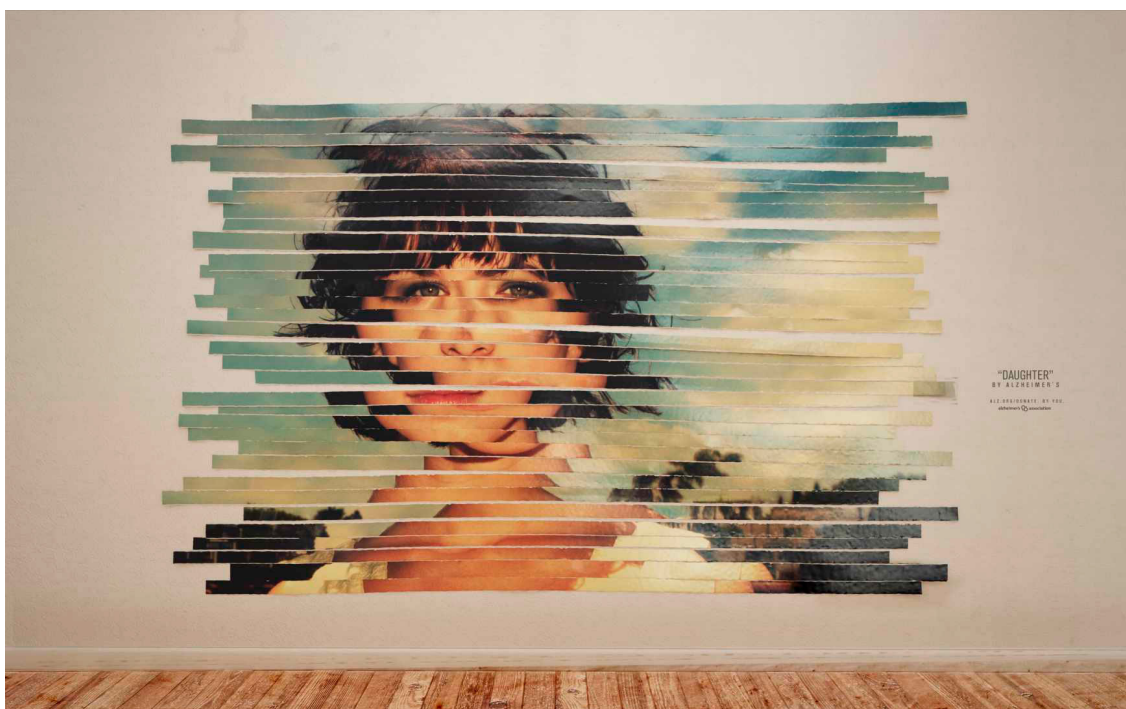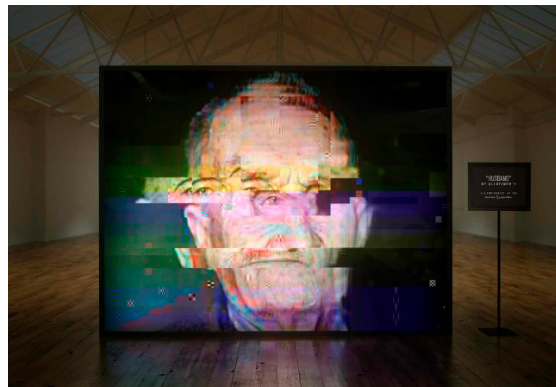
FIGURES 8-10
'Alzheimer'
exhibition,
organized by the
Alzheimer Disease
International
(ADI) / EUA.

I took the metaphor of dissolution seriously as a way to think about both the composition of Alzheimer's disease and the composition of my own research and writing trajectory. I took the dandelion seed head, with its overlapping and vulnerable filaments, which sometimes separate, sometimes cluster, as the entanglement of the theme and ethnography that I aimed to produce: an intersection of fields, relations and subjects in a transversal movement of folding and unfolding, containing and overflowing.
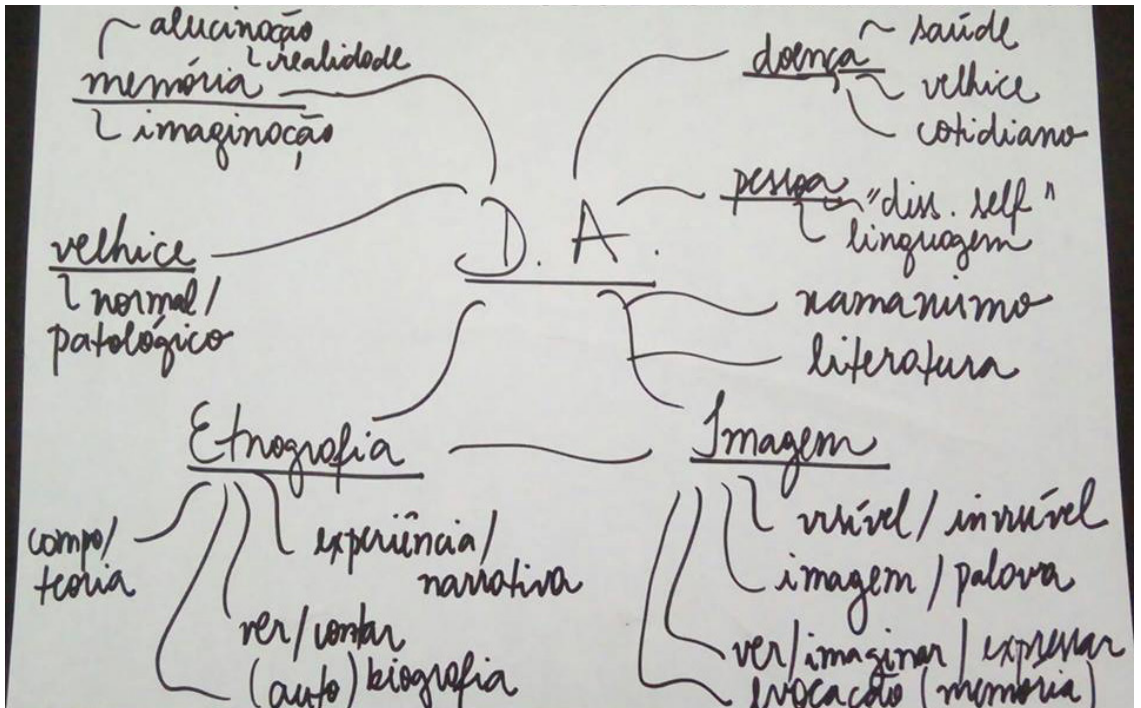
FIGURE 11
network of neurons, in
http://www.rzagabe.
com/2014/11/03/an-
introduction-to-artificial-
neural-networks.html.;

FIGURE 12
dandelion. Photo:
Daniela Feriani;

FIGURE 13
Ingold, 2007.

FIGURE 14
meshwork
of research.

The key images of Alzheimer's disease – the network of neurons (*Figure 11)* and the dandelion (*Figure 12*) – juxtaposed with the meshwork of Tim Ingold (*Figure 13*) led me to look to the movement of the research itself, to the efficacy of form, and thus to see and design my own ethnographic journey, my own meshwork (*Figure 14*), with the main filaments – or concepts – that I wished to relate.

If the *dandelion* led me to follow a map of lines to compose the disease and the ethnography, *home* and *mirror-face* persuaded me to introduce the pauses needed to contemplate the gestures, the lines of flight, the contours and blurring.

Home contains a relationship composed of care, disease and memory. This image derives from one of the main complaints of family carers – the ill person wishes "to go home," referring to their childhood home while not recognizing the place where they now live as their own. Setting out from this fact, I looked to comprehend the place occupied by the family in caring for the disease as measured and excessive, dosed and out of control: while the family carer is fundamental to achieving a diagnosis by providing the necessary information and acting as the doctors' thermometer when it comes to managing symptoms and medications, he or she also presents medical professionals with other demands that exceed their competence, such as conflicts between relatives, situations of violence and abuse, and disagreements concerning the process of negotiating what the patient is or is not permitted.

Home also shows the importance of gathering up everyday traces and clues in order to compose both memory (Feriani 2017b) and a diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease (Feriani 2017a). It is by delving into the everyday life of the patient by means of scenes and accounts described by carers that doctors and residents can ascertain the extent to which a patient 'not remembering' is related to 'being unable to do things.' Taking a bath, eating, answering the phone, dressing and cooking become scenes that need to be recorded, dedicated, collated, as though it were necessary to retain them, safeguard them, so that they can become normal and possible. While these activities may seem banal and virtually imperceptible, they acquire an extraordinary dimension for those unable to perform them or at least encounter difficulties in doing so: Kris is unable to turn on the washing machine; Joe is terrified because the food in the fridge is going to attack him; Odalina uses lime instead of tapioca flour to make biscuits and washing-up liquid to cook; Guilherme uses a shirt as though it were a pair of trousers; Olga no longer knows how to make coffee; José took a shower while still dressed – another time, he tried to bathe using water from the lavatory bowl.
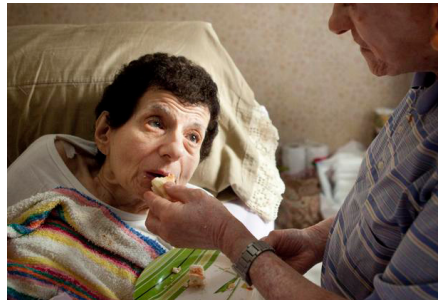
The power of the image is such that another element to feature strongly is the mirror. Not recognizing oneself when staring in the mirror is taken by doctors as one of the most feared symptoms of the disease, the so-called "dissolution of the self."[8] Family carers tell of people who talk to their own reflection, invite their mirror image for a walk, become frightened believing that a stranger has invaded their home. These are tragicomic scenes: at the same time as they show the horror of the disease, they provoke laughter from those who witness them.

In 2010, a pharmaceutical lab used this theme during a launch campaign for a new drug for delaying memory loss, recommended for the light and moderate phases of Alzheimer's disease. *Reflections* was the name given to the photographic essay by Tom Hussey.

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5. Essay "Grace" in which Susan Falzone photographs the everyday life of her aunt with Alzheimer's disease. Available at: https://bit.ly/1kQFD1a.
6. Essay "La noche que me quieras" in which Alejandro Kirchuk photographs the everyday life of his grandmother with Alzheimer's disease. Available at: https://bbc.in/2TCVcAE
7. Essay "Mirella" in which Fausto Podavini photographs the everyday life of a couple – the man with Alzheimer's disease, the woman as carer. Available at: https://bit.ly/2FwSPKj
8. An expression used by doctors and residents from the neurology ward studied.
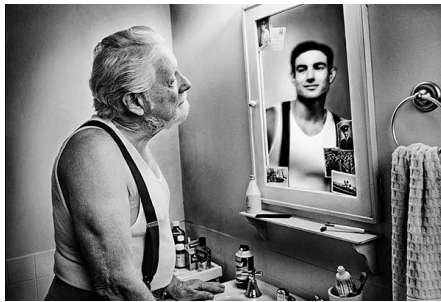
FIGURES 20-23
Reflections,
Tom Hussey.

The mirror is both an object/thing and a metaphor for speaking of the fractality, dissolution and confusion caused by the disease. As Kopena-wa and Albert (2013, 63) shows, "they are not mirrors to look at oneself, they are mirrors that shine". And by shining, they obscure sight, as in the case of Jimmie, who became terrified on looking in the mirror and not seeing himself (Sacks 1985).[9]

HOW TO NOT SEE? AND, ON SEEING, WHAT TO DO WITH IMAGES?

> The river that curved
> around the back of our house
> was the image of
> a soft glass that curved
> around the back of our house.
> Later a man passed by
> and said: this curve
> that the river makes around the back
> of your house is called an inlet.
> It was no longer the image
> of a glass snake that
> curved around the back of the house.
> It was an inlet.
> I think the name impoverished the image.
> (Manoel de Barros)

_____
9. I explore this discussion of the mirror, the notion of the person and the relation with shamanism in another article (in press).
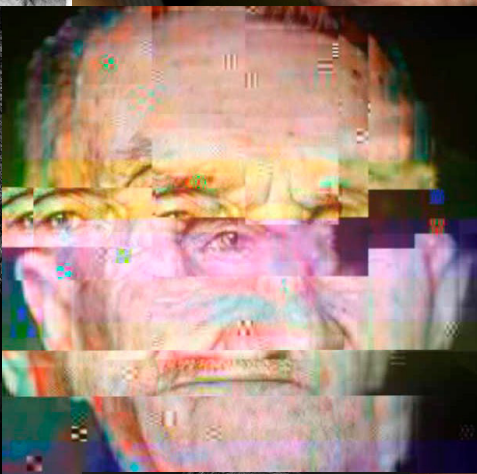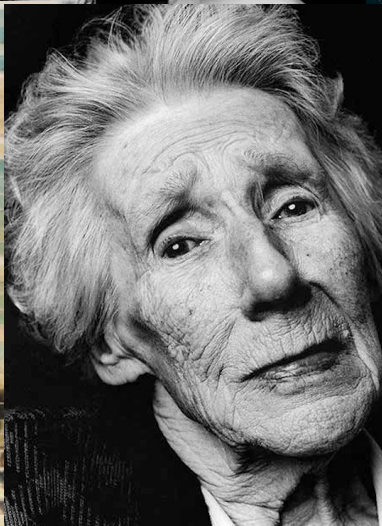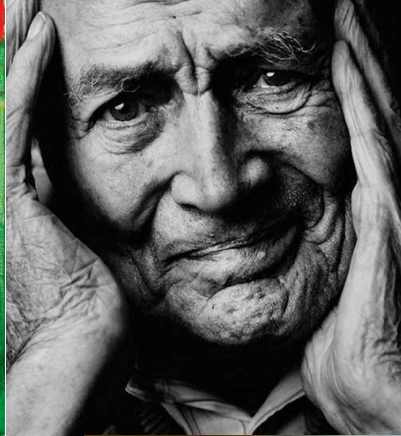
How not to see these faces, gestures, looks, noses, hands? How not to hear how much they cry out and express?

These images burn, signal a crisis, a symptom. They reveal not a lack of meaning but an excess: "[...] the image burns with memory, which means that it burns whatever, even when it has become no more than ash: a way of stating its essential vocation for survival, in spite of everything" (Didi-Huberman 2012b, 216).

The discourse of the 'dissolution of the self' coexists with a large number of faces.[10] If the neurosciences elect the brain as the concept-image of the notion of the person, the counter-narrative of Alzheimer's disease elects the face – the face as an interior-exterior fold, an inside-outside, a head-body.[11] The impression is that, despite the loss of memory, narrative and the world, what remains is the face, with its expressions, gestures, nuances, distortions, erasures, symptoms, as though it tells what can no longer be told through words. The face as an agent of perception interconnecting the head (brain) and body to compose an alternative notion of person to the biomedical model.

Mirror-face explores the notion of person that shifts during the oscillations between denying or potentializing dissolution. In other word, the biomedical expression 'dissolution of the self' is linked to a conception of personhood based on cognition, the individual and autonomy. When we turn to other contexts like indigenous and/or 'non-western' societies, this expression makes no sense because another notion of person is in play. Alzheimer's disease oscillates, then, between an epidemic, an evil, a terror – in societies in which the notion of the person is based on memory and cognition – and invisibility, absence or tolerance, when the person is composed by a field of relations.[12]

10. Almost 70% of the images encountered are faces/portraits.
11. By counter-narrative I mean everything that surpasses the biomedical discourse of the 'dissolution of self,' including the photographic essays, videos and campaign actions designed to raise awareness about the disease, the accounts of family carers, the scenes witnessed over the course of field research, the blogs and artworks of people with dementia. Although these situations contain the idea of a loss of the person and the notion of reality, this process unfolds ambiguously with endeavours to show that, in spite of everything, the person remains, primarily by means of the body, affects, gestures, behaviours. Even for biomedicine, the 'dissolution of the self' coexists with a series of recommendations that contradict or at least problematize the process, such as maintaining autonomy for as long as possible and the importance of cognitive stimulation through physical activities, including occupational therapy, leisure pursuits such as walks, family lunches and so on. However, although the brain for the neurosciences is increasingly related to the environment and the body – especially the heart – it remains the privileged place for thought and for the notion of personhood in scientific and biomedical conceptions.
12. Aware of the risks and making the necessary mediations, this dialogue with other contexts such as shamanism – a phenomenon that also deals with disease, death, illness and altered states of consciousness – is pursued in an attempt to discover other reference points from which to think notions of personhood, illness, memory and reality beyond the bounds of biomedical discourse, thereby composing a counterpoint that is "good to think" what may be at stake in taking Alzheimer's disease as "the disease of the twenty-first century." I discuss these points in detail in another article (in press).

Alzheimer's disease has already been associated with 'an evil' due to its threat to neoliberal values such as autonomy, individuality, independence, self-care (Robbins 2008, Burke 2015, Wearing 2015, Goldman 2015). Fabio Landa, a medical doctor and social scientist with studies in psychology and psychoanalysis, shows how the French philosopher Emmanuel Levinas engages in a critique of the notion of autonomy as a pillar of western thought, highlighting the place that the Face assumes in his work, focusing particularly on the extermination of the Jews in Europe during the Second World War. According to Landa, Levinas takes the Face as the surplus to any possible description, the most vulnerable part of the human body, the most denuded and exposed to violence: " [...] perceiving a Face, according to Levinas, involves an enchantment that leaves no time to see, like before an image, a picture" (Landa 2003, 117). Thus, "accommodating a Face undermines the certainties that each of us tries to acquire over the other and over ourselves" (Ibid., 118).

Similarly, in my own research on Alzheimer's disease, choosing a Face is a counterpoint to a diagnosis, assuming, like Levinas, the irreducibility of alterity rather than the 'dissolution of the self.' Perhaps the growing production of images on Alzheimer's disease – such as films, novels, photographic essays, theatre plays, blogs, art exhibitions – is an attempt to accommodate these faces, perceiving them in their vulnerability, violence, rapture, as any other; in sum, an attempt for us to see ourselves in them.

As mirrors of ourselves, we see, through the backwards reflection, the "irreducible alterity of the other" (Landa 2003) so that, traversing this "world beyond" of dementia, we come to distrust our own certainties and points of reference. For the family carers, this implies a transformation so large that some begin to feel the effects of the disease, such as a sense of dissolution, disorientation, forgetting, confusion, madness and strangeness, and also the need to reinvent their everyday life, language and face.

What is language without the face?

> The face is not an envelope exterior to the person who speaks, thinks, or feels. The form of the signifier in language, even its units, would remain indeterminate if the potential listener did not use the face of the speaker to guide his or her choices ('Hey, he seems angry...'; 'He couldn't say it...'; 'You see my face when I'm talking to you...'; 'look at me carefully...'). [...] The face constructs the wall that the signifier needs in order to bounce off of; it constitutes the wall of the signifier, the frame or screen. The face digs the hole that subjectification needs in order to break through; it constitutes the black hole of subjectivity as consciousness or passion, the camera, the third eye. (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 167-168).

Faces constitute contexts of enunciation; they define the positions of subjects. Language can only be comprehended because it has the face as a wall off which the signifier can bounce. "Choices are guided by faces, elements are organized around faces: a common grammar is never separable from a facial education" (Ibid., 179).

What is the face without language? The relationship between image and name proved fundamental over the course of composing Alzheimer's disease and the people who live it. If residents and doctors pursued this relation in order to attempt a precise diagnosis and family carers in order to comprehend and manage the disease, people with dementia also set off on the same quest: for them, naming the experience of the disease meant naming themselves. In a campaign called 'Still' on the social network Facebook, the Alzheimer Society of Ireland published photos of people with the diseases holding a sign on which was written "still *(name of the person)*" or "still (insistently) *(name of the person)*."

Inspired by the work of Roy Wagner, Dulley (2015) shows how a certain form of naming is linked to a specific conception of difference, the relationship between naming and alterity being the general problem of anthropology. The name is a way of fixing a reference point in a potentially infinite range of relations and this designation is always relational. Turning to Derrida, she discusses how the act of naming establishes a difference not only between names, on one hand, and the name and thing, on the other, but also between the thing and itself, calling attention to the instability of the name, its movements and tensions.

For Wagner (1989), there are two ways of seeing names: 1) Names as points of reference or codes, representing the things named (the order of homology) and 2) Names as a relationship between the name and the thing named (the order of metaphor, analogy). Adopting the second way – which I also attempted to do in my research –, the author shows how the name is a symbol that stands for itself, an organizing principle whose meaning resides in the analogies that it establishes, not in its referents. Names are conceived, then, as expanded metaphors since they establish relations of relations – concepts and images participate in an analogical thought. In this sense, to claim a name and a face is to position oneself within a field of relations, to have a place of speech, to create a context of enunciation. In the 'backwards world' of dementia, where everything is possible and fleeting, claiming a face is perhaps how the mortal line of the disease becomes folded.

A DEMENTED POINT OF VIEW, OR HOW TO SEE BLURS AND FIREFLIES

FIGURES 24 and 25
Photos: Fábio
Messias.

Mirror-face took me closer and closer to the demented point of view, the endogenous images, the deliria, the disease's lines of flight. For Deleuze, it is by folding the mortal line of disease that a mode of subjectification, a possibility of life in the space between, a becoming, can be composed. The fold is the "potential for metamorphosis" (Deleuze 1995).

> That's what subjectification is about: bringing a curve into the line, making it turn back on itself, or making force impinge on itself. So we get ways of living with what would otherwise be unendurable. What Foucault says is that we can only avoid death and madness if we make existing into a 'way,' an 'art.' (Ibid., 113).

Folding the line of flight constitutes the subject at the margin of established knowledge and powers, especially for the socially excluded – the complaint, here, has a great poetic and historical importance in this process. It comprises a lifestyle, the composition of an aesthetic and an ethic that take shape in the capacity to see and say – for Deleuze (1995), this is the crucial question: what are we capable of seeing and saying? Or, as Didi-Huberman (2011) asks, are we actually capable of seeing fireflies?

Because these people are feeling, saying, painting, writing, dancing, singing. Metaphors, words, gestures, images, noises, lacunas, things, spirits and ghosts all appear, they haunt, they become heard. They narrate the loss of narration or other narrative possibilities. They invent a life, a face, a language.

Along with the comments, gestures, complaints, refusals and desires encountered over the course of the research, there are the blogs of Kris and Joe, and the artworks of William Utermohlen and Carolus Horn.

Joe from the US decided to write his story and his day-to-day life with the disease on a blog, begun in 2006, two years after his diagnosis. "Welcome to my world," he invites us. "It is like not having to wear glasses now; my eyes say you can see stupid, my brain says where your glasses are?

What is really a pain is looking for my glasses that I do not need. [...] The birds, clouds, trees and such all take on a new meaning in the world we are thrust into" (Potocny 2006). The posts alternate between moments of lucidity and confusion. Comparing his mind to a sponge, Joe says that he forgets where he left objects, forgets to eat, or take his medicines, or sleep, or what he was going to say in the middle of a phrase, or while writing the blog.

For Joe, the disease created 'other world': 'Joeland,' a 'World of Dementia,' 'Neverland,' 'Mr. Alzheimer's,' 'Alzheimer's land', 'dream land' are some of the expressions he uses. At some moments, he sees himself between two different realities, split, confused. "I was in a state of in betweenness, between here and there. I finally started eating but with my fingers and slowly got back to where I should be"; "I live in a multiple of realities, unlike you I never know when I will pop in or out of any of them" (Ibid.).

In this 'dream land', dream and reality – "whatever you call it" or "this shitty reality I call life" – merge: he awakens, hears voices, and is unable to distinguish in what state he is, feeling like a captive of his own mind, body and home. On the other hand, Joe likes to create situations in his brain and to see how the parts play with them. He considers this more interesting than the mental games recommended by his doctors, carers and relatives. He believes that he has always done this, but now perceives his brain to be more visual - "Find myself more and more drawing inside myself" (Ibid.), not knowing whether it is because of the disease or because of the way he found of dealing with it.

In comparing himself to a book where the cover may be good but the actual content bad, Joe invites us to read him without losing his peculiar characteristics – ripped up, marked, meaningless, folded with bits missing. He says he has invented a new language, calling it 'Joenese,' 'dementiaese' and 'soap box.' Like Catarina, living in a "continuous redefinition of herself – Catarina, Catakina, Catieki, Catkine, Catkina" -, "capable of exploring new modes of self-evaluation and renewing her sense of dignity" (Biehl 2008, 444), Joe also lives a process of writing-becoming that invents a possibility of life – Joe, Joenese, Joeland.

> My conversation with others is getting more difficult and less, oh what the hell, speak able cannot think of the right wording. That is becoming harder, finding the words that fit we play guessing games with me as to what I am trying to say, I guess I am refining my language, joenese, to a more pure form, which I do not understand.

[...]

In just regular conversation I get all mixed up, use the wrong words, words sort of dribble out of my mouth and I forget in the middle of things what it is we are talking about. (Potocny op. cit.).

Kris also writes a blog. From the Unites States like Joe, she was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease at the age of 46. She began the blog in 2003, the same year of her diagnosis. Both Joe and Kris see themselves as spokespeople for the disease and engage in several activities for this purpose, such as congresses and lectures in various parts of the world.

Feelings of confusion, puzzlement, cloudiness and disorientation are constant. Haze (or mist, fog), mazes, journeys, storms are recurrent imagery to recount the experience of living with the illness. On these days (what she calls 'foggy days'), Kris is unable to read an article, find a cartoon funny, cook (she writes that her 'fog' self tries to cook but, despite knowing all the ingredients and what needs to be done, she is simply unable to do so).

In some situations, Kris says she has panic attacks, normally when she cannot perform some activity she considers 'normal', like being unable to turn on the washing machine, not knowing how to tidy up the craftwork room, burning the cookies in the oven, forgetting how to make coffee, not knowing how to buy things at the shopping mall, getting lost in her own home, being unable to switch off the electric toothbrush. In these moments, she perceives that the thought is in her brain, but she is unable to translate it into action. "It's like the instructions are written in a foreign language" (Bakowski 2003).

Finding it difficult to find words - "my word problems" (Ibid.) -, Kris, like Joe, also notes that her brain is more visual. Rather than thoughts appearing as words, she now sees them as images, a 'storyboard,' which, for her, makes everything more difficult because she must convert these images into words again in order to be able to say them, to communicate them. Regardless, she recognizes this to be a new way of seeing the world.

> I realized then that the way I 'see' things in my brain has changed. I used to 'see' things with words – if I had a thought I was trying to say or get a point across it was words that I was forming in my brain and almost reading them back in order to explain something or even with a regular conversation. Now, I see more images in my mind rather than words. This makes it more difficult for me because I then have to convert those images to words and then get it out of my mouth! How simple is that? Not that simple for me. Last night I had this whole storyboard of images in my mind with this story I was going to tell my husband. I couldn't get it out – I couldn't put the words to the images and make it come out. I'm sure this sounds strange to most of you reading this, but I can't figure out another way to say it. (Ibid.).

The "problem with words" makes it difficult to write the blog and makes Kris ask herself to whom, ultimately, she is writing.

> I have started this post many times and didn't finish it. I was afraid that those of you that read this blog will think I am writing about you – and then I realized that the people I am going to write about probably don't read this blog so it doesn't matter anyway! So, if you are reading this – it isn't about you. (Ibid.).

A paradox of writing, a problem of representation: Kris wants to communicate mainly with the people who, like her, have Alzheimer's disease, but recognizes that they will be unable to read her posts. So the blog is about someone different to the one who reads it: "...if you are reading this – it isn't about you." The difficulty of communicating with people is a recurrent topic and leads us to question – as Joe also does – whose the problem ultimately is: the sick or those who are incapable of understanding them.

While Kris and Joe write blogs, the German Carolus Horn (1921–1992), diagnosed at the age of 58, and the American William Utermohlen (1933–2007), diagnosed at the age of 61, painted pictures as the disease took its course.
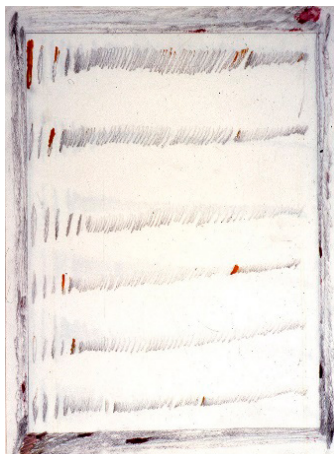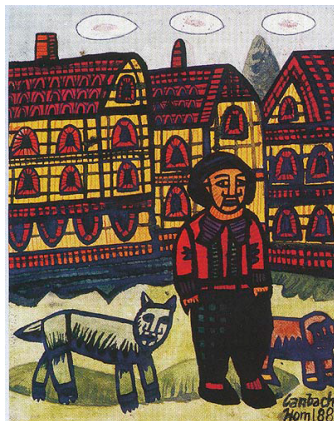
FIGURES 26–33
Pictures by
Carolus Horn over
the evolution
of Alzheimer's
disease.

FIGURES 34–42
Self-portraits
by William
Utermohlen over
the evolution
of Alzheimer's
disease[13].

The paintings by Utermohlen and Carolus compose a constellation of gestures, expressions, highlights and shadows in the undulating rhythm of disease and memory, like a game of presence and absence, a possibility – like the blogs of Joe and Kris – for entangling narrative and experience through imagery.

13. Available at: https://bit.ly/2YrspCA. Consulted 23/02/2014.

Between *sopros* and *assombros* (puffs of air and shadows)[14], these 'demented authors' write and paint sensations, perceptions, by means of a special kind of narrative: as Taussig (2011) say about writing the field notebook – or the diary in general – it involves a direct translation of experience to the page (or screen), usually in a rushed, abbreviated and urgent manner. They also participate in the tragic described by Taussig: each word seems to multiply the distance between narrative and experience, language and world; writing, as an epitome of consciousness, ends up obliterating the reality that the writer wishes to communicate, pushing it further and further out of reach. The paradox of this type of writing becomes greater still in a dementia process in which words fall silent over time and the distance between word and author – or the latter's world – begins to verge on the abysmal: "I think about what I am going to write and then I just can't get the words to go from my head to the page" (Bakowski 2003).

When the perception of what is seen/lived is so strange – like Joe's astonishment on seeing the food in the fridge wanting to attack him, Célia's terror because the monkey was about to invade the living room, the dismay of failing to recognize relatives and not recognizing oneself in the mirror, and so many other situations that I lived over the course of my research – then seeing starts to doubt itself and must find another way of seeing-narrating. And so images proliferate as a way of reinventing connections and possible worlds.

Wagner (1995) invites us to be suspicious of our ability to communicate, to express our intentions, given that we cannot know them directly but only through knowledge of other people's intentions. It amounts, therefore, to a bluff, a mismatch between meaning and saying and what others understand this saying to mean. There exists an ambiguity, an enigma surrounding intentionality and spontaneity, which become hidden and mediated in a relation field. As occurs with humour and metaphor, intention can play tricks, a ruse, a joke, it can cheat and invert meaning, twist perspectives; it may speak indirectly and refuse the verbal and the categorical. Like photography, the intention, for Wagner, is concealed, obscure, treacherous, it feigns to be like the 'I' known from the portrait when it appears so little like it – like the sick person who looks in the mirror and does not recognize herself. It has, then, a touch of revelation, apparition, wonder. For Wagner, these traps, erasures and bluff s of language, rather than making it unviable, also narrate, tell

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14. TN: The Portuguese word *assombro* has a wide range of meanings difficult to capture in translation: astonishment, admiration, awe, terror, as well as soul, ghost, closely associated with the verb *assombrar*, to scare, haunt, astonish, fill with dread. Here the term is translated by its root etymology, sombra, shadow, which also evokes the idea of ghostly blurring explored in the article. *Sopro* means breath, exhalation, a blow of air and here recall the puffs of air blowing away the dandelion seeds.

important things. If, ultimately, we are all unreliable narrators, the question is why some of us are less unreliable than others.[15]

For Course (2012), language is a problematic, strange and paradoxical phenomenon: while we can only know ourselves and create through it, and while it is through language that authority and social relations are constituted, it has an excessive force that removes our control. The surplus meaning may be both a bad intention and a quality endemic to discourse itself. The language thus becomes agency itself, an act, a movement, not merely an appropriation on the part of a subject.

Language as an act and a movement, which constitutes an authority at the same time as it escapes the control of those who possess it, allows us to see the dislocations, overlaps and tensions in the composition of Alzheimer's disease which overflows the medical field to invade other areas, subjects, references.

While Taussig (2011) speaks of opening language and Cesarino (2011a) of twisting it, Deleuze (1997, 1v) compares it to delirium, to "invent a new language within language, a foreign language, as it were". To make language delirious is to fabulate, to experience it as a becoming, "driving words from one end of the universe to the other" (p. 1v), creating "a witch's line that escapes the dominant system" (p. 5) and removing it from "its usual furrows" (p. 5), "inventing a people who are missing" (p. 4). What are the blogs and paintings if not an attempt to create a line of flight, search for a meaning beyond meaning, constitute a community of people with Alzheimer's disease? To invent a people is to invent a possibility of life.

For Deleuze, delirium, in literature – and I would add in art and shamanism – is a passage, becoming, health. "But when delirium falls back into the *clinical state*, words no longer open out onto anything, we no longer hear or see anything through them except a night whose history, colors, and songs have been lost" (Ibid., 1v). Delirium, when it leaves literature to falls back inti life, is no longer health but sickness, no longer a passage of life but a "stopping of the process" (p. 3). It is not fabulation but confabulation. Just as thinking madness is not an experience of madness but of thought – it only becomes madness in the collapse (Deleuze 1995) – so too delirium, in literature, is a sign. Like memory, delirium, in the clinic, loses its polysemy, becoming a pathology.

But when someone with Alzheimer's disease traces a line of flight by writing a blog, painting a picture, making a joke, being ironic, delirium becomes both a sign and a pathology, critique and clinic. Unlike the

15. The term 'unreliable narrator' was coined in 1961 by the US literary critic Wayne C. Booth in *The Rhetoric of Fiction*. Some attempts at classification were made, including the mad, the mentally ill, the naive and the liar as unreliable narrators. Since then, many writers and authors have joined the discussion, questioning the extent to which a narrator, any, can be considered reliable.

writer who returns to 'normality' after the ritual or writing, though, it seems that this return does not exist for anyone in a dementia process. "All of us need to take little holidays from our frontal lobes – the tragedy is when, through grave illness or injury, there is no return from holiday" writes the neurologist Oliver Sacks (1995, n.p).[16]

We need to ask, though, what this 'no return' means when it comes to a disease in which moments of lucidity and dementia alternate. As in shamanic ritual, in which the near unconsciousness of the shaman allows him to see more (Taussig 2011), it involves the fold or paradoxical relation between consciousness and unconsciousness – much more than any separation or opposition. If we are constantly drifting between different states of consciousness – in dreams, diseases, uses of hallucinogens, rituals – what, then, does being conscious, "returning to normality," actually mean? After all, as one neurologist said, "no one is demented all the time."

In this mirror-face-language composite, the 'dissolution of the self' depends on who is looking, towards whom and from where: the blurred, out-of-focus vision may be our own, the 'non-sick' looking at the 'sick'; them looking at ourselves, family and friends, and them looking at themselves. Based on the positioning of the capacity to see, hear and say within a field of relations and contexts of enunciation – whether in a medical consultation, an ABRAz meeting, in the living room, as an author of a blog or a work of art, or in a shamanic ritual – the dissolution may be a pathological symptom, a sign or a mode of subjectification.

The 'dissolution of the self' and the loss of cognitive functions caused by the disease may be expressions of 'defacialization' (as a becoming, both as a 'non-person' in some contexts/discourses and a 'multiple person' in others) and facialization (with the election of some faces as more 'normal' and 'health' than others or with the attempt to hold on to a face to say that, despite everything, the person remains). Ears, noses, eyes and hands compose a gallery of multiple faces, fragmented, composite, a kind of "formula of pathos"[17] – faces against the Face. In sum, other faces are possible, "...here, cutting edges of deterritorialization become operative and lines of deterritorialization positive and absolute, forming strange new becomings, new polyvocalities" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 191).

Other faces, other mirrors, other languages. If the face blurs and the mirror shatters, language, in Alzheimer's disease, also opens up, distorts, raves, burns by means of metaphor, the image, the body, in a fold

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16. As one neurologist said to me, the frontal lobe is responsible for our humanity, including compliance with social rules and control of 'primitive instincts' like sexuality, and critical judgment.
17. The expression "formula of pathos" (*pathosformel*) is used by Aby Warburg to describe, principally, a series of gestures, expressions, bodily forms that have survived in paintings and portraits since the Renaissance. This expression is recuperated and discussed by Didi-Huberman (2013a) in his proposal for an 'anthropology of gestures.'

between dementia and lucidity, memory and forgetting, routine and creativity, terror and humour. A language that twists in order to, distancing itself from meaning, extrapolating the ordinary, connect the poetic function and the referential function, making this difference ambiguous, composite (Cesarino 2011a).

The everyday becomes haunted; real and surreal, memory and hallucination, literal and metaphoric overlap, as when Guilherme used his flip-flop to change the TV channel.[18] In an 'upside-down world' with other reference points – including the very notion of reality – a language-becoming, incomprehensible to some, becomes necessary, which, even when it uses the verbal extends beyond it, generating other aesthetic expressions.[19]

TOWARDS A HAUNTED ETHNOGRAPHY
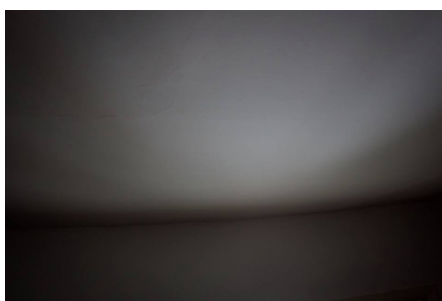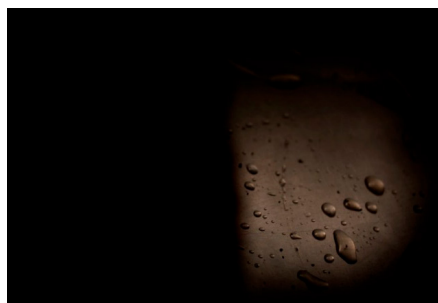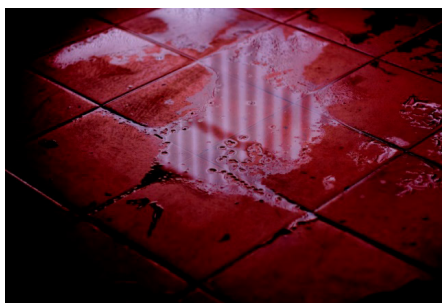
It was only a glimpse [...].
But it belongs to a set
of images which have
mesmerised me ever since.
(Marilyn Strathern,
The ethnographic effect)

FIGURES 43–47
Photos: Fábio
Messias.

18. Or again: the literal is a metaphor that became obviated (Wagner 1989) – the metaphor of the metaphor that obviates the referent or when the metaphor becomes the referent itself, like Hamlet who reveals the truth by pretending to be mad, revealing the truth via its acting out as the theatre; or like, in my own research, the everyday that becomes absurd, surreal, verging on the absurd, and the apparently most banal domestic activities turn frighteningly mysterious.
19. The ever-expanding production of films, novels, autobiographies, theatre plays, music, photographs, blogs and exhibitions on the disease would seem to attest to this.

The folds that accompanied the research also made my experience as an anthropologist. I also found myself immersed between terror and humour, routine and creativity, person and dissolution, memory and invention, the flashes of light, the trails, the contours and the chaos of a tangled mass. I was haunted too, intoxicated by the innumerable scenes that I saw, heard, imagined, assembled over the course of this composite formed by this ethnography, as research-writing, field-theory, experience-narrative.

Olga, with pink lipstick and slippers, earrings, necklace and rings, and a diaper, who welcomed me like a good hostess, offering coffee she was unable to make, who danced with aplomb in the medical appointment, but was unable to follow the conversation in the house that she said was not hers, who gave me excellent advice while she waited for her mother, dead for twenty years. Guilherme, who lay the television flat so that the people would not fall out and wore a shirt as though it were a pair of trousers. Célia's distressed hand clutching a cloth because the monkey from the soap opera was going to enter the living room. José, who ate dog food and was no longer able to finish a phrase; Dr. P, who mistook his wife's head for a hat (Sacks 1985); Jimmie, who believed he was 19 years old when he was 40 (Ibid.); Jussara, who invited her mirror image to go out for a walk. Eyes that shine, become frightened, fade; rushed hands, silent hands, confident hands; the laughter, the jokes, the complaints, the crying, the requests – glimpses that persist, images that mesmerize: a phrase, a gesture, a scene, a fragment. If the processes of dementia unfurl between puffs of air and shadows, the ethnography was affected by them too – I also had my ghosts.[20]

Aware that writing, as an "epitome of consciousness," is flawed when it comes to expressing experience, with words opening up an abysm between subject and world – or between language and the world –, Taussig (2011) invites us to incorporate the images, astonishments, mysteries and gestures perceived over the course of the research. Hallucination – like an image, an apparition – functions as an analogy to think shamanism, ethnography, field notebooks; it opens language, deforms sight to see more and further – a squinting, arduous sight, a slow motion sight.

The image as spirit, vision, prophecy (Kopenawa & Albert 2015) involves an act of seeing in which, more than narrating, it evokes and expresses; the image is thus more gestural than discursive in kind – which proved to be of fundamental importance in relation to the dementia process.

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20. This haunting feeling also resides in studying something that may happen – like old age and Alzheimer's disease. Great-grandparents, grandparents and other relatives had the disease and, although a hereditary cause is not proven, the fear – especially of my father, who has already referred to this many times – is real.

If it is in the darkness of night that shamanic visions shine, as it is for the fireflies, how to see, in the middle of the fog of the disease, the flashes, the apparitions? In a disease "whose threads gradually unravel," what can images do in this context of lapses and collapses? What do they show when words fall silent?[21]

Images allowed me to see Alzheimer's disease in another way. By perceiving and incorporating the photographs, videos, blogs, Facebook pages, art, humour, gestures, scenes, metaphors, shadows, I was able to listen to people in a dementia process, hear the unspoken, and see what normally passes unseen when faced with a disease like this. Rather than taking as given the 'dissolution of the self,' memory loss, the absence of language, I showed how the dissolution can be dissolved or potentialized, how memory becomes corporeal and overlaps with invention, and finally how language, rather than simply – or just – disappearing, opens up, twists, raves, burns.

Opening up language (Taussig), ripping up the image (Didi-Huberman), breaking the thing (Foucault, Deleuze), searching for unexpected associations, perceiving similarities where, in the first contact, there are none. My attempt, then, was to relate Alzheimer's disease and shamanism – and also literature – as a "creative meeting of references" (Cesarino 2011b), in a kind of writing-delirium in which the dissimilar are connected in order to see what cannot be seen with the naked eye.[22] Imagination here is transversal knowledge, the intrinsic power of the assemblage that makes similarities appear where none had been presumed, inventing analogies between more distant and heterogenous analogies (Didi-Huberman 2013b).[23] It was the lesson that Lévi-Strauss said he had learned from surrealism. This is what Alzheimer's disease, in its everyday surrealism, revealed to me.

If the composition of the disease revealed an experience and an aesthetic across the traversed fields and subjects, the ethnography was also composed in this double dimension: as experience and aesthetic.[24] For this to happen, it was necessary to inhabit the knot, become a line: choosing what to reveal and what to conceal, what to remember,

21. My thanks to Fabiana Bruno especially for this and other questions relating to the research images.
22. The relation between shamanism and literature (such as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll) is explored in an attempt to think the other-becoming of the disease, the space of metamorphosis of an 'upside-down world.' I discuss these relations in "Doença de Alzheimer e xamanismo: diálogos (im)possíveis" (in press).
23. As Strathern (1999, 260) writes, "relations are what make people 'see' anything at all". Or again: "writing only works [...] as an imaginative re-creation of some of the effects of fieldwork itself" (p. 1).
24. Here I take aesthetics as sensory, imagetic, intuitive thought (Bruno 2009), a theory of the qualities of feeling (Freud 2006), a reflection on metaphors and sensory codes (Cesarino 2011a).

forget and imagine, transiting between facts and deliria and wandering through many places – from medical wards to congresses, from congresses to ABRAz, from ABRAz to the family homes, from the homes to the blogs, from the blogs to Facebook pages, photographs, videos.[25]

By assembling the ethnography through images revealed to me by the field – *dandelion, home, mirror-face* – I sought to show how they act as a presence (Severi 2009), rather than as a representation, or Walter Benjamin's 'dialectical images,' by presenting a field of relations, located between dementia and lucidity, routine and creativity, person and 'dissolution and self,' terror and humour, memory and hallucination, sickness and old age, normal and pathological, and perceiving which poles shone and which faded according to the situations and subjects, in a constant figure-ground reversal, light and shadow, like the night and the firefly, the dandelion and the puff of air, the mirror and the haunting.

 "I swear I saw this," writes Taussig (2011) after glimpsing a woman – or what he thought to be a woman – sewing a man – or what he thought was a man – into a sack by the side of a tunnel. Still unable to believe what he had seen, Taussig sketches the scene to picture it one more time. For him, the field notebook, like the image and the shaman's song, is an act of testimony, a combination between seeing, speaking and committing. The testimony is a discourse that takes the position of the 'I' – *I swear I saw this*. The 'I' of this phrase, in my own research, could be the I of the anthropologist who composes an ethnography, the I of the family member providing care, the I of the person with dementia experiencing the disease. Each of them, in their own way and with different objectives, sought and composed a name for the experience that they lived and/or are living. For the residents, doctors and ABRAz team too, the name proved fundamental to making a diagnosis, determining a form of treatment and managing the disease. Is it old age or disease? Is it disease or tantrum? Memory or hallucination?

Faced by the haunted and nebulous everyday life of the disease – and the ethnography – each of the subjects situated in this complex cartography of connections and disconnections needed to claim, create and reinvent a speech, dislocating notions of disease, personhood, memory and reality in an assemblage somewhere between experience and aesthetics. If, for the poet Manoel de Barros, the name impoverished the image, it was up to the image to twist, open and split the name.

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25. These were the lines that I chose to follow, aware that others were left out and would have taken me along other paths, such as laboratories and the pharmaceutical industry, the market and courses for carers, public policies, legislation and so on. Some lines, though running into them, ended up not being pursued, despite my interest, including the films and autobiographies, which will remain for a future journey.

Images are fireflies. Against the apocalyptic pessimism of the film-maker Pier Paolo Pasolini and the philosopher Giorgio Agamben, who decreed the destruction of experience, the end of human beings, living communities and the culture of resistance in the fact of the terror of wars, the rise of fascism, the dictatorship of industry and consumer-ism, and the society of control,[26] Didi-Huberman (2018) argues for the survival of fireflies – that is, the flashes, resistances, desires and insur-rections that surface in the dark of the night, the dance of the fireflies, "this moment of grace that resists in the world of terror..." (p. 9), howev-er fleeting and fragile it may be. For him, decreeing the end of fireflies due to the blinding light of power – as Pasolini does – is to "see nothing but the black night or the blinding glare of the spotlights [...]. To see only the *whole*. And thus not to see space – though it may be interstitial, in-termittent, nomadic, improbably located – of openings, of possibilities, of flashes, *in spite of all*" (p. 18). Fireflies only disappear, then, when we cease to follow them.

Didi-Huberman follows them, sees the flashes of counterpower, and shows that "...*experience is indestructible*, even when it may well become reduced to survivals and clandestine moments, to simple glimmers in the night" (Ibid., 80), even in such sombre settings – or precisely because of them: "...the fireflies' living dance plays out precisely in the heart of shadows" (p. 27). It is in the darkness, terror and despair that flashes of light can be seen, revealing "firefly-words" and "firefly-images" against the "spotlight-words", as the witnesses of trauma, the war survivors, the Warsaw ghetto newspapers, the chronicles of insurrection, the pho-tographs of the gas chamber prisoner. The collapse of experience is also an experience and transformation does not mean destruction.

While Alzheimer's disease has been associated with the crisis in mem-ory of modern times, the impoverishment of narrative and experience, the blogs, paintings, comments, gestures and faces of the people with dementia, the metaphors and images are the flashes in this black night, a night that also has its fireflies – an eye that shines, a hand that holds a cover, the drips of water after the shower, the coffee stain in a cup, a kept photo, a joke, a language that is invented, a painting, a complaint, a walk, a dance, a song, a laugh, a cry, a refusal, a desire. And these flashes also compose an experience, a memory, a knowledge, even though it is a disease that gradually erases them.

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26. An important reference for these authors is Walter Benjamin, especially "Experi-ence and poverty" and "The storyteller." Didi-Huberman shows, however, that Benjamin speaks of a decline in experience, not its destruction, as well as glimpsing the potenti-ality, the flashes and openings that can emerge, something absent from the apocalyptic vision of Pasolini and Agamben.

It is not a question of denying the terror of the disease but of seeing it beyond this horizon. See beyond, see more, see fireflies: see the potentiality of blur, of dissolution. See that, in the middle of fog, Joe uses humour and invents words when they seemed lost; Kris perceives his brain becoming more visual; Dr. P listens to music to do his everyday tasks; Jimmie goes to mass for guidance; Rebecca keeps herself alive and coherent in the theatre; William Utermohlen and Carolus Horn paint pictures. And so many others who make comments, tell jokes, disagree, move about, in flashes of desire, thought, knowledge. If there are reasons for being pessimistic, "it's more necessary than ever to open our eyes in the night, to move around without rest, to set out again in search of fireflies" (Ibid., 23).

If it is possible to see fireflies in the dark, the twisted faces seen in the mirror backwards show us the importance too of seeing the blurs – the blurred vision, a gaze that loses itself, a speech that is left unspoken, a body that does not move, the bathroom that is not found, the portrait and the mirror that reveal ghosts, the washing machine that can no longer be switched on, the coffee, the shower, the food that can no longer be made. To see the fireflies and the smudges is to see the glimpses that allow, amid the losses, the constellation of an experience to emerge, a narrative, a memory, a legacy. "Although they skim just above the ground, moving so slowly, emitting such a weak light, don't the fireflies draw, strictly speaking, just such a constellation?" (Ibid, 30).

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For Lévi-Strauss (1991, 4), research with myths revealed an aesthetic experience, all the more stimulating because

> these myths appear first of all as puzzles. They tell stories without head or tail, full of absurd incidents. One has to 'hatch' the myth for days, weeks, sometimes months, before suddenly a spark bursts out, and in some inexplicable detail in another myth, so that by thus expedient they can be brought together as a unity. Each detail in itself need mean nothing; it is in their differential relationships that their intelligibility is found.

Like myths for Lévi-Strauss, and Alzheimer's disease for myself, ethnography can take on the fluidity of a "soup of enigmas" as Aby Warburg referred to his own style: a "shapeless mass, without head or tail, a thought always averse to being 'cut,' that is, to defining for itself a beginning and an end" (Didi-Huberman 2013a, 29). "How to navigate in a knot of problems?" (p. 37).

"In fact, it involves experiencing in oneself a displacement of the point of view: displacing one's own position as a subject in order to be able

to offer a way to displace the definition of the object", Didi-Huberman writes (Ibid., 37) apropos Warburg's voyage to the indigenous societies of New Mexico, showing how the search to not know led him to collect the details, traces, collapses and intervals as important vehicles of uncertainty and disorientation. Much the same applies to ethnography and Alzheimer's disease: the traces of the everyday point to mysteries, enigmas, puzzlements – in Alzheimer's disease, it is the details of the day-to-day that reveal what the patients no longer know or are no longer able to do. It is by pursing this not knowing, excavating cracks, traversing lacunas, gathering uncertainties, that the diagnosis – and, ultimately, life with dementia – is slowly assembled.

Ethnography as an experience of displacement and the suspension of knowing led me in other directions, to create alternative paths, like opening the field beyond biomedicine, the potentiality of images, the connection between shamanism and literature, the inclusion of the patients as research subjects. Moving among the threads of the ethnographic tangle by means of a transversal movement of folding and overlapping was important to maintain the complexity and nebulosity that surround Alzheimer's disease as something mysterious and slippery, an obscurity as epistemological as it is ontological (Taussig 1993).

The creation of a world apart – the world of dementia – at the same time as it requires boundary strategies, like "avoiding confronting it head on", being creative, good-humoured, also involves something of the impassable, an alterity marked by other times, spaces, references. If this encounter of worlds transposes the problem of interpretation and translation to ethnography and shamanism, Alzheimer's disease also participates in the same via the sick person who needs to learn to transit between these worlds, via the task of the family carer and doctor of being able to see and hear these people, and via the endeavour of the anthropologist who writes to you.[27] The problem of translation shifts between a world of dementia and a world of non-dementia, between dementia and shamanism, between dementia and ethnography or performance and writing (how to pass from what we observe, see and hear to what we write).[28]

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27. As Strathern (1988, 312) warns us: "The anthropologist's efforts at communication are hampered by his or her very subject matter; and indeed if they are not, if there are no hesitations, then something is wrong".

28. Taussig speaks of witnessing as the relationship between seeing, writing and committing. For him, the field notebook is the place of encounter of these dimensions. The question he explores is: what is lost in the passage from the field notebook to the writing of the book? This exploration of the relation between field and writing also appears in Strathern (2014). In this journey, both Taussig and Strathern reveal the hauntings of research.

Approaching Alzheimer's disease as a problem of translation also led me to become aware of the moments when the object is named and the consequences of this naming, describing the process of constituting names, their distancing and overlapping, relating them to contexts and showing permanence and transformations. What mattered most was to display these connections, inhabit the entanglement rather than interpret and analyse it. Rather than asking what Alzheimer's disease is, my objective was to explore what it (dis)connects.

For people with dementia, the crisis in representation can be seen in the difficulty in communicating, like the "problem with words," the blog "that was not made for you," the increasingly abstract pictures of William Utermohlen and Carolus Horn. The difficulties and failures of this search for language end up opening language up: the faces, gestures, noises, silences, lacunas, metaphors, puffs of air and shadows need to be seen, heard, witnessed. Images enter as potentialities of expression: images twist words, create new contexts of enunciation, distort official discourses, offer other worlds and forms of recognition.

The mirror as refraction and divergence is a good image-concept, reference-metaphor, for the proposal of a haunted ethnography: not seeing oneself in the reflected image means suspending knowing so as to enter the world of the other, move through other references, in a back-to-front world, in a field of strangeness, disorientation and dissolution of the subject, in order to take the native thought seriously (Viveiros de Castro 2002) and translate it without flattening out the differences.

This is what Didi-Huberman (2012a) does: rather than discarding the blur in the photograph taken by a prisoner for being aesthetically too crude to include in an exhibition, he saw its potentiality, the blur as something important in itself, a witness to the absurdity and peril of war.[29] The blur, like the dissolution of Alzheimer's disease, is what remains when we attempt to perceive an uncertain reality, imagine the unimaginable, represent the unrepresentable, experience what has no wish to be experienced. Only those capable of seeing deep in the fog are capable of seeing the blur, those who have opened up their gaze, who have turned the making of the image into an act, a question, a tension.

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29. Following the discovery of four photographs taken by a prisoner in a gas chamber, which showed, from inside a cell, fragments of the outside world, like a patch of ground, the sky, a tree, one of them, taken to be a blur, was ignored in the subsequent exhibition due as aesthetically non-viable. Didi-Huberman (2012a) argues, however, that we must consider the photograph of the blur precisely because it shows the context of imprisonment and the horror in which it was produced. In this sense, being "only a blur" says much.
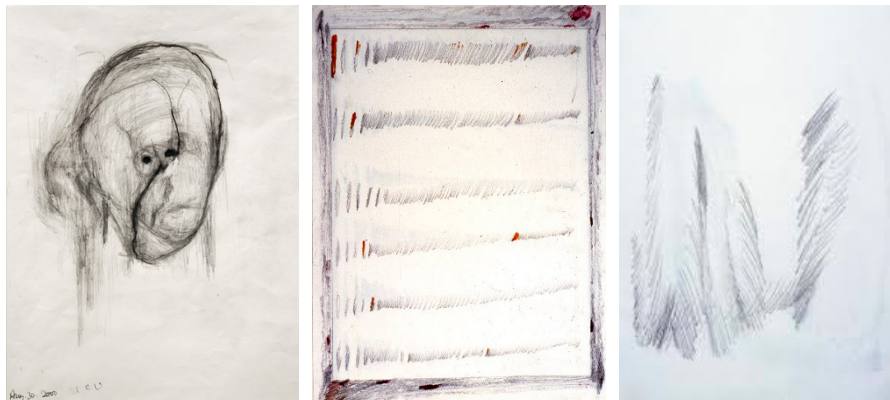
Ethnography is an exercise in looking in which the invisible is more important than the visible – how to see language where they say there is none, see the person amid the 'dissolution of the self.' For Severi (2011), the chimera is this act of looking to gather different fragments in order to compose an image by means of a movement of perception and projection, order and salience – which, for the author, constitutes the mnemonic process. The chimera is thus an assemblage, a connection of dissimilar elements in which the organizing principle is plurality and contiguity (the 'and' or the 'between' rather than the 'or'). As a plural representation of heterogenic parts, the chimera does not represent the beings but the possible relations or those imagined as such between them, just as my proposal was not to represent Alzheimer's disease but the relations – possible or imagined as such – that compose it.

Ethnography may also be a chimera, made in a movement of containing and overflowing, selecting and projecting, a mixture of different times and specialities, a plurality that activates its invisible parts. By crisscrossing the fields, subjects and questions and exploring different lines, languages and images, I also gathered a collection of fragments that could be assembled in diverse ways. In this sense, "ethnography is a form of controlled invention" (Cesarino 2013, 6; Strathern 1998).

My ethnography began with medical consultations and ended up in deliria: from hallucination as a pathology, I opened myself to the hallucinatory viewing of the image; from the neuroimages of the MRI scans, I turned to the mental/endogenous images of people with dementia. Going beyond medicine to fall into the demented point of view was my way of crossing the looking glass, tracing a line of flight towards the disease. In this Deleuzian fold between clinic and critique, aesthetics is the twisting of classification, the refraction of the biomedical discourse, the potentiality of dissolution.

Dissolution – and everything that it contains and overflows, folds and unfolds – is also a good image for ethnography. By exploring what is contained and overflows in Alzheimer's disease, I perceived that, more than an 'becoming-other' in dementia, the disease itself is a becoming, composed of fragments of heterogenic and multiple experiences, a process in continual movement that points, amid fogs, to inexhaustible directions. I was only able to see and walk along this tangled path by seeing and walking along the ethnography too as a line that composes it. It was also necessary, therefore, to explore what is contained and overflows in/from ethnography, in a movement of extension and distension, an incomplete sewing, with loose knots and threads that gradually unravel, and pauses, to see blurs and fireflies.

TRANSLATION
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LIST OF FIGURES - FACES

First page – p.11 (from left to right):
Line 1: 1. Self-portrait by William Utermohlen; 2. 'Alzheimer' series by Alex ten Napel; 3. First diagnosed patient. Photo by Rudolph in the patient records; 4. Photo: Alex ten Napel.

Line 2: 1. Photo: Alejandro Kirchuk; 2. Photo: Susan Falzone; 3. Self-portrait by William Utermohlen; 4. Photo: Alex ten Napel.

Line 3: 1. Photo: Alex ten Napel; 2. Self-portrait by William Utermohlen; 3. Photo: Alex ten Napel; 4. Self-portrait by William Utermohlen

Line 4: 1. Photo: Susan Falzone; 2. Photo: Alex ten Napel; 3. Self-portrait by William Utermohlen; 4. Photo: Alex ten Napel

Line 5: All images by Alex ten Napel.

Second page – p. 12 (from left to right):
Line 1: 1. Photo: Alex ten Napel; 2. Self-portrait by William Utermohlen; 3. Photo: Alex ten Napel; 4. Self-portrait by William Utermohlen

Line 2: 1. Photo: Susan Falzone; 2. Photo: Alex ten Napel; 3. Photo: Susan Falzone; 4. Photo: Alex ten Napel

Line 3: 1. 'Alzheimer' exhibition organized by Alzheimer Disease International (ADI / USA) (detail); 2. Photo: Alex ten Napel; 3. Photo: Susan Falzone

Line 4: 1. Photo: Susan Falzone (detail); 2. Photo: Alex ten Napel; 3. 'Alzheimer' exhibition, USA (detail); 4. Photo: Alex ten Napel.

Line 5: 1. Photo: Fausto Podavini (detail); 2. Photo: Alex ten Napel (detail): 3. Photo: Alex ten Napel (detail): 4. Photo: Fábio Messias (detail).

* All the images are available on the internet, in Google images and/or on indicated sites, including:

1. William Utermohlen:
www.hypeness.com.br/2014/01/pintor-com-alzheimer-faz-auto-retratos-registrando-o-avanco-de-sua-doenca;

2. Alex ten Napel:
http://www.alextennapel.nl/;

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4. Alejandro Kirchuk:
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5. Susan Falzone:
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    alzheimer-em-serie-sombria-e-emocionante/;

6. Fausto Podavini:
http://www.hypeness.com.br/2013/05/projeto-fotografico-tocante-mostra-o-dia-a-
    dia-de-uma-esposa-cuidando-do-marido-com-alzheimer/;

7. Fábio Messias: http://cargocollective.com/fabiomessias/Essa-Luz-Sobre-o-Jardim.

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DOSSIER

FILE AND IMAGES: HEURISTIC AND VISUAL ISSUES ON THE DISCLOSURE OF ETIENNE SAMAIN'S KAMAYURÁ FILE

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to present some considerations on the methodological results, as well as the results from a visual experiment developed during an anthropological research, which was presented with the ontological challenge of opening a 500 photographs file that was asleep for almost four decades. The file with images portraying Kamayurá indigenous persons from Alto Xingu, belonging to the personal file of the anthropologist Etienne Samain, was inquired in light of its own condition of silence and the imperative of privileging, in the first place, the act of looking and listening to the images. In this article, the reader will be able to know the methodological course traced, following part of its results from a double experience carried out with this photographic file – the researcher's and the image producer's himself. Thence, it is possible to examine the visual experimentation of the *Images Poetic Charts*, the construct of an experience of visual assemblage with the file photos.

INTRODUCTION

In the first section of the article, I will present the methodological work experience established throughout a research[1] based on the anthropological field that aims to reflect on the act of opening and visually investigate the life of a photographs file. Specifically, I was facing materials belonging to the anthropologist Etienne Samain[2], which were obtained after his expedition with the Kamayurá people from Alto Xingu (1977) and filed for almost four decades in its author's library[3].

As we have stablished an original protocol for the task of opening the file, anchored in a double gaze – the researcher's and the file producer's –, the methodological course began with the analysis of about 500 photographs and concluded with the selection of seven series (32 photos and seven double collections of texts). The researcher and the file producer then commented and exchanged the series. There, the research was spreading its roots and firming itself to live with the slumbering images, trying to unveil what they had to say, as they were now revisited and invited to a pact of double inquiry by the researcher and the producer.

As pursuing this methodological line, the reader will learn the experiment of the assemblage operation constituted to this course, which we have called *Images Poetic Charts*. The categorization of the letters is inspired by the analysis of the selected image series and by the considerations on the challenge of inquiring and making a file to think – trusting the experience of finding the lonely and silent questions of the images, what is harbored in between, in the posthumous gaps and aspiring to store treasures of meanings –,conceived from the unfolding of those series of images selected and set as content of observation and consideration.

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1. I refer to the post-doctoral research entitled *Poéticas das imagens desdobradas. Ante a abertura do acervo fotográfico indígena de Etienne Samain* [Poetics of unfolded images. Facing the disclosure of the indigenous photographic file of Etienne Samain], under the supervision of Professor Eduardo Peñuela Cañizal, supported by Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (FAPESP nº 2011/11958-5), based on ECA-USP, 2011-2013.

2. Etienne Samain – theologian and anthropologist – was born in Belgium. He lives in Brazil since 1973, and works as a professor at the Art Institute of the Graduate Program in Multimedia at Unicamp. He lived among Kamayurá Indigenous communities in the Alto Xingu, (MT), in 1977, and Urubu-Kaapor (MA) in 1980-1981, and thenceforth is working on the study of mythical narratives, coming close to the anthropology of communication and art, especially interested in understanding human communication. Samain is the author of *Moroneta Kamayurá* (1991), organizer of *O Fotográfico* (2005) and *Como Pensam as Imagens* (2012). After dwelling with indigenous communities and being fascinated with the nature of myths, Samain became deeply interest in images. In his most contemporary reflections, resulting from a consolidated knowledge engendered by long years of studying image issues, Etienne Samain insists on the importance of rediscovering not only the heuristic functionalities of images, but also their use value in human society.

3. In this article, Etienne Samain is mentioned as a *producer* referring to a category given to the one who produced and stored the images with intent to – although in an unpretentiously way, as he puts it – review his production in a non-specified future.

If, on the one hand, to explore the logic of one who visits a file and un-covers its images may open the possibility of *imagining in order to know*, without previous knowledge; on the other hand, to follow the logic of re-visiting a file based on the producer's gaze, in this case the author of the photographs, has unfolded the experience of a living memory, with its dynamics of remembering and forgetting, as guided by the singularity of a methodology working with images and its intermittencies.

THE FILE CONTEXT

To trust that a file is a living system is to offer an attentive listening to a whole sensorial body, a confidence that, beyond its materiality in a file and its "Saturn rings," there will be a layer of elements that are not codable at first. An atmosphere of issues that dialogues with the considerations proposed by authors such as Elizabeth Edwards (2009), who, while studying photographic surveys in England between 1885 and 1918, based on the work of amateur photographers[4], had registered her experiences around the meaning of material practices of photograph and its filing. Edwards (2009) claims that photographs should not be understood only through the content analysis, but also as objects that constitute material performances capable of evincing values of an affective historical imagination. She considers that, in methodological terms, it is necessary to engage a "material hermeneutics," which implies, as she explains, "paying attention to things and practices, and moving the analysis of photographs from questions of representation to questions of material practice, so that we can actually comprehend the role of photography in the discipline of history" (Ibid., 150).

If the mysteries of images are saved in another capsule, as a pearl protected by the oyster, and the file – as a living system – also harbors noises inaudible to a movement of recognition, my remaining option was to regard and inquire this file in the light of its own silence, which meant to approach it as something covered in an atmosphere of expressions and meanings challenged by this interpretation. I was aware that I walked through ways of tension, which required efforts to propose suited questions and methodology, considering the ethnographic practices, I could continue seeking dialogues.

It was necessary to consider, as Cunha (2004, 292) advises, that:

> Despite the familiarity of the anthropology with the files, the relation between both was subject to different appropriations. The identification of the file research with anthropological practices, among them the fieldwork and the

4. The research concerns photos produced by a social array of amateur photographers: hobby photographers, members of local camera clubs and photo shooting sessions by natural history, archeological and antiquarian societies, which produce visual registers of matters of "historical interest" to the benefit of future generations.

production of ethnographies, is still a focus of tension. It has been associated with the impossibility of *being there* and the secondary forms of contact between observers and "natives" mediated by impenetrable and contaminated layers of interpretation.[5]

Cunha proposes fundamental considerations as she raises questions such as "what does it mean when anthropologists turn themselves to the files as a *field* from which they intend to observe and reflect on the practice of their peers and the perspectives that inform (or have informed it)?" (Ibid., 294). Also "after all, what are the borders that outline and the criteria that define what I have been calling *ethnographic files*?" (Ibid., 295).

The author considers that there is no clear distinction between what the archivists define as being "personal" and "professional," for *personal* domains occasionally inform those managed as *professionals* and vice-versa:

> Such as other scientific files, those that held written, visual and iconographic documents gathered, produced and/or collected by anthropologists during his or her professional and personal trajectory are characterized by its fragmentary, diversified and, paradoxically, extremely subjective structure. The ethnographic files and their double, the *personal files*, are cultural constructions whose comprehension is fundamental to understand how certain professional narratives are produced and how the *invention* results from an intense dialogue involving imagination and intellectual authority. (Ibid., 295-296)

Concerning the images from Etienne Samain's file, I knew that they were produced, gathered and stored – together with sets of documents and objects about the Kamayurá people, from Alto Xingu – after two anthropological expeditions[6] and the publishing of a book on myths. I could even recognize some of them, as I have read the *Moroneta Kamayurá*, the book on the Kamayurá myths, a volume with precisely 40 images in its first part.

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5. The excerpt from Cunha's works here quoted were freely translated.
6. In January 1977, Etienne Samain was preparing himself to carry on the first anthropological expedition in Alto Xingu, Mato Grosso do Norte. He would carry out his fieldworks among the Kamayurá people, a non-literate society, which at the time had around 200 people. In the first expedition, Etienne Samain had the company of the linguist Marcio Pereira da Silva. A list helped him organize and, among his research materials, there was a recorder, cassette tapes, (6 or 7) 36 mm colored rolls of film, a second-hand Minolta photo camera, bought from a French editor who had come several times to Brazil. The first expedition lasted almost two months, and Etienne Samain had worked in the period mostly writing his field journals, notebooks with handwriting notes in French, in a tiny calligraphy, about the myths, which he had also recorded in order to transcribe and translate, along other daily notes. At that time, he was starting his master's thesis in Social Anthropology, which he would present later, in November 1980, at the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. Months later, in August 5 of the same year, the second expedition to the Kamayura took place. The second expedition would end on October 16, 1977.

Those photographs, alongside with hundreds of other filed images, were in a precious library belonging to their author, the anthropologist Etienne Samain, who gave the images he considered to be a suitable keeping place, a personal assortment that led to the storage of this material. Everything that belonged to this Kamayurá collection – which includes field journals, letters, documents, items and objects, feather crafts – inhabited and coexisting at the daily work office, the space set as a library since his anthropological expeditions.

Before this research, the producer had not resumed, *re-looked*, his indigenous photographs with other intentions of work aftermaths. Despite being a judicious researcher-anthropologist, he had organized and placed in his collection several notes, references and text observations over the collected material.

The file, consisting of folders and boxes, was a little *cosmos*, a living organism, in this case, the "living world" of a rich library[7]. The library space[8] was also the epicenter of work meanings, keeping part of Etienne Samain's memories, consisting of books and thoughts, objects and affections; things and words; desires and images, character, beings magnetized by the processing chemistry of some image lab. The sensible notes in the atmosphere of this small cosmos were precisely an accomplice silence. Everything seemed to be tacitly resting.

To carry on the mechanical operations that implied the necessity to handle the file opening and reach the photographic devices to open a closet, close the trellis door, so it would be possible to face the cardboard boxes and find the labels: "Kamayurá Field Journals," "Kamayurá and Alto Xingu Documentation," among others, of similar nature, about the Urubu-Kaapor. It would be necessary to spot, in the right side of the same closet, shelves full of yellow and blue folders with other information: "Kamayurá and Alto Xingu – Kaapor Photos"; and then open another closet, a bigger one, with large doors, just as a "small cave." To every object touched there were impregnated traces of time and its uncolored, inodorous and imperative dust, faced by the senses and the visit of a present researcher peering its corners and secrets, which were undeniable to describe.

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7. In humankind's history, a library space always kept many enchantments and mysteries. Just remember the spectacular library of Aby Warburg, a *Mnemosyne*, or the extraordinary image of a library to Jorge Luís Borges, who regarded it as a kind of paradise.
8. Etienne Samain's library, comprising his 2,4 books, has "travelled" – as he defines his donation – in December 2018 to the Octávio Ianni Library, Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences (IFCH), Unicamp. With the donation, the collection created a new line of research based on the Anthropology of Image.

The folders, the colors, the shapes of the boxes and closets, the shelves, the topics of the other files, while neighbor elements of several compositions, coming from a sensed and rationally untouchable world, were sleeping. All of this merged with the light, the layers of dust, cosmic polymers coming from times and constellations that our rational boldness simply could not define.

This preliminary observation, of a *recognition* nature, supported the decision of probe the notion of "file life," or, in other words, of a "living file."[9] Even if the photos produced by the anthropologist[10] were not taken to a determinate ethnographic production, without directly discussing issues related to the anthropological character of this file, it was not possible to totally ignore the fact that the images had being registered during Etienne Samain's fieldwork.

At first, the photos, even if not embedded in an anthropological-ethnographic intention, kept their place in the biographical space of the producer[11] and became indispensable to compose an intellectual and anthropological trajectory of their author. A file of images that live and engage in the life of who had produced it.

METHODOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS

As my goal is not to exhaust the approaches and interpretations of a photo image file, I will present the fundamental methodological strategies adopted as a work protocol to make the file "to think," aiming to reflect on the questions the images themselves raised when I had proposed to open this file.

It is noteworthy that the protocol of this study resisted to the mediation of the words between the researcher and the producer to avoid "wrapping an experience" beforehand in favor of the observation, the vision, the feeling and other experiences of the senses. As we have made this initial pact, we turn it into a defining proposition. Thenceforth, we

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9. Recalling the definition offered by Aby Warburg (2010), in order to think the sets as "living files" and "cultural survivals (the image as dynamic and a fold in time)."

10. The almost 500 Kamayurá photos by Etienne Samain were part of the results of both anthropological expeditions, but curiously, their producer made them without any anthropological intention. Etienne Samain intended to study the myths, to write about "those ideological and existential grounds of non-literate societies," to turn into words those utterances that, as he described, were "full of images and sounds." However, he came back with images and wrote a book called *Moroneta*. A Kamayurá designation for the "figurative mediations of archetypes, the copies and the living memories that relate to an original, usually out of human reach, and whose decisive function is to transmit, to recall and to reinforce, among the community, what are its ideal values, its individual and community behavior norms" (Samain 2007, 65) [The excerpt from Samain's works here quoted were freely translated].

11. The negative films and contact prints of the Etienne Samain's Kamayurá File are preserved with a digital edition carried out by Françoise Biernaux, under the supervision of the anthropologist and producer of the images, Etienne Samain.

chose to experience at the same time, on the one hand, the action of the *researcher that visits and opens the file*, without questioning beforehand the producer or talk to him about the images and, on the other hand, the voluntary action of the *producer that revisits and reopens* his file four decades later. Seven series of photos, 32 photos and 7 double collections of texts were born from that experience. The methodological cadency was developed using an operation that we had structured in *five acts*: *To Discover*, *To Open*, *To Choose*, *To Unveil*, and *To Conjugate*.

TO OPEN THE FILE

The act of opening the file required the exam, together with Etienne Samain, of boxes and folders, which kept everything that might refer to the photographic file: negative films, contact prints, slides, different format photo enlargements, test copies. The photographic file – represented by about 500 photos, taken in 35 mm colored films, ISO 100, mostly displayed in contact prints – consists of a small part registered in black and white and about 50 slides (used for lectures about indigenous peoples, given in schools). A fraction of the photographic production was enlarged in photographic paper of different formats, such as 8x5 cm; 10x15 cm; 13x18 cm; 20x25 cm, and 30x40 cm; as well as several enlargements testing colors, contrast, kept in envelopes.

All the negative films of the Kamayurá file, consisting of 10 dailies, and Kaapor were found in a red folder, along with contact prints. The images kept, therefore, the numerical sequence of the registers and could, eventually, reconstitute – supported by markings on their back, made by the producer – a possible order, a sequence of the register, chronologically recomposing the photographic course (which was actually done, with the assistance of the producer, during this study). While the field journals, in turn, were organized by date with notes (generally) in French, many pages related to episodes that could eventually be found in the photo shoots.

Naturally, we notice that this process could soon detect, through the producer – and many times in my own domains – the photos that were more recognized and activated, while others, the least handled ones so far, were almost vanishing. However, in order to avoid establishing a hasty criteria to choose the images. The producer, herein, has stated the desire to review all images, to travel, in his pace, through the photos with an approach uncommitted to an objective task, led only by the desire to wander through the images, meeting them again, to reanimate, after 36 years to the date the study was carried out, the experience, finding what would rise – not only pointing to what he knew with plenty of details, but also to the dailies on which he had no longer totally clear memories –, before he reviewed and reread his journals.

In the same way, but in a position distinguished from the producer, as I did not know the details of the context and the memory of those photos, I had decided to awake my gaze to those file photos unknown to me, with the purpose of thinking which would be the categories of inquiry the images would trigger. What kind of questions the dailies rise and what were the relevant questions to ask to the file? The intention was to allow the images to act.

So we – researcher and producer – decided to *take the time to see the images*, each one in their own silence. We made copies of all the photos, using the contact prints, and some detached portions, and engaged in a lonely and introspective experience of *seeing*. This was the initial challenge: to find out how the file photos would open questions about the Kamayurá people in the sense of what the file made me desire to know and imagine through sensibility. The attempt, thus, was to *see*, to *inquiry* and to *unfold the sight* of an image file.

DISCOVER THE IMAGES

I have started simply by looking at the photos, one by one, contact after contact, allusively to when we decide to look at a photo album, which compels us to follow a sequence, page after page, with no concern but to let the images act and make us dream about the future.

Certainly, those 10 contact prints with which I was dwelling at that moment already had in their materiality traces of time, of operational techniques and choices made by the producer – in terms of light, repetition, visual elements – in a shooting order.

The Kamayurá photographic file had a distinct feature, with the strong presence of portraits, short planes, closes of faces and characters with whom Etienne Samain shared time. It was possible to recognize, for instance:

FIGURE 1
Fragments of negative film printed in the dailies from Etienne Samain's collection.

The dated **historical materiality** of the photographic technical processes expressed by the label of the films: colored Kodak Safety 35 mm 36 exposure film, besides the traces of development and fixation of the negative films on photographic paper, marked on the borders of the contact paper.

The **frame numbers**, which allow us to follow, in a certain sequence, the visual intention (the thematic choices of the producer) of each exposure, including the choice to repeat or not a photo for each topic to recognize, thus, those who were not sensitized, for some reason.

The **cutting marks of edition in the photos**, outlining the possibility of knowing the first choices and previous interests attributed to some of the photos. In this case, those 40 images or so were chosen from the book *Moroneta Kamayurá*.

However, it was impossible to hide a certain apprehension generated by everything the frames and the sequence did not allow me to see. A sensation close to what Didi-Huberman (2012, 111) described in this quote:

> One is therefore disappointed because a photograph remains an image, a big piece of film limited by its own material. But, if we look at it in spite of all a little more attentively, then those grains are interesting [...]; in other words, photography can disrupt our perception of the real, of history, and of existence.

Beyond the technical and historical traces, some photos, for no apparent reason, affected me deeper than others. Suddenly, a portrait clicked: a child smiles, shyly, holding a green and yellow balloon, which she tries to fill. In other daily, a certain image of a baby with a green bird siting on his head moves me. Without seeking other reasons to explain, I kept trying to see. Limited by the pact made with the image's producer to avoid raising questions, it was necessary to stress the *seeing*.

I notice, clearly, as Didi-Huberman writes, that "image is made of *everything*: it as an amalgam nature, impure, of visible things mixed with

confusing things, of deceitful things mixed with revealing things, of visual forms mixed with thought in action" (Ibid., 89). And, even if I was affected by blockages and vertigos from *confusing things*, I pursued the *revealing things*. I have noted what the *photograph could give me to see and to question*. I accepted that the photographs of a file in this stage offered me more questions than visual answers on the Kamayurá people, even when the notes seemed to be insufficient, superficial and primary.

Etienne Samain, regarding the invitation to review his photographs and participate in this study, was confessing a desire, revealing, in his process of dwelling with and revisiting his own file, other important questions on the life of a file and its possible problematizations, almost 40 years later. Samain (2011) offers a long written report about his procedure and the period of dwelling with his photographs:

> to "see again" the (approximately) 500 photographs and the journal of the two expeditions carried out among the Kamayurá people (1977-1978), I let myself be guided by a need, a kind of imperative that I will not try to clarify right now. I did not want, as I examined 36 years later, a verbal-visual material concerning an important past, to let myself be swallowed by the precision of writing. I wish to retake an "imaginary" trip. Clearly, not a trip that has not been done or an adventure in which I would seek ghosts. I wish, actually, to let myself be captured and captivated by those unordered movements of images. I aimed to see again at a distance, from other lenses and angles, what I could not or was not able to see at the time. To let the estrangement inhabit me again, with curiosity and without commitments. My adventure did not require any pretext.

> In a red colored folder I had kept the film negatives and, fortunately, the "dailies," the 9 contact sheets (of 24 and, mostly, of 36 slides, 3x4, colored). I will later find a hundred slides through those sheets that I carried on my visual journey. No rush. I have spent two weeks peering, one after another, through those sheets and the tiny images on them, all of the same shape, ordered by time, succeeding each other in the horizontal plate. I looked at the sheet for a long time, it offered not only a perspective of the set, but allowed me to make the most diverse paths. I rediscovered a passed time, a lived time, a time shared with people, places, cultures, emotions, expectations, discoveries, passions and thousands of other human "colors." However, to see again those sheets and photos had not caused the impression of going towards mere remembrances. On the photos, there were "recollections," "evocations" and "reminiscences," but mostly buried "memories," somehow shrunk and asleep (like some animals during hibernation) that, slowly, woke up, reborn and resurfaced.

> As a nomadic and funambulist, I was travelling in my memory. With no other plan, I transcribed files, impressions, questions, reflections that those successive dives on the sheets raised. Those notes perhaps will help me

discover how to problematize a file comprised of "portraits of a (great) human family."

This first work allowed me, by means of small leads, to order the sheets in the temporality of both expeditions.

It has sharpened a double imperative. On the one hand, to review all photographs, enlarged at this time, in order to take a closer look. On the other hand, to contextualize them with the maximum of precision, which would imply, as I will tell soon, a return to the field journals.

At first, and by necessity, I had observed most of the almost 500 photographs taken among the Kamayurá using the contact sheets. I had contemplated those figures almost as if looking at a constellation, with its array of stars. I ran among the stars in all directions.

Soon after I carried out the reading of the journals by other necessity. This time, I needed to give some grounds to the work of imagination. As I was entering the writings, the words concision, the enunciative capacities, I felt that the images were abandoning me or, better said, that I could go on without them. The journal, with its relentless chronology, could recreate precise episodes from my adventure from a blind hole facts and situations,.

Little by little, along the pages, the name of a person, a festival cry, the narrative of a liana fishing occasion or the description of the construction of an *oca* retook the image's path, transfiguration into small movies, mostly films with fluid outlines. Transient, evanescent images, emerging from the words themselves.

Underneath the words there were images piercing the words that had stopped them. Among texts and images, the complicity and the reciprocity were notorious, necessary and crucial. I was partially discovering the grammars and how the verbal and the visual declined their conjugations.

I was now facing the chronologically ordered set of almost all of the photos taken during the two expeditions among the Kamayurá. Now enlarged, they offered other perspectives to my gaze. I wish to see again those images, one by one. I wish to open them, to unfold them, to question them, to let them think among them and with me.

To avoid multiplying the themes that were potentially present on those photographs and holding a background of a theme index developed by the texts in the journal, I thought that it would be worth to establish a list of keywords previously, through which I would progressively sort small sections of the related photographs. There was the risk, of course, that the classifications would be too anthropological or closed, which would enclose and silence the photographs within small boxes, taking from them their inherent dialogue. I was aware of the risk.

The keywords were, at the beginning: "Couples"; "Children"; "Feminine"; Gestures and emotions"; "Spaces and dwellings"; "Indians, animals, nature"; "Indians x white people"; "Masculine"; "Myths"; "Shamanism"; "To think"; "Persons (names of)"; "Rituals and festivals"; "Fieldwork."

The number of keywords did not increase. They only un-folded, sometimes, in sub items, such as "Children" [3 sub items: Girls and boys; Games; Faces]; "Masculine" [04 sub items: "Male activities"; "Beauty-bodily painting"; "Yìrìp-Companions"; "Man and child"] etc. in a way that the same photograph could be under several keywords.

THE SELECTION AND THE ASSEMBLE OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC SERIES

Resuming the double work logic of the investigation of the file and follow-ing the pact of not previously using words, both researcher and producer had worked, each on their own way and individually, on the selection of the photographs they could propose as a dialogue through images.

I was convincing myself that in order to inquiry the file it was neces-sary to choose, to abandon the idea of a "full image" of the file and es-sentially assume the condition of a "lacunary image,"[12] as small pieces, remains and losses that every file naturally presupposes in relation to the premises of truth.

Due to those reasons, our work began by separating series of photos from the file, as possible questions (not followed, in the first moment, by words) to be proposed to the producer arose and, soon after, it was the producer's turn to separate two series, freely, and submit them to the researcher. In both situations, the participants in this study – re-searcher and producer – aimed to write beforehand, without revealing, what made them choose certain series, their reflections, questions and thoughts. Later those comments could be exchanged.

At first, five series of images were silently sent to the producer who set them, as they were "pawns on a game board," scattered on his desk. Moving from producer to interpreter, without knowing my questions, he was invited to see his own photos again, in another order, one as-sembled and proposed by me – different from the order suggested by the contact prints. The producer would then take the time to think over them, comment them and return them, being entitled to the right of choosing the series of photos that would be similarly submitted to the researcher before revealing his motives.

Based on those experiences that have constituted a double movement and a double inquiry in attempt to unveil an image file (and the opera-tions that are comprised in such act) it has also clarified the "gap that an image file can represent," when there is the assumption that the images can suppose the place of representation and mere explanation.

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12. The concept engaged by Didi Huberman alludes to the lessons of Bataille and Lacan, for whom the real, being impossible, does not exist if not manifested as pieces, remains, partial objects.

In the file, the relief gets organized, if you just know how to read it and realize that there is a production of meaning in this place, even when the lives collide with the power without choosing it. It is necessary to patiently sort those situations brought to light by this sudden chock, outline the discontinuities and distances (...). You can examine it without rush and meticulously dissect it, but something still remains, something with no name and that the scientific experience cannot explain. Actually, it does not even consider its role to explain it, even if it is facing it. It is, clearly, this life surplus that overflows the file and instigate readers in their deeper intimacy. The file is an excess of meaning when the one who reads it feels the beauty, the astonishment and some emotional impact. This is a secret and different place for everyone. (Farge 2009, 35-37)[13]

Thus, we collected – along with the series – a double set of words around the same file photos. This double path we built drew the feature of an epistemological and heuristic work, interested in approaching the knowledge of the images themselves, questioning them in their multiple readings. The comments, expressed in words, even if not providing a complete password, allow us to see and read better, as well as the series photos, making us imagine what the words aim *to make us see*.

We now present two examples, which refer to the choices by the researcher and by the producer:

A SERIES – RESEARCHER'S SELECTION

FIGURE 4
Photos: Etienne Samain (image processing and digitalization by Françoise Biernaux).

RESEARCHER'S COMMENT:
In the file, most photos are portraits. I am interested in them: they are beautiful, technically well produced, they question me, they move me. The portraits do not represent only a formal issue. The photos reveal a kind of acquaintanceship the producer was trying to establish with the Indians. An affectionate and grateful relation, somehow translated with amusement with the Kamayurá people. I noticed, however, the existence of a sort of *recurrence, or affinity, both aesthetic and emotional*, between them. A regular element was the smile, which has a strong link to the photographic culture itself (or with what is expected to find on it; nowadays, there are small cameras with a smile detector) and the idea – the illusion that every photo offers – of a "real" moment of happiness, it was an element present in many portraits. Smiling children climbing trees, bathing in the lake; happy young man carrying a hunted

13. The excerpt from Farges's works here quoted were freely translated.

monkey; a very happy young mother holding her baby or the shy young woman with a punctual smile; two young companions (brothers?) and the composition of "a family," a couple and their child. I have tried to choose them and put them in a sequence, with few intentions, but the way they make me wish to *know more about the process* of producing those photos and the *memories of the producer at those moments that seemed to have spread happiness*. When did he shoot? How did he approach the Indians with the camera? What did he aim to show on those photographic registers of the Kamayurá people? Does he remember the moment he saw the results of those developed photos for the first time? And how do those images refresh the producer's memory today? Is there a photo that affects him more than others?

PRODUCER'S COMMENT

I remember that when she submitted this first series of 07 photos (all in landscape format), Fabiana made her choice's motive clear. All pictures had a mark of a smile or even laughter. The Kamayurá people smile, sing and dance, but alone, they cry. They do not shout. They do not kiss in public, and a man and a woman will never dance face to face. Seeing again those photos, I found that they are not reports, they are even less aesthetic struggles. I did not go to Kamayurá to take photos, but to gather mythical narratives. I had little film available and used the photo camera only ten days after I arrived at their place. I am moved by all this plainness that emanates from the photos, even if the camera and I were their accomplices. The photos bear marks of empathy, a tacit reciprocity. The laughter and smiles hide a deal, a connivance. They are blinks.

1) One of the three boys climbing the tree is clearly making his spectacle.

2) The sandy margin of Ipavu ("Large Waters") lake that identify and outline the Kamayurá territory, a girl and her friends were using my presence to dispute a soap bar that, when offered, would disappear in no time between screams and laughter.

3) During the rainy season, in times of food absence, this Kamayurá person returned, wet and cold, at sunset with his shotgun and a monkey. The Kamayurá people do not eat any mammal except for this famine period, when they seek this kind of animal, the closest to mankind.

I have asked him to strike a pose to register his achievement. At night, the monkey (which was not even gutted) was placed over the ashes and slowly cooked inside the *maloca*. The smell of the fur messed with my stomach and to see it becoming more and more similar to us, killed my appetite. It was shared, none of us knew if we were eating a very hard piece of meat or a piece of coal. I did not appreciate the meal.

4) Auto'um knew she was being photographed. She laughs and seems nervous, reserved, shy and happy. Mayuru, her first son, is clearly astonished or scarred.

5) Still Auto'um, beautiful, simply happy.

6) Kotok (Auto'um's husband, the current chief of Kamayurá) and his companion (Yìrìp). I asked if I could take their picture.

7) Coming back from the lake (at sunset) I was walking towards this couple that just had their bath with their child. I asked if I could take their picture. They smiled because the pose suggested is not really the most Xinguan one.

N SERIES – PRODUCER'S SELECTION
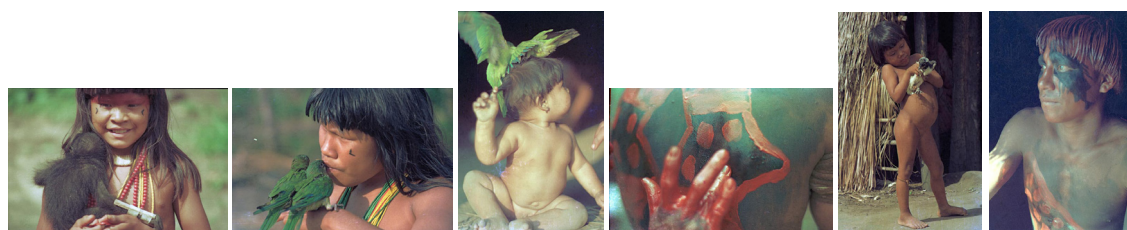
FIGURE 5
Photos: Etienne Samain (image processing and digitalization by Françoise Biernaux).

RESEARCHER'S COMMENT

A common topic seems to interconnect the six photos selected: the Kamayurá (especially the children) and the coexistence with nature (especially the animals). A revelation highlighted, doubtless, by the strength of a sequential set of photos that, in a kind of affinity, bond, and insistence – from one photo to the next – reinforces the ideation of the existence of something such as a full harmony in the Kamayurá relation with nature. Something that nurtures itself from the expressive intimacy of the indigenous children with animals. The reading comprises a *sequence of four pictures: two horizontal medium shots, two vertical full shots: A, B, C and E)*. Following the order presented, I dare to say that the series reveals scenes composed by a monkey cub on a Kamayurá girl's arms (being tended, it has a splint tied to its leg); two parakeets sitting on the hand of another Kamayurá child, receiving a kiss that resembles a hug; a parrot leaning on the small hand of a Kamayurá baby, opens its wings as if trying to protect the child or invite her to fly; two small birds affectuously held by a small Indian girl.

One the other hand, *two other photos* (a sequence of a close-up followed by an open medium shot: *D and F*), not necessarily connected by an affinity link, but almost by a disjunction regarding the previous ones (the absence of the animal element), called our attention to the marks of this indigenous culture expressed on the body (back and face), summon

me to probe the idea, the thought and the conviction of a very intimate Kamayurá relation with the nature, the animals and the rituals of this indigenous society.

The first photo (D), Kamayurá painting, allows me to partially see the traces and dots made with urucum (the natural dye extracted from a fruit, the urucum), which makes me think about an animal camouflage to, right after, in a more complex photo (F), find part of the same painting endorsed with an important and revealing complement of a face mark symbolizing a fish. However, it is still necessary to unveil the symbolic and ritual meanings of these marks. As an exercise, in the role of interpreter facing those pictures offered by the producer, I tried to see the series again and find out other starting points to figure out more. This time, I discovered things by retaking the register shots, the visual aesthetic kept by the images and the possible arguments and intentions of the producer.

I have discovered that each one of the six images had a Kamayurá gestural presence that revealed a relation, a cultural handling connected to the animals. If we tried to abstract the characters, with no other elements in each image, and preserved only the Kamayurá people on the photos, we would certainly find the juxtaposition of gestures and expressions (position of arms, hands, face, eyes, mouth). From those gestures, I saw a culture emerging – given only by visuality – revealing the relation Kamayurá x nature. *The photos A and B*, registered with almost the same framing and medium shot, visually uncover *the gesture of the detail of nestling the animals* (a kind of pedagogical approach on how to hold, live and coexist, get close, be together); while photos C and E, vertical full shots, shown by the bodily posture, in a wider framing, *how to nestle with the arms while endorsing with eyes*, *by contemplation and by the face expression*. Gestures of a relation with the animals as *expressed by the body*, but also *imprinted on the body* (photos D and F) by the Kamayurá painting art.

PRODUCER'S COMMENT
There are 27 photos under the keywords "Indians, animals and nature". I chose 6 of them, numbered from A to F.

The coexistence of man and (aquatic, terrestrial, flying) animals with nature (and its spirits [from the water, the forest and the celestial village, where "everything is beautiful and nothing rots"]).

To live with the animals and, at the same time, to distinguish them.

Thus: "Being childless is very sad but having too many children is also

not good." There is only one energy that men and animals have to share in such a way that the father of a numerous family will return "pane-ma" (with nothing) after fishing. The fish will hide from them.

Thus: Besides the hair, the Kamayurá people (men and women) do not have any fur on their whole body. "Animals have fur and we are not animals."

Thus: If twins are born, mother and father hide themselves; they get very sad. One of them will be suffocated with dust, because "only animals have cubs."

Nature and culture commune: all myths speak about this togetherness, this interaction, this struggle for balance.

Thus: a man can become an animal as well as an alligator, meeting his girlfriends, it can "be like people," a very handsome man.

A) Apumi with a monkey cub with a broken arm.

B) Yarua giving manioc to a couple of parakeets.

C) According to Kotok, father of his first son at that time, Mayuru, you only have to dream with a baby bird or look at a (fertilizing) root and, soon, the woman gets a baby in her belly."

D) Most (male) bodily paintings summon animals with which the Kamayurá people dwell. There are fish drawings (pacu, tukunaré, fish 'spines' or "teeth'), serpents (boa, sukuri), mammals (jaguar, anteater, armadillo, turtle), birds (macaw, heron, seagull, vulture). The point is not only to mark on the body the relations between man and nature but also incorporate the virtues of those stylized animals, painted with [red] urucu, jenipapo, [black] coal, ashes or grinded rock dust, over the torso, back, legs, face and head.

A young man with jaguar patterns can be "stronger, more agile and faster."

An older man will allow to be painted on the back with turtle patterns.

E) Zipi tends Pakôe, the seagull. Manioc is, like fish, the basic meal of the Kamayurá diet. A Kamayurá person will never kill a seagull, because Pakôe is the one "who got the manioc for us." The myth adds "Long ago we did not eat, not even manioc, only stick roots. Then Pakôe went to another village to get married. He was the one who got manioc for us.

That is why people go to other tribes and, when they have women, they marry there."

F) Kavé, with his eyes outlined in the shape of a fish.

VISUAL EXPERIMENT: IMAGES POETIC CHARTS

With those *elements resulting from the chosen series set* we have dared to make *a visual experiment* as the visual form of *Images Poetic Charts*[14], which aimed to visually expose those results, whether proposed by the researcher or by the producer.

The Charts express an attempt to enhance the images life to its deepest, most enigmatic and incandescent point in this research, which is, trying to highlight what we have discovered by questioning them. They expose the problematics and the interrogations of a file, starting with the phenomena of getting closer or farther to the images, keeping a sensible, multiple and heterogeneous dimension (of the whole assemblage) when the purpose was to propose a non-conclusive reading.

The tension and intermittency points around the inquiring of the chosen file images, followed by their unveiling, motivate us to experiment the creation of an instrument and a seeing device. In this plate configured space, such as in great charts or cartographies, "those poetics of the images" unfold – 30 images arranged, as if they were 'pieces,' scattered visual fragments on this file, previously asleep, now awaken – using a poetic appeal to make the coexistence of two poles (the choices of producer and researcher) visible, which, only through the images, in discontinuity, from one series to the other – by the magnetic power existing between them –, could break other silences in between their discourses, as utterances shouted.

Organized in a set of six big-sized plates, which are presented here, the *Images Poetic Charts* are cuts (file cuts), points of observation (points of view of the images) and evocations from multiple readings and experiences of a file and its potency to make us glimpse other stories. Stories set in several coexisting surfaces and capable of other assemblages, always in an unfinished way, enabling recombined readings.

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14. The term *Images Poetic Charts* was inspired by the constellation and celestial charting creation universe.

{ CARTA POÉTICA DE IMAGENS } CONSTELAÇÕES }

série E

série A

série F

série C

série I

série M

série N

{ CARTA POÉTICA DE IMAGENS } GÊNESIS }
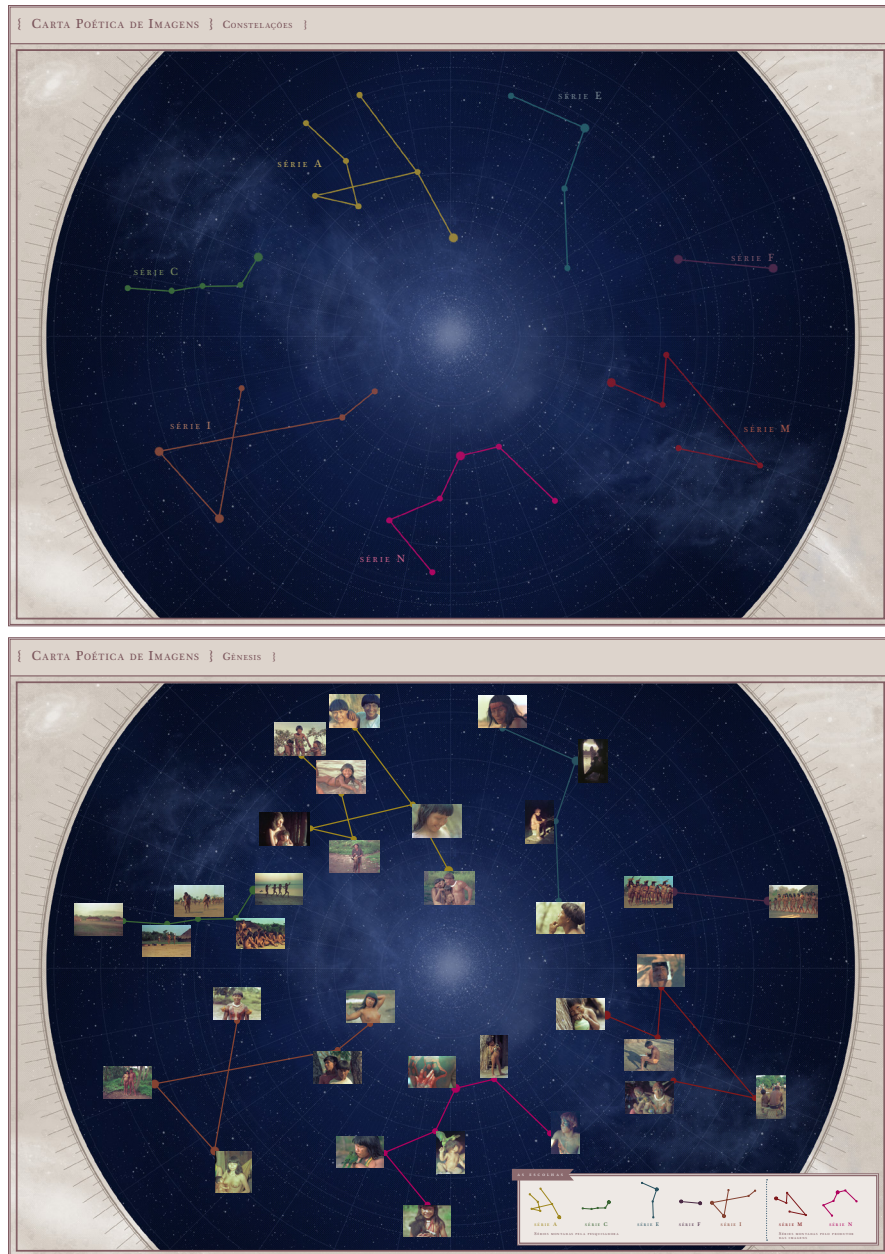
FIGURES 6 and 7
Poetic Images
Charts I and
II: author's
concept, from
the photographic
series of Etienne
Samain's
files. Graphic
development:
Fabio Messias.

Charts I and *II* allude to the formation of the seven visually constructed constellations, based on a free construction, derived from the ancient pictorial inscriptions of the celestial cartographies. In the charts, the images are a metaphor, objects of free status, such as the stars that have different shining intensities (which does not mean they are necessarily closer to the Earth), the reason why they are classified in different levels of magnitude.

Each of the series has images visually identified as "ternary-images" (Didi-Huberman 2013)[15], outlining those that, for some reason, motivated choices in the context of a set. Those are images that arouse, by the connection of their pulsing points (such as the heart, the head, the hands) a course, a track, which resulted in the shape and the name of its constellation-series. This shape also establishes a guideline, which allows us to present the sequence of the elected photos in the act of choosing, whether by the producer or by the researcher.

CHARTS III

{ Carta Poética de Imagens | Intermitências Entre-Constelações I }
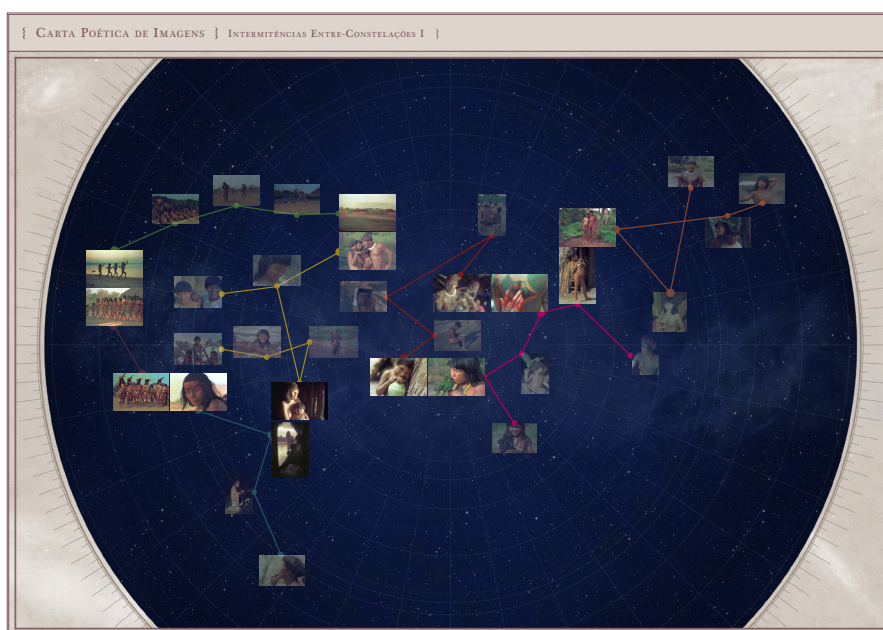
FIGURE 8

The *Intermitent Images Poetic Charts*, in turn, aim to evince shapes, colors, shouts, silences, memories, stories within the images and between the images. The images are seen as constellations and, later, as stars, as they get closer to each other they become brighter, while other star structures get dimmer. In movement, images bring constellation to a relation of closeness and distance, proposing intersections and seeking in the gaps everything that is not clearly outlined, whether in verbal or visual discourse.

_____
15. It is a term inspired by Aby Warburg's conception, based on the reflections of Georges Didi-Huberman, in his book "The surviving image" (2013), in which he compares all oscillatory phenomena (in both senses that can only rise between two times of a scansion, a rhythmic syncope, whether in the articulation of a sentence, whether in the continuum of an image) to the heart beat (which only remains with this interval time that constitutes the "nothing" of silence, the suspense of life). The heart beats are not binary (strong beat, weak beat), but ternary (strong beat, weak beat, silence). "The nothing has to count at least as much as the beat; and perhaps even more, for without the nothing there would be no beat" (Didi-Huberman 2013, 421) [The excerpt from Didi-Huberman's works here quoted were freely translated].

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The set of images selected during this study works – by the conception of a file life – through the producer's and the researcher's memory and imagination. As the reader may follow, this is noticeable by the images chosen and words unveiled with the narrative of power exemplified in this article. The place of memory and images in this research is developed in an impure and inexhaustible way, whether by the shapes invoking other photos (sometimes belonging to several dailies from different expeditions), whether raising again characters marked by an experience and many times triggering isolates events, filled by a gap of other experiences from anachronical times.

The *Image Poetic Charts* aimed to probe visually those intermittencies by their conjugation, in an attempt to offer to the demanding exercise of *seeing images*, the certainty that "image issues" could blend, survive and cross distinct times. Along with a poetic conception, I have aimed to pursuit, by proposing the Poetic Charts, a way to *think through image*, introduced by the *Mnemosyne* Atlas by Aby Warburg (2010) and reconsidered by Didi-Huberman (2011) ever since.

The opening of thinking brought by the father of iconology, art historian and anthropologist Aby Warburg, in his *Mnemosyne Atlas*, created between 1924 and 1929 (year of his death) and unfinished, had completely renewed the way to understand images. In this "Atlas," Didi-Humerman (2011,20) argues, Aby Warburg states "a fundamental complexity, in anthropological order, that was not treated or synthetized (in a unifying concept) or to describe exhaustively (in an integral file), nor to classify the A to Z (a dictionary)."

According to Didi-Huberman, the *Atlas* is also an "object of contemplation" and introduces a "fundamental impurity." Namely, according to the author, to characterize the diverse, the multiple, the lacunary, "summoning the dimension of the sensible, creating links to explore interstitial zones, gaps, answering to a knowledge exposed by the danger of the sensible and the imagination." With the images sorted in the *Images Poetic Charts*, the challenge was to discover how the images reflect, question, address, "peel," reveal, appear, hatch and refresh the file.

The image files are incomplete, a fragment of rescued territories, although, as Didi-Huberman would say, it is necessary to deal, in a theoretical way, with the image as we deal with the language, although is easier with the latter. The methodological orchestrations in *Five Acts* and *Poetic Charts* held a correlation of inquiries ruled by the experience of opening a file, together with the producer, orchestrations of how those questions might reflect on the inquiries of any image file.

With this anthropological and poetic study, the challenge was to give the researcher and the producer and author of the images, and the readers themselves, the opportunity to make questions not addressed to the file, such as those connected to emotions, to sensible thinking, particular doubts, sometimes hidden, sometimes on the images. Similarly, through well-articulated certainty and experimentation, the wish to make other inquiries, which would be impossible to evoke merely by words, as they belong to the life of images last as "cultural survivals" (Warburg; Didi-Huberman). Thus, those inquiries could only arise and live in the operation with the living memory itself, which cannot be previously programed as a pre-conceived method to inquire, open and un-cover the images of a file.

TRANSLATION
Ana Letícia de Fiori

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DOSSIER

ATLAS: MATRIX. DIARY OF A COLLABORATIVE PRACTICE[1]

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ABSTRACT

This short, experimental piece represents one possible way to describe the site-specific installation ATLAS: MATRIX in the Tropical Garden of Belém in Lisbon, Portugal. The text is the narrative of a mindful collaboration, one in which the act of collaborating—intentional but not overly planned—resulted in an open-ended installation/dispositive that called for ulterior collaboration, enabling spectators to play with the elements while, at the same time, reflecting about the collaborative endeavour itself. An introductory story in the form of a diary is followed by DIY guidelines, indicating a replicable formula for co-laborating—[from Latin cum (together) + laborare (to practice)]—in transdisciplinary settings.

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Atlas: MATRIX emerged, at first, as a space of dialogue and confrontation where our individual research paths—a reflective practice originating from the creation of ceramic pieces (Elias 2016), and a genealogy of childbirth pain in Lisbon's biomedical settings (De Luca 2018)—conjoined in an inquiry on the colonial legacy of the Tropical Botanical Garden and its surroundings.

The site-specific installation was elaborated during the first #Colleex international workshop (July 2017) in the Tropical Botanical Garden of Belém (the western area of Lisbon) on an invitation of EBANO Collective, host of the event. The #Colleex is an EASA (European Association of Social Anthropology) network for debate and intervention on an experimental form of ethnographic fieldwork.

The event constituted, for Heléna, an opportunity to merge a previous study written during her PhD regarding the public art and urban design of the Portuguese World Exhibition (1940) as the urban matrix of Belém riverside. It also propelled Francesca's inquire into the colonial imprint on the epistemological and political configurations of childbirth pain and practices on the pregnant body in Portuguese obstetrics.

From these premises, we developed a set of correspondences to stage our work at #Colleex. The matrix, referring to an object or concept from where something originates, was our common ground: matrix was the name given to the uterus until the 19th century in midwifery. It is also the name of the fragments from which ceramic objects may take shape; matrix initially referred to a geological structure that frames the rocks, but also names an architectonic model that served as a paradigm for replications (as the ecclesia matrix, the "mother church"); matrix could be the portion of soil that encases, by a dominant colour, the main characteristics of the area, but it may also indicate a group of symbols organized in a rectangle used to solve mathematical problems.

All these connotations implied an idea of (re)production, indicating a condition of generative possibilities withheld in specific circumstances. The matrix we were looking at and working on was a very material endeavour.

We adopted the concept of *Atlas* as an operative process, drawing from Georges Didi Huberman's analysis of the visual work of Abi Warbourg (Didi-Huberman 2013), in which the art historian gathered the objects of his investigation into movable panels that were constantly assembled, dismounted, and reassembled. This organizational device, according to Didi-Huberman, allows the visual and semantic creation of connections between elements (and, we may add, temporalities) that are not in an immediate relationship of similarity.

In ATLAS: MATRIX the Atlas was at once an assembly panel, an operating space, a playing surface and a worktable. The configuration of the table depicted assertively the open field of our work, unlike the concept of framework, which designates a pre-instructed organization whose elements are organized according to a set of rules (the chessboard for example is, in this sense, a framework).

In our performative installation the Atlas, intended as a field of operations that took place over three days, positioned a set of materials through elective affinities, repositioning ourselves at the same time collaboratively before a specific space. Affinities were established through the objects interacting on the tables such as images, migrant and sensory materials, past experiences and the questioning of the present conditions of the territory.

AN ATLAS DIARY

Francesca. Day zero - We meet at the Tropical Botanical Garden a few weeks before the #Colleex event to explore the space together and decide where to set up our installation. In 1940, the Tropical Botanical Garden hosted the Colonial Section of the Exposition of the Portuguese World. "Persistence in time [...] may be coupled with debris" (Hunt 2016, 10). Debris of the Exposition are scattered all over the place—standing pavilions, abandoned structures, busts of anonymous colonial subjects, ceramic tiles with exotic flowers, exotic animals, exotics bodies and scenes. Little is said in the Garden's leaflets about its colonial past.

Source: Vitor Barros (2017), EBANO Collective.

Helena's gaze is directed downwards while we walk: she explains that, as for the rest of Lisbon, the soil of this place is also rich in old ceramic pieces, remains of previous architectures or potteries used to create new compounds to cover the ground. She squats down sometimes when spotting what seems to be minuscule shining stones, she digs a bit and—to my amazement—she always picks up pieces of glazed pottery of different sizes and colours.

We consider the possibility of setting up the installation in the entrance hall of the Lion's House. It is a chancy prospect—the space is so imbued in upfront colonial narratives that we struggle at first to envision an intervention that may retain any form of independence and not be swallowed by its immediate surroundings. We decide to take on the challenge and see where the dialogue goes.

Helena. Day one - We set up the installation structure using colonial wood tables with a western modern design that we found abandoned in one of the buildings of the garden. On the structure, we display a set of ceramic sculptures and pregnant belly plaster casts, artefacts that comprise our previous research explorations, adding various objects and elements that are part of the Tropical Botanical Garden environment. They include ceramic fragments found in the soil and Portuguese colonial research books on Africa's geography and geology, borrowed from the Garden´s library collection.
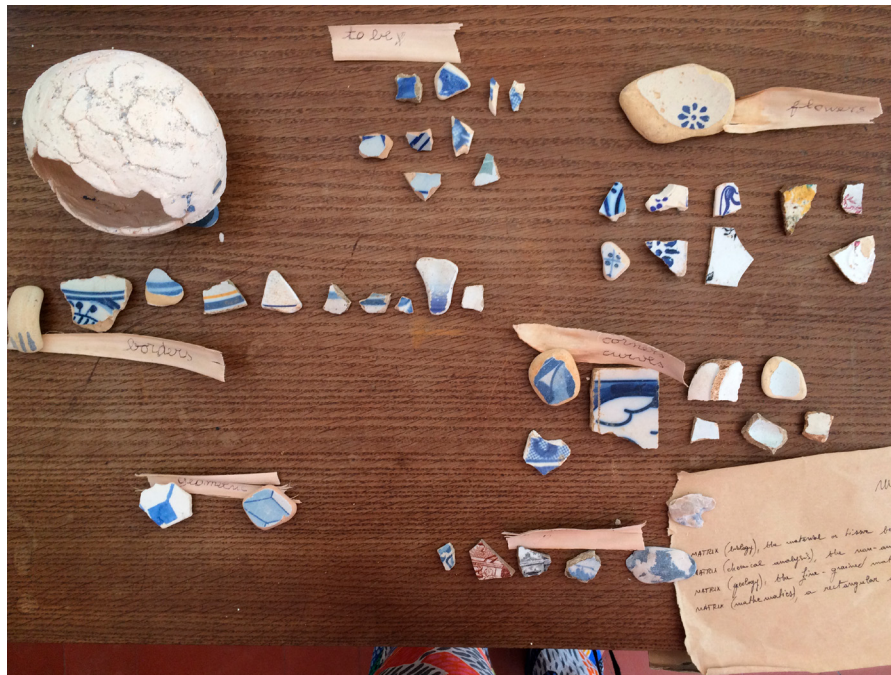
The ceramic sculptures constitute part of my ongoing artistic research, which embodies the concept of matrix as the sculpture-making procedures testify. A previous plaster mould has been the nest of a ceramic fragment found in the soil, from where a new ceramic form can grow. A metaphor for origins, the unknown ceramic fragment is an incipient from where I start to mould the sculpture. Ceramic objects are testimonies of west/east cross-culture references over the centuries, encompassing many histories of the European colonization.
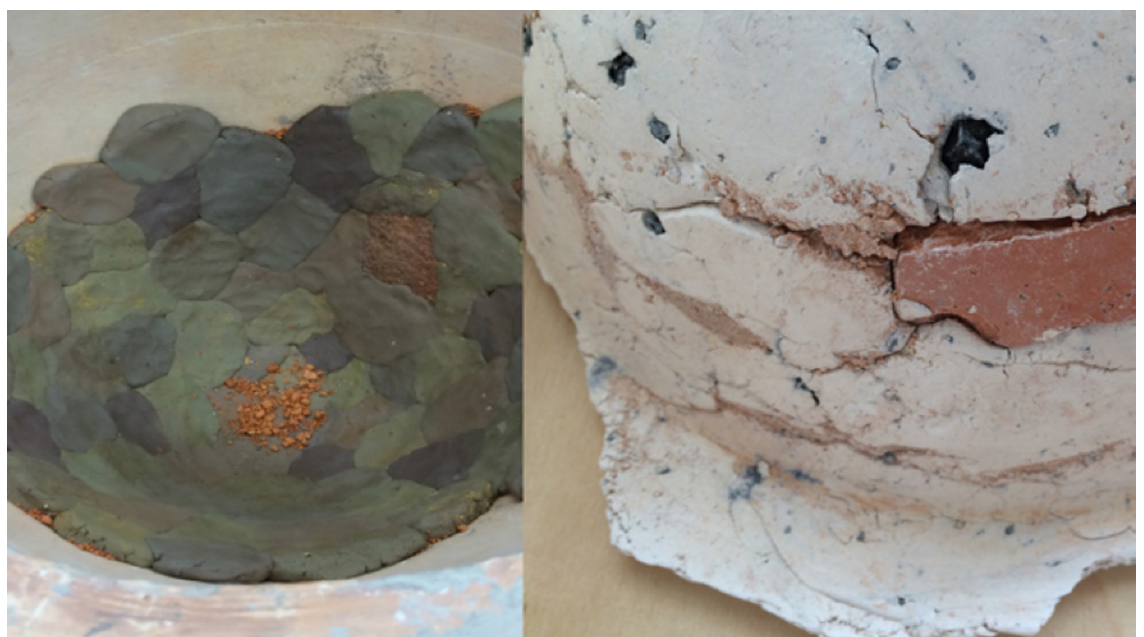
F. Day one - The installation is set as a dialogue. We agreed to develop it along the three days of the workshop and to encourage participants and casual passers-by to freely intervene with the pieces. I am reticent to move some of Helena's ceramic artefacts, as they seem fragile and the tables appear unstable. So, at first, when I find time to go back to the installation between the various events of the workshop, my dialogue with it consists of minor shifts and shy tentatives to reorganize the objects.

I'm less restrained with the pregnant belly casts. They are fieldwork devices (Andrade, Forero and Montezemolo 2017), testimonies of the intimate touch of an anthropological encounter, bearing layers of dried plaster on gauze stripes and hours spent with pregnant women in their private settings. I decided to do belly casts in my research on childbirth pain to overcome the short time that hospital fieldwork imposed on my engagement with pregnant women. It takes time to probe people to open up about their experience of pain, and "clinical time"; an obstetrician has once told me when asked for an interview: "(clinical time) is very different from anthropological time". Displaced from their original setting, the casts become versatile objects and bodies' archives.

H. Day Two - Below and above the drawers we overlap and place other personal research materials. We continue to add elements directly collected from the garden such as diverse types of soils, leaves and seeds. As each of us move to different buildings to participate in the #Colleex events, we keep collecting materials that resound and resemble the matrix concept we have agreed to explore further, strengthening the site-specific aspect of the installation. Later, I return to the Atlas room and add these elements, placing them in strategic areas of the installation.
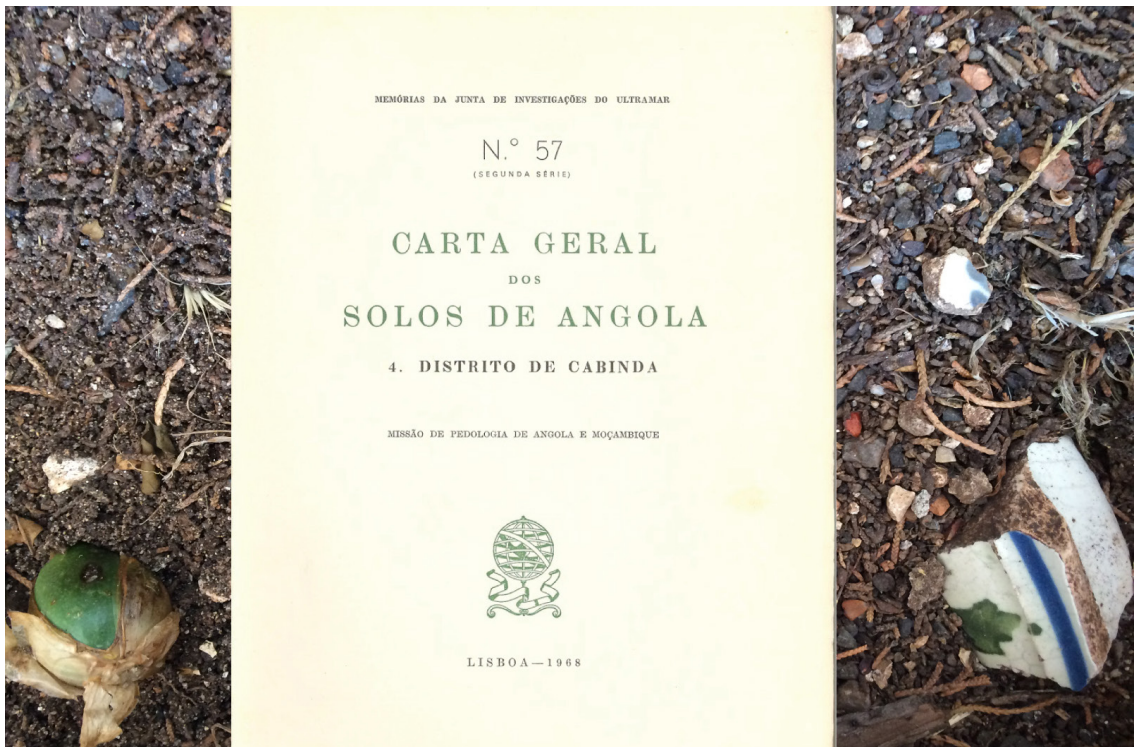
Soil portions are shown inside the drawers of the colonial wood table. They were collected as specific features that stand for land possession, and as samples to investigate and nominate the unknown. Francesca has collected botanical samples such as seeds and leaves from tropical trees and plants. We move and open the Midwifery book and the Geological African soil stratus book in specific pages to match the collected elements.

F. Day Two - The longer we engage in our matrix manipulation, the more intricate and intertwined appear the various archives we're mobilizing. Heléna tells me that on the inaugural ceremony of the construction work of Belém riverside, which was commemorated twice during the Brazilian dictatorship (1940 and 1960), the Ministry of Ultramarine Lands (Ministério do Ultramar) ordered a small amount of soil from the Portuguese colonies to be dispersed in Belém (Elias 2008). The mobilization of soil was followed by the displacement of colonial subjects and materials—the Tropical Botanical Garden was in fact transformed during the 1940's Exposition by what a local newspaper defined as "an ethnographic documentary from three continents: Africa, Asia and Oceania" (Matos 2006, 211).

Temporary artificial colonial scenographies were populated by a "human zoo" of 138 natives plus an elephant—which walked in a secluded area of the garden on scheduled hours—and a caged lion. Two indigenous women gave birth during the six months of the exposition, and the three infants died before its end (Vargaftig 2016). Colonial soil, objects and bodies (from animals or humans) also filled medical imaginaries and obstetric books of the period, that circulated an old trope asserting how indigenous women, had easy, painless childbirths, similarly to animals (Rich 2016).

H. Day Three – As we dialogue through the placement of the objects, crafts and collected elements, we continue to display and coordinate verbal and visual elements. Paper notes from midwifery books mix with seeds and ceramics, cartographies of the continents and colonial maps play a background role for the sculptures. A ceramic fragment has the word "pain" printed on it, however, originally the full word might have been "painted". I displayed the printed ceramic fragment over the map showing countries' frontiers on the 19th century. Frontiers and pain. The division and share of African lands and their resources by the West came to my mind, as I was part of such a colonial matrix too.

In addition, the propaganda motto of the Portuguese regime during the dictatorship, saying that Portugal extended from Minho to Timor (namely the former country and the colonies) has been a consequence of an European agreement concerning Africa (Elias 2008). At some point of day III, I came back and placed sculpture ceramics over the maps. Francesca has also orientated the plaster bellies towards the map.

F. Day Three - One of Helena's round sculptures, shaped in the plaster mould and generated from a ceramic matrix is resting bottom up on a world map of an old atlas. I put a belly cast beside it and think of how it has also been moulded around a shape. I punctured this cast with little holes so that by getting closer one can see through it and read the definition of matrix taken from a geology dictionary. The Atlas: MATRIX is an installation that, like the research carried out in fragmented or forgotten archives, calls for active engagement. The pieces that we have put together may at first seem random and unrelated, but they share the logic of the matrix, of something that has a generative character. Moreover, they are debris of a past with no narrative in the stroll around the Tropical Botanical Garden. Our matrix exercise becomes a practice of visibility and a work of deliberate connections.

H. Postscript - According to Bishop (2006), the collaboration and interaction within creative practices in the art domain not always led to participatory art due to the imposition of a false social consensus among the relations settled on such art projects. Nevertheless, she acknowledges that some participatory projects have challenged social established perspectives and assumptions as some interventions have cast new light on alternative forms of participatory practice and the convergence of diverse modalities of knowledge production (Bishop 2012). While experiencing the "artistic turn" in academic research, artists have also started a critical debate on the specific contributions that artistic practice can offer (Cossens, Crispin and Douglas 2009). There are procedures that do not fit entirely into the conventions of scientific knowledge.

Artistic research encompasses heuristic methods, primal non-verbalised investigation, experimental collaboration strategies and embodied forms of knowledge. However, they may not be exclusive of the artistic practice. By initially exploring communication through non-primal verbalised investigation, namely the pieces of ceramic sculpture and the pregnant bellies plaster casts, we have started an experimental format that cuts with the unidirectional procedure of reflecting and showing the work in progress. By adopting the Atlas as a collaborative methodological and hermeneutical device we have evoked the heuristic potential of collaboration between art and anthropology suggested by Schneider, by "relinquishing" strict disciplinary boundaries and pursuing a hybridization of research techniques (Schneider 2015). Previously, we have both individually approached the subject of our study through craft making and making visible the tactile human experience (Ingold 2010). As part of embodied knowledge, this craft investigation has triggered a mutual exchange and reciprocal inquiry that from the matrix subject encompasses the colonial legacy of the garden and the broader territory, and bodies that inhabited it. Finally, as an operative device, the Atlas has been a transforming platform for the co-creation of an interactive installation and a communication device to open and include the dialogue with peers.

COLLABORATIVE INSTALLATION – A FORMULA

In this installation we composed sets of matrix proposals at different moments along the #Colleex workshop, as described above. Although the installation was bound to our experience of the place and previous research paths, we were able to design a set of procedures that might be used by other researchers. Here is the formula:

1) Setting a common ground:

Before a collaborative installation, define a concept that matches your investigation. Start to think of visual and material elements, crafts or other elements you have made in your study (whether data, material evidences, crafts, visual documents, field notes) that could generate dialogues between your research issues.

(NOTE: Concentrate on the side-works of fieldwork: those activities, materials, thoughts or occurrences that happen around but outside of fieldwork; then go beyond the possibility of existing – or discerning – the inside from the outside).

2) Creating a site-specific approach:

After having a common-ground to start, visit the place where the installation will be set. Observe the typology and usage of the space – a corridor, atrium, room, open space –, and correlate such specificities with your mindset.

3) Tuning the collaborative mindset:

Bear in mind that you will have at least three dimensions to be intertwined at the place of the installation: a) physical characteristics of the location where the installation is set; b) symbolic, institutional, agonistic discourses the space resonates, and the mindset you have previously agreed upon. You may find attached to the location diverse elements that might bridge, reset, highlight or enlarge your initial collaboration approach to the concept you want to explore and communicate to peers within the event. Furniture, books, materials, objects, etc. may be among the preferences.

(NOTE: adopt the vision of a collaborator in displacing your object from the niche you have created for them. Do not stick to feelings of embarrassment).

4) Planning and setting the installation:

Plan the days that you will be dialoguing with your installation during the event and a reasonable amount sources of the previous investigation

that you will be connecting to installation concept and place. Define the moments you will be available to talk to participants in the event and sort devices for documenting the performance.

5) Continuous installation feeding:

Bring elements from previous investigations each day and collect elements from the surroundings that could match the concept, emphasise aspects you find pertinent or even subjects the participants have suggested to you. Keep changing, re-arranging and composing different sets.

Documentation of the process is desirable in visual or audio-visual form by recording a reflexive practice of the installation. As you document the procedures you may find specific frames that constitute the next arrangement.

The compositions staged, the intuitions underlined in the matching groups of collected data, the ideas generated during the installation feeding, and shared knowledge with peers during the event are characteristics that will surely nurture individual and collaborative future investigation of participants from the Collaborative Installation.

(NOTE: Feel free to create the connections, spur dialogues and unite the dots deliberately).

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DOSSIER

A WILD PATIENCE HAS TAKEN ME THIS FAR: WRITING-IN-PROCESS ABOUT PROCESSES OF CREATING LESBIANITIES THROUGH WRITING, READING AND CIRCULATION OF TEXTS

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ABSTRACT
This work was initially conceived as a term paper for a graduate course on ethnography and textuality, proposing an experimental approach to writing in order to discuss, from a post-structuralist perspective, gender and genre in the ethnographic practice. It is based on the author's Masters' dissertation on periodical lesbian publications in Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s and their creation and circulation through correspondence networks, creating spaces for identity elaboration, writing experimentation and political construction. Taking such circulation of personal messages as a starting point and inspiration for an experimental aesthetic proposal for emulating the epistolary genre, this text was built using e-mails and a handwritten letter, with digression as a textual strategy and the impossibility of editing as a

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motor for an incremental, fragmentary creation of this work's arguments. References to reflections, conversations and discussions held in class, alternating between registers (formal/colloquial), and other textual marks remain as evidences of dialogic processes with the professors which were this text's original addressees and with the author herself. During writing, the *digression* process leads to a change in the very concerns and focuses of the proposed work, allowing considerations about shifts, discoveries and frustrations within ethnographic research and ethnographical writing.

PREAMBLE

From: me   Wed, Mar 13th, 2019, 7:39 p.m.
To: Revista GIS

Subject: Re: A Wild Patience Has Taken Me This Far: Writing-in-Process About Processes of Creating Lesbianities through Writing, Reading and Circulation of Texts

Dear Editors,

First, I'd like to congratulate you for organizing this special issue and to thank you for understanding the experimental aesthetical and political approach that has guided the execution of this work. I have made some (few) orthographical corrections, as recommended by the reviewers (accepting also some minor changes made by them in the submitted draft), considering they would not significantly harm the original non-editing proposal.

Some footnotes were included to provide translations to quotes originally in other languages or to add some information. I agree with the recommendation, as stated by one the reviewers, that several theoretical concepts were less discussed than just referred to. Such characteristic is partially due to the original aim of this work: the initial intended readers of this text, professors Adriana Facina, Adriana Carvalho Lopes and Carolina Rocha, responsible for the "Ethnography as a Textual Practice" course, held in 2017 at Brazil's National Museum, had already discussed

in class most of the works cited here and had allowed me to use them this way. I also deem relevant the same reviewer's criticism to my verbosity (and would have erased some information that should perhaps only be present in personal communications). By preserving such shortcomings in the final draft, I keep the aesthetical commitment adopted by the non-editing proposal: what happens when a text (for instance, a letter), conceived for a specific public, ends up being read (and analyzed) by an unexpected audience?

The names of the author and of the original addressees of this work, that I had previously removed to avoid any biases in the double-blinded review, were reinserted in the text. I have also included the complete references to my previous works.

Sincerely,
Carolina Maia

[Show trimmed content]

Thu, Nov 15th, 2018, 10:39 p.m.

Dear Editors,

Here attached are two documents: the first is a series of e-mails I have written to myself and then sent to the professors who taught Name of The Graduate Course in 2017; the second is a letter I have handwritten *on the road*, in an interstate bus, to complement the first messages. The purpose, as you will see, was to write a text in which *a posteriori* edition would not be possible: that's the reason of this message, and why an e-mail chain to myself: so, I would be prevented from withdrawing any previous remarks. The two aforementioned documents are condensed in this one, keeping, nevertheless, its characteristics and formatting (including its lack of consistence), with the premise that the design of the e-mails is an integral part of the experience of reading them, causing effects on its possible readers. Only two sections were not present in the original documents: this little preamble and the references, that I have added now, when submitting this text.

I have taken the liberty to submit a work whose total number of words exceeds by a little what was recommended in the journal's instructions to authors. Therefore, I humbly ask for the admission of this format because, as indicated above, not editing the material was a key principle of its elaboration. I am open to negotiating this, as you see fit and necessary.

Best regards,
Carolina Maia

Subject: A Wild Patience Has Taken Me This Far: Writing-in-Process About Processes of Creating Lesbianities through Writing, Reading and Circulation of Texts

From: me   Fri, Jun 23rd, 2017, 11:40 p.m.
To: me

"All new learning looks at first / like chaos", says _Adrienne Rich in her poem_ Powers of Recuperation. I have inscribed these lines in the wall of my room as soon as I moved to Rio de Janeiro, in the beginning of my Masters' and of the new stage it opened in my life.

Adrienne Rich, a US-American, Jewish, white lesbian poet is a personal reference for many reasons (starting with her classic _Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence_ – a text with a sound reverberation in the field I've studied in my Masters' research) and someone I believe will show up often along this work. In the same poem, published in her last anthology,

Tonight no poetry will serve: poems 2007-2010 (published in the year before her death, when she was over 80 years old), the lines "She's old, old, the incendiary / woman // endless beginner" really impressed me – the idea that such an established author could create such a vivid image of being elderly, of a trajectory in constant actualization, and of new experiments: "to scribble testimony by fingernail and echo / her documentary alphabet still evolving". I bring here those lines because I believe that the experiment I intend to do here also requires learning how to write a term paper in a new fashion, something that's still a bit untidy and loose and yet reinvigorating, that will require endless new beginnings.

First, I'd like to thank you for the possibility of experimenting a less orthodox narrative style in this work. I was glad to hear from Adriana Facina the recommendation that we could feel free to "be daring" in our term papers – that instruction me a new encouragement to my writing. Today's class, especially the commentaries to Jan Blommaert's works, was really fruitful and offered new ways to think the fieldwork I have already conducted and that resulted in the dissertation produced here in PPGAS/MN[2] (in which I have studied publications produced by the Brazilian lesbian movement – more on that later). I'd like to use this author to start defining the purpose of the present work. Blommaert offers an interesting reflection from his notion of _repertoire_:

―――
2. Post-Graduate Program in Social Anthropology – National Museum, under the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

repertoire is the totality of the communicative resources, knowledge about their function and their conditions of use, and all of this is a very concrete matter. It is not enough to say that 'literacy' is part of someone's repertoire: it matters which particular literacy resources are there. [...] Thinking about repertoires forces us to abandon totalising notions in the field of language and communication, and to replace them with terms that identify actual, specific practices. The range of factors we need to consider in analysing literacy, consequently, is expanded and now includes social, cultural, historical and political factors (Blommaert 2007, 7-8).

By inscribing *literacies* in global power relations, without taking into account specific local factors that concern textual production, the author goes on by distinguishing possible different literacies regarding the very way of writing – one thing is knowing how to handwrite, using a pen and a piece of paper; another one is to show agility when typing (bearing in mind, as he does, that typing configured a specific profession back in a recent past); even the skill of writing texts within a "computer literacy" opens different doors, for instance, in the labor market for middle-class people with some degree of formal education. That "*computer literacy*", says Blommaert, "quickly occupies a status position in the repertoires of its users as a 'higher' and more sophisticated form of literacy; it starts dominating certain writing genres and transforms them – think of e-mail as the new form of 'correspondence'" (2007, p. 8). Throughout our course, we have talked a lot about hegemonic (as well as counter-hegemonic) ways of writing, and it should be no wonder that I chose to highlight this specific quote on more "sophisticated" forms of literacy and written expressions. More than that, I identify there (now, as I write) what could have been, without my awareness at the time of conceiving it, the germ of my current proposal: e-mail as a specific correspondence form, the transformation of genres... Without further delay, I can finally outline the proposal for my term paper:

> [pause. think. breath in: it is there, and you know it. write it. endless beginnings[3]. how many pauses, how many new starts, how much gasping and gapping and grasping, are rendered invisible in the long-winded form of the "treatise", to use Raja's formulation on Austin (or else, about what Austin didn't do) in our class at Fundão[4]? the idea here is precisely to play with it. isn't it?]

Well, then. My idea, here, is to play, articulating (and citing, by which I mean both proper scientific citation and wider citation/iteration processes, how that performative effects happen precisely because the cited meaning is recognized in some way, as proposed by Butler in her use

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3. This sentence was already in English in the original draft, quoting Rich.
4. "Fundão" is the name of a UFRJ campus, where professor Kanavillil Rajagopalan (Unicamp), or Raja, ministered a lecture on John Austin within the course from which this text is a result.

of Derrida*) different writing genres. The most obvious one, as the quote by Blommaert above may indicate, is the epistolary genre, transformed and brought up to date in the e-mail form. Another inspiration is the fragmented writing described by Gloria Anzaldúa (2000) in her *Speaking in Tongues: A Letter to 3rd World Women Writers*, an epistolary exhortation addressed to racialized women, whose access to writing has been hindered by a white, male literary hegemony, so they don't stop writing (the dialogue with Blommaert's ideas seems quite evident to me, but maybe I should get back to it later). It's an inspiration because reading this text (although I, a white woman, I'm not the reader Anzaldúa may have envisioned) always sets into motion ways of overcoming my obstacles to writing. "I write because I'm scared of writing but I'm more scared of not writing" (Anzaldúa 2009, 30)[5] was another sentence inscribed in my room's walls, during the process of elaborating my Masters' dissertation... It could have been yet another, in the following page (31) of the same essay: "The problem is to focus, to concentrate. The body distracts, sabotages with a hundred ruses, a cup of coffee, pencils to sharpen", and she goes on:

> Distractions all – that I spring on myself when I'm so deep into the writing, when I'm almost at that place, that dark cellar where some 'thing' is liable to jump up and pounce on me. The ways I subvert the writing are many. The way I don't tap the well nor learn how to make the windmill turn.
>
> Eating is my main distraction. Getting up to eat an apple danish. That I've been off sugar for three years is not a deterrent nor that I have to put on a coat, find the keys, and go out into the San Francisco fog to get it. Getting up to light incense, to put a record on, to go for a walk-anything just to put off the writing.
>
> Returning after I've stuffed myself. Writing paragraphs on pieces of paper, adding to the puzzle on the floor, to the confusion on my desk, making completion far away and perfection impossible. (Anzaldúa 2000, 233).

I want to dismantle once and for all the pretension, as pretentious (and narcissistic, neurotic) as it is unrealistic, of aiming at perfection. I am adopting the epistolary genre to impose some temporality to my writing, to shatter some possible cohesions, to deviate arguments and, paradoxically, turn feasible their construction. In this tone I'm discovering now – ideally less formal, set into motion by a tone loosely committed (or less committed) to the canon that we developed during our classes –, I hope to find a more light-minded writing. In it, there is also some playing with dialogic: I write to you, Adriana Facina, Adriana Lopes, Carolina Rocha; at the same time, at least for now, you'll be absent from

5. The original draft cited Anzaldúa 2000, p. 232.

this dialogue: for now, I'll write with and to myself *[literally, I mean: in the process, I am going to write to my own e-mail address, replying again to myself, and in the end I will compile all messages and send them to you – well, I think is should be obvious by now: you are reading this, aren't you?].* And another literary genre enters the scene now: the diary, so fundamental to the practice of ethnography (and so possibly revealing, as we discussed about Malinowski's personal diaries). Diaries and letters (and even more inexorably, e-mails) are also dated – and, once noted down or sent, are somehow definitive[6]. Mirroring what happens to speech, in which nothing said can be "un-said", I'd like to try here a way of writing that could enable us to see its process (and its time), allowing re-elaboration but not "unsaying" anything – in other words, a way of minimizing editing possibilities that will also lead to further advancing the discussion message by message. In this mixture of academic writing, correspondence and diary, I hope I find the right tone to reflect on three main axes:

- how my reading of the texts in the syllabus was marked by my research theme (writing and circulation of texts among lesbian women in periodical publications focused on discussing and elaborating meanings about 'lesbianity');
- how my research theme marks me / is marked by experiences as a white, middle-class, lesbian woman that reads and writes about 'lesbianity';
- how I have been thinking the construction and elaboration of lesbian experiences through writing, circulation of texts and their reading – and, if the tone adopted in this writing allow me to accomplish this goal, my own experiences with constructing lesbianity through those processes.

Well, that will do for today. In the next e-mail, I'll talk a bit more about the research I have developed during my Masters' about the publications of the "Brazilian lesbian press", about the documents that constituted the field in which I have developed this ethnography (by the way, I wish I had read Blommaert before that!) from which my recently finished dissertation was a result, and how letters (and the theme of correspondence) became increasingly relevant to me along this process.

Love, and see you soon,
Carol

————
6. One of the reviewers has emphasized the distance adopted, in the moment of writing an ethnographical monograph, in relation to the first "impressions" recorded in fieldwork diaries. In the course that resulted in this work, we have read Malinowski's works to observe differences between the *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* and Malinowski's personal diaries. In this sense, establishing some kind of comparison to diary as a genre refers more to the idea of writing "to myself", without editing, than to using diaries in ethnographical research.

* PS. I was happy to hear Adriana Lopes mentioning, in today's class, Guacira Lopes Louro and Tomaz Tadeu da Silva. When I mentioned iteration, citation and performativity right above, I remembered that was reading a text by Tomaz (*A produção social da identidade e da diferença*, in *Identidade e diferença: a perspectiva dos estudos culturais*, organized by him and published by Vozes in 2000) that I first knew about Derrida, when I was concluding my major in Journalism, in 2011. By that time, at the top of my enthusiasm for working within this perspective, I thought I understood his propositions – a conviction that was definitely destabilized along the years that have passed since then. Anyway, this was a timely remembrance: by skimming through it (or the PDF equivalent to "skimming"), I find new ways of thinking about this author – and perhaps of facing the task of using him again, here.

[Send. Undo. Send]

From: me   Fri, Jun 23rd, 2017, 11:45 p.m.
To: me

[I opened again that message that was already, definitely sent, to see how its formatting would look like. first thing: in one sitting, I already wrote two pages! I must bear in mind that, although I'm going to write bit by bit, you'll receive all texts at once – and, as you've said today, you won't have much time for reading them. second thing: after briefly running my eyes over it, I saw that I've written "pretention... pretentious". well, I've committed myself to those risks...]

From: me   Fri, Jun 23rd, 2017, 11:45 p.m.
To: me

good evening!

first of all, I'd like to apologize for taking this long to write you again – ok, you'll read it all at once, we already know that, but the very idea of e-mailing makes me feel as if I'm failing something, as if in a dialogue from which I had made myself suddenly absent. as in WhatsApp, it was read, but not replied (something I have done indeed by not answering your e-mail encouraging me to go on with this proposal – but, in a way, I think it was better, since shared-in-the-moment, to have talked to you about it in person today).

*[maybe that apology was addressed to me, for making myself absent. this space here is still a mixture of diary and correspondence. and I still follow Anzaldúa: my fear of not writing still surpasses the fear of writing.]*agora que já escritos, os parágrafos acima parecem um preâmbulo quase desnecessário. compartilho, na imagem abaixo, um dos resultados da nossa prática de escrita de hoje: foi o que me fez abrir o Gmail agora. como

disse a Carolina, escrever à mão tem seus efeitos próprios; no conciso de minha grafia confusa, a menção à poesia de minha amiga parece dizer muito mais do que consegui digitar aqui.

and I have been absent because of other writings – I'm finishing a paper at the eleventh hour, for a presentation at "*Fazendo Gênero*"[7] (I wish to write you more about my motivations and inspirations for that, too). and now the table has turned: I left our class feeling moved, with my head full of ideas, wanting to stir everything we discussed today, to keep on playing with Carolina's writing stimulation technique. *[as she wrote in her autograph for me: may magic illuminate my writing!]* and the truth is I have this other work that is more urgent than anything else – not only because of its deadline, that have already been postponed, and I have already failed to meet it, but because its theme can create its own urgency within me. *[if I had already written what I mean to write you, the motives behind it would be more obvious – it will become clear, I promise.]*

after written, the paragraphs above seem like an almost unnecessary preamble. I share, in the image below, one of the results of today's writing practice: that was what made me open my emailing app now. as Carolina said, handwriting has its own effects; in the concision of my confuse lettering, the reference to my friend's poem seem to say a lot more than everything I was able to type here[8].
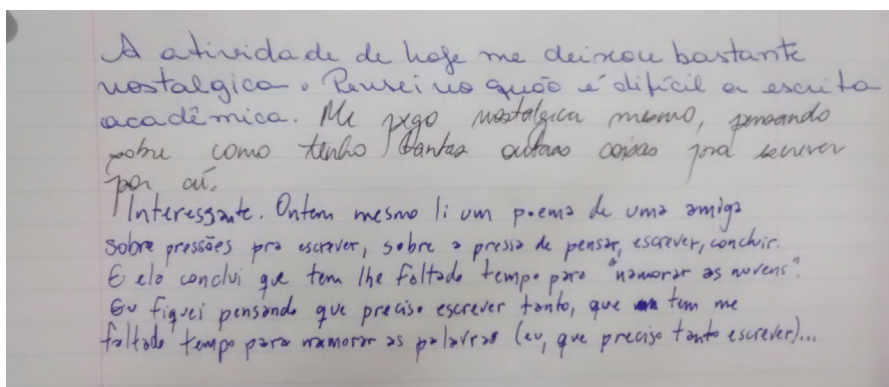
____
7. Fazendo Gênero is a biannual international gender congress held in Florianópolis, Brazil.
8. The image says: "Today's activity made me feel nostalgic. I thought about how hard academic writing is.
I find myself truly nostalgic, thinking about how many other things I could be writing somewhere.
Interesting. Yesterday I read a friend's poem about the pressures to write, about the rush to think, write, draw conclusions. And she concludes that she's missing the time to "pursue the clouds". It made me think I need to write so much, that I'm missing the time to get enamored by words (I need, so much, to write)…"

From: me   Fri, Jun 23rd, 2017, 11:45 p.m.
To: me

You know, when I had the idea behind this work, I thought it would be a lot easier. In a way, it is: I just said to a friend that while I'm writing to you, I'm driven more by pleasure than by deadlines, and this is just amazing. It's like reconnecting to a feeling of writing with ease, something I wish I had discussed into further detail when I mentioned the exercise we made in our final class, but unfortunately it won't be possible, at least not now. Today I start writing, moved by the necessity of bringing another subject, that is actually being stimulated by yet another one. And if I start again by talking once more about my surprise about it not being as easy as I thought it would be (something I had already mentioned in class and that I should just leave aside), it's cause it has something to do with how groundbreaking it is for me to write in this fashion: although this approach can open some new paths for unforeseen themes and more spontaneous ways of writing *[I just had an insight a moment ago: in a way, this is an experiment of using digression as a way of writing]*, on the other hand the immutable order of text blocks makes it more difficult to bring themes that I see as the unfolding of arguments that I already know, but you don't. *[it is getting too long already, and you haven't even started talking about what is left out, which is so cool. but well, let's take this digression thing seriously...]* And before I start entering those topics, I intend to think here with you three, I feel I still have to explain a bit more about my Masters' research and the topics that leave their marks on it (on me).

Well, as I have mentioned in the first e-mail (which, not even by far, seem to summarize well enough my research topics), my Masters' research was about publications within the "Brazilian lesbian press" – an expression I always put within quotation marks because I haven't found no other authors taking all those materials as something constituting a field (or, in Social Communications, a "segment"), I think, or at least calling them this way. I don't recall if in my dissertation I say that this theme has been on my research agenda for several years now: I wished to study Brazilian print publications for lesbians in my college grad monograph, but the lack of information on the topic (and the difficulty of accessing the sources) discouraged me. Well, if I can't remember if I mentioned that old interest in this topic, at least I have included another story that seems even more relevant to establishing my connection to that "field". Even though this may be a bit long, I take the liberty to quote it in full. These are the first paragraphs of my dissertation:

> **Mid 2002.** With no access to the Internet in her own home, a teenager tries to pay some attention to her informatics teacher while seizing the opportunity to use the school's

computer laboratory to check her e-mails. She founds a message by M., a recent acquaintance from a chatroom she accessed some night spent at her father's. Her friend seems nervous and asks for her home address, so she can send her a letter. She's got a limited access to the web as well, she explains, and she would need some time and space to write a difficult narrative – to relieve from a dark secret, something she could only tell someone who didn't participate in her immediate daily life. Concerned and a bit curious, the girl asks her if she's ok and types her address. Some days later, she receives a letter sent from São Paulo State. In it, M tells that she spent a night with a female friend and, faltering a bit – "please don't throw up in this letter after reading this" –, she reveals what was so difficult to put into words using other means: she and her friend had kissed. The reader loses her breath, not with disgust, as her pen-pal had feared, but with curiosity: so, is this possible? A previously confused and amorphous feeling becomes distinguishable and colorful – so this is it. A woman can become attracted to another woman – she keeps on reading – and they can end up having sex! After organizing her ideas as well as she can, the teenager writes to her new, instantaneous friend, asking for more details than would be really necessary for listening to and understanding someone else's experience, maybe because she was trying to elaborate her own – the ones she would still have and those amorphous, uncomfortable feelings she tried to pretend she didn't notice she had. The two girls exchanged letters for many months after that, until the increase in broadband Internet supply and demand made this service a little more affordable and, for members of the middle-classes in great urban centers, even mandatory in their residencies. With that, this teenager – that from now on we can call Carolina Maia – was able to access written reflections, narratives and other textual productions that different women published online about their sexual and affective experiences with other women.

I hope this account doesn't sound as mere self-exposure: it is my alternative to the preambles in classical anthropological narratives. In these, be it in canoes sailing seas and rivers until reaching distant islands, be it in the search for setting up camp as close as possible to the village to be studied or even within it, the ethnographer narrates their progressive distancing from their own house, their own culture, and their getting closer to the spaces and subjects they are trying to understand. Here, I seek to demonstrate how questions that would someday become my concerns within a scientific research – lesbianity (and how it was discussed in written productions), isolation, correspondence – found me inside my own home. More than ten years before even imagining the present work, the topics that now constitute my field had started to constitute me. By 2002, the titles I discuss here in more detail had either gone off the market or were in decay. Maybe it is because I have witnessed some of the first steps of Brazilian lesbian contents available online, in blogs and sites focusing on homosexuality (aimed at women or in sites for both men and women), that I now take interest in trying

to understand how it was before. Before the Internet, how could women who were affectively and sexually attracted to women access reflections on such experiences? How did they find each other, how did they seek each other, how did they keep in touch? (Maia 2017a, 15-16)[9].

[*pause. one of the difficulties of this e-mail approach: I don't like to work while connected to the internet. I get lost too easily. but I think this pause may present a good opportunity for a little affective note, still regarding the internet, so I can pretend I am maintaining here a thematic consistence: it is just a little interruption because I am talking to my girlfriend as I write, and if it wasn't for the internet, our relationship would be almost unfeasible: she lives in Brasília. the reason behind this pause? she's reading Naven and asked what was Bateson's sun sign – Taurus, too much of a Taurus, as we discovered: sun, mars, mercury, venus. the internet gives us access to all sorts of essential information and to some others which are... well, satisfying this kind of curiosity is important too, isn't it?*]

Well, let's get back to what matters. The Internet provides us with access to essential information! That's what I was talking about. Good, then. I should also mention that, when I decided not to study the lesbian press, back in 2011, when I was finishing my major, I ended up analyzing the news section of *MixBrasil*, a São Paulo-based GLA website that emerged in the mid-90s, Choosing *Mix* was also a decision marked by affection: the column signed by Nina Lopes, a DJ that would run a lesbian magazine in 2008, and especially the one by Vange Leonel, a lesbian singer known by <u>Noite Preta</u> and self-described "protowriter" (in spite of her prolific writing in different genres, including prose, poetry, dramaturgy and translations), were very important to me around 2005, 2006... a time in which I was beginning to understand myself as a lesbian, with the loving help of my girlfriend at that time [*I met her, you see, using Orkut! This writing and networking thing is really strong, you know?*] and a lot of reading, questioning and reflection.

[*another pause: searching for the link to Vange's song took me to another one, by USA-based queercore band Team Dresch – another reference in my teenage identity construction stage. I probable heard <u>Remember Who You Are</u> for the first time around 2003 or 2004, and I still listen to it when I get writer's block: "can't get sick of thinking about meaning, and language, and anything that gets me hot". this song fills me with strength! And it talks about being able to desire other women, to be desired by women: "sometimes that's what it takes to know you're alive / is to feel yourself burning just from some girl's stare". I've got this song tattooed on my chest so I never forget it: "make up who you are, it makes up who you are". Maybe I'm pushing this a bit too far, but I see here something of Butler's performativity, iteration and citationality: there's no maker behind the making, gender is made as we make ourselves within gender, etc. And since*]

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9. Originally in Portuguese.

we're departing from Blommaert's discussions, and thinking about which writings count as such, this song is an example of a lesbian writing that has constituted me – more than that, it is a call for writing, speaking out, whatever that may communicate something: "put up signs / make up who you are / send out signals / about who you are / transmit messages / telling who you are / no matter who you are"...]

Reading, writing and reflecting about lesbianity, about desiring women, about what it means to be a lesbian and the right to being one ended up being a central theme in my dissertation – something I wasn't expecting, since my initial idea was to map what the "lesbian press" looked like, what was it about – I wished to understand the dynamics of this field, the relations between those titles, the motivations of their "editors" of such bulletins, which were mostly homespun, fanzine-like productions: type, cut, paste, bring it all together and then go out to make some copies... Well, I started my fieldwork by trying to know everything I could about it: from a first bibliographic and documental research, I was able to identify the titles of 19 periodical (or that at least intended to keep a constant periodicity) publications made by and for lesbian women in Brazil. That list ranged from *ChanaComChana*, a newspaper edited in January 1981, to current-day *Alternativa L*, a magazine funded by São Paulo municipal administration[10].

[A much, much bigger pause[11]: my girlfriend called me to say good night, we got caught up in the conversation and it lasted two hours. Yes, that time over there in the heading is right: it's almost 6 am. She called me just to say good night, but I was so excited talking about this work; about this and about a book I'm reading for another course's term paper – actually, that book was what made me open my e-mail today. It brought me here. But to tell Laura what in that book made me write you all this, I had to explain the book's central arguments first. And to write about that here... first I'd need to have had written this e-mail here, got it? About my research and all that. And it ain't complete yet. And then I lost my track and I've talked about all kinds of stuff and I'm still not there: verbosity, graphorrhea, those are the risks of digressing. Maybe I should take digression a little less seriously? In short, we hang up the phone and I realized this was getting too long for a single e-mail. I thought of deleting it all. Or maybe getting back at it tomorrow, removing some parts, sending it and moving on – but that would go against what I've committed myself to do in the beginning. The only way out is to go on and just send it to you. And after I hit send, there's no turning back.]

That's it. I'll continue this later. Tomorrow? Maybe. I still have a lot to share with you, and when I write I see how much. That's actually an

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10. Currently, there are more two lesbian magazines in circulation: Brejeiras, from Rio de Janeiro, and *Tia Concha*, from São Paulo.
11. This phrase was originally in English in the Portuguese version of this article, including the "bigger", that should read "longer".

interesting exercise: I want to summarize what I've already written about making oneself through writing, about narrating and elaborating and trajectories – something the women in the field I've studied have done in the materials I've analyzed. And today I've discovered that I seem to want to do the same. I told you this was an experiment, didn't I?

[what is left out: there is always something that's left out]

From: me	Tue, Jul 25, 2017, 5:37 AM
To: me	

Girls,

Let me tell you: the day after the previous e-mail hit me like a hangover. If this feeling was physical, it would be that sour taste in the mouth, like a reminder of its previous lack of control *[oh, sure. as if the mouth could drink and talk by itself alone, right].* "What soberness conceals, drunkenness reveals", isn't it what people say? But I wrote sober, it was like being high on writing, substituting immoderate words for drinks. I took some days to focus on writing other things and to think. Well, first I need to say that I've learnt something about this process (and because I already know my verbosity): if I let my words loose, they'll go on and on, but term papers require some concision, right. Right, then: the basic instruction I've learnt about running this experiment is: I can't go on just writing without a plan! Well, maybe I can, because it seems that by doing it, I could write a lot of things that needed to be written – but I must remember what I plan to say before I say it. *[that was the reason for starting the last e-mail, right? I need to lay a sound foundation, so I can dance on it].* But let's move on – cause the further I go here, the closer I am to fine...

And since we're talking about repertoires and genres, maybe what's not working here is trying to use the "e-mail genre" and its language to explain my research. After rereading what I've written last time, is seems that I've fallen again into an "academic-ish" language, and that's not my intention here. Well, here's what happened: after all that, I ended up with this list of 19 "periodical" publications. I wanted to focus on periodical publications because I believed that the continuous circulation of these materials, the idea that a next issue would come, would be important in network-making among lesbian women. Indeed, the enterprises that lasted longer, the ones focusing on creating and disseminating written contents (news stories, short fictional stories, poetry and what I have called "personal reflections" – texts sent by the readers, telling part of their lives), where those funded by membership/

subscription and which sought to maintain a steady periodicity, in general aiming at producing quarterly issues. And if I've put "periodical" between commas above, it is due both to this difficulty in keeping this periodicity and the fact that at least one of those titles (*Iamuricumá*, a 1981 bulletin) announces this intention in its first issue, but apparently dies there[12].

Wait a little. Step back. Why all that? I mean, why is it – publications, periodicity, etc., all that – important? Obviously, this concern has something to do with my background (I hold a Journalism major). But for these women – why all that? *[it seems I'm repeating here a conversation I've had a zillion times while working on my dissertation – it seems I haven't yet learnt its pathways...]*

One of the things I like the most in my dissertation is having written that the Brazilian lesbian movement – or the political organization of lesbians, whatever – emerged interwoven with writing. I can explain: there's this landmark of Brazilian alternative press and a major name within the "Brazilian homosexual press" (this one, yes, is an established category in academic works – that often leave aside lesbian publications, but that's another story), a gay newspaper called *Lampião da Esquina*, whose editorial board didn't include any lesbians (by the way, Lampião's history is very interesting, they made a sort of letter-driven crowdfunding! See MacRae, *A construção da Igualdade*, 1990). Then, in the beginning of 1979, they called some women that were participating in meetings of a group that would later become Somos/São Paulo (another Brazilian LGBT landmark! See MacRae, again) to write something about lesbians. The 12th issue of *Lampião* has a green cover with a big white heart in its center, and inside it the words "Love between Women". *[a while ago, hanging out with some friends, I stumble upon a yellowish copy of that issue, exposed in an art gallery downtown. It made me so happy I had to publish a selfie with it on my Instagram and Facebook.]* One of the texts celebrate the first time women got together to write collectively about their homosexuality in Brazil. After that, they kept organizing together; Somos, a mostly masculine group, became more institutionalized, and those women created Somos' "lesbian-feminist subgroup" or just "LF". LF was responsible for running the self-proclaimed first lesbian newspaper in the country, *ChanaComChana*[13], with an interview with singer Angela RoRo in the cover of its first issue, really cool. First and last: after this issue, *ChanaComChana* would no longer run as a newspaper.

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12. Correction: researcher Paula Barbosa, currently doing her Masters' in Journalism at State University of Ponta Grossa, has found in 2019 two more issues of Iamuricumá (the second, from February, and the third, from May 1981) at CIM – Centro Informação Mulher's archive (personal communication, 2019).
13. Meaning "pussy with pussy".

But the story unfolds: after some quarrel, LF turns into GALF, *Grupo de Ação Lésbica-Feminista* (Lesbian-Feminist Action Group), now an independent group, and in 1982 they release a bulletin also called *ChanaComChana*, with this sick fanzine-like aesthetics: made from cutting & pasting, huge blocks of machine-typed text, sometimes reunited in a somewhat confusing design. This do-it-yourself approach, relying less on graphical professionals, made the whole process less expensive, and they managed to keep the bulletin running until 1986, distributing it to feminist, lesbian and gay groups across Brazil and around the world (and receiving in turn a whole lot of similar materials, which they used to create their own), creating a subscription network, very cool, creating a dialogue… really awesome. *[and here's an anthropologist – really? can I already call myself that? – shamelessly admitting her love toward her "object".]* In addition to subscriptions, part of the income they used to fund the operation of running the bulletin came from their own pockets and from selling the material in bars in the homosexual "ghetto" in São Paulo, around Roosevelt, Bixiga… actually, selling the bulletin in a bar with massive attendance of lesbians at that time has ignited another event, the "Brazilian Stonewall" or the "Ferro's Bar occupation", by those activists (in 2009, a news story about this 1983 event led me to interview Miriam Martinho, one of GALF's coordinators, for a blog I wrote to at that time – a blog that 1. was of a tremendous importance to my own elaborations on sexuality and political activism; 2. I can't believe I'm showing you!).

In 1986, one of the group's most active members, Rosely Roth, was invited to Hebe Camargo's show (yes! Bomb ass tea!) in a special discussion about lesbians, leading her to be proclaimed "the first out lesbian on Brazilian TV". She took advantage of that visibility to show an issue of *Chana* to a wide national audience, also informing the group's P.O. box address. Marisa Fernandes, another GALF member then, later commented the impact of that TV appearance in an interview to Norma Mogrovejo: "Millions of lesbians were watching [the show] and we received thousands of letters saying 'I'm not going to kill myself anymore, now that I know I'm not alone', very emotional letters. All of them were answered". You see – can you imagine how hard it was to find information about that? Well, after the boom that followed that mass communication experience, maybe because of it, GALF decided to refashion their bulletin, now with a less "raunchy" title. That's how emerged the bulletin *Um Outro Olhar* ("a new perspective" or, more literally, "a new view"), really similar to its predecessor in some aspects. From 1987 to 1994, *Um Outro Olhar* had 21 issues (some of them really large! Around 40 A4-sized pages); in 1995, the group responsible for its operation (that had already been formally registered as an NGO, *Rede de Informações*

Lésbicas[14] *Um Outro Olhar*) released a magazine called… wait for it… *Um Outro Olhar*!, whose first number was actually the 22nd, which means: a new design, a more "cultural" emphasis, focusing less on the political agenda of lesbian social movements, a magazine print in color and all that… and, at the same time, some kind of continuity. Well, *Um Outro Olhar* (the fanzine-like bulletin, not the magazine) was precisely the title I've discussed in my dissertation.

And here I am, talking a blue streak again, right? Took a deep breath and there I went. I actually wrote the three paragraphs right above as a single, huge block of text! The thing is, this story seems to be telling itself almost automatically. All I've written in this e-mail is actually some sort of preamble, an introduction, to something that's yet to be told, but when I'm telling this little story, that has been told so many times in other stories… I don't know, it's like this story *wants* to be retold once and again, can you believe that? I don't know, I feel like it has possessed me to be fruitful and keep on multiplying. For real, I've told all that already in my dissertation, I wish I could tell something else (that's also in the dissertation, can't help it), widen my range.

[I digress: Eliane Brum (no need to introduce her, right? that journalist, my personal idol) says she always wanted to be a fiction writer, but that she felt she needed to "fill herself" with other people's stories first, before writing her own. I heard her saying that when I was almost finishing college, but I could see myself in that idea: I choose studying Journalism instead of Portuguese and Literature for the same reason: I was too young and felt empty of stories. I think I've only realized now what it means to be fulfilled by one.]

[a digression caused by the previous one: you know the book I've mentioned before, a bit mysteriously, in the other e-mail? I was thinking of bringing it back later, but it fits so well here. Genres of Recollection: Archive Poetics and Modern Greece, *by Greek-American anthropologist Penelope Papailias, became – along with Blommaert – another inspiration and relief for me as a scholar who took this weird path of documental ethnography. I want to share a lot of things about her with you, but here I'd like to mention how she discusses Derrida, yes, him, Derrida! she brings a really moving reflection on citational acts and document transcription practices, questioning if a message, even if reproduced ipsis literis, can remain the same after traversing the body of the person who's doing the transcription. yeah, that's right: traversing the body – with the document on one side, the person reads it, processes it, copies it on the other side; the brain (and who knows what happens inside it!) receives stimuli from the eyes and send new stimuli to the hands, which try to imitate what the eyes saw using pencil, pen, computer, whatever the tool may be. even if the words are equal, imagining that a perfect fidelity in reproduction is something humanely possible, what's the result? well, Adriana Lopes is the Derrida specialist here – I*

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14. "Lesbian Information Network".

leave that to you. to me, it feels enough to just think about the way those words traveled in me; to reinsert the body in all that movement of thinking and writing and then trying to make some sense about what was thought of and written about; to think about the possible transformation brought to life by such traversing, not only how the words changed by crossing me, but how their crossing changed me; to marvel at the wonder of having been a pathway for traveling signs, references and their mutable referents...]

*[sigh: **oofff**. I really sighed, ok? materiality of air coming through the carnal channel of my mouth. it must be the wind the words blow when they pass.]*

And boy, how many word pathways have those publications opened! I'm not even talking about those I felt opening in me, but about the words *in the publications*, the ones which took uncountable roads by traveling in envelopes, crossing Brazil & other countries. Words by women who were able to find each other, who found themselves through writing, creating new things for and within themselves. Forget all about I've told in the previous paragraphs, this is the real deal[15]. That's what I'd like to talk about:

And here's the thing, when I started all this, I wanted to write that story, you know? Not just only that, all of them. That one I've told and the other 19 stories, of all titles I told you I had reunited on a list – so ambitious, this girl here, who wanted to narrate 30 years, hundreds of pages, in a year of research! Not knowing it was impossible, I tried to do it and didn't make it. I'll spare you the details, but it involved a whole deal of intensive use of Google, Facebook, e-mail, WhatsApp, old newspapers, all that (my girlfriend named my efforts as "stalking as a research methodology"), and I could find and contact many names that were present in the "editors" in my publications list. I interviewed thirteen women, who narrated the histories of ten out of those 19 titles. More than that, they narrated – and narratively elaborated, as Ernesto Meccia (*El Tiempo No Para*, 2016) would say – the trajectories of 13 women, I mean themselves, and of many others that were present in their lives. Lives! That's where the rubber met the road and my thoughts did a one-eighty. I wanted to describe the constitution of a field, and what is a field made of? P-e-o-p-l-e. Subjects made in and through experience, experience lived within language (hooray, Joan Scott!). And I can't tell anymore where this turn started (not even if it's necessary to know that), if it was during interviews, if I saw that on the documents... because the documents also told me stories and showed me people. Now that I'm studying narrative with you and historical-anthropological narrative in another course, I think that maybe I was trying to devise something in the lines of an officious historiography – The Great History of the Lesbian Movement in Brazil and its Periodical Publications. Or: Brazilian Lesbian

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15. "This is the real deal" was originally in English in the first draft.

Press (and its Ties to Lesbian Movements)!!! Imagine that, that'd be cool. Well, it was actually cool just the way it was, can we agree on that? But I must admit that in the end I ended up using very little information from the interviews. And actually, through those women I could have access to copies of materials that are not available anywhere: *Visibilidade* (COLERJ – Coletivo de Lésbicas do Rio de Janeiro[16], 1998-2004?), that I got from Neusa Pereira; *Ponto G* (GLB – Grupo Lésbico da Bahia[17], 1998- 2002?), the few issues that Zora Yonara still kept with her; *Alternativa L*[18] (São Paulo, 2013 – today), from Sheila Costa; *Femme* magazine (Grupo Afins[19] – Santos, 1993-1995), that I found at Brazil's National Library (!!! No one mentions that in the literature I've studied!!!) and at Austin University's library (how fancy, isn't it? Thanks for your help, Carla Ramos). The issue that was missing from my *Femme* collection[20] was digitalized by Laura Bacellar after an interview. Actually, it wasn't for the information Laura gave me that day, I would never have found Monica and Theresa, *Femme* editors, that gave me a really lovely interview. I am trying to write a bit about them elsewhere. That other paper I have mentioned before, about a presentation at Fazendo Gênero[21], is about *Femme* – and to be honest I didn't really like it in the end, I feel it's badly written. They deserve something better.

> *[I am getting lost again – hi, I'm Carolina Maia and I'm here to try to make amends publicly with the shortcomings of my last work. its silences and all that is left out of it. I told you have something to say about what is left out, right?]*

Anyway, the thing is that I had to make some choices, and I ended up choosing a less-studied material produced by the most well-known group in the history of the Brazilian lesbian movement. *ChanaComChana*, I believe, it's the lesbian periodical that's the most discussed in the literature about the "Brazilian homosexual press" (if not the only one in some works); I tried not to do the same by choosing *Um Outro Olhar*. I told you that all titles in my list, with maybe one or two exceptions, were run by activist groups, right? Just see the names that appeared right above: Lesbian Collective, Lesbian Group... before I started my research, I actually resented that a bit: why were gay men able to produce magazines that are "successful" in editorial terms, and lesbian women couldn't do it? [22] After fieldwork, I understood that "being successful" could mean something different than I thought at first.

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16. Meaning "Visibitlity" – Rio de Janeiro Lesbian Collective.
17. Meaning "G Spot" – Bahia Lesbian Group.
18. "L Alternative".
19. "Afins Group" – "afins" has a double meaning here. "Afim" (plural "afins") means "similar", but the group's name came from personal ads from women saying they were "a fim de" ("wishing to") meet other women with similar interests (Maia, 2017b).
20. Paula Barbosa found another issue, the 9th, of Femme magazine in a visit to CIM's archive in 2019 (personal communication, 2019).
21. Maia 2017b.
22. That idea was reconsidered during the research (See Maia 2017a, 18).

The following thoughts refer mostly to *Um Outro Olhar* but can also be applied to *Femme* in some aspects. What if that "homespun" quality, instead of signaling a problem or difficulty (for creating a commercial niche, lack of funding and/or access to it, etc.), was actually what made those titles even the more interesting? I mean, there *were* problems and difficulties: the "lack of commitment" of lesbians as "consumers" was a criticism I heard frequently from the women I've interviewed, and they meant lack of financial reward (enough to keep those bulletins running) and of collaboration, too. They were amateurs, meaning they did it for love[23]. Those who became "editors" were not and never became journalists (although journalists have participated sometimes in their publications). They wrote from their contacts with other activists. *Um Outro Olhar*, for instance, participated in networks with activists from Brazil, Europe, Latin America, Canada, USA, and without consulting my archive I can recall translations from Italian, French, English and Spanish into Portuguese in its pages, all made by readers/collaborators/associated members of the group. *Femme* magazine reproduced contents from Portuguese magazine *Organa*, that played a meaningful role in inspiring its creation. Those two very informative publications also used their national and international relationships to gather information about lesbian, gay and feminist activisms, publicizing upcoming events and other groups' postal addresses, reproducing calls for submissions for poetry, fictional short stories and other kinds of anthologies on "lesbianism". A true incentive to writing, and I will still discuss another one. You know, I think this whole thing was about encountering other lesbians… In the other two titles I mentioned before, that unfortunately I won't discuss in further details here because my memory fails me now, although such type of political articulation couldn't be seen in those two (maybe that wasn't the idea behind them), you could see some kind of invitation in their pages: both *Visibilidade* and *Ponto G* published texts, poems… and a list of places to visit. Bars and pubs, date and time of the group's next meeting, that kinda stuff. That's it: my interlocutors explained to me that "before the Internet" (as I was wondering before) a woman who wished to find another for an *affair*, *sex* or *dating*, or even friendship, for that matter, could meet other women in pubs, meetings of lesbian groups or… through writing.

My dissertation, in brief, discussed how the circulation of *Um Outro Olhar* has promoted the constitution of networks between women: be it from consolidating activist networks, be it in the creation of correspondence networks between the bulletin's collaborators, the member associates of GALF/Rede Um Outro Olhar. Those networks were made in the bulletin itself, which was made out of many letters and other kinds of

23. In Portuguese, "amador(a)" means amateur, but also refers to love ("amar").

texts (essays, articles, "personal reflections") that, by being thus made available, helped building ideals of love and politics between women, providing examples of relationships that, as we can read in some letters, some of those readers couldn't find anywhere else – not that there weren't other people living such experiences, but it was all very *concealed*, a description I've heard several times during this research… *[Drica, Dri, Carol, we can go back to this later – it's just that I've talked too much about this part recently, it's over 5 am now and I have committed myself to something here today. but just ask me and I'll tell you more, ok?]* Well, those links were also created and interwoven away from the pages of the periodicals, thanks to what I understood as a sort of connection between doors of the "closets": personal ads sections.

My next work, I hope, will be about that: today (or yesterday? Monday the 24th, working late nights confuses me) I submitted a proposal for PPGAS Student Seminar, in which I propose to study personal ads published in *Femme* magazine and their role (or maybe the centrality attributed to them – let's see how things go while I write it) in establishing new links and relationships between women. Why *Femme*? Well, not only because I feel that I owe something to that story or because I feel I've written a lot already about *Um Outro Olhar* (although both reasons hold part of the truth): it is because if it wasn't for a personal ad, *Femme* would not exist. And it wouldn't exist because, had Theresa not started to exchange letters with some women thanks to some personal ads published in nude magazines (yes, some magazines "for men" published that kind of stuff too) during the 1980s, she wouldn't have met Monica and they would never be a couple. I mean – they say "what is meant to be [just is]", but who knows, right? But that's how it happened, they met because of an ad like that, they kept publishing a similar ad, they created a correspondence network with the women who wrote them, and that letter chain allowed them to get to know the "girls from *Organa*". They worked on their idea and released their magazine, made out of the collaboration from friends who participated in that network and which was also responsible for creating new links within that network – there's no doubt it was going to include an ad section too, right?

You see… I started this e-mail series thinking I was going to talk about those women's writing, about the texts I found in those titles, about texts I've read and about how one makes oneself a "lesbian" through reading and writing. Maybe because I have written a lot about such topics in my dissertation, that was precisely what I did not write about here. Or maybe that's how I work, actually: as I told you, my dissertation took an unexpected turn (isn't it what many of them do?). Maybe my proposal was successful precisely there, in the idea of rendering visible the very process of writing – you know how, after finishing

writing a monograph, we "polish" its introduction as if we knew what we were going to do since the beginning? As if most of us didn't discover it along the way. I told you in class that my interest in letters stemmed from conversations with friends, didn't I? And that many friends think I study "letters" because of that. *[Maybe that's gonna be the subject of the next e-mail, we'll see, this is an open-ended process.]* Just one more "maybe", so I can call this over for today: maybe I was interested in the letters since the beginning, but the process of discovering it (and in my field, "to discover oneself" [as a lesbian] is both insight and elaboration) took me way more time than expected.

That's it for today. See you soon!

xoxo,
Carol

From: me   Tue, Jul 25, 2017, 5:38 AM
To: me

[this time I've waited for long seconds until the "undo" button disappeared. no turning back]

* * *

A letter *on the road*

Rio de Janeiro – Florianópolis, Aug 1st 2017

Drica, Dri and Carol,

So, how are you? Everything's ok? I confess I was a bit apprehensive when I didn't receive no answer to my last e-mail, in which I forwarded to you the first part of my term paper. I should also say that if it wasn't for having already sent that first part, I'd be a lot more embarrassed to be late in finishing it – I hope that this late delivery doesn't pose a problem to your reading. In addition, I'm making a strenuous effort to be able to handwrite in a minimally legible manner, my hand lettering was never good and being in a moving bus certainly doesn't help it. Yes, I'm in a bus: I've been through a few mishaps (that can partially explain why I'm late here), ended up losing the flight that would get me to Florianópolis for Fazendo Gênero and I had no choice ($$$) but to travel by land those I don't know how many kilometers that separate my house from the "Island of Magic". Worried with the idea of not being able to connect to the internet while on the road, plus the fear of running out of battery for any unexpected need, I had this idea to write on paper

– a solution that, with the exception of my bad calligraphy and not knowing how it is going to look like after I digitalize it to send you this, seemed way more practical. Besides that, it makes a lot of sense: I want to talk about letters… this whole proposal came from the idea of flirting with the epistolary genre. Why not going full old school, with a pen and paper? Even the fact that I'm traveling by bus helps me think some things, a dimension of sensitivity that could remain occult if I wrote this paper in a different fashion – just arguments, without the feelings and "clicks" that were the beginning of each insight. I really like to travel by land because this way, on the road, I can get a firmer grasp of the distances and paths I'm crossing. Traveling by plane gives me the same feeling I get from taking the subway in cities I don't know well enough: a misunderstanding of the map, magic channels that take me mysteriously from one point to the other, without seeing how I could get there. And if my work talks about materials (and persons) circulating across the territory, distances and pathways matter. Besides that, traveling by bus is slower, and connecting to slowness matters too: after all, I study other times, and by "other times" I mean not only the recent past (the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s), but the times things took then. The time between a bulletin issue and another: the time of producing it, gathering information, contacting other groups, receiving collaborations from the readers, typing them, putting it all together; the time of sending it, the time of postal services, the time of going to the postal office to check if there is something in the P.O. box (so nothing suspicious is delivered at home or at work); the time of receiving it, time for reading it, piece by piece, from the most tedious (there are some that just talk about politics, you know…) to the most compelling ones, including the *letters* sections (those published in the bulletin, bringing opinions or telling stories, and also the personal ads), and the ever-present poems. (a letter published by *Um Outro Olhar*, accompanied by a little poem, brought a sentence that became a subtitle in my dissertation: "every lesbian worth of that name likes to write poetry, right?". In an interview, one of my interlocutors, an ex-editor of a lesbian publication, shared with me her opinion that "love poems are only good to those who write them" & their muses, because she received "really bad" poems. Yes, Blommaert… which writings do count as such?) [Text inserted over the rest of the text, preceded by an arrow:] The time for writing a letter to the bulletin's organizers, commenting it, making questions: the time for answering to it. [End of the inserted text.] The time of correspondence.

I told you about Penelope Papailias' book *Genres of Recollection*, right? How I wish I had read it before/during my dissertation… she brings some discussions on linguistics and literary criticism that are, in fact, important contributions to those who do documental ethnography or "textual anthropology", as she says. Besides discussing Derrida (defining

the historiographical production as profoundly performative and historical narratives as being constituted by long and complex chains of citational acts – *reporting/reported speech*, the "he said, she said" of history), as I mentioned before in an e-mail, she also uses Bakhtin to think about textual genres and the construction of legitimacy and scientific authority. So close to our discussions, right?[24] I think about how Landes was discredited[25] and Anzaldúa too (*Borderlands/La Frontera* was her thesis that got rejected, isn't there a story like that? I'm on the road, in the middle of a field I have no idea where it is – I can't google it)[26], like Mead[27] and others. Benedict hid from Boas her poetic works[28]. Literature is a girl thing, please don't forget this: it has always been, you only need to remember gender segmentation in press, the first segmentation to appear in press, as commented by Maria Alceste Mira, Dulcília Buitoni, Constância Lima Duarte: 19th-century women's newspapers featured fashion, etiquette and literature, other newspapers (an occult masculine universal, standard) brought literature as well, but also politics, news pieces, economy, those subjects the weak female mind wasn't prepared to face... but hey, where was I? Within the text, I mean – geographically, I only know I'm somewhere in SP State and that the sun is setting – I started writing 3:40pm, right after the first stop, for lunch. I hope there's a second stop soon, I'm crazy craving a cigarette. The horizon here is wide and it's a beautiful nightfall, although it requires me to turn on the little lamp over my chair to shed a light on the notebook that's open over my thighs, crossing my right leg over my left. I just remembered what I was talking about: Papailias, Bakhtin, textual genres. Writing by hand is slow and it's so much easier to lose myself in my thoughts. Genre, gender. Reading is way faster, it's gonna mask the time behind my digressions. I remembered what I was talking about because I described the scenery in which I'm writing, and it made me remember I wanted to talk about Melpo Merlier.

[*FINALLY, there's a pause for my cigarette!*]

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24. In the classroom, we have repeatedly discussed the discredit of some female anthropologists whose ethnographical writing differed from the masculine canon of the discipline, as shown in the following examples.
25. See Cole (1995).
26. As I could check during the preparation of this article for publication, that information is incorrect. *Borderlands/La Frontera* was highly acclaimed by the critics; Anzaldúa really did not publish her thesis, but knot because it was "rejected". The author left and went back to her PhD studies on Literature at Santa Cruz University some times between the 1970s and her death in 2004. Her thesis/book *Light in the Dark/Luz en lo Oscuro: Rewriting Identity, Spirituality, Reality*, that Anzaldúa believed she was months from finishing when she passed, was edited by AnaLouise Keating and posthumously published by Duke University Press (Anzaldúa & Keating 2015). See Keating (2015).
27. See Lutkehaus (1995).
28. See Lutkehaus (1995).

Melpo Merlier, tells Papailias, was a Greek upper-class intellectual, founder and coordinator of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, whose activities included creating and collecting documents through interviews with refugees who were forcefully removed in the population exchange between Greece and Turkey during the Asia Minor War (1919-1922). By doing so, the institute helped in consolidating the "testimony" genre as historical narrative, the victim as authority and also the idea of "memory worker", the researchers who conducted those interviews and transcribed the accounts. For Papailias, Merlier's intellectual background – she was a philologist, interested in *folk* cultural manifestations – was both the drive behind the innovations in her conception of the documents created by the Centre and the motive for criticism to their legitimacy (along with her gender, of course). Therefore, I find it interesting to think about gender and narrative innovation, even more thinking about Clifford's introduction to *Writing Culture* and he fact that Shostak's work was interesting as something to be analyzed but not interesting enough to invite her to participate in the [Santa Fe] seminar and thus expose her theory behind such experiment. I'm citing Merlier's history also because one of my favorite parts of *Genres of Recollection* is when Papailias quotes one of Merlier's "work letters" (in opposition to "personal" ones), written in a hotel outside of Greece, in which she describes the place in which she was writing, with files and folders on her side turning that place into her working space. Even more interesting is the fact that she wrote, along with instructions and commentaries to the Centre's workers, a reflection about including in this "work letter" such personal digressions – and even more, that she typed them! *Literacies*, Blommaert would say, and I'd bring Anzaldúa along again: writing is not separated from life. Papailias' commentary on that letter is also beautiful: Merlier was a person without roots, that moved from city to city many times, married a French man, traveled often to different countries; therefore, creating – even that for a few hours – an "office" at a hotel's table and describing it in her letter was a way of creating, in writing, the feeling of a home. Really beautiful, isn't it? (It gets even more beautiful with a notebook on the lap, rocking inside a semi sleeper bus).

*[I'd like to make another digression: I can't discuss Papailias' work any further, but she makes a really cool discussion about textual genre, relations between texts, the association of texts to "traditions" of similar ones and the effects produced by all that. In short, she discusses a book titled O*RTHOKOSTA*, by an author who specializes in "documental fiction", whose form imitates an archive – it is a number of "testimonies" given to a "historian" whose intentions are not exactly clear. At the time this book was published, the testimonial genre was so well established that many critics refuted the book, repelling it as false. The citation became dangerously faithful to the original. It got me thinking: this thing I'm doing – is it really a letter? Or is it just an imitation of this particular genre? Bakhtin*

comments how some genres, such as the romance (Papailias adds: and the ethnography), derive their characteristics from other genres. Maybe this scientific writing here borrows some marks from the epistolary, maybe my academicism contaminate even my most mundane writings, maybe this "personal communication" style freed my words here, maybe I have them planned a lot more than I would have done in a "real" letter. Maybe this letter holds more artifice than it appears, so these "personal communications" become more credible as such – don't let yourselves be fooled by me, you have no way of knowing it. And, to some extent, me neither.]

This whole "building a home on the letters" thing is particularly appealing to my eyes because I like to think about the documents I've investigated both as things that circulated over long distances and as immaterial PLACES – places for discussing things, meeting people, relieving some feelings, elaborating identity, creating relationships. Some "personal" texts, published (and to what extent edited?) in *Um Outro Olhar* in the form of letters (sometimes addressed to the bulletin's editor: "Dear Miriam", "Dear friend, thank you for staying with me yesterday on the phone", etc.), bring accounts that are so intimate as they are seemingly prosaic[29]: for instance, Malu, a university professor in Rio de Janeiro State, tells she heard at work a "joke" associating to lesbians the sport she practiced; infuriated and courageously, she answered with something along the lines of "what if I was one?", which is still different from "I am, any problem with that?", more possible nowadays. This evasive confrontation, this letter telling this event and it being published (under a nickname), to me all that points both to how hard it was to talk about it and also how necessary. The bulletin offered and multiplied the possibilities of "whom to" talk about it – there is no possible narrative without a listener, right?[30] Another woman, Ana, who made a telephonic call to Miriam (from the USA! Try to figure how much this wouldn't have costed in the 1990s. And her letter is really long – she needed to talk?), tells about her personal drama: getting involved with straight women. Cice tells her relationship to a married woman (who didn't even like her that much, she says), a bonding that ended after that woman's husband forbid the both of them to see each other. Mary writes to reformulate what she had previously said in one meeting of the group (something that ended up being published in the bulletin as a part of that meeting's "report"): she had reflected upon it and concluded that no, having a girlfriend doesn't make it easier to come out of the closet; she had nothing to prove to anyone. Besides that, in the same letter she tells that she was going to focus on loving herself first, on loving being a lesbian, and only after that she should pursue her dream of finding a loved one – reading the bulletin helped a lot, yes, thanks! Naná, a physician with a literary

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29. The account mentioned here are discussed in more depth in the 3rd chapter of my dissertation (Maia 2017a, 134-178).
30. See Meccia (2016).

vein, writes a short story that depicts the same romantic love ideals present in her autobiographical accounts, in which she narrates the development of her relationship. Different women publish, in almost all issues of *Um Outro Olhar*, love poems for a loved one, bitter poems about rejection and loss, laudatory poems about missing someone who had passed away, inspiring poems about lesbian pride. This is, to me, a collective construction of ideals about love, shared and created through the circulation of writings, made by women who frequently complained about having no "models" for that. I have read Butler's *Excitable Speech* thinking a lot about those texts – about two, in particular: Nani telling she used to feel anguish because of her unintelligible feelings toward other girls, until she was called a DYKE by a neighbor. After that, the "understood what she was"; the second is when Eliane, one of my favorite collaborators to *Um Outro Olhar*, wrote a letter saying she longed for the day in which "dyke will become a compliment". That, my friends, is what "promoting pride" is all about.

It is funny how writing sometimes is more like a specific way of thinking, isn't it? I mean, writing almost as a way of investigating, trying to look for insights on the dialogue [with oneself] laid out on the paper. *(nothing new under the sun, right, Carolina? Isn't that the reason why you write a personal journal? What a genius.)* I just realized something. I've once heard from my friends variations on the theme "you study letters, right?". At first, I thought they were referring to (and maybe they were) personal ads – I used to publish some [on my Facebook profile] *(is it ethical? I'm thinking about that now)*. After losing the count of how many times I've answered "that's not reeeeally what my research is about", I've started to pay more attention to them, in a kind of network-built non-directive approach to inspiration... But paying more attention to what I'm writing now, I realize that not only the documents I've analyzed were crucially defined by correspondences, but also that a very meaningful part of that content fall under the epistolary genre. Ok, that's not new to me, I actually mention that in the dissertation (I have even a hypothesis for why letters, that I'll summarize shortly after this, and after that I promise this text will come to its end), but I haven't formulated it that way. My friends think I "study letters" (instead of I "study lesbian periodicals") because, well, I talk about letters all the fucking time. You see... Since my dissertation has already been approved, I thought I had already understood what it is about...

Both Gloria Anzaldúa (in her *Letter to Third World Women Writers*) and Audre Lorde (in *Age, Race, Class, and Sex*) come down on the bourgeois ideal from *A Room of One's Own*: paper is expensive, time is scarce; if you can't afford to write a novel, write bit by bit, as much as you can. Lorde defends poetry as the most economical genre, the voice of poor

women and of women of color. In the case of the women whose writings I've analyzed, I think the deal wasn't exactly having "a room of one's own" (meaning time and financial autonomy), but more about creating authoritative, legitimate narrative voices for thinking their own lives. Lorde highlights how much investment (material, emotional, of time) and dedication writing a long narrative (such as a novel) requires. I think the same could be said about the more evidently "political" articles and essays present in *Um Outro Olhar*, as well as reports, political calendars, etc., that require a lot of time for preparing them, lots of reading, discussion, baggage. Letters appear, then, as an accessible genre for writing opinions and narratives of one's own experiences – and those letters were published in their entirety in the bulletins as a way of expanding the discussion. (What I wouldn't do to be able to rewrite that part of my dissertation now!)

After rereading those topics listed on my first e-mail, it got me thinking if I could really be able to discuss all three access I promised I would bring here. Then I asked myself if, when I was writing those e-mails, I hadn't already dropped the commitment to fulfill that promise. Then I got angry at myself: I never wanted this last message to serve as a "conclusion" – it would give it an appearance of cohesion and totality that was exactly what I was trying to run away from. Well, now it's your turn to say if it worked.

(I hope it did.)

Love,
Carol

P.S. I've made a copy of my friend's poem about "pursuing the clouds" in the next page.

P.S.2: "*A wild patience / has taken me this far*" are lines from the poem *Integrity*, by Adrienne Rich.

P.S.3: Just so you have an idea of my traveling here, I've finished this letter close to Registro/SP.

[page break]

Faz tanto tempo que não paro:
tem que ler
tem que escrever
tem que lavar roupas
fazer comida, se houver.

Traduzir, ler, procurar
escrever. Concluir.

Faz tanto tempo que não
        namoro com as nuvens.[31]

(Mariam Pessah)

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31. It's been a while since I don't stop
I have to read
I have to write
I have to do the laundry
and cook my food, if there is some.
To translate, to read, to try
to write. To conclude.
It's been a while since I don't
pursue the clouds.

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DOSSIER

CORPO LIVRE: BODY AND ART AS MEANS OF ACTIVISM IN SÃO PAULO

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ABSTRACT
New forms of organizing social movements are debating the intersection of different social markers or axis of oppression, as gender, sexuality, class and race, problematizing sexual and gender norms. Using an ethnographic approach and qualitative methods such as interview and observation, the present study aims to answer the question: What does it mean to the activists from A Revolta da Lâmpada to do activism using *artivism* as a method, on a collective with intersectional inspiration that has the free body as a common struggle denominator? The collective from São Paulo, Brazil, claims to be a platform with intersectional horizon, creating a common denominator – the free body – among different identity groups without the hierarchization of agendas and delegitimization of its exclusive spaces. Through the celebration of their bodies occupying public spaces, it uses diverse artistic expressions to do activism, what is being called *artivism*.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Brazilian LGBT movement, initially known as the homosexual movement, first made its appearance in the late 70s in association with the global ripples of counter-culture and developed an antiauthoritarian tendency (Benetti 2013: 31-34). During the 80s, there was a significant reduction in the number of groups due to the association between AIDS and homosexuality. This resulted in a more pragmatic approach for creating alliances with the State aiming at guaranteeing civil rights and protecting homosexuals from discrimination and violence (Green 2015: 291-292, Miskolci 2011: 40-41).

From the beginning of the 1990s, the movement once again has begun to grow and has diversified the institutional formats through which it had been organized. Using an identitarian discourse and a rights-based approach (Itaborahy 2012: 21), the movement focused the political struggle on law reforms, believing in a 'legal utopia', which lead to an unwanted consequence: the stratification of respectability/citizenship considering the sexual identity (Carrara 2012: 143, Colling 2010: 3-5).

In recent years, new forms of social movements have appeared debating the intersection between different social markers or axises of oppression, such as gender, sexuality, class, and race. Together with the emergence of artists who problematize sexual and gender norms (Troi and Colling 2017: 127), they are constantly attacked by conservative sectors in Brazil. Within this context, an *artivist* collective called A *Revolta da Lâmpada* ('The Lamp's Revolt') was founded in São Paulo in 2014, choosing as common denominator the *Corpo Livre* ('Free Body') to gather activists from diverse identities who suffer different kind of oppressions for being how they are. With *Fervo tambem é luta* ('Party is also fight') as one of its mottoes, the collective proposes the celebration of deviant bodies and uses diverse artistic expressions to create a different way of doing activism, called *artivism*.

Considering the inquiry perspectives opened by feminist scholarship with the use of intersectionality, using from an ethnographic approach, this paper intends to use intersectionality as lens with analytic sensibility to investigate intersectional dynamics and the social movements praxis from the collective *A Revolta da Lâmpada*, by answering the research question: What does it mean to the activists from *A Revolta da Lâmpada* to do activism using *artivism* as a method, on a collective with intersectional inspiration that has the free body as a common denominator of struggle?

In the context of identity politics and rights-based approach within the Brazilian LGBT movement, it is relevant to understand the mechanisms that social movements are creating to join forces against conservative tendencies and work different issues in solidarity. To do so, this paper explores this process of experimenting new ways of resistance on the Brazilian social movement, investigating the praxis from the collective *A Revolta da Lâmpada*.

1.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BRAZILIAN LGBT MOVEMENT AND SOME REFLECTIONS ON ITS POLITICS THROUGHOUT TIME

The second half of the 20th century was marked by a new trend on social movements – especially the feminist, homosexual, black liberation, and environmentalist movements – that were interested in questioning modern disciplinary institutions and fighting for their own rights. They largely emerged in the US and Europe in a moment of cultural and political effervescence, with "the influence of the hippie movement, the Beatniks, May 1968, and a whole perspective of sexual liberation and re-thinking political and social issues" (Benetti 2013: 31). During that time, and unlike the countries from the global north, which were experiencing a moment of sexual and political liberation, Brazil's experience was characterised by exile, censorship, torture, and lack of civil rights.

The year of 1978 was marked by the beginning of the "First Wave of the Homosexual Movement". This early activism emerged within a larger context of democratic opposition to the military regime, inspired by socialist and anarchist ideologies, characterised by a "strong antiauthoritarian language aimed at strengthening a 'homosexual identity'" (Green 2015: 273-274). MacRae (cited by Facchini and Lins França 2009: 60) also pointed out in this context the emergence and the visibility of the feminist and black movements, as some of its activists started to defend a strategy of social transformation that would go through an alliance with other minorities, workers' movements and left-wing groups.

As such, the homosexual movement was born in a much broader context of social justice through social and cultural change, establishing some dialogues with other minority groups, contesting gender norms and heteronormativity. Some researchers as Benneti (2013: 36-37), Colling (2010: 3-5) and Sant'Ana (2017: 20-21) also believe that some of these concerns of the movement reflect a 'queer Brazilian embryo'.

Analysing the movement's ideology, MacRae (cited by Facchini 2010: 89-90) explains that it carried a great deal of counterculture and the anti-authoritarian spirit of the time, producing a discourse aimed at a broader transformation, including homosexuality as a strategy for cultural transformation, corroding the social structure from the margins.

In the early 80s, a drastic reduction of groups took place. Many factors contributed for it, ranging from a lack of financial resources, financial crisis, and so on. Regarding that reduction, it is crucial to remember the role of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, when international and local media started to frame it as the 'gay cancer' or 'gay plague'. Many activists died, and the movement suffered internal divisions, as some groups wanted to gather efforts to fight the epidemic while others wanted to avoid the identification of AIDS as a homosexual disease (Itaborahy 2012: 19).

The "Second Wave" followed in the mid-80s, with the process of re-democratization and fight against HIV/AIDS. Groups focused on the epidemic learned how to get money from the government and international organizations, helping to develop the movement with these investments, and succeeding in dialoguing with the State to assist in the creation of the Brazilian AIDS program. However, the epidemic had the effect of re-pathologizing homosexuality, creating the stigmatized 'bioidentity' of the AIDS patient by reconfiguring the pyramid of sexual (and social) respectability, and did not develop a more critical and 'denaturalizing' view of heterosexuality, which remained in a 'comfort zone' (Miskolci 2011: 40-41).

During the 80s, PT (Worker's Party) was the only party to include gays and lesbians' rights in their political agenda (Green 2015: 291-292). The 90's saw a revival and inaugurated the 'Third Wave', establishing the AB-GLT (Brazilian Association of Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals, Travestites and Transexuals), a national umbrella organization that helped to unify the movement, approving a resolution defining same-sex civil unions as its top priority (Facchni cited by Itaborahy 2012: 23). After the withdrawal of PT's support for the issue, one of its deputies at the time, Marta Suplicy, launched a national campaign to approve a bill legalizing same-sex domestic partnerships. After a decade of unsuccessful attempts, the movement dropped the legalization of same-sex civil unions as its priority and adopted a different discourse which embraced all the segments of the LGBT movement: the discourse against homophobia (Itaborahy 2012: 23). Another important remark for this period was the idea of organizing street events to celebrate the International Day of Gay Pride, which became the mark of the movement on the national and international level in the beginning of the 21st century (Facchini 2010: 110-111).

Due to the relative success of public policies focused on STD/AIDS, social demands gained more political relevance in the area of healthcare, education, culture and, finally, in the demands for the recognition of rights. Carrara (2012: 143) analysed this process and pointed out two hazardous unwanted consequences of the 'judicialization of the Brazilian sexual politics': it can cause differential access to justice and its application

in an unequal country such as Brazil. The legal achievements can generate unequal results that can only be accessible by an elite, resulting in a hierarchy of those who hold more rights than others and/or in a stratification of respectability/citizenship considering the sexual identity (Carrara 2012: 143; Miskolci 2011: 42).

1.2 BRAZILIAN POLITICAL/SOCIAL CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

The year of 2013 was marked by numerous protests in hundreds of Brazilian cities. The protests were summoned on the internet and triggered by an increase in the price of public transport but ended up bursting a bubble of discontent. The original claims – or the variety of different claims – got coopeted by right-wing movements trying to forbid the participation of left-wing parties and workers' unions, a sign of the polarization that started to divide the population between "left" and "right". The parties' supporters, who believed in an imminent coup, were opposed by those claiming to be against corruption, who believed in an impending impeachment (Tatagiba 2014: 39-44).

Although Dilma Rousseff managed to win her second election in 2014, Brazil's Congress voted for her impeachment in 2016. The vice-president, Michel Temer, was declared president and promoted a complete change in government (from left-of-centre to right-wing). Temer's administration began by approving a constitutional amendment known as 'the end of the world' that imposed a 20-year cap on federal spending, including education and health care. He also approved a labour law reform pretty much celebrated by big companies, but not by workers (Barbara 2017).

In an effort to distract the population from these scandals and playing with its sense of morality and the need to protect the "Brazilian traditional family" (Herdt 2009), non-gender conformist groups were being demonised. During our fieldwork, a museum exposition called 'Queermuseum: cartographies of difference in Brazilian art' was accused of paedophilia and zoophilia by the group who fuelled the protests for Dilma's impeachment called MBL ('Brazil Free Movement'). Some days after, a federal judge decided that the Federal Council of Psychology should reinterpret an internal standard, issued in 1999, to stop prohibiting psychologists from offering 'sexual reorientation' therapies, opening a rift for the notorious 'gay cure' (Langlois 2017).

All this was taking place in one of the most lethal countries for LGBTs. According to GGB (Gay Group of Bahia), 347 murders were reported in 2016 and according to the TGEU's Trans Murder Monitoring Project, Brazil was the country with more killings of transgender people in the world due to transphobia, with 40% of the total the accounted killings, 868 out of 2.190, from 2008 to 2016 (TvT research project 2016: 7-16). The 2013 IBGE

(Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) survey showed that the life expectancy of the transgender community is no more than 35 years, less than half of the national average of 74.9 years (Rede Trans Brasil 2017: 56).

All these recent events reveal a more complex process of advancing the interference of fundamentalist religious groups over the constituted powers of Brazil. Groups that were already dominating the Legislative agenda and influencing the Executive, now extended their arms also to the Judiciary, museums and theatrical stages in a true crusade against sexual and gender diversity (Brum 2017, Quinalha and Galeano 2017).

1.3 THE INTERSECTIONAL AND/OR ARTIVIST COLLECTIVES' SCENE: PRESENTING *A REVOLTA DA LÂMPADA*

Many examples can be found of groups that gather activists from the black and LGBT movements, as *Rede Afro LGBT* ('Afro LGBT Network'), a group that emerged in 2005 and is a multi-identitarian organization, which also assumes the fight against machismo, sexism, among other human rights agendas (Ratts cited by Luz 2012: 3). Although it was created because of the insufficiency of an identity representation, it opts for the strategy of reaffirming identities, forcing an extension of the limits of both (Bairros cited by Luz 2012: 3).

In an attempt to explain the recent emergence of *artivist* collectives in Brazil, "especially those in sexual and gender dissent", Troi and Colling (2017: 127) list the following reasons:

> the expansion of access to new technologies and the massification of social networks; the broadening of the LGBT theme in the media in general, especially in soap operas, films and television programs; the emergence of diverse trans identities and people who identify themselves as non-binary in our country, as well as the valuation of *fechação[1]*, non-compliance with the norms (corporal and behavioural) of effeminate boys, masculine lesbian women and other several flexible identity expressions (...). But perhaps the most important of the reasons lies precisely in the self-declared or not need to react to the terrible picture in which we are inserted, marked by the return and growth of conservatism and religious fundamentalism.

According to the authors, a profusion of diverse collectives, with an emphasis on performances, such as *O que voce queer?* (Belo Horizonte), *Cena Queer* (Salvador), *Anarcofunk* (Rio de Janeiro), *Revolta da Lâmpada* (São Paulo), *Selvática ações artísticas* (Curitiba), *Cabaret drag king* (Salvador), *Coletivo coiote* (nomadic) and *Seus putos* (Rio de Janeiro) is arising (Troi and Colling 2017: 127).

————
1. "The *fechação* consists of a performance that is characterized by exaggeration, by the deliberate artificiality and, in this case, by a set of actions, gestures and postures that intentionally do not conform to what society generally expects from a male person" (Colling 2012).

Among these groups is the collective *A Revolta da Lâmpada*. 'The Lamp's Revolt'. Its name is a reference to a homophobic attack that took place in Sao Paulo in 2010, when two gay men and their heterosexual friend – who was 'read' as gay – were violently attacked with long lamps (G1 2010). Four years later a group of friends/activists from different movements organized a protest at the same place. In the event's description on Facebook, the activists said that "the fluorescent lamp has become a symbol of oppression not only to LGBTs, but to all bodies perceived as inadequate by the hegemonic model" (R7 2014).

The collective claims to use an intersectional framework, gathering activists from different movements fighting for the 'free body' of all those who suffer any kind of oppression. Using a language of resistance through protests which become parties, the public is invited to express itself freely.

FIGURE 1 "RDL in the street 2016". Photographer: Rafael Canoba[2].

2. Rafael Conoba's pictures were given to the collective, sharing his personal files for this paper.

The agendas of these protests range from current political issues or scandals to the violence against different oppressed bodies, with speeches and gigs from different activists and artists, closing in a big celebration in the streets. The work done by the group is not limited to protests, but extends to promote roundtables, seminars in universities, workshops about *artivism*, etc.

As claimed by one of its activists, Gustavo Bonfiglioli (2017), there is a need to rethink the resistance and organisation methods in the movements, considering the fragmentation of different identity groups while the enemy more openly promotes oppression – more lamps onto everybody's faces. Explaining the collective, he says that it is

> a platform with an intersectional horizon which wants to create a common denominator among different fights without the hierarchization of agendas and delegitimization of its exclusive spaces. On the idea of free body, trans and cis women, *travestis*, black men and women, poor people, *bichas*, *sapatonas*, transmen, immigrants, refugees, fat bodies, aged bodies, independent artists, workers, people in street situation, etc. march together in the streets. Different realities, different levels of privilege, but with something in common – oppressed bodies for being how they are and operating as they wish. To occupy the streets for the free body has been an exercise of resistance and meeting, sharing, affection and celebration among these different bodies who march – and dance – together: because *Fervo tambem é luta* (...). And not to unify under the same flag, but to host all the flags at the same time, on the same space (Bonfiglioli 2017).

FIGURE 3
"RDL in the street 2016".
Photographer:
Rafael Canoba.

2. CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 NECESSARY DEBATES ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS' THEORY: A SHIFT IN POLITICS?

As shown above, the mainstream Brazilian LGBT movement structured its claims on the recognition of different identities to demand rights and citizenship. Categories such as heterosexual, gay, transgender, *travesti* etc. not only provide an illusion of belonging, but also limit our understanding of gender and sexuality as variable behaviors, constantly changing throughout history (Ingraham 2006: 312-313). "Rights-based organization strategies and developed interventions around sexual orientation and gender expression need to shift away from common categories of identity toward a broader context of struggle" (Budhiraja et al. 2010: 131-132), as that approach masks the real diversity in sexual/gender expressions.

Butler believes that it is necessary to make political claims using categories of identity and to have the power to name yourself, but it is also necessary to remember the risks that these practices imply (cited by Colling 2010: 2). The queer political proposal does not point to any division, but rather it is a unifying appeal to various non-conformist gender/sexual experiences: the experience of shame. Being cursed as *bicha*/faggot, *sapatão*/dyke, abnormal or degenerate is the founding experience of the homosexuality discovery, or what our society still

attributes to it, the space of humiliation and suffering. Turning this experience into a political force of resistance is the purpose of the original queer proposal (Miskolci cited by Colling 2010: 2). For Seffner (2011: 75-76), using the injury as the common denominator that constitutes LGBT, also allows articulations with other social movements where injuries of race, class, religion, gender, HIV status, disability, migrant or refugee status are discussed.

Manuel de Landa introduced useful distinctions between two general network types: hierarchies and meshworks. The first has a centralised control, is over-planned, homogenised, with particular goals and behaviour rules, operating in tree-like structures, as the military, bureaucratic organisations and capitalist enterprises. The second, on the contrary, is flexible, based on de-centralised decision making (as 'swarming effect'), self-organisation, heterogeneity, diversity, not having an overt single objective (cited by Escobar 2009: 397), non-hierarchical relations, direct democracy, and the striving for consensus (Juris 2008: 354). Deleuze and Guattari used the metaphor of 'rhizomes' to describe meshworks, suggesting that they are "networks of heterogeneous elements that grow in unplanned directions, following the real-life situations they encounter" (as cited by Escobar 2009: 397).

Another important point on the social movements' field is the centrality of knowledge-practices in movements and how these enactments weaken the boundary between activist and academic knowledges. The present paper aligns with the two-fold argument from Casas-Cortes et. al. (2008: 45):

> First, movements generate knowledge and that knowledge is material – that is, concrete and embodied in practice. As such, it is situated. Second, knowledge-practices are politically crucial, both because of the inextricable relationship between knowledge and power and because of the uniquely situated locations of these practices.

2.1.1 The role of emotions in doing activism

Due to the enormous personal commitment entailed by being an activist, the role of emotions and pleasure involved in the collective action should not be underestimated. Therefore, the safe space created by some social movements plays an important role on why activists stick to their movement, by promoting a place where they can share painful experiences, know about each other, share knowledge, and work their reflexivity and positionality – what is called 'affective politics' or 'politics of affections' (Brown and Pickerill 2009: 32-33).

2.2 INTERSECTIONALITY

Intersectionality "has been heralded as one of the most important contributions from the feminist scholarship" (Davis 2008: 67). The term intersectionality was first coined in the 80's by Kimberle Crenshaw, a black North-American feminist. She first used it to explain the difference in experiences and struggles of women of colour, considering not only their gender, but also their race. The concept, however, originated in the 70's when different feminist groups – black, lesbians, third-world, anti-colonial – started to challenge the category 'woman' as a united block. They claimed, instead, that different groups of women have different struggles, considering their variety of identities and power relations involved, and that the idea of 'sisterhood' was taking in consideration the experience of western, white, heterosexual, middle-class women (Denis 2008: 679). The concept evolved and can be explained as an analytical tool to explore the interaction between different categories of identities, but also of oppression/subordination/privilege – as gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, caste, class, religion, age, body, etc. According to Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013: 785), intersectionality is developing towards a field of studies, that can be divided by fluid boundaries into three different areas of engagement:

> the first consisting of applications on an intersectional framework or investigations of intersectional dynamics, the second consisting of discursive debates about the scope and content of intersectionality as a theoretical and methodological paradigm, and the third consisting of political interventions employing an intersectional lens.

2.3 THE BODY

As Grosz states, "we understand bodies as sites of cultural meaning, social experience and political resistance" (paraphrased by Harcourt et al. 2016: 149). Since Foucault's exploration about resistance to systemic power situated on the body, feminist scholarship has tried to shake presumed concepts of gender and biological sex (Harcourt et al. 2016: 149). Queer theorists, such as Butler, allowed the theorization of heteronormativity as a set of legal, cultural and institutional practices which keep assumptions of gender as a binary system that reflects biological sex, believing the only natural sexual attraction is the one between the supposed 'opposite' genders (cited by Schilt and Westbrook 2009: 441). Spivak and Mohanty wrote about the experience of female embodiment being informed by sexism, racism, misogyny and heterosexism (cited by Harcourt et al. 2016: 149). However, this experience can be enlarged to all bodies who express the feminine, as effeminate gays, transwomen and all others who do not conform with the heterosexual norm.

In the last decades, body politics place the body as a site of resistance, being an important mobilizing force for gender equality, sexuality and human rights. On an essay about 'unworthy bodies', Borghi (2016: 4-5) explores the relationship between public space, body and performance, giving attention to the bodies that do not conform with the heterosexual-patriarchal sexist and capitalist norm, which considers these bodies as out of place, putting them aside, marginalized and excluded from the privileges. She departs from the point of view that the public space is not neutral, and it is ruled by the heterosexual norm. In this perspective, the body is in constant relationship with the space, not only the body inhabits the space, but it is also space. Hence, the body is a social space, relates with other spaces and participates on producing the space. In this way, bodies have enormous potential - bodies outside the norm have even more -, as they have a strong subversive potential that can allow the transgression of the norms that regulate public spaces. If we add artistical performances to the body, we perceive forms of activism and resistance in which we use our own body as support for action in the public space, what allows us to make visible the relations of domination and social injustice, bringing a new way of doing activism.

2.4 *ARTIVISM*

Distinct aspects traditionally characterize art and activism: art is situated in the symbolic, while activism operates symbolic actions that interfere in the real. The historical value of authorship has led art to build itself from the individual, activism aims to incite a collective action; art reinterprets the world, while activism aims to transform it. However, a simple exercise of reflection is enough to dismantle these conceptual premises that dictate exact boundaries between what are no more than cultural constructions, that can always be overlapped, reinvented or, subverted (Mourão 2015: 53-54).

Artivism can be understood as a conceptual neologism that calls for links between art and politics, and stimulates the potential uses of art as an act of resistance and subversion. It can be found in social and political interventions, produced by people or collectives, through poetic and performative strategies. Its aesthetic and symbolic nature intensifies, sensitizes, reflects and questions themes and situations in a given historical and social context, aiming at change or resistance. Hence, according to Raposo (2015: 5), *artivism* is merged as a cause and a social claim and simultaneously as an artistic breakthrough - namely, by proposing scenarios, landscapes and alternative ecologies for enjoyment, participation and artistic creation.

From the different kinds of the *artivist's* expressions, the performance is the one which allows to bring together the constructions coming

from what is historically understood as art and activism, since it uses the body as a mean of expression, which is presented in both these two historical traditions. According to Mourão (2015: 67), there are four key factors needed for a successful performance:

> 1 - transmit a vibrant dissonant dimension, using forms of communication more emotive and symbolic than logical-rational;
>
> 2 - exerting itself unexpectedly, creating an impact by the element of surprise;
>
> 3 - in space and/or time with special meaning, playing with the artistic notions of site-specific and dramatic narrative (associated with dates and symbolic events);
>
> 4 - be registered and transmitted by the media and/or the internet, reaching the public sphere and public cyberspace, the media stage that generates public.

By using their bodies, they create a different kind of art, that is used politically to express a message, and that will only be acknowledged by the emotions that it will provoke.

3. RESEARCH APPROACH AND ROLE AS RESEARCHER

Considering the objectives of my research, it aligns with an ethnographic approach, as it involves the exploration of a cultural group, trying to understand and interpret the point of view of its participants (O'Leary 2004: 118). In order to answer the research's question, different research methods were used to gather primary data, such as interviews and observation. However, the main method used was informal, semi-structured, one to one interviews, as it is the method that allows the development of rapport and trust between the researcher and the interviewee, providing rich and in-depth qualitative data (O'Leary 2004: 161-170).

The questions around my positionality appeared mostly intuitively in the process of choosing my topic. For a long time, I saw myself as a sexual minority who suffers discrimination for being *bicha* and fat. The fear of discrimination and violence shapes and forces the person to analyse himself, to be aware of his difference in relation to the others. I had already acknowledged that I did not suffer the same oppressions as others and started to see my struggle in a different way. However, this only came to light when I started to study intersectionality in its different ways of engagement. Now I understand my position of privilege for being a cisgender, white, middle class man, even being a fat *bicha*, considering the sum of my other identities, I am on a privileged position within the LGBT community.

Now as a researcher I position myself as doing a research *with*, and not o*n* social movements. I listened to my interviewees as someone curious to learn what the experts on that kind of activism had to tell me, always investigating what all the concepts that I am discussing on this paper meant to them and trying to understand how they practice them.

3.1 DATA GENERATION METHODS

3.1.1. Interview and sample selection

The interviews had an informal and flexible structure, following a guideline questionnaire elaborated previously, but on a way that enabled to explore specific points following the natural flow of the conversation. With the help of Cadu Oliveira – one of the activists from the collective – I sent them an explanation about my project and asked for a response of those who would like to contribute to my research. As the first interviews were happening, different names started to appear. In a snowball sampling method, I asked again for Cadu's help to name other activists that could reflect the collective's diversity. Most of the interviews took place at a friend's apartment in Paulista Avenue, where I could create a safe and inviting environment. Other interviews took place in their houses and in a park, attending to my interviewees' preferences.

The interviewing process took around 4 weeks and earned me 11 interviews. Before starting each interview, I asked the consent from the interviewees to record our conversations. Considering the topics that were touched during the interviews and their role as activists and public figures, I explained that anonymity is not recommended in this research, and I offered a 'term of free and informed consent' explaining the research and giving the option to be asked previously in case I decide to cite them on the paper. All of them signed the term and only one activist asked to be asked about the use of his words expressly. It was assured the confidentiality in specific topics in case they would find necessary, giving them "the right to decline to answer any particular questions, and the right to end the interview upon request" (O'Leary 2004: 167).

3.1.2 Observation

Another research method used was to gather primary data through observation. I observed a meeting from two GTs (group work) about a fundraising party for their protest in November/2017 and a cinema event organized by the collective. This observation was fully disclosed, non-participant and unstructured. Another episode that was observed was the collective's participation during the major protest that happened in São Paulo on the 23rd of September 2017 in response

to the judicial decision that allowed the usage of 'sexual reversion therapy' by psychologists in Brazil, the commonly named 'gay cure' (Langlois 2017). This observation was, however, fully participant – as I could not fight against my bias and my positionality around the theme. The data collected during my observation helped me to form my analyses on how the collective structures themselves work out their own horizontality.

3.1.3 Secondary Data

Besides that, secondary data was collected from scientific articles, reports from NGOs, international organizations, and mostly from the collective and some activists' production to inform the background. A very rich amount of material about the collective has been produced by them, and they are available in newspaper articles, videos and interviews on the internet. An internet research yielded 623 webpage results, as well as 221 results on YouTube, on the 20th October 2017.

4. ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 RDL'S INSPIRATION AND FIRST STEPS TO ORGANIZE THE COLLECTIVE

In 2014, the LGBT Parade in Rio de Janeiro was cancelled due to lack of funding and help from different government institutions. An independent one was organized and gathered LGBT groups, but also had huge representation from feminist and black movements. The festive aspect was very strong with provocative artistical performances, but not without meaning and political claims. It was this joining of politics, statement of different claims, articulation of different groups, and celebrations of different bodies in the public space that started to interest Gustavo[3]. Back in São Paulo, a group of friends decided to post a call through his Facebook page (Bonfiglioli 2014) asking for a meeting with friends, activists or not, to think together a different way on doing activism and to prepare the first RDL protest. More than 50 people showed up on that meeting, and a manifest was collectively written with several claims towards the *Corpo Livre*. Their first protest took place on the same spot where the lamp episode happened on the Paulista Avenue.

4.2 SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND THOUGHTS ABOUT CATEGORIZATION

I interviewed 7 gay men with different social-economic backgrounds, races, and migrant status; a bisexual woman, a lesbian one, an older heterosexual black woman, and a trans man – as it can be seen on Appendix A. All the activists preferred to name their different identities and some of them explained the political importance or need of using those names.

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3. Interview with Gustavo Bonfiglioli, 17 August 2017.

Ariel[4] explained that he feels he belongs to all letters of the LGBT letter soup. He says that he never saw himself as a lesbian, but as a *sapatão*, and does not agree on how this term is seen nowadays, expressing only relationships between two women, while there is a whole '*sapatão* culture' that englobes lesbians and trans men. For him, differently from discovering himself as *sapatão*, to identify himself as trans man was a political choice that was taken in order to make people take his masculinity more seriously. However, Ariel also identifies himself as *bicha*, but this process happened from the general opinion of him. He started to be "read" as *bicha*, as he believes that this is the masculinity – more effeminate – that he expresses on other people's eyes and suffered homophobic attacks because of this image.

Luana[5] affirms herself as *sapatão* as she feels comfortable despite her privileges as white, middle class, with a university degree, although she knows that this is not the reality for many women in many places. She believes we are living in a period when it is necessary, and political, to name the identities but hopes that in the future, we will no longer need to use those boxes. For Luis[6] it is necessary to distinguish how you identify yourself politically and how you see yourself personally.

Vitor[7] told me how he explains to his students why he uses the word *viado* and not gay. When he affirms himself as *viado*, he is claiming a place different from the hygienic one that the word gay gained throughout the years. He says that this conservative process was also promoted by the so called 'Brazilian Homosexual Movement' in order to separate the gay men who deserves respect from the more effeminate and peripheric (and mostly black) *viados* and *bichas*.

Gustavo[8] explains that it is a paradoxical relationship, as he believes on a hypothetical world where these categorizations should not matter. However, while the different bodies get different value considering the way they are perceived, it is necessary to embrace those categorizations in some levels to gather in community and fight together for legitimacy. Talking about critiques towards identitarian movements, which blame them for promoting the weakening of the human rights, workers', and leftist agendas, he believes that it was a necessary political phenomenon in order to understand their own specificities.

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4. Interview with Ariel Nobre, 1 September 2017.
5. Interview with Luana Torres, 18 September 2017.
6. Interview with Luis Arruda, 22 August 2017.
7. Interview with Vitor Grunvald, 4 September 2017.
8. Interview with Gustavo Bonfiglioli, 17 August 2017.

4.3 *CORPO LIVRE*: HOW THE ACTIVISTS SEE THIS INTERSECTIONAL PLATFORM

In brainstorms during the collective's first meeting, the conclusion was that they should articulate their actions around the body. This was based on the idea that different bodies have different values for the society. According to Gustavo[9], when the black movements says, "the cheapest flesh on the market is the black flesh", is because the black bodies are undervalued in comparison to the white body. When an LGBT person receives a lamp on his/her face is because this body deserves to be beaten, because this is a body that has less value. All these bodies are different, have different privileges, but have something in common: they are oppressed for being how they are. The idea that all the different bodies need to be free and live with dignity, with access to resources, to jobs, to affection, to sex, to whatever they wish.

Some of the interviewees explained that it is very important to be in a space that acknowledges the complexity of their own intersectional identities, as some identity-based movements do not open the space to discuss the specificities of people who embody different intersections, as sexuality and race; sexuality with race and class, or all of those and HIV status.

Most of the interviewees explained in different ways how it is necessary to have a better perspective of the society by an intersectional confluence of power relations, as many other movements are very closed and do not dialogue with other groups. They agree that it happened for a reason, but what had attracted them is that the collective gives an overview, passing through different kinds of oppressions, as it is impossible to live in a society if you do not have a perspective on how this society is composed.

Jose[10] gave the example of how diverse are the oppressions suffered by the different activists from the gay bubble inside the collective. The differences between a white middle class gay man from São Paulo as Luis, and himself as a gay man from the countryside, coming from a more conservative family. As between Andre, gay man from the Northeast of the country, and Cadu, an effeminate black gay man, and Gustavo, a white middle class gay man, but who is also fat and extremely *fechativo[11]*. He tells that those people are "read" in different ways, even all being gays. To him, this intersectional inspiration is a 'mess' that helps them to understand that things are different for everybody regarding their own embodied experiences, considering the place they occupy, their social class or race.

9. Interview with Gustavo Bonfiglioli, 17 August 2017.
10. Interview with Jose Alberto, 29 August 2017.
11. This term is used to explain people who gain the attention where they go by the way they dress up and or express themselves. In this case, letting very clear that he is an effeminate gay. See footnote n. 4.

Different activists that were interviewed showed their concern to join different oppressed bodies to the collective, in order to see their intersectionality not only as a perspective, but also as real practice. They say that the collective started mostly with middle class gay men and for a long time they were the majority – a source of discomfort for them and one of their biggest challenges. In order to counter this situation, the collective has worked on gathering forces with different identitarian groups, asking for the help of black and transgender activists for specific events, and this relationship has helped them bringing those different embodied experiences to the collective.

4.4 *FERVO TAMBÉM É LUTA* AND *ARTIVISM*

Fervo tambem é luta ('Party is also fight') has an overall meaning perceived by all the interviewees as celebrating the different oppressed bodies in public spaces, the same spaces that do not allow their expression nor their existence.

As shown before, the collective was inspired by the independent LGBT parade that happened in Rio de Janeiro in 2014. Not unlike the Brazilian Carnival in the streets, it is far from being just a party, but is also political on the sense of a democratic celebration that gathers people from different social markers on the public space. Interestingly enough, as the LGBT parades served as inspiration to this RDL's motto, according to Jose[12], the last two LGBT Parades in São Paulo began with a drag queen shouting *Fervo também é luta*, a sign that their message was starting to be assimilated by other movements.

The first time I saw an *artivist* performance from RDL was in 2015. At that time, inspired by Eduardo Cunha's declaration – President of the Lower House of Congress – that the discussion about the legalization of abortion would only happen over his corpse, they organized the 'Catwalk over Eduardo Cunha's corpse'[13] (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2015a), where diverse people explained their different reasons for walking over his body, linking it to their free bodies, and walked over a doll with the congressman's face, indicating that the fight for women's rights over their bodies would not be silenced (Grunvald 2015: 37-38), ending with one activist taking off his clothes and dancing over the doll. In the same year, one of the biggest and most powerful Evangelical churches in Brazil released a video showing a paramilitary army called 'The Altar's Gladiators Army' (Exército Gladiadores do Altar 2015), showing a real threat to LGBTs and afro-religious groups. In response to that, RDL produced a video presenting *'Amazonas do Fervo'*[14] (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2015b), where a group composed by many

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12. Interview with Jose Alberto, 29 August 2017.
13. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-iUEDhf8g4>.
14. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYmKmDgnKl4>.

different bodies wearing provocative clothes made fun of the military language, while dancing and shouting the 'Free Body Manifesto'.

Vitor[15], as an activist and academic, has been involved in various discussions around *artivism*. For him, *artivism* is a practice that belongs to the political arena and to the art field. In some way, the *artivism* is this grey area between art and politics, and talking about the *artivism* proposed by the collective, he believes that it is built with a different language to try to connect people in a way that traditional political languages are not able to connect.

From structured projects to improvised ones, the collective has different ways of practising *artivism*. Through the discovery of their bodies' possibilities, political statements can be made with little resources. The collective organized a workshop about *artivism* requested by MASP, and an activist that collaborates with the collective, called Leandrinha Du Art[16]. In this event, wheelchair trans women performed lying on the floor, in front of the museum on Paulista avenue, with a poster: 'The men who desire me, kill me!' (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017c), explicitly linking the contradiction between desire and oppression over trans bodies.

In response to the recent attacks to arts and culture, with the demonization of nudity, the collective organized a photoshoot called "MeuKooPraCensura"[17] ('My Ass to the Censorship'), celebrating the beauty of different naked bodies, gathering women, *bichas*, black bodies, trans bodies, etc (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017g).

FIGURE 4
Photoshoot
"MeuKooPraCensura".
Photographer:
Rafael Canoba.

15. Interview with Vitor Grunvald, 4 September 2017.
16. See <https://www.facebook.com/LeandrinhaDuArt/>. Accessed 7 November 2017.
17. See <https://MeuKooPraCensura.tumblr.com/>.

FIGURE 5
Photoshoot
"MeuKooPraCensura".
Photographer:
Rafael Canoba.

Using the four key characteristics for a successful *artivist* performance proposed by Mourão (2015: 67) as a framework to analyse the performances – and the photoshoot – described above, it is clear that they attend all of them, as (i) they transmit a vibrant dissonant dimension, through emotional and symbolical communication; (ii) were unexpected, creating a surprise element; (iii) were on a time/space with special meaning and a dramatic narrative; and (iv) were registered by the mass media or shared on the internet, perpetuating the message that different bodies need to be free from different kind of oppressions.

Thus, *artivism* is a new concept that is not consensual yet, probably because is something that is still under construction but so far is very clear that they discovered that anyone can be an artist/*artivist* and that they are delivering their political message in a different way, a way that goes through emotions, as only art used to do.

4.5 LET'S TALK ABOUT PRAXIS!
The collective has the purpose to be horizontal, for Luis[18], a challenge to keep the horizontality is its size, as it is very important to bring more and different bodies, however, with more people, different methods will have to be elaborated to keep it horizontal and spontaneous, as he sees the spontaneity as one of the collective's main characteristics.

Many activists explained that they have three major events during the year: the *Revolta da Lâmpada* parade in the street, the 'CICLA das 5' and the monthly events on MAM. The other events are organized mostly

18. Interview with Luis Arruda, 22 August 2017.

by invitations received from universities, museums, and other collectives. The themes are chosen mostly based on the Brazilian social/cultural/political context. An example is their monthly talk at MAM. One of the museum's entrances is in a major park in São Paulo, *'Parque do Ibirapuera'*. There, every weekend, hundreds of teenagers from different social classes gather to skate, listen to music, flirt, and have fun. Through events on their Facebook page they announce the theme to everybody that would like to join. However, the teenagers that are already there are the ones who are invited to participate using non-usual ways of persuasion, as little parties (*fervos*) and artistic performances. Once they got their attention, they propose to talk.

FIGURE 6
Event at MAM.
Photographer:
Rafael Canoba.

On April 4th, 2017 the new national school curriculum was announced by the Brazilian Government to journalists. Two days later, a new version of the document was published excluding all the references to 'gender identity' and 'sexual orientation' (Cancian 2017). On April 23rd the collective organized the talk: 'Gender in Schools: past and future of the LGBT youth'. Considering that black people, women, LGBT, fat people, people with HIV are systematically expelled from the spaces of power but also from the spaces of affection. The collective proposed discussions around sadness, depression and bullying, bringing diverse activists' bodies to tell their stories. (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017a).

In May they addressed the theme: 'Masculinities: Are Men Educated to Be Violent?'. The event ended with guests and activists publicly admitting that reinventing masculinity into a healthy culture is only possible in political and affective connection with women (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017b). A similar process took place in July that year, this time addressing the topic of HIV-based discrimination (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017d).

Not all themes are chosen unanimously. According to Luana[19], she and Gustavo were trying to bring 'fatphobia' to the light many times but there was always a more "urgent" theme. During the discussions about the talk in August both had to stay still, and the group brought the theme 'The Fat Body is Beautiful'. Activists from different generations, races and gender identities discussed models and stereotypes that marginalize the fat body in our daily lives (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017e).

Working together with FESPSP, the collective and the foundation organized annual cycle seminars – 'CICLA das 5' – to discuss different issues within the academy, activists, and the broad public. In 2017 the umbrella theme was 'Work's Uncertainties', and the collective discussed different aspects of 'Labor and Vulnerable Bodies: The Company Imitates the Society'. The tables were made by activists from cut-outs that prioritize the diversity of race, ability, class, gender, sexuality, age, and HIV status (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017f).

The invitation for the 2017's protest is an example of how the collective operates as meshworks with other social movements, to use the analogy from Escobar (2009: 393-404). In the text, RDL intersects its intersectional inspiration and praxis with *artivism* and the idea of celebrating diverse bodies in the public space ('Fervo também é Luta'), bringing a strong message of resistance against the censorship promoted by conservative sectors with the theme: 'Corpo Livre É a Cura! Meu KOO para a Censura!' ('Free body is the cure, my ass to censorship').

> We want to give a response from the streets to the neo-fascist avalanche that censures, precarizes and criminalizes our bodies, our art, our expressions, rights and public policies to make a smoke curtain to divert attention from the largest slurry tsunami ever experienced in politics in the recent decades. The ass will have a fundamental role in our march. Look at the irony: the ass is one of the only things that all world has in common, but it is the most censored body part of all (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017h).

Apart from their own activists, other collectives and activists were invited to perform and talk about the intersex body, the body in street situation, the LGBT peripheric body, the asexual body, the sex workers body, the body from Afro religions, the refugee body, etc.

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19. Interview with Luana Torres, 18 September 2017.

4.6 HOW THE ACTIVIST SHARE KNOWLEDGE: AFFECTION IN DOING ACTIVISM

Since I got to know the collective, I always found interesting their very well-grounded discourses through posts on Facebook, videos or texts promoting their events. Many times, a very witty language has been used, mixing up and creating new words – which makes translations sounds very boring. The question arose as to know how the knowledge is shared among the activists, considering that they came from so many different backgrounds or bubbles.

The link with the academy was not denied, as some of them pursue a Master/PhD degree. Vitor[20], one of the academic activists says that a very complicated delegitimization process of academic knowledge is taking place within activist's circles in Brazil nowadays. He agrees that the academy should be denounced for being a very masculine, white and cisgender space. Nevertheless, it should be occupied by the bodies who are historically excluded from it, turning this space into a place that do not consider these voices only objects of study but used also as an empowering tool.

Cadu[21] says that they must be in touch with the academy, to have this knowledge exchange, but they need to "keep a foot outside, it's what keeps us on reality, it's the foot on the ground". For him, the collective's language cannot be too academic as it becomes less accessible. According to Amanda[22], "at RDL your curriculum must stay at the door, outside, before you get in the meeting. You will leave your Lattes there and will participate here like me as equals".

Hence, the knowledge is shared mostly orally, during their meetings, events, and their personal relationship within the group. Stories about endless and chaotic meetings were shared, describing their challenges to focus and discuss the practical issues, but always with the wish not to silence any voice. And during those meetings, in between practical discussions, the activists share personal problems and stories. The collective became a safe space where they can speak, listen, be listened, learn without judgments, support, and help each other.

4.7 MOTIVATIONS TO DO ACTIVISM: PROCESS TO SOCIAL CHANGE

As many other movements, RDL elaborated a very poetic and pragmatic manifesto (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2014). Their claims include the implementation of different public policies and the approval of diverse law reforms. Many activists mentioned the manifesto and that it still serves as a north for their fight.

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20. Interview with Vitor Grunvald, 4 September 2017.
21. Interview with Cadu Oliveira, 21 and 24 August 2017.
22. Interview with Amanda Alencar, 18 August 2017.

Some activists showed their deep appreciation on other movements that do a more "community-based work", helping oppressed groups in their basic needs. Sometimes this appreciation was shown as a critique about the work that the collective does, asking themselves, what is more important. Is that the right question?

A lot was said about their roundtables with LGBT and or peripheric youth, conferences, workshops, and the reaction from common people who start to follow their protests. They find pride and joy in seeing a little seed planted in someone's heart, hoping that their message had touched these hearts and it will be replicated in their home, in their daily relationships with different people. It is very strong the sense that nothing will change/happen if it is not promoted a cultural and social change in society. Hence, there is this way of looking to their activism, as a process to promote social change.

The collective also tries to give attention to more pragmatic agendas, community-based work and implementation of public policies and law reform, but it is impossible to embrace all areas in which a social movement can contribute. The idea of connecting and collaborating with other movements was pointed out by many of the interviewees as a short term aim from the collective, which again resonates with the idea of meshworks proposed by Escobar (2009: 393-404). Different independent and horizontal movements focusing on their own specificities but collaborating and strengthening each other in ways of fighting.

5. CONCLUSION

The present paper attempted to answer the question: *What does it mean to the activists from* A Revolta da Lâmpada *to do activism using artivism as a method, in a collective with intersectional inspiration that has the free body as common denominator for struggle?*

I assumed a very critical view from the collective in relation to identity politics and how a rights-based approach and essentialist discourse from the mainstream Brazilian LGBT movement. However, through the various answers the activist expressed their belief in the political need of:

    a) Embracing your own identities and creating safe spaces with affection;
    b) Fighting for each identity specificities;
    c) The importance of working in solidarity with bodies who suffer different or intertwined kind of oppressions.

The collective go beyond the established debate in identity politics, using it strategically when necessary, but trying to find intersectional

ways to collaborate with other movements and fight against the oppressions that are structural in our society. The different possibilities that intersectionality as inspiration entails to the collective's praxis is the common denominator found in the activist's responses.

There is a need to understand the intersection of your own embodied identities integrally, what cannot be found even in movements which work with specific intersections of race and sexuality, for example. The safe space to learn about each embodied experiences worked through their affectionate relationship is also fundamental by the overview that it gives from the diverse society they are embedded on. The hermetic and bureaucratic way of organizing different social movements, which is also expressed on their communication with the public is another important factor, as they believe in the need of rethinking methodologies on how to do activism that embraces a festive aspect of their bodies' celebration, as well as the use of their bodies to express a political message through art.

The common denominator of struggle found by the movement to work in solidarity is the free body, the claim that all the bodies who suffer different kind of oppressions and receive different values from the society need to resist together and celebrate their own specificities. The body is the centre of the collective's framework, as it is seen as site and mean of resistance and celebration. The discovery of your own bodies' possibilities and need to occupy different spaces, as streets, academy, companies, etc., is used as means for personal empowerment to promote collective empowerment to other oppressed bodies. Not detached from the body lies the emotions, as affection within the collective, in creating a safe space of learning, understanding and welcoming but also in establishing an affection network with anyone who is open to listen to their message. The celebration of those bodies is also embedded in pleasure, as they do not believe it is necessary to be serious all the time and avoid the fun in sharing experiences with others.

Artivism joins it all together as a strong methodological tool to reach other hearts and minds, finding out different forms of communicating and informing, exploring the hidden possibilities of oppressed bodies, not denying their emotions while spreading political and practical messages, and using them to connect with people in a way only art could ever do.

The collective believes in a different way of organizing social movements, avoiding institutionalization and hierarchical models. The horizontality gives them freedom and a lot of challenges to deal with different points of view and sense of urgency. Consensus is not reached every time and there are conflictive opinions among the activists about different issues.

However again, the creation of this safe and affectionate space helps them understand each other's experiences and needs. The political crises and the creation of factoids around gender and sexuality issues put the collective in a very reactive agenda, demanding urgency in creating responses to the different issues they would like to work on. But through and in between these reactions they manage to negotiate and give their message to the various issues concerning different kinds of oppressions.

From the fieldwork, it is clear the way that they try to promote an intersectional view of the society through themes that matters to everybody. Working on themes like HIV, labour market and masculinities, they bring the particularities and different perspectives about the theme depending on each body's positionality. Black LGBT bodies, travesti bodies, trans men bodies, white middle class gay bodies have different experiences in relation to those themes and suffer different oppressions. Working with those differences, they show the need to gather forces and work in solidarity with each other.

The collective developed a manifesto with all the claims that they found necessary to free the different bodies from their oppressions. This manifesto is still remembered and used in events when it is appropriate. It is a cardinal point that guides their work. However, as the collective and its activists evolve with every internal and external interaction, they must learn how to put intersectionality in practice and their body and *artivism* as means to do activism. This leads to their actions having to be at the same time very practical, reacting to the political crises and the conservative wave in the Brazilian society, but also very symbolic, trying to connect with people in an emotional level.

This way of acting, at the same time that can put some activists to think on which kind of activism is more urgent, has also given the collective the idea of the need to work on solidarity with different social movements, which have different focuses and work on different causes, in rich collaboration to give strength to the different actors.

To embrace their way of acting in a more symbolical level, talking through art, emotions and embodied experiences with the aim to promote deep social and cultural change is a path that they are taking and learning with their daily experiences. This experience has shown to be very successful in the way they use this intersectional inspiration and put it in practice, working strategically with identity politics, a point of view that needs to be acknowledged by scholars in the development, social movements, and intersectionality fields. As stated above, the situated knowledge from social movements has a lot to inform and contribute to these areas, finding ways to go beyond academical debates

and showing that it is possible to put identity, intersectionality, body and *artivism* in the daily practice of social movements.

Word Count (excluding bibliography): 9.993

APPENDIX A

NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	SELF-IDENTIFICATION
Andre Bandim	33	Adman and bar's owner	Gay man from the Northeast
Gustavo Bonfiglioli	30	Diversity consultant and artist	*Bicha gorda* (fat faggot), gender disobedient
Amanda Alencar	28	Cultural producer and actress	Bisexual, white, middle class, full of privileges
Cadu Oliveira	39	Studied Marketing and People Management, give lectures, etc.	*Bicha*, black, effeminate, out of the standard
Luis Arruda	40	Lawyer and admin	Effeminate gay
Rodrigo Abreu	32	Actor, performer, director, art producer, cleaner…	Gay from the periphery
Cida Baptista	59	Handcrafts woman	Black heterosexual woman
Vi Grunvald	34	PhD, Anthropologist, university's teacher, cinema director, photographer	*Viado/Bicha*
Jose Alberto	35	PhD, Psychologist, university's teacher, SP City Hall mental health coordinator	Cis man, white, gay
Ariel Nobre	30	Visual artist	Trans man, *sapatão*, *bicha*
Luana Torres	36	Banker, student of Psychology	*Sapatão*

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DOSSIER

WITH FILMS CAME FREEDOM: *CINEGROUND,* MEMORY OF A PORTUGUESE QUEER CINEMATOGRAPHY FROM THE 1970ˢ

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ABSTRACT

Cineground (1975-78) was a Portuguese amateur film producer, founded during PREC (Ongoing Revolutionary Period) by artist Óscar Alves and filmmaker João Paulo Ferreira. Also revolutionary due to the approach of sexualities still criminalized in the 1970's, this project has shown that the true liberation of society would require the liberation of the individual body. This cinematography produced in Super-8, and characteristic of the particular social conditions of the format, addressed for the first time in Portuguese cinema gay, with the representation of the double life of homosexuals and the issue of coming out, and also *queer* subjects, due to the constant presence of the transvestite character. I suggest a discussion around transvestite performance as a possibility of transgression and denaturalization of normative norms of gender and identity, and a critique on the representation and visibility of LGBT people in cinema, which in the particular case of *Cineground*, becomes their vehicle of existence.

INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution, the independent and nonprofessional film producer *Cineground*, founded by plastic artist Óscar Alves and filmmaker João Paulo Ferreira (who died in 1995) did not respect the classic models of cinematography and much less the normative models of sexuality, showing that the true liberation of society would require the liberation of the individual body. Produced in Super-8, this filmography derives from the particular social conditions of a circuit of reduced economies, film societies (aka *cineclubs*) and creative solidarities, as well as the generalized spirit of direct civic action in the years following the April 25th 1974. An underground cinema at its core, it was limited to small entertainment halls in the capital (bars and nightclubs), places as marginal as the clandestine community it portrayed. With scarce means of production and a reduced technical team, *Cineground* was able to produce 9 known titles: *O Charme Indiscreto de Epifânia Sacadura* (1975), *Solidão Povoada* (1975) *Fatucha Super Star-Ópera Rock...Bufa* (1976), *Os Demónios da Liberdade* (1976), *Goodbye Chicago* (1978), *As aventuras e desventuras de Julieta Pipi ou o Processo Intrínseco Global Kafkiano de uma vedeta não analisado por Freud* (1978), and also *Trauma* (1976), *Tempo Vazio* (1977) e *Ruínas* (1978)), 3 movies from João Paulo Ferreira that are not available in any of the existing *Cineground's* archives and are believed to have been donated by the author to the Russian Cinematheque (neither Óscar Alves nor the two institutions who have the films from the producer, Cinemateca Portuguesa and Queer Lisboa Festival, have them in any format). The films portray sexualities classified in the 1970s as still deviant, and in the language employed, there is an appropriation of the negative stereotypes that would be attributed to them. While some of the titles seem politically engaged, in the case of João Paulo Ferreira's, others raise questions for reflection, in the case of Óscar Alves', which address the dual life of Portuguese homosexuals, the "coming out of the closet issue" and the social marginality that came along with it. *Cineground* reflects the ambiance and the era in a "unique and unrecognizable way for the mainstream" and portrays a gay and lesbian *milieu* that had been built in Lisbon since the previous decade and which was becoming more expressive in the country, as well as its popular circuit of bars and shows, especially in the geography of Bairro Alto and Príncipe Real. The bars *Bric a Brac*, the *Classico ma non troppo*, *Travestol* and *Scarlatty Club*, where the transvestite show begins to assert itself, were amongst the most famous places (Cascais 2007, 152). Thanks to Cineground, gay and *queer* lifestyles were first introduced to Portuguese cinema. The queer subject is present in the ever ambivalent representation of sexuality by the transvestite character, a distinctive landmark of this cinematography (*Cineground* starred famous transvestite celebrities of the day such as Belle Dominique, Guida Scarllatty and Lydia Barloff, and amongst the 6 available titles, there

is only one of them which does not include transvestite performances. The naturalization of gender and sex as a form of political control and social organization was particularly felt in the previous decades of dictatorial repression, where institutions were in the realm of state ideology. Family as a natural institution and especially the church, became the target of "fake morality", mostly visible in Fatucha Superstar, which insists on "unmasking" the fallacies of the Catholic Church and to show how social conventions became the norm. Although Portuguese society was under ideological construction and there was a predisposition to novelty in the context of post-April 25th / PREC, the criminalization of non-normative sexualities remained unquestioned. *Cineground's* films are the product of a restricted circle, expressions of the existing and possible culture of an invisible community and their marginalized experiences.[1] The presence of transvestism, justified by the filmmakers as a trend of the time, becomes a possibility of transgression because the transvestite enjoyed a public freedom that a gay man did not have.

This essay is a reflection on the body as a component of visual culture, and the processes of identification around gay culture and the transvestite body present in the work of Cineground. The resources used in the "ethnographic reconstruction" of the film producer were filmography, film reviews and articles taken from press documentation of the time, and interviews with its agents[2] using the methodology of photo-elicitation[3] with film frames. Judith Butler's Queer Theory and Performativity Theory was the theoretical basis chosen for this study, as a place for challenging hegemonic forms of thinking and power and its rigid models of existence, whilst also recognizing the involvement of subjects in the processes of power which affect them, and thus allowing "to turn power against itself in order to produce alternative forms of power" (Butler 1993, 241).

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1. See in this regard João de Pina Cabral (1996, 2000), *A difusão do limiar: margens, hegemonias e contradições na antropologia contemporânea*, and Susana Pereira Bastos, *O Estado Novo e os Seus Vadios* (1997, 136), on the social representation of marginals during Estado Novo. In this title, the author surveyed the "established criteria" that would lead marginals to be considered a social danger, and that as a result of the "elites" speech, would be confined in specific spaces for their status (prostitutes, homosexuals, beggars and the mentally ill). The July 1912 Criminal Code Act defined a category of "vagrant" that applied to homosexuals. The "strategy of detachment" shows the part of elites "in the construction of deviant identities". (in Revista Antropológicas, nº1, 1997).
2. Interviews were conducted with the following agents: producer Óscar Alves, and actors Domingos Machado, Domingos Oliveira and Carlos Ferreira; and Antonio Fernando Cascais, an academic, who conducted the first study and dissemination of Cineground's estate through its introduction in the Queer Lisboa Festival.
3. See Annex B for movie frames.

GENDER PERFORMATIVITY AND TRANSVESTITE PERFORMANCE

According to P. Raposo, performance can be described in a generic way as a "way of communicating whose essence demarcates an act of expression (meaning / meaning and form)", requiring the "awareness of it and its doers") and the existence of "an audience" (Raposo 2010, 78). It has, like other human activities, a "place" and a social and / or cultural function (Ibid., 79). The "situation of performance" provides a sense of freedom that Durkheim describes as "collective effervescence" and exemplifies with the production of new symbols and meanings through public action. In this frame of thought, behaviors and actions once considered contaminated or promiscuous, become the focus of postmodern analytical attention (Turner 1987, 6 e 7). Turner adds that while social life obeys an order that tends to be reinforced by ritual, symbolic frames operate simultaneously with areas of ambiguity and indeterminacy, amenable to manipulation, the "cultural imperatives" themselves require adjustments and interpretations. Turner sees man as a "self-performative" animal, in the sense that being his performances reflexive, he reveals himself through performance in two different ways: the "actor" can get to know himself better through representation or performance, just as a group of human beings can get to know each other better by observing or participating in performances produced by other groups; performances can also distinguish themselves between social (including social dramas) and cultural performances (including "aesthetic or stage dramas") (Ibid., 10). In some cultural practices we may find spaces of power re-articulation, either racial or sexual, where appropriation of hegemonic forms of power occurs and fails to repeat the "loyalty" to these hegemonies, producing, instead, new possibilities of signification that go against their original discriminatory purposes (Turner 1987, 140). With Gender Trouble (1990) Judith Butler ushered a new era in gender studies. Defending a discontinuity between sex and gender, and questioning the sexual categories of "man" and "woman," the author shook identity politics at the genesis of the feminist movement and laid the foundations for the construction of the queer theory. Butler's greatest innovation lies in the notion that normative sexuality, defined by the biological sex, also strengthens gender normativity and that it is precisely in sexual practice that one finds the power to destabilize gender (Butler 1990/2017, 22). The most fracturing idea of this work is the theory of gender performativity, according to which gender operates as an "anticipation" of an inner essence whose construction happens as a "revelation", expected and authorized by social norms (Ibid.). Gender is performative because what we take as the inner essence is actually "fabricated" through a set of bodily acts that through repetition and ritual lead to gender naturalization (Ibid.) The transvestite and drag shows are the example that the author uses to explain this constructed and performative dimension of gender, in which before a man dressed as

a woman, the perception is that "man" is the reality of gender, lacking reality to the gender introduced by comparison, the woman "(Ibid., 36). Drag may look like a pretense reality and be easily taken as mere artifice (Ibid.) However, the meaning of this "gender reality" is less evident when one thinks about trans bodies, and it is here that the destabilization of norms occurs because our cultural or decorous perceptions are not sufficient to perceive the bodies we see (Ibid., 37). This consciousness about the limits of the naturalized gender knowledge opens room for questioning and transforming the idea of "gender reality", leading us to think about its possibilities. Although drag performance does not hold a subversive quality in itself, the way in which it deconstructs "on stage" common assumptions of gender and sexuality, attributing them originality, reveals the performative nature of the "original acquired", heterosexual model. Parody can be interpreted as a resistance strategy to prove that gender and sexuality are not organized in terms of "original" and "imitation", but rather that both exist, as possibilities of performance (even if regulated). Years later, in *Bodies that Matter*, Butler (1993, 123) develops the idea that it is precisely the production of the terms sex, gender, and identity in the context of power regimes that makes it imperative to repeat them in "languages" and directions that relocate their original (normative) goals. According to the author, political agency cannot be isolated from the power dynamics in which it is forged. Performativity – Butler explains – becomes, by its iterative quality, a "theory of agency" in which power is a condition of its very existence (Butler 1990/2017, 39). In a similar way, the enactment of female identity through traditional stereotypes with the aim of subverting and parodying, typical of transvestite shows, also shows resistance to / appropriation of / the "language imprisonment" (in regards to the available speeches) (Amaral, Macedo and Freitas 2012, 11). By exposing the categories of sex, gender, and desire as effects of a specific power formation, Butler approaches Foucault's critique, which the author calls "genealogy" (Ibid., 45). The genealogical critique analyzes what is politically at stake when organizing categories of identity as a source and cause, when they are in fact, in the author's opinion, the effects of institutions, practices and discourses (Ibid., 46). Foucault rejects the construction of sex as univocal (sex makes a person) and elaborates a theory around sexuality in which sex is seen as an effect rather than the origin (Ibid., 202). Sexuality is presented as an open and complex historical system of power discourses in which the term sex is produced as part of a strategy that hides and perpetuates power relations (Ibid.).

Foucault's "discursive construction of the subject" originated in Althusser's doctrine of interpellation, according to which the social subject would be produced through the language conveyed by the Ideological

State Apparatuses (ISA)[4] (Althusser 1971, 46 e 47). In Althusser, as in Foucault, subjection is part of the process of construction of the social subject, it happens in the recognition and acceptance of the language of authority, that results from the indoctrination by the ISA. Butler's critique of the first author focuses on the absence of the reasons that lead individuals to accept the subordination and normalization that this authoritarian state discourse presupposes, suggesting that "the theory of interpellation may need a theory of consciousness" (Butler 1997, 5). This idea is illustrated by law enforcement: by alerting the subject he becomes aware of his situation of transgression, and the reprimand not only works to repress or control the individual, but also contributes to their social and legal formation (Butler 1993, 121). Through this process of rebuke, the subject not only acquires visibility within the social structure, but when transferred to a possible external and questionable state, comes into existence in discourse (Ibid.). This process leads the author to question other ways of "being constituted by law" without it implying obedience and an interdependence between the power of rebuke and the power of recognition. Seeking to overcome Althusser's concept of "bad subjects", Butler explains that interpellation can lead to disobedience, where the law is not only rejected but fractured, forcing a re-articulation of the law (Ibid., 122). The expected uniformity and conformity of the subject may give rise to a refusal of the law in the form of "parodic coexistence of conformity" that will question the legitimacy of the established order (Ibid.). The result will be a re-articulation of the same law against the authority of the one who decrees it, a repetition (Ibid.). After being given "a name" that situates him in discourse and over which he had no choice, the subject builds his own through the questioning of others, and cannot be extracted from the historicity of the current that was built around him by others. The subject's agency then occurs in this belonging to the power relations to which he tries to oppose. In short, and still regarding the relationship between drag performance and subversion, the drag-triggered space of ambivalence allows us to reflect on the implication of individuals in the power regimes that constitute them and to which they (simultaneously) oppose. Drag is subversive in the sense it allows us to contemplate the imitative structure upon which sexual production itself depends and to question the claim to the naturalness and originality of heterosexuality (Butler 1993, 125).

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4. "What distinguishes the ISA from the (repressive) State Apparatus is the following fundamental difference: the Repressive State Apparatus "works through violence", while the ISA function [...] in a massively prevalent way through ideology, while functioning secondarily through repression, and this is greatly attenuated, concealed or even symbolic (there are no purely ideological apparatuses). Thus the school and the churches "educate" by the appropriate methods of sanctions, exclusions, selections, etc., not only their officiators, but also their sheep. Thus the Family... Thus the ideological cultural apparatus (censorship, for instance), etc (Althusser 1971, 46 e 47).

When it comes to body depictions, the symbolic hierarchies that exist in societies, are also reflected in cinema, through a selection of what can and cannot be seen (MacDougall 2006, 19). This explains why the most varied bodily experiences are absent or treated with extreme discretion and the functional (or transgressing) body systematically "sanitized", as determined by cultural and social practices (Ibid.). The first appearances of LGBT characters in cinema come from the early twentieth century, in which sexuality would not be yet assumed but rather suggested through performance. One exception was the private recording of Austrian director Richard Oswald, *Anders als die Andern* (Unlike Others) (1929), considered to be one of the first gay-themed films in film history and deemed destroyed by Nazi censorship (Bessa 2007, 280). Featuring the contribution of sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld, the film was intended to challenge *Paragraph 175* of the German penal code which criminalized homosexual relations, by offering a portrait of homoerotic sociability during the Weimar Republic (Ibid.). In the aftermath of World War I, governments throughout the western world began to develop mechanisms for policing public morality that extended to cinema (Nowell-Smith 2017, 75). While national censorship commissions were widespread in European countries, in the US the large scale film industry attempted to self-regulate through what became known as the Hays Code (1934-1962) (Ibid., 76). The approach to LGBT characters was subliminal or "derogatory" as this was a time of censorship and "moral commitment".[5] Due to this scrutiny, sexuality in cinema, especially during the 1930s-50s, would be "more suggested than assumed", a scenario that would only change with the social revolution of the 1960s (Rocha and Santos 2014, 1). From this decade onwards, the previously forbidden or veiled social themes start taking part of the narrative in the most varied filmographies, where LGBT characters and their lifestyles have been displayed as part of complex structures, along with issues of class, ethnicity or religion. On mainstream culture it's Pedro Almodóvar's cinematography that, since the 1980s, has attracted the most attention, with its intricate plots that often revolve around LGBT identities (Ibid., 10). The 1990s bring new conflicts and a greater variety of representations in the field of sexuality. There is a proliferation of gay, lesbian and also LGBT film festivals (the first edition of an LGBT festival would happen in 1977, the *Frameline Film Festival* in San Francisco (Bessa 2007, 257), and in the 2000s there was a definite "come out" for a multitude of commercial and independent filmographies that took

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5. Developed by Will Hays, a republican politician founder of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association (MPPDA) (and supported by religious institutions and other civil society organizations), this document was intended to "protect" American society from the negative effects of cinema through the censorship of content such as nudity, adultery, drug use, among others, that were considered as "morally repugnant". In addition to those themes that could still be "masked", a ban was applied to any depictions of racial miscegenation, homosexuality, or parody of religious figures (Rocha and Santos 2014, 2).

into account the different identities and the complexity of existing sub-jectivities (Rocha and Santos 2014, 13). In contemporary cinema, espe-cially since the 1970s, the transvestite has become a commonplace for both drag and queer cultures, and the usual distinction between "queer and straight representations" was no longer easily cataloged as nega-tive or positive. Alongside mainstream cinema and before the advent of the new queer cinema, cult and avant-garde films also offered some audiences, often selective and / or marginal, similarly to *Cineground's* case, less socially and sexually veiled views of the transvestite and drag characters, in which cross-dressing was seen more as a lifestyle than as a pathology (Grossman 2015, 4).[6] In this genre there is Ed Wood's auto-biographical *Glen or Glenda* (1953), or John Waters' controversial under-ground classic *Flaming Creatures* (1963), a filmography that was banned from the mainstream cinema circuits and is responsible, along with Andy Warhol's factory, for publicizing numerous transvestite and drag-queen characters, including the popular *Divine*, Waters cult figure star-ring in titles such as *Multiple Maniacs* (1970), *Pink Flamingos* (1972) or *Female Trouble* (1974). Transvestism became, in this context, not only a synonymous for *camp*[7] culture, but a true embodiment and celebration of deviance and political marginality (Ibid. 4). It is also in this under-ground cinematography that *Cineground*, as the name itself implies, is most inspired and with which it identifies more, what seems visible in its aesthetic and also (in a certain way) political identity. A *queer* reading proposes repositioning the "narratives" outside the boundaries of normativity, as defined by the basic premises of *queer theory* (that challenges narrow categories of gender and sexuality) (Dhaenens, Van Bauwel and Biltereyst 2008, 335 and 336).

The shift of focus from individuals to the social and political context within gender and sexuality studies, derived from the social construc-tionism paradigm, also had its impact on film studies, in particular with the work of some feminist critics who began, from the 1970s on-wards, deconstructing the "masculine look" in visual arts (Laura Mul-vey (1975) and Teresa De Lauretis (1984; 1987) stand out among the most significant contributors. Studies on queer representation also began to consider the role of the audience in constructing the meaning of the argument, where before textual determinism predominated in film theory in general. The contribution of cultural studies argued that the viewers would have an active and transformative action, and that the

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6. Some of the films featuring transvestite characters between 1900 and 1960 include: Harold Lloyd in *Spitbal Sadie* (1915), Charlie Chaplin in *Busy Day* (1919), *The Masquerader* (1914), *Perfect Lady* (1913); Fay Tincher in *Rowdy Ann* (1919) or Billy Wilder in *Some Like it Hot* (1959) (Grossman 2015, 1).
7. See Susan Sontag (1966/2018, 1), *Notes on "Camp"*, in which the author presents a reflec-tion on the concept of camp, "It is not a natural mode of sensibility, if there is any such. Indeed the nature of Camp is its love for the unnatural: of artifice and exaggeration".

order within the film, regardless of a specific meaning of identity, class, sex, ethnicity or nationality, could be perceived in a different "textual order" by different viewers, matching the plurality of interpretations with the plurality of the audience (Dhaenens, Van Bauwel and Biltereyst 2008, 339). As MacDougall (2006, 16) points out about the place of the body in cinema, "representations of experience immediately create new experiences in their own right". Also reflecting on the place of sensory experience in cinema, author Laura U. Marks (2000, 138) proposes a form of cinematic representation that relates the world of mimesis / imitation with the world of symbolic representation. Through the process of mimesis, a relationship created between the viewer and the object allows a coexistence between the experience of reality and the forms of symbolic representation that result from the production of signs about that reality (Ibid., 139). The processes of identifying that result from this production of signs or symbolic representation are, in turn, invoked in queer cinema studies, which explore how representations can limit the possibilities of existence, but also constitute a locus of agency. Although not all individuals identify themselves with the available identity categories, no one lives outside society and the network of representations in which they find themselves, allow them to act on the circumstances of their social representation and react to the negative images that limit them (Dyer 1993, 3). A central characteristic in the representation of LGBT people is that their sexual identity is "not visible", there is rather a set of signs, behaviors and iconographies that are associated with them (Ibid., 20). This is the only way to "make the invisible visible", that is, the basis for the representation and visual recognition of the LGBT people, which on the other hand requires a typification, which being limiting, is also necessary for the representation of LGBT individuals in social, political, practical and textual domains (Ibid.).

In recent decades, concerns about categorization in human societies has shown that sexual categories are historically specific and new. At a political level, these categories have been redefined by the LGBT community itself, and it is common to see an attempt to depathologize non-normative sexualities, shifting the category of homosexual from people to acts (Ibid., 21). Since typification takes place in the realm of available definitions, the creation of gay and queer subcultures (which were the basis of the early movements) emerged as a way of resisting the negative implications of categories, as a way of life that could be recognized in the context of a total culture. What is considered the most important result in this typification is the semiotic identification, the possibility of meeting amongst members of a group. In cinema, the representation of homosexual desire is translated into the production of cultural texts that facilitate the recognition of LGBT characters (Ibid., 22). As a style, sexual comedy is one of the artistic forms (alongside with

the horror genre), where ambivalence about male sexuality is more common, as an "authorized" form of expression to explore dubious and difficult aspects of social life (Dyer 1993, 114). Its potential lies in the fact that by seeking to become popular, it pays attention to the contradictory nature of human attitudes and behaviors, appealing to a wide range of audiences and preferences (Ibid.). In the case of the transvestite character, the fact that there is a man in women's clothing elicits an immediate comic effect because it is "incongruous" with gender roles. This is a formula used to elicit laughter from Shakespeare's plays to modern cinema (examples are *Some Like it Hot* (1959), *Tootsie* (1982) or *Mrs. Doubtfire* (1993)). While the "demotion" of the male performer undergoes in cross-dressing allowing for a controlled show of superiority, the performance opens up a possibility for gender role scripts to be redefined. In short, the dichotomous gender policing by the ruling order is maintained in these films, but the transvestite offers, nonetheless, a liberating quality, when the disguise with which it appropriates and manipulates gender conventions is intended to break with these same conventions, giving the viewer conflicting information about sexual identification and the rules of sexual determination.

CINEGROUND (1975-1978)

The Super-8 circuit, in which *Cineground* fits, would not intersect with large scale cinema in Portugal, and *Cineground's* own production conditions mirror the particular social characteristics of this type of cinema. This format, still used today by some filmmakers especially due to aesthetic and technical preference, gave rise to a first moment of "democratization and massification" of filmmaking in the 1960s, as it offered the ordinary citizen an "affordable" way to make cinema (albeit always expensive, and with users mostly from upper and middle class) (Neves 2007, 1). The 9mm film and the central perforation was followed by the 8mm, and with Super-8[8] the distribution of small cameras also came to Portugal. The path of possibilities and the transformation of mentalities achieved with the Revolution has brought a generation of new talents, with greater cinematic and interventional concern. The development of structures alongside the "democratization of images and words" attracted more enthusiasts and by the end of the 1970s the FPCA (Portuguese Amateur Film Federation, now the Portuguese Film and Audiovisual Federation) would have over 70 registered film societies (Ibid.). *Cineground* would take part, in the words of journalist, writer and filmmaker António Loja Neves, "in the memorial collection of our lands and on the development of our society" (Ibid., 7). This way of looking at Super-8 as a "professional" film format was embraced by João Paulo Ferreira, author

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8. Technical detail: The film is 8mm wide, exactly the same as the old standard 8mm, and has also single-sided perforations, but its perforations are smaller, allowing for an increased exposure of the film, and therefore a better image quality.

and collaborator of *Cineground*, who remained in the making until the late 1980s (becoming, in the meantime a prominent director of this format in Portugal), and by Óscar Alves, visual artist and his production partner. Jean Cocteau's staging and Andy Warhol's cinematography, in particular because of his use of transvestite characters in *Flesh* (1968),[9] are cited as the main inspirations, along with their common fascination for the seventh art. Broadcasted by the National Radio-Television network, RTP1, in 1975, Warhol's filmography featured unusual content for Portuguese television at the time. The type of cinema, as its name implies, was also inspired by this author's underground style:

> It was the Post-April 25th, censorship was over, the police didn't know what to do, the Church tried to get involved [unsuccessfully, as Óscar would explain later]. We started the company and started writing and making the movies. [...] João Paulo wanted to make a line of films for the left, for Russia, Eastern countries... I never wanted to be a politician... Not that I was right-winged, I have always been a leftist but I'm not interested in any political affiliation... The themes were decided individually, but we respected each other choices.[10]

The creation of the producer resulted naturally from the coexistence and convergence of interests of a group of friends:

> I had a famous restaurant at the time, me and others, called *Guess who's coming for dinner* and we'd always meet there. In Alcântara, where Herman's restaurants are today, Herman [a well-known Portuguese TV celebrity] bought the place later. One of my partners had a garage next door and we used the garage as a studio. It was very hard... Even today I look back and it seems impossible for me the way we sorted things out... with amateur projectors, we crafted everything, with everything to serve [...] We built the scenarios, the props, wardrobe... Let's say it was mostly I who built everything. J. P. Ferreira had no way for that kind of task, poor guy [...] he did the editing, sound though [...] He had a way with that, although it was as rudimentary as possible. We bought the stuff, spent a lot of money, it costs a lot of money to make movies, it was very hard! It was the only portable format, there was no other. I still have those cameras stored somewhere. But God forbid, it was expensive! Already at the time, we ran out of savings.[11]

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9. Although the argument was discussed by Andy Warhol and Paul Morrissey, Warhol's collaborating filmmaker and studio, The Factory, *habitué*, the film was made solely by Morrissey (who made the story into a trilogy: *Flesh*, followed by *Trash* (1970) and *Heat* (1972). Inspired by real-life characters and events, the story unfolds around a bisexual prostitute played by Joe Dallessandro, and marks the cinematic debut of "marginal characters" who would be a regular cast in Warhol's filmmaking, such as transvestites Candy Darling and Jackie Curtis and stripper Geri Miller. In: Gary Comenas (2002/2015). warholstars.org.
10. Personal interview with Óscar Alves, 28th March 2014.
11. Personal interview with Óscar Alves, 28th March 2014.

João Paulo Ferreira was in charge of post-production, sound, assembly and editing. According to Óscar Alves calculations, during its active years *Cineground* had no more than 40 collaborators (among "technical staff" and actors), 50% of which have passed away already.

> They were my friends. I was like, "Do you want to star in the movie?" "Ah! Of course!". Then a group started to gather. There was a goodwill back then, a goodwill that I think would be hard to find today... No one got a penny, you know? There was a small revenue from a movie that I distributed to all of them. But it was a ridiculous thing, two or three cents each.[12]

Domingos Machado (Belle Dominique) explains that his first contact with *Cineground* was made through his fellow-soldier Domingos Oliveira (another actor) during the Colonial War in Angola.[13] Domingos Oliveira was an acquaintance of director Óscar Alves, who suggested the collaboration of Domingos Machado in the second title of the producer, *Solidão Povoada*, 1976. The "goodwill" that characterized this medium is a common observation in the reports of the producer's various actors: the cast was formed among friends, the filming locations were often "someone's place", the scenarios were made from recycled materials, all taking into account their limited resources, alike other projects that were being made in this format. Filmmaker Vítor Silva, a professional colleague of João Paulo Ferreira's, says that this way of working would make one think about a certain "collectivism", a "teamwork promoted by Super-8, which did not happen with 8mm, whose crafting was more individualistic" (Loja Neves 2007, 15). During conversations with *Cineground* agents, it was common to reference J. P. Ferreira's filmography as "politically engaged" and "technically audacious". This opinion seems to be shared by António Cunha, also a filmmaker and co-worker of J. P. Ferreira:

> He did not want to make films "for cinema" [...] He was a *cinephile* above all. He was able to subvert all this tendency of seriousness which characterized filmmaking back then. Soon after April 25th, he and a group of friends, mainly Óscar Alves and Domingos Oliveira, formed *Cineground*. They would make films with unthinkable subjects for their time: transvestites, homosexuals, extremely interesting and important films where these subjects were approached with great humor. In *Fatucha Superstar...* we could see the Holy Mary hanging from an olive tree, wearing boots and a plastic suit preaching: "This is where I will start my fight. I'm going down there and I'll be a whore!" They were very homosexuality-oriented films, made with great seriousness. There was no commitment with "lowliness,"... although, for me, they used it remarkably and with a great sense of humor (Loja Neves 2007, 16).

12. *Ibid*.
13. Although there is no room to explore the subject in this article, I think it is important to note that the first public appearance of Domingos Machado as a transvestite took place in the army, in 1973's Luanda, in the context of a military barrack Christmas party, during the Colonial War

Regarding *Cineground's* screening locations, Óscar Alves refers to the bar *Classico ma non troppo* as the "great host" of his filmography, inside of which some scenes from the first feature film, *Solidão Povoada* (1976) were shot, in particular this one scene when transvestite Belle Dominique sings a French song. The owner of the place, a friend of the filmmakers' went as far as to "buying a screen for *Cineground's* creations and to broadcast them continuously". In a review from critic Lauro António in the magazine *Isto é Espectáculo*, from September 1976 issue, there is the following piece about this first work of the producer:

> *Cineground* is similar to *underground*. The cameras are super eight but the schemes and purposes move away from the amateur cinema that is usual to see in the festivals regularly organized by these collectives... Facing the taboos and taking them courageously, this is what seems to appear in S. P. which addresses the issue of homosexuality. Addressing the issue of homosexuality is in itself an act of courage when the trivial thing to do is to relegate the case to the list of traumas, forbidden subjects, pious forgetfulness. And yet homosexuality does exist... S. P. merely tells a love story... Marginalized by society but still a love story (António 1976, 66).

Another critic, José de Matos-Cruz (1982, 100), leaves only a small review to this production, in an edition of the *Portuguese Institute of Cinema* about the *April Years in Portuguese Cinema:* "The homosexual tendencies of a certain bourgeoisie, and the commitment with society". For O. Alves, *Solidão Povoada* (title taken from a poem by Pablo Neruda) was a symbolic work, a "statement" and an "achievement":

> I was making a protest [...] The film depicts several cross-relations, aiming to criticize the... I don't mean heterosexuality, but the family institution! The lack of tolerance even coming from women, who had a hard time accepting this reality back in the day...[14]

Also in this production, there is the first scene of full rear nudity ever recorded in Portuguese cinema, played by the amateur actor Domingos Oliveira, a youngster newly arrived in the capital after the Colonial War:

> We have a scene with Domingos sitting naked on a rock, we had nowhere to shoot and we went to Monsanto [a park near Lisbon]. All of a sudden there was a platoon from G.N.R. (National Republican Guard) coming to arrest us. But in what grounds? We were free to do whatever we wanted... so they left.[15] [Domingos Oliveira intervenes] No, actually the team stayed there until the end! I got off the rock completely naked, I don't know how to react to danger. What one of the guards said was that they had received a complaint about prostitution and pornographic films... but the police didn't know what to do...[16]

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14. Personal interview with Óscar Alves, 28th March 2014.
15. *Ibid*.
16. Personal interview with Domingos Oliveira, 28th March 2014.

Domingos Machado states that *Cineground's* project is inseparable from a particular moment in Portuguese society, when the widespread disposition for novelty was allied with a "certain ingenuity":

> This was 1975-76-77, during PREC... I remember that when I came back from Luanda and resumed my professional life and studies, I found myself very confused with the post-April 25th Lisbon I landed in which had nothing to do with the city in the time I left for the war overseas... to make transvestite shows was unthinkable before April 25th, Estado Novo would not allow such a thing... transvestite characters were performed sporadically by theater actors... Portuguese society was thirsty for new things and *Cineground*, in the domain of amateur cinema, was an attempt, and a very funny one too [to bring novelty] because let's not forget that it was amateur cinema, "they" filmed with one camera only! We had to frame a shot and then the counter-shot... with only one camera, there were never two of them... if there were it was very exceptional... [...] it was a lot of work, I recall it used to take us hours to shoot...[17]

Cineground's filmography acquired popularity in Lisbon's nightlife and the audience of *Classico ma non troppo* began to diversify, as the producer notes:

> It was mainly frequented by homosexuals, 70-80% by middle class customers, there was not a big mix, people of a certain class. Intellectuals of the time, artists. Then people started to go there just to watch the movies, and it was a big mess, they started to tell and tell.. that's when the Church intervened, I don't know how the church became aware of us. We had a table to register the viewers that grew steadily, the information went mouth to mouth and people started going to the bar just to watch the movies. I think mainly out of curiosity.[18]

The Church's "interference" would not prevent *Cineground* from keeping to broadcast their work, not even when J. P. Ferreira produced the second feature film, *Fatucha Superstar- Ópera Rock... Bufa* in 1976, regarding which his partner O. Alves still manifests a certain "moral discomfort":

> The Church wrote to me and J. P. Ferreira... We received a letter from the episcopate of "I do not know where" to tell us that we should think before screening homosexual films because it was condemned by the Church, etc... We ignored them, of course. I think the Church later tried to boycott us, I don't remember how. There was no use, there was no authority, it was just a psychological boycott [...] He made the popular Fatucha... [...] He wanted to put the Holy Mary in a big hurly-burly, deconstruct the image of the saint and I never agreed with that, I was born a Catholic, you know? And to do such a thing... well it was painful. But I sure did it. I did all the scenarios, the wardrobe,

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17. Personal interview with Domingos Machado (Belle Dominique), 3rd April 2014.
18. Personal interview with Óscar Alves, 28th March 2014.

everything [...]. But the Church attacked us big time on that one, you have no idea.[19]

Fatucha would become the most mediatic (because most transgressive) title of the producer, described by Mário Damas Nunes in a review of the magazine *Isto é Espectáculo*, in April 1976 as:

> A filmography [...] that advances recklessly (for now only in Super-8) in (still) taboo subjects. And if the theme of the first movie, S.P., was difficult to approach (a homosexual encounter) in a way that it seemed that it stopped somehow on the way, the same cannot be said of this "Fatucha", a transvestite in updated costumes of Isadora Duncan. Paulo Ferreira made an attempt to descent into the true "hell" of Fatima, of the pilgrims and the commercial exploitation that proliferates around it.

Cineground's only "revenue" at the time, and indeed during much of its activity, was being able to see their work broadcasted as they did not charge box office and consumer's revenue reverted to the location that accepted the screenings. At least two titles from J. P. Ferreira authorship would be awarded in international film festivals,[20] what according to Domingos Oliveira allowed him to pay the actors for the first time. Regarding the other productions, the press materials of the time are practically nonexistent. In the years of 1976 and 1977, the films were continuously screened at *Classico ma non troppo*, and *Cineground's* productions would only be moved to *Scarlatty Club* when the first bar closed. *Scarlatty Club* was a much celebrated space of Lisbon's nightlife, both directors and also several of their collaborators were customers there. The owner Carlos Ferreira (transvestite Guida Scarlatty) would collaborate with *Cineground* in two titles (*As Aventuras e Desaventuras de Julieta Pipi* and *Goodbye Chicago*, both produced in 1978), some of the shooting would also take place within this space. These last 2 films starred the national transvestite show celebrities, Guida Scarlatty and Belle Dominique. *Goodbye Chicago* gathered the entire transvestite cast of *Scarlatty Club's* homonymous music-hall and was screened as an introduction to the show. According to O. Alves this work was "commissioned" by Carlos Ferreira himself to *Cineground*. These titles would be described as "amusing movies" in *Cineground's* production notes that were sent to the newsroom of the magazine *Isto É Cinema* (António 1978, 14). Other than the clubs and bars circuit, the shooting and broadcasting locations outside the studio where the group met came mostly from their network of acquaintances:

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19. *Ibid*.
20. The short film *Demónios da Liberdade*, directed by J. P. Ferreira in 1976, was sold to foreign countries, namely Belgium and Azerbaijan (still in the period of Communist leadership), after its release at an international festival. This information, transmitted from memory by Domingos Oliveira, who was part of the cast, is not included in the existing documentation about the producer. The title *Tempo Vazio* (1977), by the same author but unavailable in the national archives that hold *Cineground's* work, would have also earned actress Carmen Mendes the Best Female Interpretation Award at the Costa Brava Film Festival, in 1982 (Lusa 2003).

> A farm in Caparica, that was lent to us and our friend's places in general, a house in Rua da Madalena... a fancy house in Espírito Santo... We had nowhere to be, we had no income. [...] At the time there were gay beaches in Caparica, 19 Beach and others. The beach had the sand we needed [for the scenery]. There were the gay bars... there was *Clássico, Bric*...[*Bric à Brac*, currently *Trumps*, in Príncipe Real].[21]

Due to its nature this filmography was always to be confined to small spaces and broadcasted to a restricted audience, a characteristic pointed out not only by O. Alves but also by the film critics of the time, as noted by Mário Damas Nunes (1976, 25):

> *Cineground* is a name to bear in mind for the future. Fortunately, we had the opportunity to get in touch with such productions and make them known to our readers, who otherwise would not have heard of this underground cinema [...]. It is the wish of our team that they keep going [with the making of their films]. And always on this path of provocation, of invention, of escape from the pre-established canons. Hoping that cinema would progress as well.

WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM *CINEGROUND'S* MEMORY?

The short history of mobilization around sexual rights in Portugal seems to be a reflection of almost half a century of dictatorship, which has resulted in the stunting of the democratic mechanisms of expression for social indignation (Santos 2005, 115). In European and North American metropolises, the emergence of LGBT enclaves contributed to the proliferation of an alternative to medicalized discourses, especially in political, literary and artistic spheres, which legitimized other ways of life, giving visibility to these marginal representations (Brandão 2008, 11). In Portugal, this libertarian universe reached the well-travelled urban elites and universities, especially on the form of political democratization. Individual rights are eventually encompassed in a general plan of struggle by university students and political elites, into an agenda marked by antifascism, anti-colonialism, Marxism and anti-capitalism (Cascais 2006, 111).

Following April 25th, leftist parties as well as the unionized left, especially the communist party, have been endowed with an organized structure that have allowed them to quickly deploy and gain influence in society. However, according to the model of historical materialism of the class struggle that leads the agenda of these political parties, the "homosexual issue" remains marginal: "the struggle of homosexuals is regarded as essentially demobilizing, ultra-minoritarian and without repercussions or profit for broader struggles of general social and political value, a *petit bourgeoise* illusion "(Ibid., 112). Additionally, in the years following the Revolution, the stereotypical image of homosexuals that prevailed in political circles, civil

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21. Personal interview with Óscar Alves, 28th March 2014.

society and academia (gender, gay, LGBT, queer studies, would only reach Portuguese universities much later), did not favor the receptivity of the first activisms. The decriminalization of homosexuality in Portuguese law was only decided in 1982, and effectuated in 1983. LGBT association and militancy in Portugal would only consolidate in the mid-1990s, resulting on one hand from socioeconomic factors such as Portugal's membership to the European Economic Community (EEC), which in addition to the expectation of economic development, brought to gay and lesbian communities "the expectation of cultural and legal legitimacy", through the importation of a more advanced legislation into ours (Santos 2005, 145 and 176; Cascais 2006, 116) and on the other hand, with the HIV / AIDS epidemic, which spreading since the 1980s fostered a network of activism that would find its source of political intervention in queer theory, showing "new ways of doing sexual politics "and understanding identities" (Vale de Almeida 2004a, 97). It is possible to identify in this subculture, alike other examples in history, the duplicity undertaken by marginal groups for the conquest of public space, in which performance, due to its spectacular dimension, emerges as a form of negotiation with a speech (external and hegemonic) that does not recognize their existence. It is a humorous cinema that is still, as Bessa (2007, 267) says about the diffusion of queer cinema in recent decades, a "self-representation of the struggles waged against homophobia and the hypocrisy of society", a critique of heterosexuality as the norm and an appropriation of what stereotypes ridiculed, such as transvestites and their visual exaggerations. Although the widespread "climate of liberation" of the time, while in the fine arts (example are Pornex, an exhibition of erotic art organized at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, in theater (Comuna, Barraca, Teatro Aberto, even though the homosexual theme in theatre only sees a real expansion in the 1990s) and in literature (with the lifting of censorship over national and foreign authors that address these themes) (Cascais, 2001), sexuality has become a common theme of intervention in post-April 25th, in the mainstream film production it remains a veiled subject, and it took Portuguese cinema 10 years to feature the first sex scene in a nationally produced film, with *O Lugar do Morto* (1984), from the authorship of António Pedro Vasconcelos, and more than 25 years to "recover the gay theme", introduced by *Cineground's* independent filmography, with *O Fantasma* (2000) from João Pedro Rodrigues.[22]

Cineground maintained, to a certain extent, the role that film societies had assumed the decade before the end of the dictatorship, an "activity behind closed doors" that "showed the films that no one could watch",

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22. I would like to point out that the identities represented in this cinema do not include lesbians and bisexuals, and although LGBT film festivals (such as Queer Lisboa, Rama em Flor Festival and Lisbon and Porto Feminist Festivals) have brought them some visibility, they remain mostly absent from national film productions.

made of "allegories and metaphors" (Loja Neves 2007, 17). In the post-April 25th, the associations in the midst of amateur cinema sought to answer questions that seemed urgent for the Portuguese society at the time, such as neighborhood associations, and small film societies and groups began to lose visibility (Ibid.). The difficulties began to increase for *Cineground* which, in addition to surviving with a reduced economy of means, expressed, according to A. F. Cascais, and as mentioned before, a culture in this gay and queer cinema that was also "politically marginal, antagonized and opposed by the prevailing conceptions of the political culture of the time", which was partly manifested in the progressive separation of the two producers.[23] Even J. P. Ferreira, whose leftist militancy he tried to express through his filmography, could not find representation in the political class, which did not accept the homosexual subject and "rejected this filmography and the culture of Lisbon's gay ghetto alike".[24]

The historical conditions under which the films were produced and screened make up for a significant part of their conditions of existence (Bessa 2007, 262). The films produce and describe an affective and political territoriality that inadvertently subverts and dialogues with the prevailing norms of sex and gender in our country. *Cineground's* estate, although being part of the historical and cultural heritage of LGBT communities at the time and now (though not inclusive of all these identities, it is still considered a cultural heritage of the struggle for recognition of LGBT rights in the Portuguese society), was sentenced to oblivion "to the point of becoming a complete surprise to those who rediscover it" (Cascais 2007, 153). In the opinion of Oscar Alves, at that time there was more of a sense of community, people would address these subjects openly (within the existing community): "well, they thought they were free...".[25] This idea is shared by A. F. Cascais, "it was simply: exist and organize yourselves autonomously".[26]

The "localization" of *Cineground's* work at a pre-mobilization moment in Portuguese history allowed me to read it in the light of Judith Butler's queer and gender performativity theory. The author criticizes the founding principle of identity politics, which presupposes the need for fixed identities to claim their agency and hence guarantee their interests and desired political claims (Butler 1990, 142). Parodic practices, which she also refers to as "politics of despair", in the sense that they symbolize the inevitable exclusion of marginal genders (Ibid., 146), also expose the "illusion" of gender identity as an essence (Ibid.). Butler's suggestion to feminist theory is a new conceptualization of identity as an effect, produced by gender performance, in order to increase the possibilities

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23. Personal interview with Fernando Cascais, 29th April 2014.
24. *Ibid*.
25. Personal interview with Óscar Alves, 28th March 2014.
26. Personal interview with Fernando Cascais, 29th April 2014.

of existence and agency of individuals without the limitations of fixed identity categories (Ibid., 147). This proposal does not aim to discredit the available identity categories, but to identify in the same process of construction of these identities, the practices of subversive repetition that will allow individuals to challenge them (Ibid.).

The initial step would be the questioning of the body as a pre-discursive or pre-cultural entity, an idea that lies at the heart of the naturalization of sex and bodies. This idea comes close to U. Marks's (2000, 164) concept of "haptic visuality", which argues that sensory experience produces knowledge about what is observed. According to this author, and as mentioned previously in the essay, a true knowledge of the world should not be reduced to the domain of vision but to be based on a bridge between the world of mimesis and symbolic representation (Ibid., 138). Using contemporary philosophers Merleau-Ponty (1973) and Derrida (1974), the author explains that language, being founded on the body, cannot precede it, whether this is the body of a speaker or of a performer. In the case of cinema, representation is inalienable of its corporeality (Ibid., 142). The possibilities of theoretical approximation about the body between Marks and Butler's work expands through Marks's concept of "intercultural cinema", referring to the global cultural flows of film and video production in the western metropolises of the 1980s and 1990s (Tollof 2001, 293). If for Butler deconstruction of identity is a way of turning political the terms that constitute identity itself and thereby questioning a hierarchy of power based on binary sexuality (giving rise to new configurations of power and representation) (Butler 1990, 148), Marks resorts to "intercultural cinema" as the vehicle of agency for minority populations, giving them a history and memory through the "power of artifice" in the absence of real narratives (Ibid., 295). The political importance of the "power of artifice" can be compared to the one invoked by Butler in the "politics of despair" of parodic gender norms, as it creates conditions for social transformation through the invention of a space in a de-territorialized context where minority cultures may exist (Ibid.). The transformative quality of cinema, as a vehicle of agency, postulated by Marks, seems to be in line with *Cineground's* cinematography, in the sense that it establishes a dialogue between the dominant culture and the minority culture that this cinema represents. Even if not politically engaged this cinema makes room for a form of micropolitics, a concept endogenous to queer theory that rests ultimately on the individual's inalienable power to counteract the norm (Mascarenhas 2012, 68). *Cineground* is the product of a particular era in the history of Portuguese society (post-April 25th, PREC) when the LGBT community's sexual and civic rights were not recognized in legislation nor in public opinion and before the emergence of civic militancy for minority rights. I am uncertain if it is correct to assume that these films are intended

to claim visibility for the unauthorized lifestyles they depict but I believe they negotiate their possibilities of existence through the power of agency provided by cinema. The visualization of these films demands a "sensorial translation" within the existing cultural knowledge / information, which may bring possibilities of transformation at political and social spheres, such as processes of identification, the construction of social alliances, and ultimately, offering current audiences the access to a material memory that, if nothing else, attests for their existence (Ibid., 293), even if we must "see it to believe it."

This is an episode of resistance that, alike many others around the world (and with no necessary connection to the intellectual identity movements consecrated in Western societies in recent decades) has contributed to the construction of a different story through acts and ways of thinking that differed from a predominant system. Thus the question asked by J.P. Ferreira to conclude his introductory note for the catalog for *Cinema à Margem Film Festival*, organized by the Center for Independent Filmmakers, of which he was the director in the years of 1980-1981: "Should this absolutely bold and engaged cinema really keep being marginalized?"

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ANNEX A

SYNOPSIS OF THE FILMS BY JOÃO FERREIRA, QUEER LISBOA ARTISTIC DIRECTOR, QUEER LISBOA FESTIVAL (2007, 2008)

CHARME INDISCRETO DE EPIFÂNEA SACADURA (1975)
Óscar Alves / Short Film: 27 min. / Fiction
In his first short film, Óscar Alves experiments with the flashback-based narrative structure and the theme that would be further explored in his later work *Aventuras e Desventuras* de Julieta Pipi, filmed with greater means. Shot with no dialogues or sound ef-fects, the film relies on intertitles to convey the essence of the dialogues, and it requires greater rhythm and expressivity from its actors; to this end, Alves recreates the expres-sionist aesthetics of silent cinema. The time and setting of the action are revealed imme-diately: 1930, the Chalé das Águas Correntes (Chalet of Running Waters). Epifânea Sacadura (Fefa Putollini), actress, welcomes us with a "Hello, Boys!"; lounging on her chaise longue in a languid pose; she even fondles herself on occasion. Epifânea is clearly bent on seducing the boys. The actress speaks of her career; she tells the story of the making of a film, in which we see her character receive the visit of a gentleman that turns out to be a vampire. A situation she resolves by immobilising him through a "Bot-tled Fart" she had handy. She then produces a king-size hammer and stake to get the job done. Epifânea confesses that life in the movies has made her into "a drunk, glutton, and neurotic", and then recounts one more recollection: the filming of "Última Valsa em Cucu" ("Last Waltz in Booboo"). A beach stands in for the desert that serves as the backdrop for an exotic story; the actress, in a shell bikini, crawls into the arms of the leading man. On set, the actor turns out to be a real gentleman, helps Epifânea when she is bitten by a spider, and even gives her a manicure. The actor only looses his stride when Epifânea pulls his tunic up, and screams, "Not in the ass!" The film ends with a commercial for the "Vaqueiro" brand of margarine - "Even in

the desert, a little "Vaqueiro" comes in handy" -, in a sequence that is a clear reference to Bernardo Berto-lucci's Last Tango in Paris (1972). The actress then, still reclining on her *chaise longue*, recounts her discovery at 18. We learn of her peasant origins, and how director Lauren-tis Kommecús discovered her while climbing a tree and shooing away a butterfly that had landed on her behind. Kommecús instructs his refined producer to school Epifânea in how to eat, apply makeup, and walk on heels, so that he may turn her into a star. The conclusion, as foreseeable from the director's artistic name, the photos of Epifânea's first filmic efforts are revealed: a porn flick.

SOLIDÃO POVOADA (1976)
Óscar Alves / Feature Film: 45 min. / Fiction
Solidão Povoada, the first feature-length film by Óscar Alves, and the only melodrama in his brief directorial career, is a legitimate heir of the visual aesthetics of the Cinema Novo, whose main reference is *Verdes Anos* (1963), by Paulo Rocha. Set in Lisbon after the revolution of 25th April1974, a city that aspires to be cosmopolitan, the film portrays two middle-class couples, played by Domingos Oliveira, Carla Tuly, Fernando Silva, and Isabel Wolmar. In the first scene, we are introduced to the relationship between the main character (whose name we will never learn), and Fernando. We are in the former's apartment in the Amoreiras area, and Fernando calls him from a phone booth. In the car, driving towards Monsanto, the protagonist recalls his break-up with former girlfriend (Carla Tuly), in a flashback where the two are seen, in a theatrical setting among the ruins of the Carmo convent, going their separate ways. In another flashback, he recalls how he met Fernando, on the day he visited the glass factory the latter manages with his wife (Isabel Wolmar), to place an order. The main character seems to have already accepted his homosexuality: before dining alone with Fernando for the first time, he takes leave of the transvestite (Belle Dominique), in the latter's dressing room. He tells her that he cannot attend her show, thus stating the end of a relationship that despite being "necessary" had no future, since he actually despises the world she inhabits. After their first romantic dinner, the two men sleep together. At Fernando's, his wife awaits long into the night for his arrival, upon which she embraces him and the two make love. In a voiceover, we hear Fernando comment, "All this is a farce", while remembering his male lover, naked, sitting on a rock in Monsanto. This flashback suggests that the relationship has progressed, and that the two did not just share the one night after the dinner; they have been lovers for a while. Solidão Povoada seems to aspire to signal the growing divergence between pre revolutionary Portugal, and a new rising frame of mind. In a meeting at an antiquarian, the main character and his former girlfriend go shopping together, as friends, and her words express tolerance towards his sexuality. Fernando, on the other hand, remains in his marriage. In the final sequence, we see images of Lisbon, full of anonymous passers-by, while each of the four main characters walks alone; they eventually meet, but do not know (or recognize?) each other. Four realities that crossed in a Lisbon under transformation.

GOOD-BYE, CHICAGO (1978)
Óscar Alves / Short film: 16 min. / Fiction
The last film directed by Óscar Alves, *Good-Bye, Chicago* was devised to open the show of the same name at the Scarllaty Club in 1978. The film is therefore the fictional version of the perilous events of the weeks that preceded it, events that resulted in the show which the audience was about to see live on stage. Filmed with no sound, *Good-Bye, Chicago* opens with the landing of a private plain at Tires airport, in Cascais; its three passengers, acclaimed by a multitude of fans and many photographers who invade the landing strip, are three divas. The three vie for the attention of the photographers, striking various poses, and even resorting to physical aggression in order to gain the spotlight. The diva played by Guida Scarllaty receives luxury treatment: she is whisked off towards Lisbon in her own convertible, with her puppy and a bottle of champagne in hand. When her car breaks down, she is forced to accept a ride from her "rivals"; the three squeeze in the back of a much more modest car, with their legs and wigs sticking out of the car windows during the trip. The following sequence, showing a firemen's car and a body lying on the road, suggests what is soon confirmed by the insert of a newspaper headline, announcing the death of the divas in an accident. Except for the character played by Scarllaty... Soon returning to work, she organises a casting session for the show *Good-Bye, Chicago*. Several female

transvestites and a male one (Tony, played by Maria José, who was also part of the show's cast), receive an invitation in the most unexpected circumstances: while shooting a film, during a moment of intimacy, or even on the operating table, while undergoing surgery. For this specific segment, Óscar Alves also used a sequence which parodies the theatre play A Verdadeira História de Jack, o Estripador (1977), playing in Lisbon at the time and staring Ana Zanatti and Zita Duarte. In the final sequence, all are reunited at the Scarlatty Club; the film ends, and *Good-Bye, Chicago* begins.

AVENTURAS E DESVENTURAS DE JULIETA PIPI (1978)
Óscar Alves / Feature Film: 44 min. / Fiction

The opening sequence of *Adventures and Misadventures of Julieta Pipi* clearly trumpets the film's theme. Images of 1970s Los Angeles, and a departure from LAX, give way to Lisbon airport, where internationally famous actress Julieta Pipi (Belle Dominique) has just arrived. Miss Pipi gets ready for a tense press conference, to take place in her palace on the outskirts of town. Faced with questions that are at times political, others intellectual, and even frankly and inquisitively sexual, Pipi defends herself in her Italian accent (a leftover from her latest film, shot in Italy) from all provocations, and even skirts the impertinent questions on her acting background.With the press conference as its backbone, the film delves into Pipi's career and past glories through a series of flashbacks.

FATUCHA SUPERSTAR: ÓPERA ROCK... BUFA (1976)
João Paulo Ferreira / Feature Film: 43 min. / Fiction

The oeuvre of João Paulo Ferreira, which began in 1975, generally had a strong focus on social and political issues, he directed this singular work, *Fatucha Superstar*, in a musical style inspired by Andrew Lloyd Webber's production of J*esus Christ Superstar*. With the Portuguese revolution of 1974 still fresh, Ferreira deconstructed one of the greatest pillars of the dictatorial Estado Novo regime: the apparitions of Our Lady of Fatima. If, on the one hand, *Fatucha Superstar* is faithful to the hippie aesthetic of Webber's musical – and to a Portuguese generation of the time – on the other, Fatima, or Fatucha, is a sophisticated transvestite that appears to the three little shepherds in dark glasses and a convertible. The film begins with images of pilgrims in Fatima. But, in spite of this documentary style introduction, João Paulo Ferreira asks us to revisit the myth, revealing to us his own truth about it. In an open, deserted field, the three little shepherds, Lúcia, Jacinta and Francisco dance with unfettered gaiety, until Jacinta (with a hairy moustache) has a premonition. But it's to Francisco that Fatucha appears. The boy immediately calls his sisters so they can also witness the strange phenomenon. Fatucha sings to the little shepherds, promising them fame and success in the future. But Francisco, more than inebriated by these promises, falls in love with this fascinating woman, to whom he dedicates, in bucolic ecstasy, this song: "I feel my head turning around, / the bosom, corset, / I can't forget that broad, / she is hot as hell..." Then comes Fatucha again, also in a solo, promising to begin her struggle, not without consulting first with God, who thus reacts to her proposal: "What debauchery..." When Fatucha appears again to the little shepherds, the miracle begins, in the form of magician's tricks. She makes a table appear, takes objects out a top hat, makes orange juice appear to quench their thirst, and transforms Jacinta into an appealing woman. But something goes wrong when she makes Jacinta disappear, leading her siblings to chase her away. Fatucha runs to her car and tragedy looms. As a new Isadora Duncan, her veil gets caught in the car wheel. Fatucha seems to have left us. Halfway into his reinterpretation of the apparitions, João Paulo Ferreira interrupts the narrative with an insert – announced by psychedelic lighting effects –, that brings us to the present. On a dance floor, angels, nuns, and God dance without shame. The characters in this fable give themselves up to the most earthly and carnal desires. On an altar in the background, instead of a religious figure, there is that other, rather more pagan, cult object: an enormous phallus. At the end of the film, there is a new return to the present time. A group of friends celebrates Fatucha. She isn't dead after all. In a final homage, they sing in unison: "Oh Fatucha Superstar, why are you fooling the people. / Oh Fatucha Superstar, beware that they will screw you in the end".

DEMÓNIOS DA LIBERDADE (1976)
João Paulo Ferreira / Short film: 20 min. / Fiction
At the heart of an upper-middle class family resides a bizarre love triangle. Two men, one woman. A couple, and a stranger to the family. The stranger is hitchhiking by the road and a man invites him into his car. A hand on a thigh speaks volumes. She is waiting for them at home, a sumptuous villa. An essay on the various possibilities and rituals of recent freedom, *Os Demónios daLiberdade* is also a manifest of sexual freedom. But the demons are still around. The lover who breathes fresh air into this couple's life is himself chased by the ghosts of morality and by a past still too present, duly identified by a swastika on his forehead. A very effective musical score,together with especially careful editing and a great cinematographic sensitivity in the set-up,shooting and time management, make this short film a singular object for its time. And, thirty years after its making, we can but think about some aspects and behaviours of our society today,where strong signs of lack of freedom still seem to prevail.

ANNEX B

FRAMES OF CINEGROUND'S FILMS (1975-78) USED IN THE INTERVIEWS WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE PRODUCER, THROUGH THE METHODOLOGY OF PHOTO-ELICITATION

Solidão Povoada, 1975
O Charme Indiscreto de Epifânia Sacadura, 1975
Fatucha Superstar: Ópera Rock... Bufa, 1976
Demónios da Liberdade, 1976
Goodbye Chicago, 1978
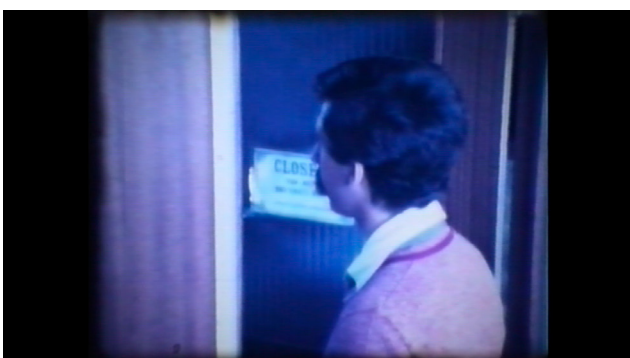*As aventuras e desventuras de Julieta Pipi*, 1978

MARIANA GONÇALVES (Beja, 1984). Has a degree in International Relations from the Fac-ul-ty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (FEUC) and a Masters in Anthropology in the specialty of Migration, Globalization and Multiculturalism from ISCTE-IUL. The re-search on Cineground's cinematography (1975-1978) led to participations in the Na-tional Congress of Anthropology: *Antropologia em Contraponto in September 2013*, and in the *International Conference INTIMATE: Queering Parenting* organized by CES and FEUC in March 2016, and additionally, to collaborations on cultural events such as FBAUP's film society *Sombra Cineclube* and *Groove Ball*. Currently working on a webdoc about the film producer.
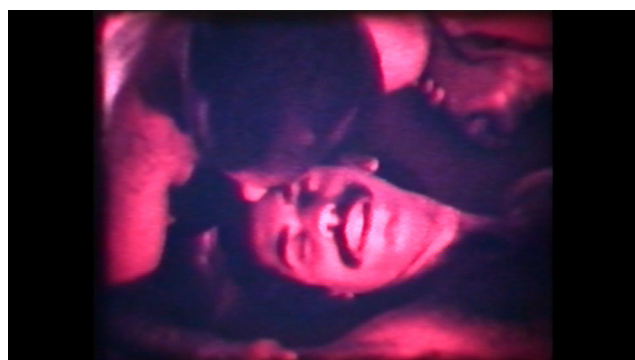
Solidão Povoada, 1975

O Charme Indiscreto de Epifânia Sacadura, 1975

Fatucha Superstar: Ópera Rock... Bufa, 1976
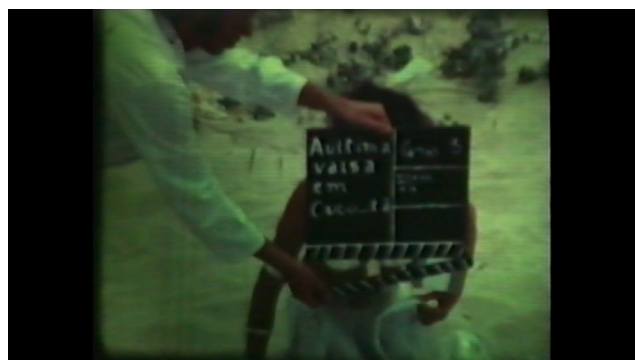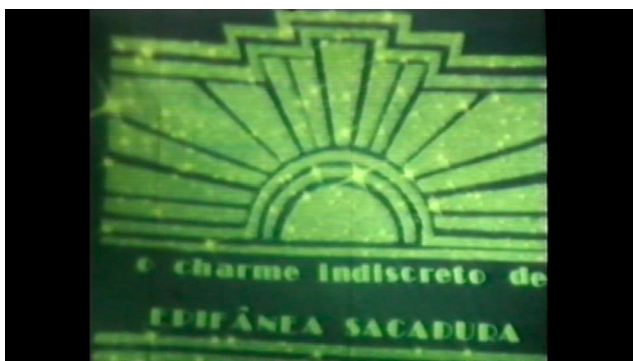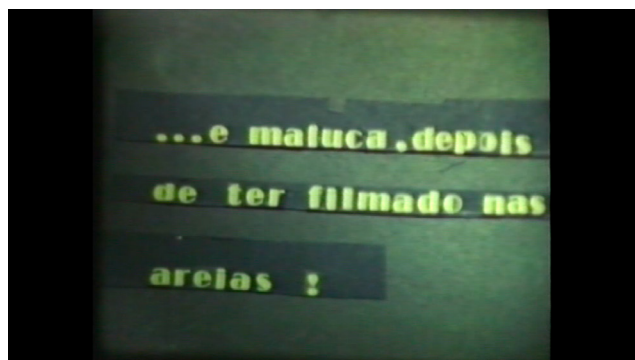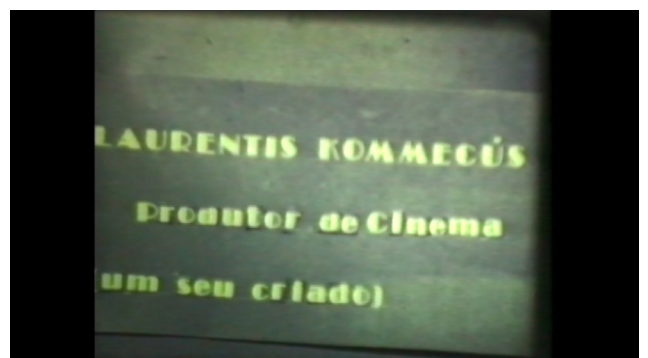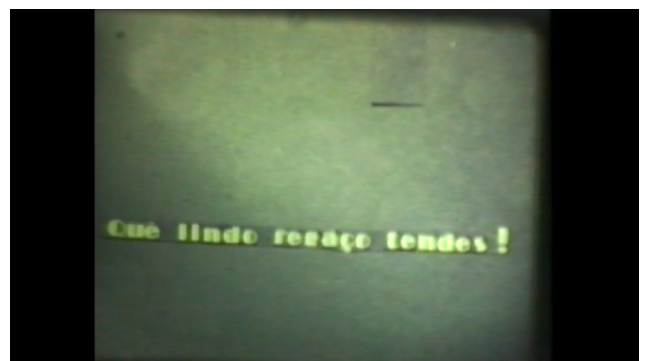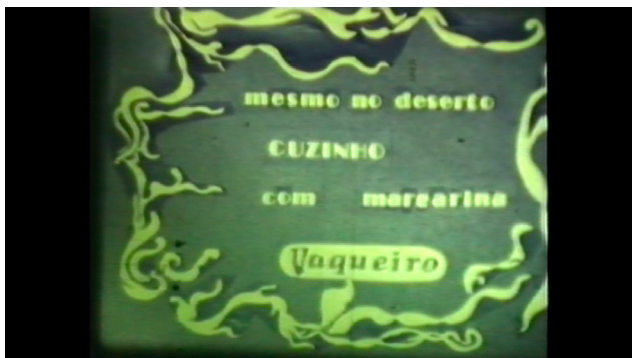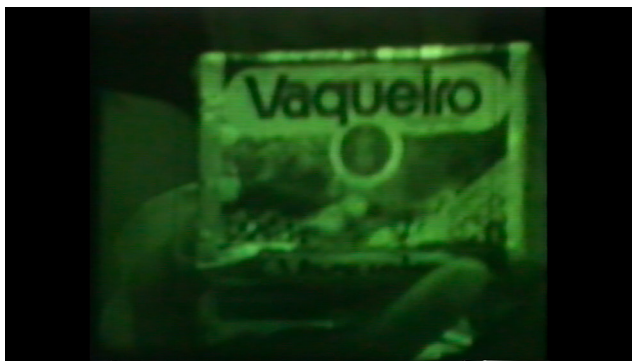
Demónios da Liberdade, 1976

As aventuras e desventuras de Julieta Pipi, 1978

DOSSIER
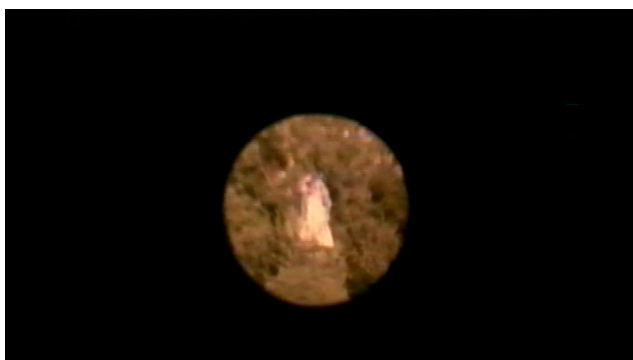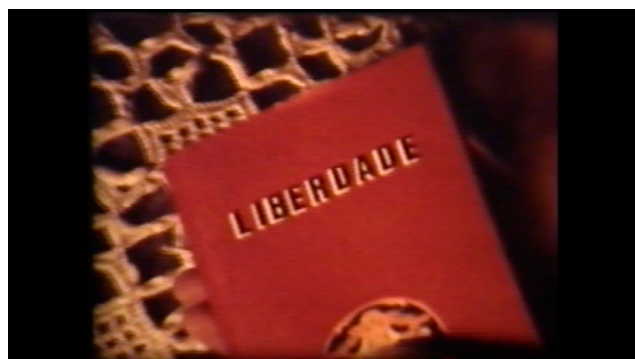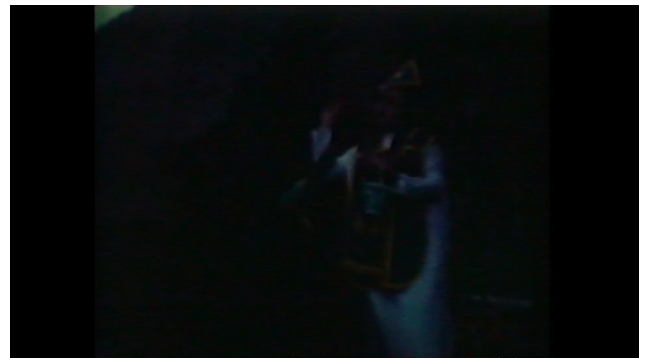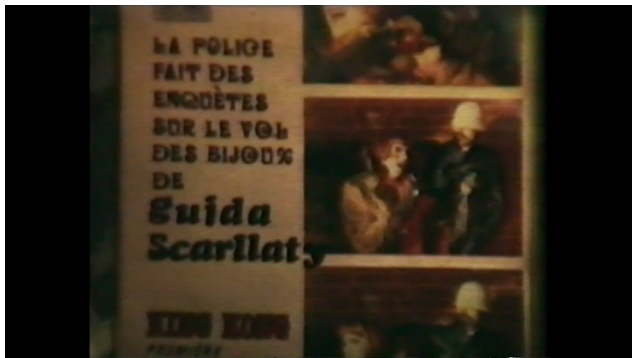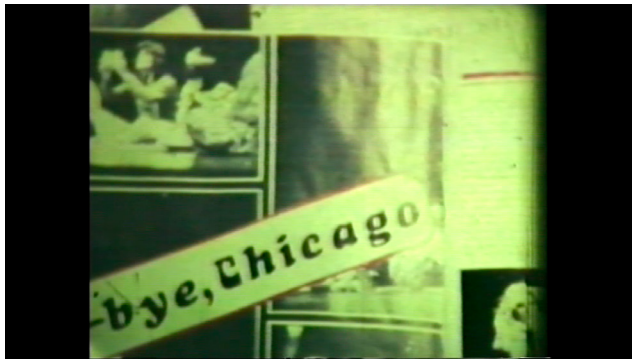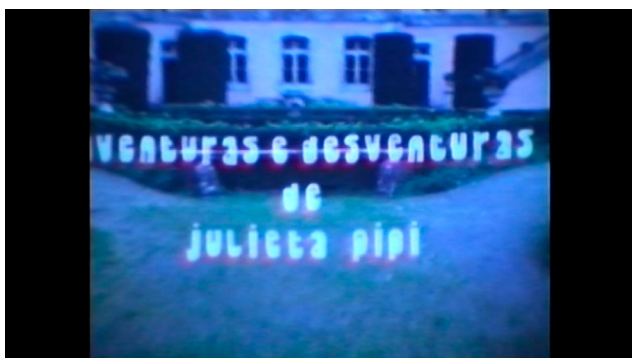
FILMAÇÃO AND REPRESENTATION: THE AUDIOVISUAL IN THE MONTAGENS OF PERFORMANCE IN THE BATUQUE OF PONTO CHIQUE – MG

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses how the production of a film with the *Ponto Chique batuque* and other nearby *batuque* groups, connected by the Sao Francisco river, mobilizes social and aesthetic processes, in other words, how the film while a process of production and exhibition takes part in this relation between aesthetic drama, social drama and ritual drama. From the dialogue with authors of performance theory, the starting point is to discuss categories such as representation, drama and "montagem", comprehending the '*filmacao*' as the materialization of this fluid space where the *batuqueira/vazanteira* culture builds upon. Using the ethnography method, the article wants to reflect on the relations between the *batuqueiras* montages and the film montage as fiction and friction between the past and the present. The article works with the hypothesis that the fragments of the past organizes the filming timing and can constitute a temporality specific of the *batuques*.

FIGURE 1
Map of Brazil
highlighting
Ponto Chique.

FIGURE 2
Map of the state
of Minas Gerais
highlighting
Ponto Chique.
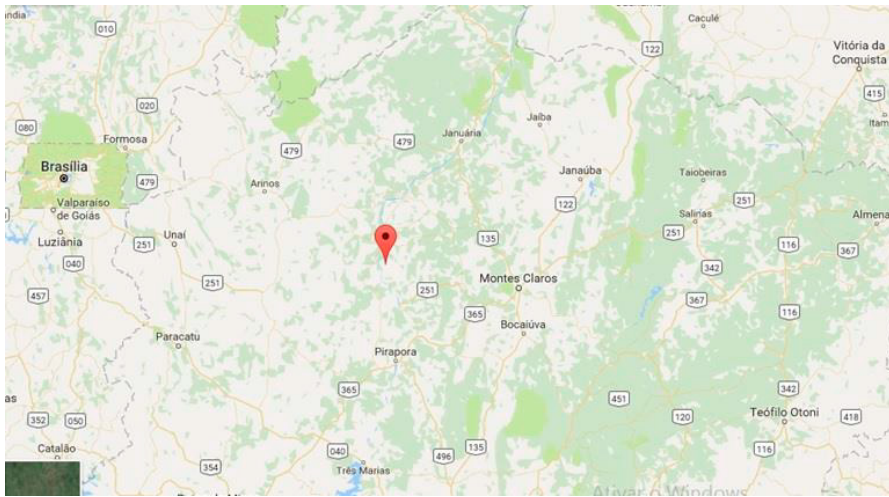
FIGURE 3
Map of the Ponto
Chique municipality.
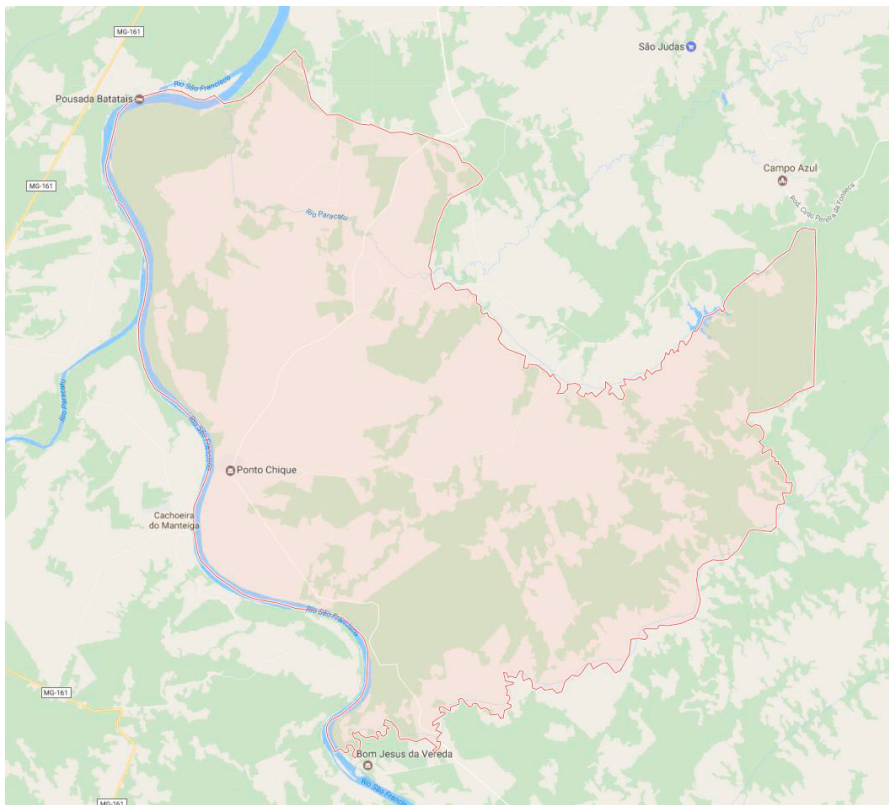
INTRODUCTION

My first encounter with the batuque of Ponto Chique, a community localized on the bank of a river at the north of Minas Gerais, happened in 2010 when I worked in the project Cinema no Rio São Francisco[1] which followed down the communities at the margin of the Sao Francisco river making short documentaries with its residents which were later shown in a big screen in the city's squares. During that time, I was the one who searched for the "city's characters" and realized the interview together with the filming team. Sailing through the São Francisco river is an experience hard to translate. As the own river landers joke, once you sailed, there is no turning back, you will return again. Following the prophecy, I returned still working for the project in the years of 2011, 2013, and 2014.
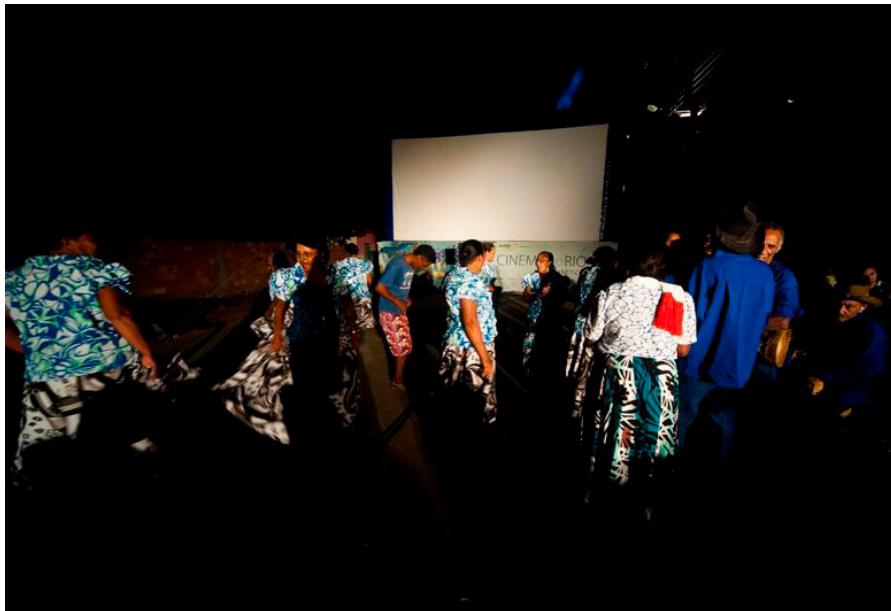
FIGURE 4
Batuque presentation before the movie session (2010). Picture of André Fossati.

I was from this experience and the encounter with the batuque of Ponto Chique, that I in 2015, entered in the master program in Anthropology of UFMG to discuss the relation between performance, representation and the cultural and political categories. This process resulted in the master thesis "THE LIFE IS A *REMANSO*: Performance, culture and politics in the batuque of Ponto Chique (MG)" defended in May of 2017.

The batuque of Ponto Chique has as its main members Agripina, Raimunda, Pascoalina, Maria José, Francisca, Rosinha, João de Lió, Ademar, Valeriano, Olímpio, Nilson, Neusa and Pretinha. The main members are the ones involved the longest with the group, but there are still the granddaughter and daughter of Olímpio that sometimes participate

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1. More information about the project: http://cinemanoriosaofrancisco.blogspot.com/

in the encounters. There is also the little grandson that, as Olímpio explains, was born for the batuque. He used to be at the front of the group, guiding them. However, his daughter moved to Salvador and took the grandson with her. Until this day he is invocado with samba, Olímpio says. There is also Elenice who entered the group recently and gets goosebumps every time that she watches the DVD that we produced in the *filmação* of the batuque. There is also Juquinha, Olímpio's brother, who passed some years ago.

FIGURE 5
Some members of the batuque of Ponto Chique gathered during the recording of the documentary (2017). Picture of Fernanda Brescia.

FIGURE 6
Olímpio, Agripina and Valeriano (Valu) (2010). Picture of Amanda Horta.

In the field work for the master's thesis I came across the native term *representação* (representation) which is understood by the as (re) presentation, connected to the action of bringing things back to life. The word, repeated in different moments by the members of the batuque, seemed to be a term organized by the thought of the batuqueiros. The understanding about the idea of representation surpass the false and true dualisms or the rupture between the real and its representation still present in some tendencies of the anthropological theory.

For this research it was important to have in mind that the category *representação* is understood by the group in the sense of action, of relation, connection with the past.

This term brings also the power of the batuque as a tradition that reinvents and renovates itself to keep pulsing in the batuqueiro's lives. Agripina and Olimpio always say that the batuque will end. However, at any given time a batuqueiro can emerge in the wrinkles of the river, in the movement of the crôas[2]. It is also in this *representações* that they live, elaborate and bring new meanings to the conflicts of everyday life. To represent it is also to perform to an audience, and can involve a particular experience of the batuqueiros to make present a being or an entity.

This term guided the chapters of the dissertation that wanted to translate different visions of the group surrounding the *representações* and the shaping of the batuque in the different visions. Another native category that emerged from ethnography was *filmação* that the batuqueiros used referring to the action of filming. It was on the day of *filmação*, in which the batuqueiros performed to the cameras, that the ancestors were incorporated in the performance, that the body healing or the effectiveness of the practice happened. Following this flow and realizing the importance of the relation between the batuqueiros and the images, still during the field research for the master's thesis, I created an amateur video with the cellphone cameras and produced a DVD that was given to all the members of the batuque. A part of this first experimental exercise of *filmação* can be seen through the link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WyRrd-FeqI&t=246s

The DVD then started to develop the role of *re(a)presentar* Dona Neuza, member of batuque and wife of Olímpio, who passed away suddenly one week after this experience of *filmação* with the group. It was possible to perceive, therefore, that the DVD entered in the net of relations and *representações* of the batuque.

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2. It is the name that the riverins give to the sand banks formed in the middle of the river.

After the masters we proposed, collectively, for the State Fund of Culture of Minas Gerais a project for the realization of a documentary together with the batuque of Ponto Chique in particular, and also about its relations with the surrounding batuques. We proposed also a reunion of batuques in the quilombola community of Bom Jardim da Prata, in the municipality of São Francisco, circa of 60 Km from Ponto Chique. As I pointed in my dissertation, the reunions of the riverines batuques are the place of expression of this memory, in fragments, that flows through the São Francisco river. The project was approved in 2017 and at the same year, myself and filming crew spent 15 days filming the batuques surrounding Ponto Chique. The documentary is currently in process of montage, editing and finalization and it will be released in the second batuque reunion in 2019.

During the filming with the batuque of Ponto Chique it was possible to see that the effectiveness of the performance, the collective energization happened even in front of the camera, better saying, it happened especially for the camera. It was not possible then then to separate batuque to be filmed from an "authentic" batuque realized in Dona Izabel's[3] *terreiros*, considered the queen of batuque. *Filmação* is also an important modality of representation of *levantamento*[4] in the culture of batuque. It reflects this montage in which "pieces" of the past are reconstructed in the present for a future project that culminated in the collective production of this film.

Dias (2001) points that the poetics of batuques is marked by the essentiality and economy of the expressive ways by the short form and concentrated meaning. This encrypted communication, there is a metaphorization of the verbal discourse, by the elaboration of a dubious language built with simple images, whose translation was restricted to the community that celebrated. To the author, during the slavery period, the freedom space of the dances in the terreiro enabled a privileged moment of internal communication through the sung chronic. In this space, they sang every kind of messages, articulations, critics, and claims. A very peculiar metaphorical poetic language arises, contrary to the perception of the hegemonic culture of the colonial period that the batuques were something bizarre without further refinements of expression. For the author, these traits are close to the habit of expressing themselves through proverbial phrases, "dear to the old guardians of oral traditions in Africa and who probably would have influenced the poetry of the terreiros and senzalas in lands of the diaspora" (Dias 2001: 21). For the author the new living conditions imposed different meanings for the arguments, but survives the basic idea of the synthetic and connotative formulation.

3. Dona Izabel is considered the queen of batuque for her atuation and tradition with the practice that comes from her ancestor. To be the queen of batuque is a sort of nickname given by consideration, for the protagonism in the dance, wisdom in singing, for influence in the practice. Therefore, it is not about a monarchic symbolism that imposes some hierarchy or rule.
4. Native term used by the batuqueiros meaning a process to make the practice more powerful and visible.

In spite of the importance of the batuques in the historical constitution of diverse modalities of dances and performances and, simultaneously, as the locus of elaboration of diverse groups or traditional communities, the ethnomusicologist Paulo Dias points to the lack of researches and material on the subject. The name Batuque is something that goes back to the prejudiced view of the settlers when they came across the dances and practices of the enslaved. Batuque is then a generic name that assumes several other nomenclatures depending on the community. In Ponto Chique, for example, the ancients called the practice of Lambero. Already in Geraes Velho, nearby community, the practice is known as Carneiro. It is worth emphasizing that, although the batuques are common in different regions of Minas Gerais and Brazil and refer to this "slavery" past, the researches on the subject, from a sociological and anthropological perspective, are rare.

FIGURE 7
Batuque of the Quilombola Community of Geraes Velho during the filming of the documentary about the riverines batuques (2017). Photo of Raphael Vilas Boas.

An example of this "invisibility" are some bibliographies about the São Francisco River such as "Musicals in the Middle São Francisco" and "Language and Folklore in the São Francisco River", where none of them mention the batuques. It is very strange to think that the folklorists who dedicated themselves to the study of the cultural and musical practices of the São Francisco river did not have to face the riverines batuques.

Dias (2001) reports that, in 1993, he went to Cunha to look for the local Jongo. He went to a Municipal Museum, where he was informed that the dance no longer existed in the city. At his insistence, the person in charge of the place said that, yes, there was a bunch of "cachaceiros", but what they did was a "noise", not the "true" Jongo. On my first visits to Ponto Chic when

I asked about the batuque they told me that there was no such thing as a batuque. Pursuing further batuques from the Southeast, Paulo Dias reports that this model of approach came to show some constancy and that many were efforts to dissuade him from the venture. For the author, the visually crude batuques of terreiro does not attract researchers. For Paulo Dias this attitude still remains between artists and intellectuals. The author also points out that folklorists have not been interested in batuques in the past for the "lack" of aesthetic refinement and for the "absence" of symbolic apparatuses and denounces that this position still remains among intellectuals often inattentive to the importance of the groups in sharing memory, moving the fragments of a story built on the margin.

Araújo (2013) researched the poetic inscriptions in the coconut of Ceará and in the candombe of Minas Gerais, making a mention of the batuque of São Romão de Dona Maria do Batuque. Araújo (2013) calls practices like the batuque, jongo, coconut, of songs danced by the intricate relation between song and dance.

Araújo describes the performance of the dance of Dona Maria de São Romão, a city near Ponto Chique, in which the group presented specific vestments and a singularity in the way of dancing that recalls the greetings carried out in the religions of African matrix.

> In addition to the whirls and jumps present in all the manifestations registered in this collection of dancing songs, in the batuque of Dona Maria, the components -man/woman, man/man, woman and children- touch shoulder to shoulder on the left and right side in the dance performance, and rotate by switching pairs randomly. (Araújo 2013: 68).

The performance of Dona Maria 's batuque is very similar to the Batuque of Ponto Chique, signaling this relation between the groups of this specific region of the High Middle São Francisco.

I have mentioned two studies that, from different perspectives, deal with, on the one hand, a more historical and ethnomusicological aspect and, on the other hand, a more analytical character of the poetic and stylistic characteristics of the performances of several danced songs, among them, the batuque de São Romão. The present article tries to apprehend the batuque of Ponto Chique and other groups in its most contemporary moment, articulating its performance in fragments of memory and its relation with the images.

In addition, the proposal is to perceive the groups in their specific context impregnated by the importance of the river São Francisco in the ways of life and to think the world. An example of this relationship with the river are the daily performances of the batuqueiros in their

work in the ebbing[5]. In one of my canoe crossings with Seu Olimpio, I came across the following dialogue between Olímpio and a *vazanteiro* colleague: "Who is rich has cattle, who is poor runs to the bush," jokes Olímpio. Zé da preguiça replies, "Well, I'm going there." "I've come back," says Olímpio. The *vazanteiros* are constantly being threatened by the environmental police, by the farmers and by the very cattle that enter and trample the plantations to drink water in the river. The dialogue reveals the surrealism of the daily life of those who work this territory. The lands of the ebb are officially of the state, but they have a kind of unofficial use right reaffirmed collectively by the occupation and the relations produced in the space. The *vazanteiros* live in this in between-place, in the imponderable, in the displacement where they produce relations of work, consumption, conflict and commerce.

In the theater of the vazanteiros this displacement is performed, as shown in the above dialogue. The movement of traffic through the ebbing is also done by staging, gestures and manipulation of the forms of language that are privileged objects of studies of performance anthropology (Dawsey 2005: 20). A time when aesthetic experience is at the center. For Schechner (1985), theater and ordinary life would be a kind of Moebius tape (a non-steerable surface), each becoming the other (Schechner 1985: 81). This flow between every day and theater also make tangible the relations produced in this between-place of life in the ebbing.

And it was precisely these performances in the ebbing one of the themes addressed by the documentary. Olímpio performed for the cameras all the way until the arrival in the ebb, the process of planting, the songs of work, etc. These montages were suggested by Olímpio and it was up to the film crew to follow the narrative he created.

FIGURE 8
Movement of riverine on the São Francisco river (2016). Photo of Pâmilla Vilas Boas.

5. A possible translation for the portuguese term "vazante".
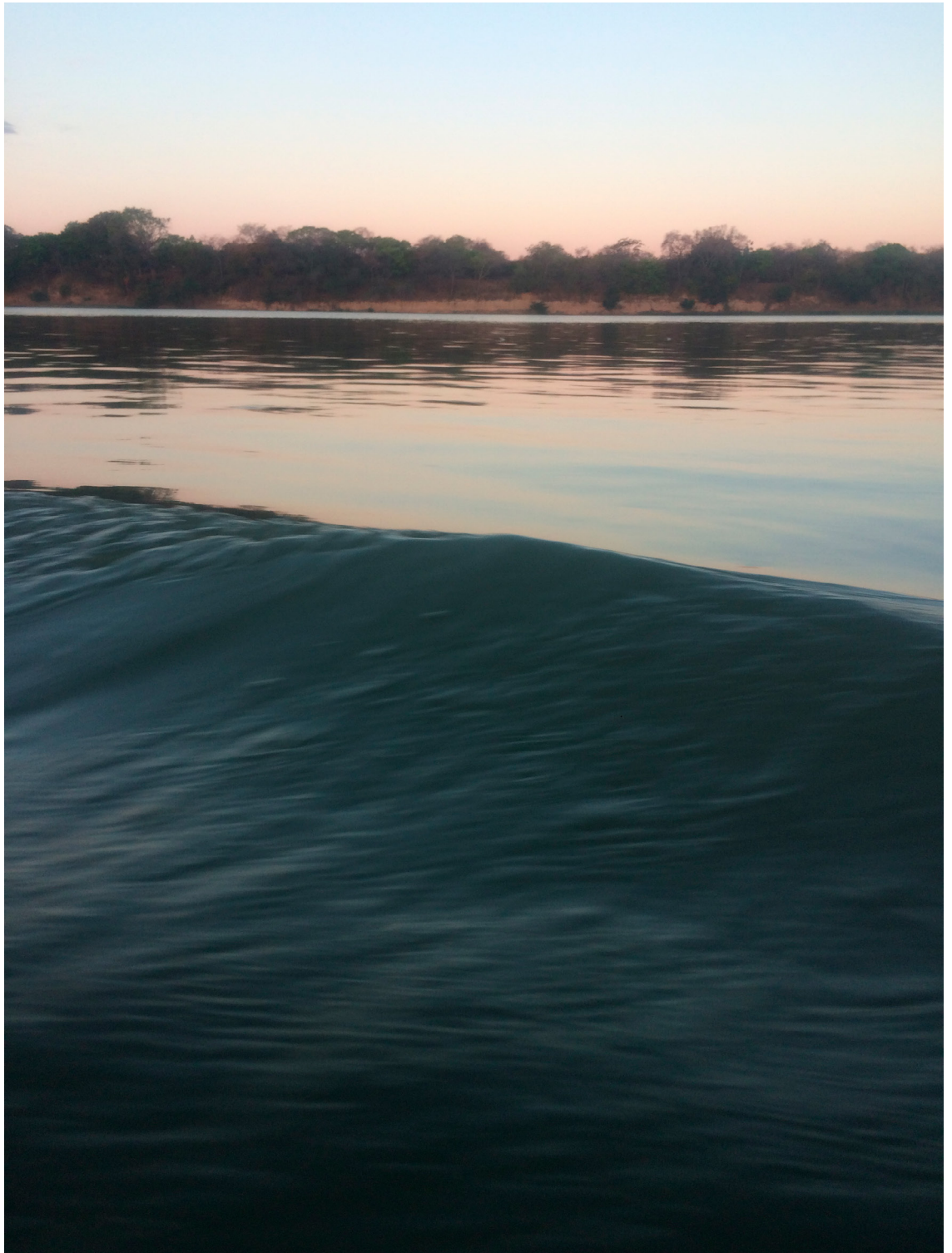
FIGURE 9
Crossing of the
São Francisco
river in the port
of Ponto Chique
(2017). Photo
of Raphael
Vilas Boas.

This article also discusses elements of a visual anthropology made in a very specific ethnographic context, as a result of a shared production that thinks about the impact of these media to the local groups. The relationship with the audiovisual is something that has intensified in the groups of the region as another modality of raising the batuque. It is another way of making visible a practice that is always about to end, but never ends.

As Ferraz and Mendonça (2014) point out the different research strategies with images that vary according to each research context and the multiple dimensions of the ethnographic encounter, we may think that the batuqueiros appropriated the resources of the audiovisual to express this history of the forgetting and to move the fragments of their memories even more. It is possible to suggest that, just as the songs represent different temporalities, fragments of the past that join fragments of the present, the audiovisual can also represent and reverberate these different temporalities lived in the performances of the batuques. In this sense, the *filmação* is inserted in the perspective of the batuque to leave their memories visible, increasingly present and also to bring to the fore the relationship of the batuqueiros/vazanteiros with the images and the force of their montages, also incorporated by the audiovisual, in the dissemination of a memory that refers to the event of slavery and that, however great the attempts at erasure, it emerges in fragments and remnants of a performance that can never be forgotten. It is relevant to think not only of the importance of the audiovisual to *represent* the batuque, but also to discuss the influence of the batuqueiras montages in the audiovisual and how their categories can bring new understandings about cinema and performance.

FILMAÇÃO WITH THE BATUQUE

The day I arrived at Ponto Chique, in the field for the master's degree in 2016, I went to greet Olímpio and inform him of my stay in the city. He asked me if I would want a *representação*, I said yes and I would even record the audio and film. I decided then to bet on this role of who produces images that the batuqueiros gave me, despite not having a crew or adequate technical equipment. We settled the footage for Saturday, June 4, 2016.

"During all this time, we never asked for a ritual to be performed exclusively for our anthropological benefit, we are not in favor of such an artificial theatrical performance" (Turner 1968, p. 18). This passage brought me some concerns: would it be the *representation* of the batuque for filming something false? What I want to demonstrate is that, from my experience in the field, the word *representação* is not detached from the sense of reality, knowing that it does not make the least sense this separation for the batuqueiros. To represent is to be directed to

action and not to mental representations, and the batuque surpasses in discourse and in performance, the chaotic dichotomy between reality and representations (Peirano 2001).

On the day of the batuque, Valu decides to make a *representação* at his house because it is lighter to get a better footage. Valu actively participates in the assembly of the equipment. He graces the table with the image of Nossa Senhora and asks us to film an image of her in the opening and closing of the DVD. Because he never saw any image of a saint in the performances of the batuque.

I question Valu if the other batuqueiros would not care about the image, but he explains to me that no, they are all devotees of Nossa Senhora. Valu also reports that, in her mother's time, she made a batuque for Saint Peter because she represented the saint, and other batuqueiros who *represented* Saint John performed the batuque on the saint's date. In other conversations, Valu explains that one of the reasons for inserting the image of Nossa Senhora was so that the bishop, who has a relationship with the Pastoral Movement of Fishermen, would feel *represented* if he saw the DVD. Here *representation* appears in its most political sense revealing a widening of the term by native theory.

The group meets in front of the house of Olímpio and Valu remains on the other side watching. Pretinha arrives before 7:00 p.m. for fear the group would start the batuque without her. With the group reunited, they cross the street towards Valu's house. On the house, Olímpio gathers the group and gives the instructions: you four (his daughter and granddaughter - the youngest ones, and Pascoalina who was in a different outfit of the group) stay there and start to twirl around here. Later he explains that they came out first because the younger ones *represent* the older ones, the current batuqueiros *represent* their ancestors and this process has no end.

The batuque brings together these sacred, profane and playful dimensions in their practice, transcending our compartmentalized view of rituals. To think about performance implies not isolating spheres of social life such as aesthetics, ethics, politics, religion, etc. (Hikiji 2005). I have found in the literature on batuque that in many cases, the batuques in the senzalas combined "religious" and "profane" activities in a single event, which transcends our cartesian mental logic which perceives the manifestations of the sacred and profane as static events.

Thus, in agreement with Van Gennep, it is necessary to assume the sacred and the profane not in their static and clearly separated polarization, but to conceive them as dynamic positions. In this sense, in the

batuque of Ponto Chique, there would be no essence in the sacred or profane, but in its relative position in a given context of relations.

It is always Olímpio who pulls the first song, as leader. He is the one who gives the orders and commands the intonation. The *roncador*[6] is what sets the rhythm of the dance. "What I want to drink is cachaça". Valu bought cachaça that was shared by some batuqueiros in the middle of the circle. Olímpio rejected such an attitude. He explains that there should be no cachaça in the middle of the circle and anyone who wants to drink should absentmindedly take a sip and return to the circle. For Olímpio, if people drink too much they can fall and hurt, in addition to disrupting the dance. Neuza (2016) explained that in the old days, when the batuqueiros sang the song of cachaça, a few cups arrived and each member took a sip. "It was not much, just to cheer up, the music would ask." Today she explains that almost no batuqueiro drinks cachaça, she herself, stopped drinking.

Music warms the circle. Agripina circulates all over the place with the dance she inherited from her mother. The neighbors joke that she is using crutch and limping all day, but that is just getting into the circle that she even forgets she has problem in the leg. Pascoalina throws her body forward, back, looks, defies with her face, and returns. Pretinha is fast and when she meets Agripina on the circle they have fun in the game.

The feminine identity is then triggered in the performance that subverts and stresses the male pattern. Female corporality gains relevance in dance. Pretinha circles the whole circle with a piercing look and invites each present to hit the shoulder-to-shoulder. Since the time of Maria Catenga, it is in the performance that the women share moments of protagonism, like Maria Catenga, the woman batter drum of the batuque. Dona Pretinha, the woman who dances the batuque, Agripina, the woman who knows how to call the songs.

Corporality was, until then, the place of the feminine, but as in a flash, the past comes to the surface and Olímpio jumps with the box and dances the *carneiro*[7] with the women. The other day I comment on how beautiful it was to see him dance with Agripina, I had never seen this before, and he explains that in the past men also danced, but that Zé dos Passos, coordinator and enthusiast of the group, found it more appropriate that men no longer danced in the performance. Olímpio never questioned the decision. Neuza remembered the old batuqueiros Seu Enó, Seu Antônio do Morro and João do Morro who danced with mastery. Olímpio tells us that the men always danced

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6. It is a typical instrument of the batuques of the river San Francisco and that has its origin in the instruments of Central Africa.
7. Carneiro is the name of the dance that mimics the ram animal.

and could not leave all at once. As they are playing the boxes, this could interfere with the rhythm.

The rhythm intensifies to the trance of the boxes, at which point everyone connects in perfect harmony. Rhythm, melody and beat on the same frequency or intonation as they say. The group seems to be in a collective trance. Participants intensely experience performance. A man begins to imitate a ram. The movements of the ram are present in the corporal mimesis of the dance of the batuque and it was just at the moment that they sang the music of the ram that Valu began to shout and to shake the body. Commenting on the batuque the other day, Olímpio remembered his great-grandfather. He and Neuza began to sing: "Look at my sheep, meh - he has been shouting, meh - oh he - oh he - meh. Olímpio says that the great-grandfather was already an old person but at the time of this song he screamed, and trembled the whole body. "There was nothing better. My mother did not learn, no one learned that. Valu started yelling there yesterday. But who is he to shout like my great-grandfather?" As in a flash, Valu incorporates his great-grandfather and the ram in gestures and sounds. In the batuque of Maria de São Romão it is the voice of her mother that appears when she is going to sing, in the case of the batuque of Ponto Chique it is the memories that bring through the corporal mimesis, gestures and songs the connection with a past.

It is at this moment that the past articulates to the present in a "musical relationship" (Dawsey 2012). Valu incorporates, by the sounds of the ram, his great-grandfather who will be remembered by Neuza and Olímpio the other day. The cachaça is ritualized again remembering that the song "I want to drink cachaça" was a kind of catalyst of the performance. Neuza remembers the little cups, the mother and the grandmother dancing until dawn.

It was during the performance for the *filmação* that the images of the past came to the surface in a surprising movement. The "old" batuque in which the men could dance and *amarradas*[8] with the women returns in the performance of Olímpio. The *Carneiro*, which gives the name to the dance and the movement of the shrug, comes to the surface by the screams and tremors of Valu that shows what his great-grandfather's mimesis was like. If, at the beginning of the research, I sought to understand the differences between a batuque made by the ancestors in Dona Izabel's terreiros and a current batuque "transformed" by the contact with the audiovisual, they show me, in performance, the misconception of this separation. It also seems to me to deal with what Dawsey

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8. It is a term used by the batuqueiros that refers to the moment in which the dancers slam the shoulder to each other. This movement refers to the mimesis of the ram, which justifies the fact that some groups in the region call the practice of Carneiro.

(2012) calls the involuntary memory of the city: "It is also a good image for the anthropologist who tries to be attentive to the surprising movements of social life, when images from the past flash from the depth of the involuntary memory of the city " (Dawsey 2012, p. 213).

At no point did the group remember that there were cameras and microphones in place and that the presentation was going to be filmed. At that moment, with the camera in hand, I seemed completely invisible. It could be filming or not, it did not matter. A catharsis among the batuqueiros that live side by side, also linked by ties of kinship, and who share dilemmas, histories and a common past in the work on the farms and the ebbing. The next day, as if nothing had happened, everything comes back to normal, they live together, talk about others, tell stories.

This first experience of ethnography from the use of cameras and with a proposal of audiovisual recording during the field points to possible meanings for the term native *filmação*. It is a term that is directed to the action and that seems to refer to the audiovisual, not as a product, but as a performance. We may suggest that it matters more to batuqueiros the moment of performance for the film than the resulting imaging product. It was exactly this imaging exercise with the group that guided the master's thesis in elucidating aspects of performance that had not been expressed during the research. It was from the moment that I took the place of the filming, attributed by the batuqueiros, that the research reached its potential and it was possible to apprehend elements of relation with the past and collective energization, which until then, I had not noticed. This shows the power of images as an ethnographic method and the power of performance for the cinema to maintain the practice of batuque in the community.

The DVD became more important in the act of *represent* the batuque for entities, in other cities, for other groups, than necessarily for the aesthetic result of the production of the images. We can suggest that *filmação*, not filming or audiovisual, is the performance for the cinema that marked the trajectory of the group since the first passage of the Cinema no Rio São Francisco project in 2006 when the batuque performed before the cinema screening in the main square of the city. This performance was crucial to the batuque's *levantamento*.

The DVD also entered into the relationship between social dramas and aesthetic dramas. It is possible to think of this relationship from the reflections of Schechner, an author who is manifestly opposed to the dichotomy between ritual and social dramas and aesthetic-theatrical dramas as suggested by Turner.

In the essay "Selective inattention" Schechner elaborates his well-known model of an infinity-loop, to discuss the interactive relations between social dramas and aesthetic dramas: social dramas affect aesthetic dramas, and aesthetic dramas affect social dramas (Dawsey 2011: 208).

An example of this relationship was the seventh-day Mass of Neuza, a member of the group, in which she was sung in the batuque. The batuqueiros made a song to honor her. Neuza then became a batuque and can be sung on other batuques performances. From this interactive relationship, it is possible to understand the incorporation of the audiovisual in the web of relations between social dramas and aesthetic dramas. The DVD, which had images of Neuza's last performance in life, came to represent it, capable of making her present, as well as the music made in her honor. The DVD also operates in the relationship of making this important member present in the life of the batuqueiros, as well as the songs of batuque that bring elements of the past in a memory that is always updated in the present. The audiovisual seems to operate at this junction of social and aesthetic performances, bringing together aspects of effervescence and collective elaboration to elements of a meta-theater[9] of daily life that expresses tensions and contradictions of reality. These are social dramas, like the death of Neuza, which stimulate the realization of aesthetic dramas and both affect each other.

The very infinity-loop model, which Schechner drew from his Turner readings, goes back to Turner (making a loop) by revitalizing his discussions. The model comes out enriched. In particular, Schechner's notion of "restored behavior" was central to Turner's formulations. "I learned from him (Schechner)," says Turner (1985, p. Xi), "that every performance is 'restored behavior', that the fire of meaning erupts from the friction between the hard and soft woods of the past [...] and the present of social and individual experience (Dawsey 2011: 208)

BATUQUEIRA'S MONTAGES

"The mill is mine / the ox is mine / the sugar cane is mine / the bagasse is yours". The facts reported in rhyme, music, performances and sung are also images, a sequence filled with tensions. When singing this batuque at the time of filming the batuqueiros laugh and have fun. An alienation? Almost as in a displacement they sing the story of their ancestors, the work on the farms. The rhythm is even more frantic as a way of energizing this "slave" past. They distort the bagasse of history, in an imaginary memory in frames of the past that comes to the surface. They are facts reported in rhyme, are stories and music sung.

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9. Dawsey (2006) articulates the approaches of Erving Goffman, who is interested in the theater of everyday life, and Victor Turner, who seeks to capture the moments of interruption, or meta-theater of daily life.

In the batuqueiras montages[10] the objects, the wood, the armadillos[11] are sung and they sing in the roda. We may suggest that in this performance there is a form of an assembly or reassembly of beings. Thinking that these batuqueiras montages translate the various senses for the representation as action, we can say that the action of joining these diverse pieces of the world is the way of giving existence to the beings that populate the river San Francisco.

If we think of documentary fiction as one more form of past and present friction, we can understand this relationship between the film's montages and the batuqueiras assemblages as a kind of restored behavior (Schechner 1985) in which the fragments of the past constitute filmic temporality. "Above all, montages reveal dissonant or unresolved elements of social life" (Dawsey 2013: 70). It is the fusion of conflicts where one creates an image or assembly filled with tensions.

It is possible to exemplify this idea of montage from the own songs of the batuque, where the symbols of the slavery, for example, decompose in assemblages batuqueiras. The music mentioned above draws attention to the imagery of the poetics of the batuques. The verses have their power less by the discursive aspect and more by the force of the images evoked. The verses are more the expression of an assembly, or of images, in fragments than of a discourse to be understood.

It is also in this moment that the collective memory[12] (Halbwachs 1990) collapses into residuals that accumulates and travels along the São Francisco River. It is also possible to think of this communication between the batuques as the expression of an underground memory (Pollak 1992), that is, something unspeakable, inconceivable that does not align with the memory one wishes to impose by the local elite. The emergence of "underground memories" expresses less of an essence or a crystallized tradition and an attempt to re-inscribe memories and traditions under present-day conditions (Mello 2008).

We can suppose that these improvisational songs signify and inform the memory of the group bringing new collective representations on the events that can be passed on by the music. For Halbwachs (1990), musical technical memory depends on the group that dominates its

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10. I use the term montage inspired by Dawsey (2013, 2012, 2009, 2005b).
11. There are some songs of the batuque that sing the armadillos, mainly because they are becoming scarce in the region because of hunting.
12. I use the term collective memory in reference to Halbwachs (1990) for whom memory is a reconstruction in the present of materials of the past.

language, through its codes and conventions, and which gives meaning to them, perpetuating them. He cites the example of the child sweetly packed by the songs of his nurse. Later she will repeat the choruses that her parents sing along to her. "There are songs of roda, as there are songs of work. In the streets of the great cities, popular songs run from mouth to mouth, reproduced once by the realejos, today by megaphones" (Halbwachs 1990, p. 172).

This same author calls attention to the fact that it is not necessary for men to have learned music to keep the memory of certain songs and certain melodies. For him, rhythm just as words remind us not only of sounds, but the way in which we determine their succession. For the author, it is the rhythm that plays the leading role in our memory. Rhythm does not exist in nature, it is a product of life in society. The individual alone would not know how to invent it.

These demands are incorporated into the songs in a fluid way, in the rhythm of the batuque. Other batuques will also produce memories as the product of this shattering. Assemblies generate new assemblies. This idea is interesting to think about this destruction of the symbols in the performance of the batuque that decomposes in fragments that are always reconstituted in the present, in a new performance.

When one thinks of this montage of the batuque as the relation between past and present or as a friction capable of bringing things back to life in performance, it is pertinent to retake some notions of Turner (1986), especially in his characterization of an anthropology of experience. The batuqueiras montages are perceived in the music, in the fragments danced and sung. It is in this musical relation that the past is linked to the present. We can suggest that the time of the documentary is the time of the song.

Turner presents Dilthey's metaphor to address the five "moments" that constitute the procedural structure of each *erlebnis*, or lived experience: 1) something happens at the level of perception (being that pain or pleasure can be felt more intensely than repetitive or routine behaviors); 2) images of past experiences are evoked and delineated - acutely; 3) emotions associated with the events of the past are relived; 4) the past articulates to the present in a "musical relation" (according to Dilthey's analogy), making possible the discovery and construction of meaning; and 5) the experience is completed through a form of "expression". (Dawsey 2005: 164). By joining past and present in the performance of the batuque the flow of experience erupts into an "experience" linking the group. It is at this moment that the past articulates itself to the present in a "musical relation".

This essay on an anthropology of experience was posthumously published and also reveals Schechner's influence on Turner's work. In the late 1970s, inspired by the essayist, especially by the notion of "restored behavior," Turner elaborates an anthropology of experience based on past-present relationships. These experiences that interrupt routinized and repetitive behavior begin with shocks of pain or pleasure and bring emotions and experiences from the past that are evoked in the present.

> Then the emotions of past experiences give color to the images and sketches relived by the shock in the present. Then there is an anxious need to find meaning in what has presented itself in a disconcerting way, whether through pain or pleasure, and which has converted mere experience into an experience. All this happens when we try to join past and present. (Turner 1986:179).

In Dilthey's view, experience incites expression, or communication with others. We are social beings and we mean what we learn from experience. "The meanings obtained by the harsh penalties must be said, painted, danced, dramatized, finally put into circulation" (Turner 1986: 180). This is how, for Turner, performance refers to the moment of expression, a way to complete the experience.

The sense of experience is generated when past and present enter into "musical relationship." In this harmonious[13]relationship between past and present, what to say about soundscapes filled with noise? How to make an anthropology of noise, or the noise that escapes the processes of organization of sound? (Dawsey 2009: 352). Dawsey (2009) offers questions to this model of anthropology of experience and points to possibilities of exploring what he called the "unconscious sound" of cultural landscapes. This discussion of Dawsey is of paramount importance to think of the batuqueiro's assemblages that, in addition to fractioning past and present, also bring to the surface the elements, or the noises of a story read against the grain.

While it is possible to perceive a movement that goes from the ritual to the theater in the work of Turner, in Schechner the movement is opposite, of the theater to the ritual. From Turner's encounter with the essayist, he creates the concept of *liminoid* to think about the relation of social dramas in complex societies to cultural practices carried out apart from the social whole. Schechner in turn will strain the divisions between theater, performance and ritual by proposing an inverse path and bringing the performing arts closer to rituals in traditional societies. For Schechner rite and theater are performances.

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13. Dilthey's metaphor seems to evoke the moment when the past is elaborated into an action of transformation into present as a harmonious relationship between musical notes. Dilthey, interested in the German music movement of the eighteenth century, describes the instruments through which Mozart, for example, makes manifest the existential experience.

The friction of the hard and soft woods of the past[14], it is interesting to think about the life of the wooden instruments that sing, mock, and snore in the performance of the batuque. The *roncador* is the diacritical instrument which points to the recurrent instruments in Central Africa and which assumes new meanings in diaspora lands. It is he who snores and mocks in the performance and, from the friction of its woods, makes this past present. For Turner it's not just an idea of the past, it's really the past that comes to the surface. For Schechner these are pieces of behavior, things and beings that come together in the here and now.

FICTION AND FRICTION IN THE DOCUMENTARY

In 2017 we spent 15 days filming with the batuques of communities around Ponto Chique. We stayed for a week with the batuque of Ponto Chique that would be the thread of the documentary. I would like to bring, in these preliminary discussions, the relation of the batuqueira's montages and their intentionalities that friction the collective project of the documentary. From the raw material captured during the documentary footage, it is possible to relate the actors of the film, the actors in the performance and the actors in the *filmação*, which can be understood as film while performance and action. It is a relation of mirroring, or a pile of shards.

It is also possible to notice that the process of filming the documentary has different characteristics from the first exercise of *filmação* with the batuque. In the documentary, the batuqueiros were invited to perform their histories, memories and daily life, beyond the moment of the performance of the batuque.

During this experience of filming the documentary it was possible to perceive some intentions of the batuqueiros in relation to their montages thinking about the unfolding film. Olímpio, for example, participated in the filming process and was interviewed by the crew. As much as he was representing himself in the documentary and not exactly a character, since he was talking about his life and performing his daily life for the cameras, it was possible to perceive a "not not me"[15] dimension. He knew the distance between him and what he represented in the film at the same time that the negative duo brought a freedom to reassemble himself in front of the cameras.

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14. As noted on page 22.

15. Schechner (1985) created the term "not not me" to translate the between-place of performance. The author explains that an actor never tries to convince himself or the audience that the performance corresponds to a complete transformation. In the representation the actor tries to offer his skills and knowledge to the character, but never becomes himself. Also in ritual, incorporation or trance state, the subject never ceases to be himself to become an entity or a spirit, for example.

"The actor [says Brecht] does not allow himself to be completely transformed on the stage in the character he is portraying. He is not Lear, Harpagon, Schweik: he shows them" (Schechner 1985: 217). According to Schechner (1985), this space between "not" and "not not" also refers to a temporality that transits between the past and the present for the creation of an idea of the future. In this material that will later constitute a film, it is possible to perceive the intentionalities that involve the production of a documentary and the batuqueira's assemblages that are articulated in multiple temporalities that go back to infinity.

The performance of Olímpio also brings a relevant idea of the filmmaker Eiseinstein that approached the importance of the character that is constituted before the spectator, during the course of the action and not with characteristics created a priori. This was revealed in the montages proposed by him, from the scenes of the descent of the port of the city, the entrance to the canoe, the route to his ebb and the performances that he proposed when singing and dancing with the hoe while weeding his small planting space of pumpkins and beans. We were filming his work on the ebb and, suddenly, Olímpio jumped and began to sing and dance with the hoe. He knew he was delivering something we hoped for, an important performance for the film. It was in the course of action and from his actor consciousness about the multiple possibilities of the performance that he stages for the film.

FIGURE 10
Filming crew accompanying the daily route of Olímpio to its ebb (2017). Photo of Raphael Vilas Boas.

Olímpio counts all the cases in detail, makes a point of singing the songs while narrating the stories in a rich exercise of composing himself for the film in the limits of the act of representing. Zé de Abilio was an influential man in Ponto Chique, he had promised to take the group to represent in a nearby town. The group got all dressed up, waited for the driving that did not come. "Oh Zé de Abilio/are you not the man of the place/you knew that there was car/why did you call?". Olímpio tells the story, sings the music, laughs and has fun in front of the cameras. Another point that drew attention during the filming was the eruption of laughter, the laughter of the batuqueiros in commenting on the past, on the batuques, on the cases and the *inventions*.

FIGURE 11
The batuque group of Ponto Chique and the crew have fun during the filming of the documentary (2017). Photo by Raphael Vilas Boas.

Valu, another important character in the film, demonstrates a greater interest in the process of producing the images. He suggests locations that would be more appropriate, have an appreciation for issues such as lighting, framing, etc. Before we connect the cameras at his house, he asks his wife Raimunda to straighten the place, remove the dust and be silent so as not to disturb the recordings.

In explaining the tension between the real and the invented in the batuque, he illuminates a possible discussion about the documentary. "The batuque has a part of a lie and a part of truth. You will correct the lie and always give a true ending in the case" (Valu 2017). Another important point he comments during the interview for the film is the "gossip" that is told inside the circle. In the batuque it is told about the life

of its members, cases of jealousy, betrayals, things that happened. "You will tell the lives of others without them realizing that you are telling" (Valu 2017). This relation between real and invented can be compared to Wagner's notion of convention and invention. This invention is present in the culture category and also in the performance of the batuque and can be extended to the process of making a documentary with the group. Valu, for example, uses the word *invento* instead of an event to talk about his performances at traditional culture events.

For Wagner, culture can mean both the active invention of the world and of life, as something that conditions (Wagner 2010). He takes this dialectic as the core of all human cultures, since invention transforms things and convention puts them in a recognizable world. This tension between the historical and the invented in the batuque is as if Valu knew that the necessity of the invention is given by the cultural convention and the necessity of the cultural convention is given by the invention (Wagner 2010: 94). We invent to sustain and restore our conventional orientation; we adhere to this orientation to affect the power and the gains that invention brings us (p.96). It is because it is historical that the batuque is invented. The documentary can be thought from this dialectic between convention and invention and also in the tension pointed out by Valu when he comments on the historical and invented in the batuque. The documentary may constitute as another *invention* that incorporates the performances of the batuque.

Raimunda, Valu's wife, demonstrated great ability with the cameras and used this interview space as a place of outburst against a silencing that she lives indoors and also in the conflicts with some members of the batuque. Skillfully she also traces herself to the cameras, selecting the most dramatic and shocking events. She talks about Neuza's death, gets emotional and says: "She was our singing canary." After this phrase she sings the song.

Scenography and costumes were important aspects for the batuques. The batuque of Vila Santos Reis, for example, created a special event for the day of filming. They set up a space, with a specific scenography, and the uniformed members celebrating 100 years of matriarch of the batuque. Maria Ciríaca died with the dream that Zé dos Passos, leader in the quilombola community of Bom Jardim da Prata and a great promoter of the local batuques, would record and film her stories. Before her death, she asked her daughters to communicate with him so that he would register that she was already leaving. For the daughters, the day of filming the documentary was an intervention of the matriarch. "I'm sure she's there now," they said.

FIGURE 12
The batuque group from Vila Santos Reis prepared a special scenography for the filming day of the documentary (2017). Photo by Raphael Vilas Boas.

To sing a person, an being or entity in the batuque is also to realize a double passage: from the transcendental plane to a state of presence next to the people on earth again. We can think of the movie within this passage of bringing people from the spiritual plane into a physical presence. We can still think of documentary as a way of moving between reality and fiction and as a friction between *invento*, the action of producing realities and this movement of making the batuque always visible. To produce a documentary with the batuque groups is to act in the lived, to create collectively, to reinvent the past, to friction the present and produce a fiction that recreates the real and stresses the invented.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: THE AUDIOVISUAL IN PERFORMANCE
"To deal with an anthropology based on the interactions between social dramas and aesthetic dramas consists in the possibility of seeing the poetic dimension of social life, approaching it in a sensitive way, but not in any way distancing it from its political load" (Noleto 2015: 06). From the ethnography, interviews and analysis of the filmic material it was possible to perceive how the film participates and incorporates the relation between social dramas and aesthetic dramas and how the experience of the batuque can be modified and modify the construction of this documentary.

From the audiovisual it is possible to think of the anthropology of performance understood here as a perspective, that is, a way of seeing social life as a set of performative acts that dramatize, communicate, reiterate and modify social status, considering social life as endowed of a certain dramaturgy that gives it intelligibility (Noleto 2015).

Taylor (2013) believes that we should rethink our object of analysis and pay more attention to scripts as paradigms of meaning construction. The author's proposal is an inspiration for us to be able to take the script proposed by our interlocutors, in this case the batuqueiros, during the experiences of producing the documentary and also during the process of circulation, exhibition and reception of the film. This means that, from ethnography, it is possible to perceive scripts shaping our categories according to what the interlocutors show us in their performances. These scripts find a place of expression also from the incorporation of the audiovisual in the ethnography. From the cameras, new possibilities of diving in the real are possible thinking of the inventiveness and expression of our interlocutors.

The enchanted ones of the river produce action, the snorer, the floods, the nature. The fiction that is produced with the batuqueiros is not an imaginary or unreal narrative, it is not the act or effect of pretending, on the contrary, fiction is the action of producing realities, it is the transformed act, is to put the creativity in the world, it is to unite thoughts and categories into an assembly that can be loaded with tensions. Be it in the terraces of Dona Izabel, queen of the batuque, be it in the stages, in the *filmação*, in the meetings, they are always representing, always giving life to the batuque.

Rocha and Eckert (2014) point out that visual and image anthropology has been placed as a consistent line of research in Brazil and aligned with the challenges of new epistemic forms and imaginative creations. The authors point to the importance of visual anthropology from the beginning of the discipline, whether in ethnographic research as a social fact in Marcel Mauss, through the shared anthropology proposed by Jean Rouch in ethnographic films with the Malians and Nigerians,

> to the multiplicity of proposals of an anthropology of cultural and social critique (Cardoso de Oliveira, 2000, Fischer, 2009, Wagner, 2010, Strathern, 2006, etc.) the imaginary heritage produced in ethnographic experiences follows the relational, conscious of its own historicity and the contextual nature of its own concepts and instruments' (Eckert, Rocha 2014: 51).

It is in this sense that it becomes necessary to delve into the ways in which the audiovisual is incorporated into the cosmologies of groups in this movement to make their practices always visible, especially in the contemporaneous with the internet and the multiple possibilities of diffusion. It is not, therefore, a simple and reductionist parallel, it takes a deep dive in these forms of apprehension of the world.

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INTERVIEWS
Olímpio (2016), (2017)
Valeriano (Valu) (2016), (2017)
Neuza (2016)
Raimunda (2016), (2017)

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DOSSIER

FIA SOPHIA: PERFORMANCE AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

This work aims to reflect on the theoretical and practical production of AUTHOR 1 researcher artist and the performances of Sophia, his drag queen, from the relationship with anthropology theorists, queer theory and arts at a transdisciplinary crossroad where theory dialogues with practice beyond academic walls interactions in search of social interaction and daily discussions about dissident bodies and the norms imposed on them. This paper proposes to present as performance narrative supplemented by agglutinations of textual narratives with imaginary narratives, which detail three moments of Sophia in performative processes from the immersive action of name "*Fia Sophia*"; these narratives detail unique moments in which Sophia interacts with other people - who participate in the performance in the game in which they collectively construct a greater state of fluidity and enjoyment of artistic manifestations, pulsating of ideas, creations and diffusions of spontaneous and dialogic processes - and like the imagery record is much more appropriate as a ethnographic narrative to recording ephemeral artistic moments.

WITHAL TEXTUALIZATION

Sophia[2] is an Amazon[3] drag queen[4] who wants to talk about theories and practices of decolonization of the body through art; and so in this article we will observe drag performances as a dialogical instrument and methodology based on the coincidence and dissonance of theories about gender performativity in layer seams – of "masculine" and "feminine," parodies of fantastical normative constructions and stereotyped binary discussions (Butler 2015, 215) – overlapping the amazon-body[5] stigmatized from the European colonial invasion. For this, we will relate Sophia's performatic deconstruction[6] as a whole of overlapping layers and connected to theories that dialogue about identities (Hall 2006, Fanon 2008), genders, sexualities (Butler 2015, Fernandes and Gontijo 2016), decolonization (Escobar 2005, Rivera Cusicanqui 2010, Anzaldúa 2005) and anthropophagy (Campos 1981, Oiticica 1973), as well as the practices related to the emergence of the immersive action in question and what are the possible consequences of this process (Conceição and Olaia 2017). We will focus more precisely on the immersive action Fia Sophia and its unfolding in three public events: the imaginary recordings of these actions, memories, and reflections on ethnography and public immersions as a practice of poetic and political resistance – or as Paulo Raposo (2015, 5) suggests an "artivism" as an act of "resistance and subversion [...] through poetic and performative strategies".

The Fia Sophia process began from improvisation theater games[7] that we propose in a round-table discussion on the 4th Regional Meeting of Engineering and Social Development of the North Region (EREDS/NORTH) in 2017 at UEPA – Campus V, Center for Natural Sciences and Technology (CCNT) in Belém-PA. The round table meeting was named "oppressions on engineering", and since I, Pedro Olaia, am graduated in Electrical Engineering

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2. Pedro Olaia gets ready, trans-forms his own body and assumes the identity of Sophia, a drag queen whose poetic and political performances usually take place in everyday city life environments such as streets, markets and squares.
3. Identification next to the cabano movement that happens between peripheral inhabitants of the Amazon of different ethnic groups and cultures with common social and economic problems and similar insurgencies (Rodrigues, 2009).
4. This identification of a non-binary gender performativity will be used throughout the text as a reference to Pedro Olaia's body "assembled" like Sophia. The terms "drag", "kitty" and "drag *cuír*" are also used – proposing a translation of the term "queer" (from English) from reflections on the Manifesto Queer Caboclo (Fernandes and Gontijo 2016).
5. We suggest here that amazon-body would be our native bodies of the region called by the colonizers as Amazon. We will discuss this self-identification later.
6. We are referring to the practice of Sophia's "assemble" as deconstruction, from Juliana Jayme's suggestion that the drag queen and other non-binary "assembled" body and mind in a "constant process of building and rebuilding their names, genres, identities, bodies" (Jayme 2010, 188).
7. Pedro Olaia is trained in theater and uses the theater games (scenic games) to interact with the public during the process of unfolding their performance actions. The improvisation techniques suggested by Augusto Boal (1982) are usually used in unique instants of friction of Sophia's body with other bodies; the technical exercises of the theaterologist facilitate the operationalization of the performance and the ease of Sophia's scenic insights at the moment in which the situation is created and improvises from what happens after the created situation.

and Sophia is my political resistance identity about dissident bodies, I was invited to talk about my experiences in engineering, that is my stories and experiences as a gay person in the electrical engineering course and our performance processes with Sophia. In that round table there were the presence of Pedro Olaia and a mestizo woman (as she identified herself) who is of the feminist movement and Enviromental Engineering undergraduate student; to complete the round table, there was a mediator to young gay undergraduate students of engineering who is from this course's LGBTQI + movement. The conversation with the environmental engineering student begins with her asserting that the presence of women in engineering's training courses and labor market is still subalternized by a heteropatriarchal discourse in which women are not able to study in areas that involve many calculations and so are not able to perform managing or command duties; continuing her dialogue, the student still talks about the occupation of these "masculine environment" spaces and reflects if we really are able to deconstruct the performativity of gender instituted hegemonically on our bodies from a male-female binary pattern, because the pattern's characteristics and behaviors are attributed to a gender in detriment of another; the student also emphasized the diversity of genders, showing the colonization that influences directly our daily life, and the specificities of different feminist groups of different women (lesbians, blacks, trans, among others), as well as the recognition of decolonizing practices to favor the dialogue about equal rights and the many possibilities of bodies outside the normativity.

The picture below depicts a moment during the event, in which the mestizo engineering student shares a video with the audience confirming what she had talked about previously:

FIGURE 1
Video shared about heteropatriarcal perceptions on feminine body. Source: EREDS/North.

Then, after the feminist-themed video presented (detail in the image above), I, as Pedro Olaia, shared some experiences as an electrical engineering student who lived a double life where I did not assume either a gay identification, either Sophia's identification, like if I was living between two very distinct worlds with two performative identifications: an identification close to the engineering student and man gender performative; and the other identification as a queer gender performative that is assembled[8], a body that goes to the nightclub to show off[9], and aquend[10] the "boys"[11] in the *banheirão*[12] of UFPA. And to finish the dialogue about gender and sexuality on engineering courses, the organizers of the event invited us to present a performance, and so I proposed for us to display the video projection about the performance *Primeira égua, trava carve: o enforcamento* [*First* égua[13], *meat lock: the hanging*][14] (Suelen, Olaia and Romário 2012); and while the scenes recorded – Sophia and *Byxa do Mato* hanging with the Brazilian Flag at the corner of GEMPAC – were shared, Sophia and me assembled the drag queen live between the projector and the screen, making a shadow that bothered and caught the present public's attention.

The symbolic representation of self-hanging with Brazil's flag on the video projection refers to the muffled cries, the dissident bodies' pains silenced, and also the resistance force of hanging, even though they are suffocated; the fags, the drag queens continue to sing the national anthem for the "beloved" and "idolized" homeland which the hopes and progress' golden verses become an ambivalence of freedom and imprisonment. "Hail, hail!" Hail[15] or save the flag, or the homeland, or the hangman, or the hanged? "Brazil, an intense dream" of this soil's invisible sons that is not gentle at all.

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8. Which is assembled, from the verb to assemble; getting ready; compose a drag queen from the technological resources available that transform the body into another body that distorts the male-female binary pattern.
9. Give a close close refers to show oneself, to see and be seen at the nightclub, cut a dash, getting dressed to kill.
10. From the verb "kuenda" from origin bantu. To aquend ("aquendar", "akuendar"), in argot queer from Brazil, that means to hit on or get someone; aquend the boy, get the boy, to date someone else.
11. The word in English "boy" is a term in Brazil used to designate straight or homosexual men who perform the masculine identity.
12. To do *banheirão* in Brazil, refers to go inside the male toilet of an establishment (on text are the men's bathrooms of UFPA), go flirting and have sex with other men.
13. Égua is a mare animal however in Pará (Brazil's Amazon State) people use this term to express different feelings (wonder, astonishment, shock, anger, among other meanings), and this term can be used in different grammatical and expression contexts.
14. *Trava carne: o enforcamento [Meat lock: the hanging]*: performance occurred on GEMPAC (Group of Prostitute Women of the District of Campina – Belém-PA-Brazil) during the event Égua, Sarau do Corpo Político (Égua, Cultural Public Gathering Soirée Political Body).
15. Hail and Save have the same translation in Portuguese (in Portuguese the two terms mean salve), and in the text written in Portuguese, we use the ambivalence of significance as a wordplay.

The performance's video projection *The hanging* is updated on new links when we reflect on the current political situation and the new Brazilian governmental determinations about singing the national anthem in schools, and celebrating the date of March 31 when João Goulart's government was overthrown and the dictatorship was implanted for 21 years. All this added to the video that celebrates the coup of 1964 shared on social networks, released by the Planalto Palace and tweeted by the President Jair Bolsonaro's son, the federal deputy Eduardo Bolsonaro.

And in the day on the first experience of the Fia Sophia process, while the layers of Sophia were assembled, the video *The hanging* (Suelen, Olaia and Romário 2012) was superimposed as one more layer-skin to the body of the kitty.

Link Video from Trava Carne: O Enforcamento:
https://youtu.be/DpFUwZKXy3Y

FIGURE 2
Sophia and me assembled the drag queen.
Source: EREDS/North.
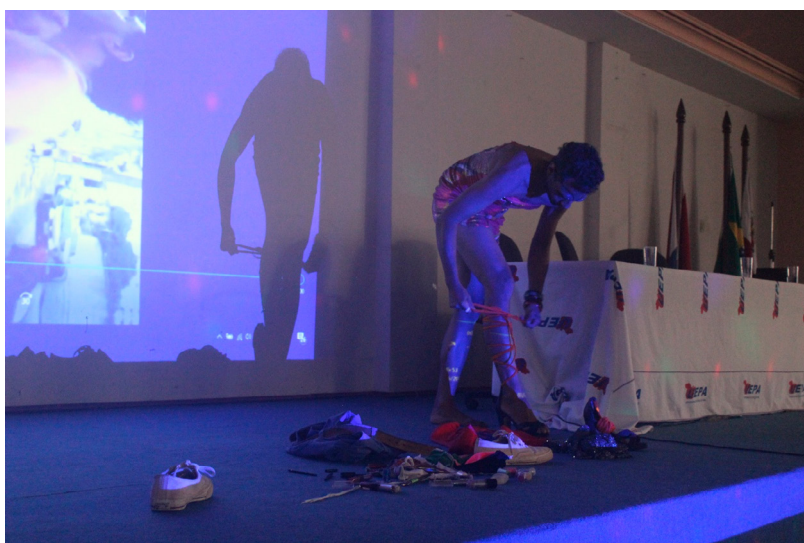
FIGURE 3
Sophia in between projection, body and deconstruction.
Source: EREDS/North.

After completely assembled, Sophia proposed that the public wrote in her drag queen body the nuisances of words and / or attitudes that other people give us in an attempt to subordinate our bodies; Sophia, through simple dialogue, caused the people present to recall violent and criminal stories of homophobic, transphobic and misogynist acts and at the same time the drag queen gave her lipstick to other people and asked them to write a word and/or an action about questions of gender, sexuality, ethnicity and other dialogues, as well as the heterosexual rich-white hegemonic standardization.

FIGURE 4
Sophia and her game with lipstickTítulo da figura. Source: EREDS/ North.

The drag queen uses her own lipstick to interact with the other and graffiti her body in the improvisation game with "Fia Sophia". This action is unfolding again in the beginning of the year 2018, at a cultural event in the reception week for the PPLSA (Post-Graduate Program on Languages and Knowledge from Amazon, UFPA, Bragança-PA) freshman students. And later, in mid-2018, the performance was shared in a third edition when Sophia again proposes that other people lay on her body and trans-form it, setting up the "drag cuír" at the Hangar Convention Center in Belém, in the state of Pará, during the 16th Congress of the International Society of Ethnobiology, 12th Brazilian Symposium on Ethnobiology and Ethnoecology, 1st World Fair of Socio-biodiversity, 9th Science Fair Technology and Innovation.

WHOSE IS WHO OR THE NEED TO EXPERIENCE ONESELF
This work is the overlapping of layers from oral language, written language, visual and performative languages, just like the "pixelization" method that makes up images on computers screens, smartphones and so many others visual graphics available on daily life. Each pixel[16] by RGB True Color system (Poynton 2003, 36-37) is composed of 4 bytes, that is, four components that can be viewed as layers having each layer 1

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16. Pixel is the smallest element of an image; all images in computer graphics are made of pixels, and we recognize them when we maximize an image and see several "squares", each with its hue and together they make up the image as a whole (1 pixel = 4 bytes = 2^8 * 2^8 * 2^8*2^8).

byte (8 bits). These four layers correspond to an 8-bit channel for red tint, an 8-bit channel for green tint, an 8-bit blue tint channel, and an 8-bit channel for the "Alpha Channel" or "Alpha Compositing" or the "Alpha Keyng" (key signal) that performs the operation of video composition, like a modulation of the produced "shape" image that varies from total transparency to total opacity of the image being assembled (Ibid., 613).

This alpha layer of RGB True Color can be compared to a "movie" that "renders" [17] three colors (red, green and blue) and overlays additional information for the purpose of composing a pixel, that is, the image projected on screen is the union of several pixels quantified and arranged from the resolution and size of the image; and the image's "chromaticity" (Ibid., 91) is composed of a set of pixels with "32 bits of color" (8 bits R + 8 bits G + 8 bits B + 8 bits alpha) composed of 256 shades of red, green and blue, with a total of 16.777.216 possible tonalities and juxtaposed to the "luminance" by an alpha channel with 256 possibilities of intensity and composition[18].

With so few details and characteristics presented here about the RGB True Color system, we are not able to explain the diversity and complexity of storage and digital image processing system with different resolutions and projections on different types of screens; and thus we limit ourselves to the basic concept of "Chroma" channel that contains the color information (RGB) and the luminance information, a "Luma" (alpha) channel (Hunt 2004, 68-91); in this way we propose a comparative analogy from this method of data storage in the computer memory with the writing method used in this text, and then: the alpha channel can be compared to the performance language that renders the three other layers-languages (oral, written and visual) in a set of pixels that varies in its 256 possible tonalities and gives us the possibility to project beyond the visible spectrum of the human eye.

This symbology – from the text as a narrative performance that describes Sophia's artistic performances and the comparison with the RGB True Color system – also gives us the boldness to write a text that can be written in the singular form of the first person, like drag queen Sophia, or like Pedro Olaia, the actor-performer-researcher, or like Luis Junior Saraiva, who academically guides Pedro Olaia's research, and also the text can be written in the plural form of the first person as "we" (us like knots), in four channels that yearn to become a "whole", in four

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17. Verb from the term "render", "rendering" of video (from the English "render video"). Rendering a video is to join all the elements that make up the video preparing it for its completion. Rendering is the very creation of the image.
18. The color depth for the RGB True Color system is referred to as "32 bits" (3 layers of 8 bits each), with 24 bits of 16,777,216 colors added to the remaining 8 bits destined for the alpha channel with the purpose of overlapping information (Poynton 2003, 37).

different components that together are the technique of a whole made of parts as described by Gregorio de Matos Guerra, poetically transpiring the verses of *Ao braço do mesmo menino Jesus quando apareceu* [*To the arm of the Jesus child when appeared*]:

> The whole without the part is not whole,
> The part without the whole is not part,
> But if the part makes whole, being part,
> Do not say that is part, being whole.
> (Gregório de Matos Guerra apud Silva 2007, 169. Our translation)

Making a parallel with the baroque poet, the performative narrative's languages-layers, as well as the skin-layers (projection on body, make-up, costumes, props, own scratches from graffiti lipstick, gestures, observation from another), overlapping the assembling of Sophia's body, are parts that are not the whole but are intrinsically linked to it; and the whole of this work only happens if these parts exist as a whole process, that is, they are languages-layers supplemented and rendered to tone and fade vivid colors in a translation action, a translation process of the body that is assembled, body experiencing, the body that lives and is a protagonist of culture, influences society and is influenced by it in a construction of self-identity that is permeated by alterity, by the transience of performance in the ritual of mounting an ambivalent process of self-recovery in criticisms and reaffirmations of the binary and destabilization of the sexualities and genders essential dichotomy (Jayme 2010, 185-186).

Haroldo de Campos identifies Gregorio de Matos Guerra as the "creole muse", the "curse muse" and "the first trickster (rascal) anthropophagous" to refer to the writing method of the poet that resembles our method:

> I am not talking about a biography. I am speaking about a biographeme preserved in the oral tradition and dispersed in apograph codices. From a person behind in which a text resounds. A text of texts. Universal and differential. Parody. Parallelographic. A "parallel song" of translating/devouring (anthropophagous): off center, eccentric. (Campos 1981, 18, our translation)

The anthropophagic antitradition of mestizaje, trickery, parody and decentering (Campos 1981, 17) suggests a recognizable non-linear historiography of "marginal pathways". It is a process similar to the drag queen identities production that mount a body and confuses boundaries, blurs the inner-outer distinction into fiction parodies that regulate heterosexual coherence questioning anatomical gender, gender identity and gender performative (Butler 2015, 237-240) from critical experimental performances (Raposo 2015) that use the improvised scenic game in the perception and observation of "social dramas", "performative and reflective anthropology", and everyday life (Turner 2015, 85-176) on the

historical and cultural Amazon context in this particular period of time (Fu-Kiau 1994, 20-21) in which the "Sophia" events take place.

A *dizada*[19] face, irregular makeup, *picumã*[20] *uerro*[21], few few few clothes, the drag queen is *uó*[22] – some may say, but the fact is the game and the impromptu resignification reveal Sophia's identity fluidity and self-identification (Hall 2006, 39) assembling (mounting) and dismantling from what Oswald de Andrade (1995, 157) suggests about alterity as cordiality "to see the other in oneself, to see in oneself the other's disaster, mortification or joy". With blurred makeup, Sophia plays a child who paints herself to imitate her mother or the soap opera girl, she leaves the idea of incompleteness, and the rest of the makeup is a making from the other person's imagination; her hair is a scenic game that falls, does not fall, is bald, or has a lot of hair, because what is the non-binary person hair performativity? Sophia's clothing is also her body, discursively constructed in collective artistic-performative devouring, it is the supplementation of bodies and speeches in a web woven that skin adheres sticking, "I want to stick your body like a tattoo".

Fia Sophia is the impromptu game proposal in which Sophia offers a lipstick for people to graffiti her body by writing words or actions that de-characterize dissident behavior and normative and fantastical stigmatization of hegemonic body aesthetics. The performance action unfolds from the action of the people on Sophia's body, the writings, the speeches in which Sophia crosses and is crossed. The graffiti body playing is the pain painting, is reliving the shocks of pleasure-pain, they are memories of a contemporary ethnography, at the same time they are ammunition and dialogue power on the diversity of genres and sexualities, that is, the paradigm of a world as a machine that can be manipulated by men became the manifest criticism about the parody of the naturalized performative fabrication of sex and gender (Butler 2015, 233-236); and it is observed through Sophia's immersive actions recorded in audio and/or visual in which there is no distance between research and researcher, man and nature.

And for a better image reading of this performative narrative between texts and images, we suggest our reader the reading of the work's central focus, the questioning about Sophia's practices and contemporaneous visual ethnographic constructions and registers with details about relations of gender and sexuality constructed historically and socially by the Amazonian territory people.

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19. A messed up face or as it is in Brazilian language, *dizada* in the bajubá has several translations and in this context refers to a badly made, uó as unfinished makeup or ugly faced.
20. By bajubá, picumã refers to a person's hair.
21. *Uó*, a mistake.
22. *Dizada* as in messed up, as uó.

FIRST MOMENT: FIA SOPHIA AND ENGINEERING STUDENTS

We realized how much the exercise/game touched through those women who participated in that regional Engineering and Social Development event, because Sophia's body was full of words like "dumb woman", "little whore", "whore", "bitch, "you are a woman, you can't", "witch", "nerd", "unprepared", "fat", "verbal violence".

In some cases we still find men with heteronormative masculine performed identification who participate in the game and took the lipstick and graffitied on Sophia's body; like a reaction to the game proposed by the "boy", Sophia undressed her clothes and showed up her body only in panties challenging even more men who dared to get lipstick-desire-graffiti.

To unburden red-blooded blurred graffiti on the drag queen's body and the lipstick-body game could be assimilated with the razor-blade gesture that "cuts" and "heals" the Angola capoeira wheel game inside, as described by Scott Head (2013, 263-268) in which Master Angolinha, playing capoeira with the author, at first gives him a blow with the nail in the neck and shouts "You're done!" symbolizing a cut of razor and the "death" of his opponent, and in the second moment the master gives him a blow with two fingers in the same spot hit earlier and shouts "Band-aid!" symbolizing "healing" and emphasizing the openness and vulnerability in Scott Head's body.

Sophia left the room where the round table debate took place and gave a "show off" to the CCNT, where other students were in a leisure time. Sophia also "let's go to party" and joked like the "stranger girl", the "untranslated" as Jayme (2010, 193) suggests, and all this around so many men who shyly played with Sophia, or simply ignored her.

FIGURE 6
Sophia playing with engineering students. Source: EREDS/North.

What touched us the most in this event and in the first action as Fia Sophia was a strong hug from a female engineering student who was in the audience, and who during the performance became an artist, and painted Sophia's body; she tattooed her with her troubles and also wept and thanked and cried saying that this action proposed by Sophia marked her as well, because Sophia gave her lipstick to a person to graffiti her and then the drag queen led the words to a great exorcism, which was symbolized by Sophia's departure from inside the room to the open area of the UEPA-Campus V.

The so many troubles and cries of women were being exorcised, at the witches' camp in the middle of the public square. The words burned in Sophia's body, or simply healed – like the Master's affectionate touching in the ritual magic from the enunciation of words, the "play of corporal movements and embodied dialogue" that re-means the Angola capoeira's razor cutting and multiplies the duplicity of the gesture (Head 2013, 264) – a trans-formation from run off lipstick blood sweat in a whore bitch's body only in panties in the middle of "university".

FIGURE 7
Cuts and heals: the duplicity of the gesture. Source: EREDS/North.

FIGURE 8
Interaction and play: lipstick and affaection. Source: EREDS/North.

Juliana Jayme (2010, 190-194) further suggests that we, drag queens, "hyper-perform": we shuffle and dissolve our bodies, genres and identities; and it is through assembling that we show an unfinished body, body-mind in a continuous fabrication process, a utopian cultural translation open system from its social relations, because a drag queen subverts the male-female pattern in a culture where the non-binary is untranslatable.

The drag queen's assembling, this process of manufacturing the drag queen's body can also be compared analogously to the "Brazil Diarrhea" process (Oiticica 1973), in which the antropophagous artist proposes the multivalence of 'cultural' elements immediate, from the most superficial to the deepest (both essential)" (Oiticica 1973) from devouring, regurgitating, digesting and vomiting critically engulfing the phenomenon of universalization and aiming at "the experimental" and away from the predominance of absolute values.

The multivalence enunciated by Oiticica is presented here in this performance narrative as the overlapping of layers from scientific theories, ethnographic and literary texts, frictions of performance actions, pain-pleasure shocks, ethnophotographies and videoethnographies, and as many other possible narratives which are parts of a whole that is Sophia where academic fields blur boundaries and political engagement is tied to live-art as a poorly stitched, misaligned and schizophrenic quilt, paraphrasing Sílvia Raposo (2017, 94); as the drag queen's assembled body, a body's superimposed layers de-construction, the "embodied" in a body that "communicate a significance but also expresses the performance" (Jayme 2010, 168) with "brands", "codes" as makeup, clothes, actions, hair and lipstick that graffiti the skin, a body that stores data, overlays layers and shades off outbursts, purges and screams.

FIA SOPHIA 2: THE CREOLE IMPROMPTU

On the last Thursday of 2017, in Bragança-PA – on a Poetic Soirée at the old and ephemeral "Alice in Wonderland" bar (an alternative bar in Bragança that lasted a few months and did not even completed one year). The bar was located around the corner where the transvestites work on spot and Sophia played a scenic lipstick game and walk on the bar and streets next to the bar offering the lipstick to graffiti her body, and from this improvised exit, Sophia found the transvestites in the corner and the empathy was reciprocal and dialogues like outbursts re-appeared in the game that did not have a register vide, and appear only in the memory of the participants. Sophia was also where the cameras did not have view, at the crossroads of life-art, where the body is political resistance on street, in an Amazon context from a small city with few rich families and a lot of poor and black population living in large peripheries and surrounding communities.

In this period of time, on the interactions at the crossroads travesty-lipstick-drag-life-art the impressions remained in a body without visual/audiovisual record, a body in the blurred borders twilight of the cultural production of the reality of mestizos (Anzaldúa 2005) and the practice of decolonization of hegemonic identity discourses.

At the crossroads into academy and streets of Bragança, the resistance and existence of bodies that deconstruct and parody "the performative construction of an original and true sex" (Butler 2015, 9) is from "interior context", situated in a "center outside of the center, "in" Amazonian bodies that resist, "that unfold, manipulate corporal performativity critically for the sake of sexual and gender diversities from a local context that escapes from a ready model of understanding of reality and goes beyond the colonizer's perspective (Lopes 2016, 24-37).

The "Fia Sophia" action unfolded in the beginning of 2018, on UFPA's square, Bragança-PA, during a cultural event to welcome the PPLSA postgraduate freshman students. Sophia performed the rap song "Ainda há tempo" by the Brazilian artist Criolo. In this event, short ethnographic videos were screened that discuss the bodies' decolonization practices, and some girl members from the "Mulheres do fim do mundo" group performed songs with a feminist theme. And to finish the event, Sophia assembled her layers in front of the audience and at the same time danced at the song "Capim Guiné" by Baiana System, then the drag queen took the microphone, thanked the negotiation with the Academy that made that action possible, and proposed the body-lipstick game.

Scenes from the action occurred on UFPA such as those that occurred in UEPA, during the round table at EREDS, as we can see in the video available at Olaia's YouTube channel (Silva, Porfiro and Olaia 2018).

During the song, Sophia enacted getting "spanked", re-signifying the words written on her body, lipstick as marks of aggression received on drag's body, and at the same time the body resisted the clashes faced on the way and swam against the tide, against the colonizing thought, falling, rising and keeping her life on. The symbolic game translated those words written on the drag's body like blows of the patriarchal heteronormative cisgender binary system; and in dialogue and friction Sophia responded the spanking with singing: "Não quero ver você triste assim não. Que a minha música possa te levar amor![23]" (Excerpt from the song "Ainda há tempo" by Criolo).

In this action, the performer Sophia translates the identity – peripheral construction excluded on historical construction of the rich white heterosexual colonizing man (Fanon 2008), shouted by the number of violated bodies in the country that most kills homosexuals, transsexuals and transvestites. When Sophia falls, she stands up and shouts: "Que a minha música posso te levar amor!" (That my song can bring you love!). The drag is symbolically expelling ideas, thoughts and speeches in a lyrical cry in a "political insurgency" (Raposo 2015, 7) by an aesthetic guerrilla warfare against the "tanks of thought from the imperial powers" (Rivera Cusicanqui 2010, 63, our translation) that prevail in our universities and libraries from a "political economy of knowledge" that has been reconfigured over time by external colonialism, and especially by an "internal colonialism" that needs to be perceived and combated (Ibid., 65, our translation).

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23. I don't want to see you sad like this. That my song can bring you love

The action daring in the UFPA-Campus Bragança square is a response to those who do not believe in the work of the cabocla queer that is re-configured in the Academy in this period of time, which becomes a "dam of time" – "a temporal demarcation variable from minutes to hours and days, depending on the context " (my translation), from the time concept from the Bantu-Kongo culture, according to Bunsseki Fu-Kiau (1994, 20 and 30), that is, an event, a period of time that allows cyclic time (without beginning or end) to be perceived and understood –, a dam in the flow of cyclical academic time from the crossing of an Indian-Afro amazon-body, human body traditionally in a intimate relation with the earth, the woods, animals, water, magic things and so many others who can say they are people like we are people, earth-body, jaguar-body, *catitu*-body, water-body, hawk-body, snake-body, body-flute, among so many other cosmological possibilities of bodies that are not isolated and coexist in "a socioeconomic community, subject to the same rules as humans" (Escobar 2005, 65); academy-body, street-body, resistance-body that propose to experience immersive actions in public spaces translating with the body the unspeakable:

> at the crossroads of the human sciences (anthropology, philosophy, history and sociology) with applied social sciences (communication), letters (Portuguese, Spanish and French) and arts (singing, dance, drama, theater and opera) [...]between the objects of the real and the ideal, the material and the spiritual, and between the objects they possess and those that have no existence. (Bião 2009, 91)

The transdisciplinary Sophia, as Armindo Bião argues, is in the conversation, in the communication between theory and practice, is close to the energies of Maria Padilha, Exu and street (Areda 2008), in the no-land, in between of play and game, "dynamic semantic systems", which unfold and re-signify (Turner 2015, 28); through affective relations and the understanding of live-art. Thus, Sophia alters the time-space instituted and experiences retrospection and reflexivity processes interconnected in a chaos of harmonies and dissonances in a narrative of indeterminacy, of becoming (Turner 2015, 106-108) on blurred written-body of lipstick shades and overlapping layers.

FIA SOPHIA AT THE 3: ISE 2018

Initially, Pedro Olaia arrived and talked to the organization of the event and coincidentally a traditional group of Carimbó was also there, the Carimbó group had already presented itself, and wanted to play a little bit more; in a brief negotiation between the organization and the group, we agreed that the performance would happen with the group playing their carimbó, and this fact show us like the performance art is dialoguing about the random chances of live-art, improvisation and daily scenes. Pedro Olaia picked up the microphone, and talked about

the "Fia Sophia" process – the thought decentering is strengthened from confrontation discourse about bodies colonization, because we are outside the ethnocentric western pattern white heterosexual rich, we differ in some (or all) of the norms required for this pattern. Continuing, Pedro Olaia explained about the collaborative construction and Sophia's production is made by each person who feels at ease to help her dress, decorate her hair, make-up and especially graffiti her body with lipstick the violent words and deeds heard or received because their bodies were different from the normative colonizing standard.

The proposal of this game is an improvisational scenic methodology, as Augusto Boal (1982) suggests, in which the gaze of the other can be observed in an anthropology of performance in an ethnographic documentation made through visual and audiovisual records of "pain and/or pleasure provoked by performance" (Conceição and Olaia 2017, 56), the evocative shocks of past experiences that are revived in the present (Turner 2005, 179).

A strong woman, with witch warrior appearance, painted my eye with the red lipstick: while painting, she was falling on me, painting my eye while crying and saying softly: "it was a punch in my eye... "I tear my fears, remembering that night before I had received a punch in my face in an assault on the street when my bag was taken with work materials. The pain at that moment, while she painted the same hurt eye, shock-pain was more than real and violent images came to my head, memories of aggressions that so many female friends and fags and transvestites have received every day, so many transgender and transvestites murdered in the corners; in that moment it was more than my poor bones could endure, I sweated coldly, I stuttered, swallowed the despair and strengthened myself in the spontaneous affective exchange, at the exchange of glances, embracement, and empowerment of so many words written and heard that also encourage me to continue with artistic actions and practices of resistance like this.

And so the lipstick-body game continued and the drag queer Amazon-body was assembled a little more: DIRTY INDIGENOUS, RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE, UNLOVABLE WOMAN, NAUGHTY, GO WAX THAT LEG, YOU'RE KINDA BEAUTIFUL WITH THAT COLOR. And the game also continued with words of force-affection: LEAVE MY HAIR ALONE! STRENGTH, PEACE, RESIST, PASSION.

We found two indigenous women who in their native languages wrote words of affection and tenderness, found a punch in the eye, found the clown, the Sophia clown, found the child and on the tip a red clown nose.

In that *Fia Sophia* action, as we see in the image above, Pedro Olaia's mother tablecloth is the drag dress – the unfinished tablecloth that is her own production, since what interests us the most is Sophia's own (as identity), that is, the schizophrenic table "as a function of the production process that is that of desire" (Deleuze and Guattari 2004, 12) –, that is, symbolically the admonitions of Pedro Olai's religious mother are put to the table on Sophia who dresses them and un-dresses in the proposal of de-constructing the evangelical Neo-Pentecostal Christianity formation represented by the tablecloth her mother who rejects Sophia and her clothes put on the body-dining-table.

So we perceive that action becomes performative and symbolic, and Sophia represents her assembly literally through the multiplicity of social relations and new possibilities of re-creating them through outburst, purging Sophia, thinking the drag queen as layers of an open system in de-construction that destabilizes the binary genres system (Jayme 2010, 171) and the crossing of other social relations and questions that are close to the decolonization practices of the bodies; and in addition to the

table, tablecloth and Sophia, the proposal of making and *picumã* de-constructs from the joke of assembly is proposed to the head to do, hair to complete and blurred makeup are magic in progress by who dreams, as in a child's play, according to the Amazon drag queen Flores Astrais: "you complete Sophia's makeup in your head", like a game. This magical incompleteness of Sophia's assembly process, coupled with the improvised game with people in the open public environment, comes close to what suggests Paulo Raposo (2013, 13-17) on the Performance Study in both performance art and post-structuralist anthropology, where everything that was once considered "contamination", "promiscuity", "impurity", "error" and "hesitation" is of interest as a study field in a "freed anthropology" with a "new performative narrative that is born of the streets, like a no man's land". In this anti-discipline that came from the streets, body performativity and performance as an artistic language approach of Exu energy, which according to Victor Turner is "a representation of the indeterminacy that surrounds the cracks and crevices of all the 'sociocultural constructions of reality'" (Turner 2015, 109); and for us, experts of Nkissi Pambu Nzila, Exú is the search for an escape from binarism symbolized by Turner as an entity with two heads, and the approximation of ourselves and our ambivalence as human beings that we are always on the borders invading and de-constructing "heteronormatization processes, colonial contexts, domestication on body and on affections and so forth" (Fernandes and Gontijo 2016, 18); because Exú is the subversion to the Christian colonization of our bodies and for this reason it is symbolically "demonized" by crystallized Christianity; and also as suggested by the "Queer *Caboclo* Manifest":

> It is not only a matter of drawing attention to the processes of power and domination, but of making them a place of speech; it is a question of taking the frontier, the non-place, the "zone of non-being" (Fanon), the in-between, the post-positional, the relational, the to being like suggested Rodolfo Kusch Alhures. (Fernandes and Gontijo 2016, 18)

The incompleteness of a live-art as a libertarian practice of funeral-festive expression, impulses of pain suffering celebration and joy all that in place at non-place, and narrow affection at crisscrossed interpellations on crossroads where the marginalized are highlighted (Bião 2009, 91); as can be seen in Sophia's performances, such as in the funeral-festive procession shared on the Bragança's streets on "Égua de 4" event, which is described in the article "Sophia e palhaço: dos reencontros e outras performances" ["Sophia and Clown: from recoveres and anothers performances"], published in the book *Câmeras Subjetivas: imagens em trânsito sobre o nordeste paraense* [*Subjective Cameras: Images in Transit Over Northeast Para*]. The authors Conceição and Olaia (2017) interpret the cultural manifestation from clown poet and the ethnographic video resulting from the action as unfolding of an unfinished process when

there is not completeness of the work of art that is confused, unfolded and multiplied in a lot of other works of art, a lot of layers escape from control proposals with re-translations and re-significations (Conceição and Olaia 2017, 55-59), "winking by winks…" (Geertz 1989, 19).

The ethnographic video resulted from this third moment on immersion process "Fia Sophia", made by beautiful Samily Maria, a friend who participated from Sophia's assembled performance to the lipstick moment when people graffited Sophia's body and the scenic game ended. It follows the link of the ethnographic video, published in the *Nova Revista Amazônica* [*New Amazon Magazine*], in which unfolded Sophia's artistic work, which is the unfolding of the unfolding of collective and collaborative actions made by people who want to say something through their arts.

FIA SOPHIA: LIPSTICK ETHNOGRAPHY[24]
https://youtu.be/YqMCFfWs0Z4.

Let us write on the queen's body, eat, devour, and vomit and shit, purge in the patriarch system's face; there are collaborative moments of risk and graffitiing on body-screen at cycles of identity performative processes and resistance (Carlson 2010, 16) from "anti-discipline" for an ethnography of self, a self-ethnography, in which memories and accounts of others making Sophia's assembling superimposed in layers upon object-subject research disintegration and the visual records of the drag queen Indigenous-Afro in friction with other bodies; on different tonalities multifaceted and identifications that are blurred in frontiers diluted by the process as a practice of poetic and political resistance in a "painted body for the feast and for the war", as Arthur Leandro would say (*in memoriam*)

> I do not know when I met Sophia, by the way, I don't even know. I know her, because with each encounter she is renewed in another being, in another body, in another harmony. I remember, seeing her in Colares – the ETs city, famous for the incidence of UFOs and reports of humans abducted by extraterrestrial beings, we were in the "Terceira Égua" (Third Égua) event (this word is a reference to the concept of political poetics proposed by Fernando de Padua, and the Égua-Soirée is an annual meeting held by independent collectives that places debate and experimentation on resistance and poetic body identities in eastern Amazon). Sophia, that is to say, Pedro Olaia, or whoever inhabited his body at that moment – I allow myself and even I will cultivate this doubt about the identity – arrived in an unknown environment in a city that was also little known… Male body in feminine movements. The square, stage of the representations of social characters – some quite fictitious… And so, in a mixture of reality and fiction,

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24. Cf. https://bit.ly/2TTFQJH.

between terrestrial beings and mythological characters, half human, half goddess coming from some sky from another planet, that body is transmuting itself in Sofia… Sofia is provocative, and leaves no one without an answer, she is dubious… Lovable and aggressive, goddess and human, real and fictitious. Sofia commands sovereign a rite of passage between passersby, jokers, lovers… (chat with Arthur Leandro, before the artist *dizar*[25] of this plan. November, 2017).

CONCLUSION

Following the anthropophagic tradition from Haroldo de Campos (2011) to Hélio Oiticica (1973), and through a parodic identification game such as the capoeira gathering and its improvisations loaded with affections and senses (Head 2013, 265), we interact and share dialogues about deconstruction of binary discourse and univocal sex (Butler 2015, 219-222), based on local thinking (Fernandes and Gontijo 2016). In this way, Sophias are performances, that is, artistic-political resistance performances are Sophias. Dams of time, transient periods of time, instants of Sophia's identities, which are non-binary (outside the "man" and "woman" standards), are fluid identities located on symbolic space and time.

The possible Sophias are performative realizations, are real actions that pass through the discussions in the various knowledge fields from a local perspective using performative method on research, that is, coming and going on with alliterations, stuttering, winks, interpretations of interpretations and works of art of works of art, with a performance language and its daily interaction as reality. To respond, to ask, to translate and to re-translate its readings through the resignification of daily signs by a decolonizing thinking and practice in dissident bodies in the Amazon.

Sophia proposes scenic games from Augusto Boal's (1982) principle that "the game is intrinsically in us when we act in our daily social interactions" (Conceição and Olaia 2017, 51), and in this way Sophia provokes other interpretations other dialogical procedural, impulses of identity, constructions that reflect the colonizing and "civilizing" process undergone by our ancestors, the first inhabitants of the Amazon. And in a transdisciplinary debate, Sophia delineates other possible narratives from negotiations established at the moment of improvisation, generating other possibilities of social constructions of gender and sexuality, transmuting textual possibilities from artistic inspirations, imaginary and textual references and writing on oneself, observing movements and discursive processes as energies exchanged and re-transformed into artistic actions on street called performances and transdisciplinary theoretical reflections.

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25. In this case, the verb "to diza" refers the verb "to die". "To diza" is a verb from bajubá, and can be reading with a lot of significance.

We realize that art, more than therapy, is exorcism, is folguedo, is a witch's fire, which burns the restlessness and pains of the soul; the expressiveness of the body, the writing of pain, the writing of what has hurt him; and therefore de-construct Sophia's translation creations as anthropophagic processes of collective co-creation established with artists and friends of Sophia's and of Pedro Olaia's who collaborate so that the performance act is effected as an ecstasy spot of poetic and political manifestations and anxieties about the normative construction of gender and queer theory.

Revisiting these works in this performance narrative in the form of an academic scientific article, while strengthening our discourse on Sophia and her artistic practices of political resistance, also reaffirms the need for more immersive actions that dialogue on the practices and exercises of decolonization of our Amazonian bodies; but the question still remains: as we see in this ethnographic narrative, the exercise of writing the oppressions suffered by others in Sophia's body insists on reflecting on live-art as a liberating practice for a better world, or are we still holding hands and gagged on dialogues on gender and sexual diversity with the actual decolonization practice of our bodies?

TRANSLATION
Odília Cardoso and
Pedro Olaia

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"DAMA DE ESPADAS" – TRAJECTORY OF A RIO DE JANEIRO *BLUES*

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ABSTRACT

The song "*Dama de Espadas*" [free translation: Queen of Spades], by Ilessi and Iara Ferreira, is a reference work by a new generation of songwriters from Rio de Janeiro. Both singer-songwriters inserted and acting in the contemporary artistic scene, they intend to build new narratives, in the literary and musical dimension of the song. We aim to understand the motivation behind the development of this song – in the context of production, performance and listening experience. In addition to that, we intend to look at the ways in which a dialog with blues as a musical genre from the United States among the African American was built, comprising two territories that witnessed the fight for women's rights, roughly a century apart. The works of (1) Angela Davis, with her panorama on the formation of blues from Bessie Smith and Ma Rainey, as well as (2) Silvia Federici, with her approach on the rise of capitalism and the multiple controlling mechanisms imposed on women to serve the ruling logic, were used as reference for this analysis.

This paper is an initial investigation of the context behind the creation and the listening experience of the song "*Dama de Espadas*", a joint work by Iara Ferreira and Ilessi, both singers and composers. To that end, I used as reference the works of (1) Angela Davis (1998) with the chapter "I Used to Be Your Sweet Mama: Ideology, Sexuality, and Domesticity"[2], in which the writer recalls the history of blues from the perspective of the singers and songwriters Bessie Smith e Ma Rainey, the aesthetics and the themes that they used, as well as compare them to the song in this study; and (2) Silvia Federici (2017) with "Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation"[3], in which Federici reveals the different controlling mechanisms to which women have been submitted since the 15th century, some of which appearing as a so-called 'reverse complaint' through the use of irony in the song "*Dama de Espadas*", a feature existing in *blues* songs by the aforementioned writers.

Is there such a thing as feminist/feminine aesthetics? Have women' perspective come forward as much as it should, in Brazilian urban popular music? If feminism is to offer an alternative to patriarchy, how can popular music help with that? The purpose of this analysis is to help answer these questions.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF THE ANALYSIS

When reading Davis (1998), there was an immediate connection with "*Dama de Espadas*", a composition that is part of the ethnographic analysis of the musical practice by three groups formed exclusively by women in Rio de Janeiro. This type of organization has its main observation territory, reflection of a national and worldwide movement and is a phenomenon that has been growing exponentially all over the city.

In this analysis, I intend to use the work developed by Samuel Araújo (2018) as an epistemological reference, through the concept of 'sound praxis', where one can notice the interaction between thought, politics and action in musical production here. I intend to integrate Araújo's proposal when the author highlights the importance of going beyond the construction of a field of knowledge and reflection about the world by bringing to the table contributions to an actual social change, through an epistemology that drives the emergence of movements that bring social equality, justice, pacific coexistence, and ecological balance.

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2. From the book *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday* (Davis 1998).
3.This paper is part of the ongoing research carried out during the doctorate in The Ethnography of Musical Practice by the Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (UNIRIO) which discusses composers that take part in groups of female musicians and artists. It is the first analysis of one of the compositions being brought to illustrate part of these women's work. This research is funded by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES).

This paper is part of a participatory and activist action research, whose militant engagement precedes the beginning of this academic reflection. It is worth highlighting its proximity to the agents in question, because we have all worked together in different contexts[4]. There is no hierarchy between the women taking part in this research.

Hence, Araújo (2018) does not permeate the analysis, but is present in the approach model of an ethnography that handles the themes 'music and politics' and 'music and gender', both during the conception of the paper (like the scientific foundation used, the relationship with the individuals in the interviews, and the involvement with the field) and in the theme (feminism, female composers and songwriters, collaboration networks in music through female collectives who seek non-hierarchical relations, and the reflection about musical practice); in addition to the sound material itself (referencing a music genre that aims to speak up against social injustices and the use of the voice from a combative aesthetic). I intend to find some sort of coherence in this research, making this process (writing and the dialog with the peers during the interview-writing process) another front of action in women's fight, through a deeper look into the role of music in societal transformations, as well as a reflection of the transformations in course.

From that point, I analyze the supposed aesthetic dialog between this blues from Rio de Janeiro, from a perspective of the composition and the performance, and two of the biggest names in this style: Bessie Smith and Ma (as in Madam) Rainey (Davis 1998, Jones 1969, Schüller 1968).

FIRST DIALOGUES IN *"DAMA DE ESPADAS"*

Neither Ilessi[5] nor Iara Ferreira[6] had, even in a remote past, listened to blues as a habit. Although they were familiar with some of Bessie Smith

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4. Iara Ferreira is a partner in a song, and Ilessi was a member of the collective Essa Mulher, where we worked together for two years, promoting events around the topic of the female composer. The three of us had previously met through the 2016 edition of Sonora – Women Composers International Festival (in Rio de Janeiro), curated by Ilessi.
5. Ilessi Souza da Silva, a black singer and composer, was born in 1981 in Campo Grande, west zone of Rio de Janeiro. Her father, also a composer, compositor, was her staunchest supporter, and the one who encouraged her to pursue a career in music. Ilessi started singing professionally at 17. She had guitar lessons with Carlos Delmiro, Helio Delmiro's brother, e and later enrolled at EPM (Escola Portátil de Música), which stands for Portable Music School. At 16, she started taking singing lessons at Escola Villa Lobos com Mirna Rubim and with Amélia Rabello at EPM. She wrote her first song in 2010.
6. Iara C. S. Ferreira, a white singer and composer, was born in Itapira, in São Paulo state, em 1985. She first started her musical education in her own family, but Iara Ferreira was the first of her kin to actually pursue a career in music. Her father played guitar, her mother was a singer, her grandfather was a composer and she had Carlos Galhardo record one of her songs. Her paternal grandmother played the accordion and her great grandmother played the piano. Having always lived in a small town, the only presentations she had seen were limited to rodeo parties. It wasn't before she was 20 years old that Iara attended her first concert: Gal Gosta was singing. In 2008, her senior year in college, she started singing in a circle of composers, having written only two songs. It was the year she completed her major in no Social Sciences. Iara lived in no Rio de Janeiro for 9 years. She moved to Rio in order to attend EPM (Escola Portátil de Música), where she studied under Amélia Rabello.

and Billie Holiday's works, they were not acquainted with most of the production by the North-American composers quoted by Davis, as well as their position in the constitution of this musical genre.

Bessie Smith was Ma Rainey's student, and both of them played a part in building the classic blues – the kind of blues with a relatively crystallized aesthetic when it comes to shape, harmony, melody, singing and lyrics – while bringing the emotional nature of the blues styles preceding it (Jones 1969, 118). The primitive blues, in turn, encompassed a vast portion of the black music in North America with songs like work songs, *spirituals*, and *shouts* (Schuller 1968, 271). The transition from the *blues*, which comprised a variant of the black music, to the specific music genre, owed itself to the change in mentality of the black population about their place in the world, following the abolition of slavery (Davis 1998, Jones 1969).

In order to understand the paths outlined in this unquestionable dialog, through Brazilian composers – a century after the work done by those blues pioneers – both of them were interviewed, when they resided in Rio de Janeiro city[7].

See, below, the lyrics to "*Dama de Espadas*" and its translation into English, Queen of Spades, with a proposition to divide it, justified in detail later in this paper. Next, its creation is contextualized.

> [A] Compreendo perfeitamente | As razões que ele teve | Mulheres assim, que vivem na noite | A cheirar sereno e a rondar botequim | São mulheres que trocam de macho | Qual trocam de roupa | Têm opinião sobre quase tudo | Carregam no ventre a mazela do mundo...
>
> [B-transição] Ele foi um perfeito *lord* | Mas ficou de bode com a sua *lady* | Na hora da cama essas damas de espadas | Matam o homem de sede...
>
> [Refrão] Mas sei que afinal | Ele não teve sequer qualquer culpa | Sangrou no punhal | Bebeu a cicuta | Do amor de mulheres assim | Iguaizinhas a mim"
>
> [Free Translation: A] I totally understand | The reasons he's had | Women like this, who go out at night | Smelling the night dew and bar hopping| Are women who go through men | like underwear | Have a say on almost everything | They carry the afflictions of the world in their wombs...
>
> [B-bridge] He was a perfect lord | But he was upset with his lady | On bedtime these queens of spades| Will make their men dehydrated | I know that, after all | He wasn't to blame | He bled on the dagger | He gulped the hemlock down| Drank the poison that is the love of women like this | Exactly like me]

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7. Iara Ferreira gave the researcher this interview on November 3rd, 2017 at her house in Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro. In 2018 Iara Ferreira moved to the countryside of São Paulo. Ilessi granted her interview on November 8th, 2017 at the UNIRIO campus in Urca, Rio de Janeiro.

Iara Ferreira wrote the lyrics to "*Dama de Espadas*" in 2014. As Iara pointed out, she would have needed to "live to 300 years old" to account for all the narratives in the songs she composes, but here, she speaks from personal experience, one of the few exceptions in her work. This song was composed after a suitor turned her down, feeling intimidated and scared by everything Iara stood for, both as a woman, and an artist. The young lad expressed his feelings in an e-mail where he spoke of his admiration and his fear, which rivaled his attraction to her. His words had an impact on Iara, who wondered what could have brought upon that situation. And thus, the narrative in '*dama de espadas*' was born:

> I wondered what I had done to scare him off like that [...] Then I went to a bar all by myself and I realized. 'Here I am, alone, in a bar' Then I started seeing myself as this queen of spades. How insane is it, that a woman can be perceived as such... [...] How come we can't be like this? Does this make her a monster? Is she a beast? Does it make her some kind of man-eater?... It got me thinking about all this and I had a *bolero* playing in the back of my mind, by Maurício Tapajós and Aldir, over and over, I had that melody in my head, and I wrote "*Dama de Espadas*" on that table. I scribbled something down... Thinking of the metrics in that song, you know? The bolero's lyrics, I don´t even remember, they didn´t matter... So, I sent these lyrics to Bené, Bernardo Diniz, my most frequent partner at the time. (Iara Ferreira in the interview to this researcher, November, 2017)

According to Iara, the lyrics did not strike a chord in her musical partner. After a year with no word from Bernardo Diniz, a lucky coincidence. Ilessi has asked her friend for a song to put to music. Iara Ferreira talked to her co-creator and, once she was cleared to do so, sent the text to the person who would, actually create the tune "*Dama de Espadas*". Iara was astonished with the blues song she got in return, a first for her thus far, but she was pleased, nonetheless.

Ilessi was sick with the flu when she received the lyrics from Iara Ferreira, but that did not stop her from connecting to what she was reading, and she had completed the music in just two days, amidst short intervals caused by the virus that had her in bed rest. About that, she explained:

> Iara sent me the lyrics and, I´ll tell you in detail because it is a funny story, [laughter] At the time, I wasn´t that used to put lyrics to songs. I would compose the music and then give it to someone to compose the lyrics. I didn't have a lot of practice. I got the hang of it now. But I read those lyrics and I had this inspiration, like: 'man I'm going to do this quickly...' I had this feeling that it was going to be easy. Iara had told me she had composed the lyrics having a *bolero* in mind, 'I will not tell you which one, I don't want you to be influenced', and then she told me it was a song by Aldir Blanc and Mauricio Tapajós, something like that. But as she said that, she didn´t tell me whose it was,

or the name of the song. She just told me 'I would prefer if you composed a *bolero* because I think it was a reaction to the bolero and all... [...] I tried to compose a bolero, but I didn´t think it was the right *vibe* for the song. I felt there was something to it, I wasn´t sure what... Then I started strumming the guitar more brashly, raspier, I don´t know. I felt that in the lyrics. Next thing, I picked up my guitar and blues came out... It was so fast! Whenever I get some lyrics to a song, I try not to change anything. Even if you don't think it has got such a precise structure, such clear metrics... But this one wasn't like that. (...) Some parts of it, I thought rang like blues, like [sings] '] Mas sei que afinal | Ele não teve sequer qualquer culpa' Something like [hums]. Which is... Samba has that as well; some samba songs do. Wording that sounds spoken. Since I did not want to alter any bit of the lyrics, I created this musical wording, sort of like [sings], a little imprecise, spoken, like this. I guess that is kind of the story of how this song was made. (Ilessi in interview to the researcher, in November, 2017)

In the book *Early Jazz*, Gunther Schuller (1968) states that, in blues, personal vocal expression comprised of words, meaning and sounds are "one and the same" (Schuller 1968, 273), an essential identity of the genre: What you hear is not a "polished voice". According to the author, the beauty of the blues as sang by Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith lies precisely in the expression of everyday speech; natural, colloquial, with an individual artistic language. Ilessi sought to integrate the need to reproduce a singing quality akin to speech – given by the search for a corresponding rhythm in the verses, like the ones the composer notices in blues and some samba – in terms of the emotional demand of the lyrics, translated, sensorially speaking, as something with a "brassy" and "raspy" quality to it, through the guitar's right-hand sound. We can see that these qualities seem to be translated once more through Ilessi's vocal timbre when singing the song, as I will discuss further later on.

The characteristics preserved from bolero was the quadruple time. According to Mingote (apud Christianis 2011) bolero from Rio de Janeiro has a quadruple time, unlike Hispanic (triple) and Latin American (double). The poetics of the bolero music, so full of romance, comes from a melo-dramatic tradition. Christianis (2011) also quotes Jaime Pérez Dávila, a Mexican researcher, who divided bolero's themes into the following categories (1) love for someone; (2) romantic demand; (3) lust; (4) angst and neediness related to love; (5) damage (unrequited love, betrayal), to which Acosta adds a sixth theme: class-crossed lovers, like in cases of romance that involves a rich woman and a poor man. Therefore, what Iara proposes is a 'counter theme' to traditional bolero, where the narrator expresses involvement with the male figure, from an autonomous, guilt-free viewpoint; in fact, she seems to take pleasure in his difficulty, even showing disdain for it. Iara's lyrics go in the opposite direction from traditional bolero. As we do not know to which bolero the composer

wanted to oppose, we cannot make direct comparisons, although we can probably tell it was an attempt at subverting the tradition.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

In the late 19th century, early 20th century, *blues* stood on its own right as a musical genre in the United States. At a time when idealization of a romantic love, heteronormativity and monogamy was the norm, blues dealt with themes such as with extramarital affairs, the fugacity of sexual relations and partners, domestic violence, homosexuality, and independent women who were the bosses of themselves, of their own sexuality, and their bodies. Reinforcing yet another aesthetic specificity of blues, most of the main performances and composers were women. Some of the biggest names amongst them were Bessie Smith, dubbed the "Empress of the blues", and Ma Rainey, known as the "mother of the blues" (Davis 1998, 4).

According to Davis (1998) and Jones (1969), women established themselves as the main personalities in the classic blues, due to the distinct nature of the lives of women and men of African descent: in the aftermath of slavery, black men would travel often in search of work, while women took to raising their families and spending time together in churches, birthplace of negro spirituals (Jones 1969, 125). On the other hand, a large number of women also started taking part in troubadours and vaudevilles[8], where many black female artists rose to stardom. The 1920's witnessed a surge in feminist rallies, which had a direct impact on the career of these black female artists. Aside from becoming more professional, they also gained more prestige and independence, something unattainable in any other career path (domestic labor, church, prostitution) that they could pursue (Jones 1969, 127).

Davis (1998) pointed out the important and necessary role performed by blues composers in anticipating themes that would be part of contemporary feminist causes. Due to their lack of modesty when exposing the desires of women, they created the possibility of gender equality from sexuality and took in tow the cultural politics they experienced in their own careers, thus including new possibilities in their society's historic path (Davis 1998, 24). In her analysis, Davis made use of the feminist approach and touched on a few points that we would like to look at, precisely against the backdrop of the creation of "*Dama de Espadas*".

The author explained the meaning of sexuality in the lyrics of blues compositions, reflecting the freedom of black people in the United States, for it was in personal relations that the greatest changes took place, while

8. North-American musical comedy.

economically, they did not see any major economic independence. For the first time, black men and women had some measure of autonomy in choosing their sexual partner, something that had always been denied to them by slave owners, in favor of creating better 'offspring' more suited to the workforce, not unlike domesticated animals (Davis 1998, 4).

Davis highlighted that, prior to the end of slavery, *spirituals* and other musical genres of African descent would express collective desires, whereas, with the rise of the blues, after the abolition, its content became more individual. At this time, there was increased importance given to the performance through the solo singer, as opposed to the choir or their group. The *blues,* then, was established as a music genre that met new-found individual needs and desires, repressed before (Davis 1998, 5-6).

This feature is also present in the performance of "*Dama de Espadas*", having in mind how far women have come, in a society where sexual independence comes to be the main symbol of the conquest of freedom and autonomy; a topic that is still debated in many cultures around the globe. Reproductive rights, including the right to abortion, (preventive medical care, basic sexual education, prenatal care) are the main topics in their agenda (Hooks 2018), along with the debate about society´s definitions of women´s image and their sexual choice. (Adichie 2015, Hooks 2018).

The image of the singer or the composer who accompanies herself is updated once more in the contemporary musical scene. The process of female empowerment[9] is music involves encouraging singers to play instruments – particularly guitars, among harmonic instruments – and to sing the song they composed, building new careers in the image of the singer-songwriter (namely, a singer plays a harmonic instrument, as she interprets her own original composition). Thus, women representativity in music is marked through the composition and mastery of harmonic instruments, a performance achieved through solo singing, existing in western culture from epic poems that were part of the oral tradition (Tinhorão 2011, 54).

In Brazil, women were forbidden from playing certain musical instruments in formal musical education institutions until the early 20th century, and the disproportionate number of erudite singers, compared to orchestra instrumentalists is mainly due to the need for women to act as female characters of opera plays (Igayara-Souza 2011). Due to women's

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9. It means 'empowering someone". According to the article in the page Instituto Hoffmann Brasil, the concept of empowering is "but a collective social action in which the individual — be it a woman, a migrant, physically disabled or any social construct commonly in disadvantage compared to others —, and the individual´s family is made aware of their rights and how to fight for them. Extracted from the website: http://www.processohoffmanbrasil.com.br/blog/empoderamento-entenda-origem-desse-conceito/

specific timbre, they were not forbidden from singing as well. I could not find a research that focused on popular music, yet I believe that it is a coherent process in the concert music scene. When Ilessi sings and accompanies herself on guitar, something she has started doing recently on her concerts, (2016), she is adding to the representativity of female guitar players and composers, reinforcing their presence in a field that, to women, remains so limited. The matter of female representativity in music is investigated by Verônica Doubleday (2008). The author states that the presence or absence, in a smaller number, of women playing an instrument – be it bass, percussion or metals, for instance – has a direct influence in the number of women playing that instrument. Gradually, this paradigm has been changing, and we can perceive a new generation of women in music, taking up spaces they had not, previously, like in military marching bands and orchestras, acting as orchestra conductors or arranger. Female composers and conductors were seldom seen, and great erudite composers were rapidly forgotten (Michelle Perrot 2017). Some sacrificed their careers for their families; when they weren't verbally forbidden from having a musical career by all the male figures in their lives, like their fathers or husbands. Perrot (2017) discusses the importance of restoring the history of female artists, from different fields, in order to restore collective memory for women.

Without a detailed knowledge of the history of the blues, Ilessi, herself a black woman, tried to understand the motives behind the choice of that genre for the lyrics, stating that, at first, it was not a rational choice, but that it was based on her experience, listening to jazz and blues:

> I feel something in this style, that is almost like a confrontational manifestation. Blues has got a combative ring to it. *Jazz* has also got that! [...] I think it flows, through musical, artistic manifestation, there is a shout, it is cathartic, speaks of a freedom they didn't have before. They used to go through such violent confrontation before, you know? I think that is where they would show their culture's regal nature, and **I feel that in blues. There is a raw quality, a bitter, yet sexy quality to it at the same time, and so much irony. There is some irony in blues that had to do with the lyrics. But here, it wasn´t calculated.** [emphasis added by researcher] I believe that it played out like that, and I saw that it was coherent, you know? In general, I guess that it is how I compose, as though I was listening to the music in those words." (Ilessi in the interview with the researcher, November 2017)

Ilessi noted this identification with blues, and without really knowing it, associated the lyrics to this confrontation that she "felt", according to herself. Both the confrontation present in the *blues* and in Iara Ferreira and Ilessi's composition exist in the political context where it was created. In November 2015, women in Brazil staged a mass reaction, a series

of feminist rallies took over the streets, dubbed *Primavera das Mulheres*, or "Feminist Spring". There was an increased number of debates about gender equality and the daily fight against gender-based violence and oppression in schools, universities and streets, causing an increased awareness and visibility for causes that permeate several feminisms, seeing as the feminist fights for social equality are as diverse as women, themselves. (Davis 2016, Hooks 2018)[10]. In that year, a series of actions against women – most notably Congressman Eduardo Cunha's proposed bill 5069[11] as well as sexist comments of pedophile nature, directed to a 12 year old participant of a *reality show* at the time – stirred up social media and called for the creation of *hashtags* by feminist movements such as *#meuprimeiroassédio* [free translation: #myfirstsexual-harrassment], *#todascontracunha*, [free translation: #allagainstcunha] *#estupronuncamais* [free translation: #rapenomore], e *#mexeucomuma-mexeucomtodas* [free translation: #messwithonemesswithall]. In November 13th, 2015, El País had the headline "*Primavera feminista no Brasil: Em outras nações, as mulheres lutam por salários iguais. No Brasil, para não retrocederem em suas conquistas*"[12] [free translation: Feminist Spring in Brazil: In other countries, women fight for equal salaries. In Brazil, they fight not to lose their rights] and pinpointed the rallies in streets all over the country:

> October 31st, around 15.000 Brazilian women took over the streets of São Paulo. In other cities of the country, thousands also marched. The protest happened again last Thursday, will happen again tomorrow and later this month. It is not common for Brazilian women to go out in the streets to say "no more" sexism. That is what made it so surprising. To the point that Brazilian magazines such as *Época*, dubbed it "Brazilian Feminist Spring." (*Primavera Feminista no Brasil*, 2015, El Pais)

Since then, different actions have taken place in the music scene, some immediately following the street rallies. That is when the collective Rede Sonora – Música(s) e Feminismo(s) was created at University of São Paulo's Music Department in 2015; the project "Meninas do Brasil", a series of interviews and videos of composers and their compositions, created and centered on the composer Luiza Sales, as of January, 2015; the group LUA or Open Author's Union (Livre União de Autoras), integrated by Ilessi, Iara Ferreira, Luana Dias, Carla Capalbo, and Milena Tibúrcio, in Rio de Janeiro; the group ANA – Nude Sample of Writers (Amostra

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10. Feminist Spring was made into a documentary by Antonia Pellegrino and Isabel Nascimento Silva, and was launched in 2017, where they look at that historic moment. It also named a 'collective' that promotes a political concert in Rio de Janeiro. "*Dama de Espadas*" is part of the collective's repertoire, whose members amount to over 30 female artists from different fields.

11. Proposed bill 5069, among other measures, created difficulties to the right of abortion in cases of rape.

12. Accessed in November, 2017 at: https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2015/11/13/opinion/1447369533_406426.html

Nua de Autoras), having as members Deh Mussulini, Laura Lopes, Luiza Brina, Luana Aires, Leonora Weissmann, and Leopoldina, in Belo Horizonte; the hashtag *#mulherescriando* [free translation: #womencreating] , launched by Deh Mussulini, which dared women to show their art through Facebook videos. This campaign inspired the creation of Sonora – Women Composers International Festival conceived by composers from Belo Horizonte, São Paulo, Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro, which, in 2017 saw over 15 countries, 40 cities in Brazil, and 47 composers in Rio de Janeiro alone join it, reaching 80 around the world in 2018. Both the hashtag campaign #mulherescriando and Sonora – Women Composers International Festival were created in 2016. The year 2017 saw the creation of the collective Essa Mulher, which organizes exhibits by composers, and coordinates the Sonora festival in Rio de Janeiro. The collective *Músicas! Mulher e Música*, [free translation: Music! Women and Music] was created from the union of eight musicians (Aline Gonçalves, Antonilde Rosa, Karin Verthein, Marcela Velon, Maria Souto, Maria Clara Vale, Monica Ávila, and Tânia Rêgo) to write a joint letter in response to several discussions about Hermeto Pascoal's Big Band in October, 2017, which had taken place at Circo Voador, and involved 30 musicians, including guests, but not a single woman among them[13]. These are groups inserted in a restricted community, for they are part of a small circle.

Therefore, I can see similarities between this and the black women in the United States, who found, in blues, a way to make use of, as well as to express, their freedom and autonomy. In 2017, Ilessi, a black composer and singer; and Iara Ferreira, a white composer and singer, once more use the same artistic language to take a stand as women, both with a similar literary and musical work to the genuine blues composers, as though quoting from a reference forged a century before. Again, the woman is expressed by means of a non-normative narrative, which deviates from the common knowledge expected, with its use of irony and sarcasm. Here, musical language is, once more, expressed with the cutting and confrontational tone of the blues, be it in song and lyrics composed by women, be it through singing and playing the instrument, the guitar. If, at its birth, blues was an African American way to vent, and to put words and music to those newly freed individuals' newfound desires and needs, "*Dama de Espadas*" seems to be a work of art that showcases the recently promoted, or at the very least, publicly manifested, freedom by those women, with global outreach. If patriarchal society has no interest in acknowledging this autonomy, this song comes as a symbol of this response to such imposition, through a combative, challenging and freeing aesthetic.

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13. http://catarinas.info/colunas/toca-que-nem-homem/

Another political dimension to the song "*Dama de Espadas*" is the venues where it is played and promoted. Howard Becker discusses the cooperation network, as a series of closely-knit agents, in several levels of involvement, to make it possible to create a piece of art. The importance of this network becomes clear when we understand the scene of the original music by women within the de mulheres dentro do hegemonic music circulation system as a marginal scene for music distribution and access. If it were not for this network that involves composers, singers and public, circulation of the feminist song "*Dama de Espadas*" would not be possible. When observing, through the reports, how many interpreters got involved with bringing this to the public, and the way they did it, be it by means of live performances, or internet videos, we understand that, without this cooperative network, the distribution of "*Dama de Espadas*" would have been considerably more limited. Becker states that the work contains traces of this cooperation (Becker 2010, 27). Hence, I conclude that, if this work composes, and is offensive to, the hegemonic system due to its feminist nature, thus opposing the system's ideological notions, it will be distributed through non-hegemonic venues (feminist protest concerts, composers' project video, or the independent artist's personal channel), interpreted by women in line with this pursuit of freedom and autonomy.

Becker also talks about the quality of the work, expressed from the listeners' feedback. When questioning a few interpreters[14] of this song about what drove them to sing it, I noticed that the word 'freedom' was used by all of them, as a driving force. This element is of utmost importance in the empathic acknowledgement of "*Dama de Espadas*". Its quality was in expressing the same feminine desire which is summed up by the need to break free, in terms of sexuality and being out in the streets. As noted by Becker, the accomplishment and the experience of listening to it "does not occur without the presence of an audience who can react to, and appreciate it" (Becker 2010, 29). If the work gets around, it means that there are women, and even men, listening to this song. If this empathetic movement takes place, we must understand what moves public and interpreters. One of the points highlighted by Davis is that *the female blues* took on the important task of exposing personal ailments and making them public matters. What was personal became political. In this case, Iara Ferreira was moved from a personal experience and, on the other hand, exposed another facet of patriarchy. The theme resonated with other women, because it is not an individual's experience, but part of the system that oppresses all of them. The taboo present in the image of a sexually active, independent woman that transits freely and unaccompanied around environments initially hostile to their

14. Iara Ferreira, Ilessi, Elisa Addor, Luana Dias e Luisa Lacerda.

presence, especially when alone – bars at night– goes to show just how much the woman is threatened when she tries to exercise that freedom.

The song "*Dama de Espadas*" seems to be an inverted call against this oppression – by putting on the spot the man who is afraid of this so called 'queen of spades, and in the freedom those women feel when they sing it, enabling them to put those thoughts into words in their mouths – when they timidly refrain from singing it, even when they can relate to it. These reactions exemplify just how intricate is patriarchal construct of women's image.

As Davis (1998) summarizes, ""We should recognize that to sing the song at all was to rescue the issue of men's violence toward women from the silent realm of the private sphere and reconstruct it as a public problem." (Davis 1998, 32), a problem that is shared by their community. The song extrapolates the borders of desire and paves the way for women's freedom.

If, like Becker, we understand that art, as an activity, is the result of a series of intricate, broad dialogs which aim to "attract an audience that is capable of understanding and appreciating the concert" (Becker 2010, 28); we understand that the artist seeks to reflect the listener's inner self, so the dialogue can be possible. In a way, the artist seeks the creator and the listener within, in order to work on her song, thus expressing in their art a voice that is not only hers, including the voices of their peers. Iara Ferreira did not speak solely from her personal experience when she wrote the lyrics, but she channeled the voices of many women. Ilessi saw the angst and the irony in the lyrics and translated that feeling through the complexity present in musical language, by means of its ability to generate and alleviate tension through the rhetoric of desire, and the senses integrated to musical narratives, that often go unnoticed. The *blues* that she had listened to so seldom in her life was imprinted in her musical and emotional memory with such force that Ilessi was able to quickly access that expression through her creation, with free access to such tools.

Some composers will do that intentionally, rationally, when they first start creating. Others will do it emotionally, sensorially or figuratively. The conception of the artistic idea in Becker – which can come out of effort, but also appear spontaneously – provides more information about how Iara Ferreira and Ilessi built their *blues*. Both reported having composed music and lyrics almost cathartically, rapidly, such was their emotional involvement to the theme. On the other hand, almost invisible, is the crucially important aspect that is one's "previous specific education, competence and sensitivity" (Becker 2010, 29) to understand a musical idea and the poetry behind it. It requires extra exercises,

technical exercises, that frequently require study and practice for years on end. So that the lyrics and music composition to be created with such speed, there had to be a previous investment, responsible for the rapid flow of artistic ideas.

Becker discusses the division of work and the hierarchy present in developing a piece of art. In this case, we question ourselves: What is more important? Composing or singing? We observe an equivalent relevance in these actions and, for this very reason, the growing action of the composer singer – namely, the individual who composes, sings and plays her own songs – contemporary alternative music scene (non-mainstream). In face of this, we question whether this phenomenon would have any association with some points we´ve brought here: (1) Saturation of the music industry, (2) A technologic development which enables a more democratic access to recording studios and home studios, (3) The lacking or inexistent state support in organizing spaces, and insufficient funding for arts and culture, especially for women. These are proposals for future investigations. As Becker points out, the state and the big corporations are not capable of stopping artistic creation, for it will continue to exist without the support. The patriarchal system does not have the power to detain musical and artistic feminist creation, as well as other counter normative aesthetics. They will go on writing their speeches, constantly renewing their cry for freedom, as they have done for over a century now.

FROM THE SOUND TO THE SUBVERSIVE MEANING

According to McClary (2002), when, in the 18th century, science discovered that female pleasure was not directly associated with procreation, patriarchal society started a process of controlling female desire. One of the tools used was, not only to deny "regular" women the knowledge of their need, but also their permission to feel desire. The study of their rhetoric is controlled as well, and women are forbidden access to this knowledge. The beginnings of a musical rhetoric about desire is developed from Monteverdi and music narratives now contain gender idealizations. The same is true for films, television shows and current popular music. With the introduction of the opera music, comes one of the main discourses where gender and sexuality are built (McClary 2002, 37-38). "*Dama de Espadas*" brings up female sexuality from a viewpoint from the normative and accepted by society. It reveals a woman that desires and who owns her own sexuality, who is not bound to servitude, thus reinventing her role in society.

If Ilessi's music came to life through a more sensitive channel with less awareness at its first stage of development, it was loaded with meanings acquired through the awareness of gender at a certain point of her life,

responsible for leading to affective, aesthetic and emotional responses to the *blues*. In her article "*Funções e modos de ouvir de crianças e adolescentes, em diferentes contextos*" [free translation: "Functions and modes of listening children and teenagers, in different contexts"], Graça Boal Palheiros (2006) carried out a review of literature that sought to answer the questions concerning the way these perceptions are inserted in individuals' subjectivities, and stated that they vary, according to (1) musical characteristics; musical elements such as harmony, melody, dynamics, timbre, tempo; (2) the listener's personal characteristics and (3) the socio-cultural context of the listening situation, associated to the cultural tradition of the one listening to the song, proving that the emotional response to certain types of music can in fact be learned (Palheiros 2006, 331-332). Focusing on the voice's capability as a means of expression by nature, Johan Sundberg (2015) summarized a few researches about states of mind in speech and singing on chapter 7 of his book *A Ciência da Voz Cantada* [free translation: The Science of the Singing Voice], in which he provides the readers with the material to understand how Ilessi took in a few meanings of singing in *blues*. These investigations, carried out, in their majority, with the aid of control in charge of different kinds of listening, demonstrated that perception of feelings like sadness, anger, fear, happiness and neutrality is similar in speech and in singing, when it comes to its acoustic characteristics. The feeling listeners perceived the greatest difference in speech and singing voices was happiness. Emotions are coded through different combinations of elements like: pitch (notes), Amplitude (dynamics), timbre (tone color), phonation (variation in vocal fold thickness and more or less expanded laryngeal settings, according to the speaker's different states of mind and attitudes), articulation (tongue and lip movements also displayed mood-related changes in the same person; their articulation of vowels was different, depending on their humor). In one of the researches, people from different countries managed to infer the same meaning from excerpts in a foreign language to all of them. Apparently, vocal gestures are similar, even in different cultures. Sundberg (2015) states:

> [...] voice works as a robust "translator" from body to vocal gestures. In its essence, singing and speech can be seen as a sound projection of the gestures of the phonatory system. This correspondence seems to be crucial to singing and music. Voice provides us with the code through which music movements should be construed; from a broader perspective, the sound makes sense because it alludes to different types of movements. Finally, we could pose a reflection about a question that remains unanswered: would music have the same expressive effect if people didn't have any voice? (Sundberg 2015, 214).

Emotional response to music, as well as the understanding of its meaning, is closely associated to speech and text. In other words, from the way speech and singing complete the meaning of the text, emotional content can be learned, even without full comprehension of the lyrics or without a more careful attention to that text.

Irony, a feature of Bessie Smith e Ma Rainey's blues, is also present in their voice. That is how it reappears in the song in question, and this vocal gesture can be observed especially in Ilessi's[15] own videos. Davis points out that even feminists misinterpreted this expressive tool, subjecting it to severe criticism when the figure of speech is not taken into consideration (Davis 1998, 28).

Similarly, Ilessi takes Iara's elaboration and intensifies this gesture through melody, harmonic cadence and her singing. When singing, irony is present through the dynamics and vocal gestures used by Ilessi, such as a marked increase in change of the dynamics in the same sentence, a feature that is frequently used in the first part of the song (part A repeats twice, which comprises "I totally understand" to "They carry the afflictions of the world in their wombs...").

This recording was taken to Voz me Livre – Ensino e Pesquisa em Canto Popular, a study group of which I am a member, along with André Grabois, Anna Paes, Paula Santoro and Sueli Mesquita (advisor). While listening to it, a few characteristics were stressed, like the presence of a metallic timbre in the high notes performed with more pressure, like a belter[16], reminding them of Elis Regina's voice in some aspects. In these parts, there are some instances of *drive* (a noise produced derived from the vibration of the false vocal folds), also present in Louis Armstrong's and Elza Soares's voices. Ilessi uses this resource more emphatically in the word "*punhal*", in Portuguese (with a high tone on the vowel 'a'). The nasal component is also observed as a tool to give it an extra something, in certain parts of verses, like "quase tudo". The low tones are smoother. The singer's voice takes turns from a more intimate tone (in the lows) and another that promotes expansion (in the high), also caused by the change in air pressure, varying from high to low pressure.

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15. In 0'52": https://www.facebook.com/Showprimaveradasmulheres/videos/526900661018707/. In 5'10": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Z-bcFSYzI4
16. According to Jeannie LoVetri, a highly acclaimed voice specialist from the United States, Belt is a genre within contemporary commercial music (CCM) in Musical Theater in the United States, in which projection of the chest voice is elevated to its limit with strong air pressure, requiring power, stridency and clarity of the lyrics. In the old days, quality of the belting rarely went over Do4. Nowadays it surpasses it, and sometimes is replaced with a strong mix (mixed register) (LoVetri, 2018, 66).

Ilessi varies timbre and resonance throughout the recording. This rich expressiveness that values interpreting by stressing the emotion present in the text, overlapping spoken and singing voices, makes the listener connect with the narrative. Ilessi is a singer who is speaking the words in the song, she has a relationship with the words, and that's why her singing has a spoken quality which can be noticed in different timbres. Her singing and her speaking intonation are closely related, which is also a characteristic existing in the work of Elis Regina, a singer whose repertoire was based on spoken words, and whose musical choices were made having in mind the song's literary narrative.

I would like to stress Voz me Livre's perception when they stated that Ilessi seems to have gained more freedom over her singing when she started singing her close friends' original songs, as well as her own.

Unlike in Ilessi's composition process, Iara had rational control over her message when she wrote her narrative. The lyricist has a background in Social Sciences from UFSC and has had an active role in gender studies and feminism, having worked with "therapeutic itineraries, subjectivity, modes of contemporary subjectification, women diagnosed with depression, as well as with the way they gave new meaning to their diagnostic, by creating therapeutic itineraries with herbs, teas and prayers" (Iara Ferreira, in interview to the researcher, in November 2017). When Iara writes the lyrics, she knows exactly which points to highlight in her narrative. We intend to discuss some of them, using the work of Silvia Federici (2017) as reference.

In "*Calibã e a bruxa: Mulheres, Corpo e Acumulação Primitiva*" [free translation: "Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation"], Federici (2017) analyses the process of domestication of women and redefinition of femininity during the transition to capitalism and attributes the success of this campaign to a 'sexual differentiation of space'. Federici (2017) contextualizes how women were denied public spaces, including the streets and the workplace, which they were discouraged from frequenting, even under threats of acts like ridicule or sexual assaults, were they to attend such places unaccompanied (Federici 2017, 200). Unfortunately, this is still a reality in Brazil. Women of the 21st century, particularly black women of colonized, submissive countries remain under the same shackles by which they were first tied, in this long process that started around the 15th century. Forbidden from attending public spaces, women who dared step a toe out of line risked their well-being and their life.

Federici (2017) described this process women experienced on the way to their social degradation through some layers. The 'process of legal

infantilization" occurred when patriarchy attempted to prove that women were mentally fragile, by completely depriving them of any agency over their own lives. Women, according to them, were incapable of rational and logical reasoning and of successfully controlling their lives, their own possessions and their family without a man (Federici 2017, cap. 2).

Having contextualized the backdrop against which "*Dama de Espadas*" is set, I would like to comment on the harmony of the song. "*Dama de Espadas*"[17] (in Eb) differs from classic blues in that the latter presents an established tonality, with a cadence between e I–IV–V. Ilessi developed a harmonic path more akin to *jazz*, resulting in a melody that was far from conventional, just like her textual narrative, as stated by one of the songs' interpreters. Music and lyrics occasionally suggest an expectation that is misplaced, like in the verses that translate as "Women like this, who go out at night | Smelling the night dew and bar hopping". "Women like this" seems to invoke an image of women as inferior, but that image is later torn apart by irony. The harmony in the fragment (F7(9) E7(9) \ A7(9) \ Bb7(13) \ Eb7(9) E7(9) \) reinforces the lyrics and fools the listener. At first, it seems to be modulated a certain way, towards D7 (at a moment of classic blues where harmony would lead it to a sub-dominant function that would be taken by Ab), but Ilessi steers it to A7(9) not as D7's dominant, but as subV for the Eb dominant, the Bb7 chord. This process adds to the meaning of the lyrics, which, initially seemed to be another song that blames women, from a plausible logic in patriarchal culture, but instead it breaks the listener's expectation, steering them away from common knowledge, as well as from harmony. Her "women like this" are not looked at from men's viewpoint but from this freed woman. Repetition of A brings the surprise in this woman's territory, with the verses "Smelling the night dew and bar hopping. It is a forbidden act of sorts, a nearly illicit activity, and a turf that is doubly 'forbidden' to women: streets and bars. Every setting this woman sets foot in is forbidden; including the night, present in 'night dew'. This verse seems to express the boldness of woman who roams the streets at night, which configures an act of rebellion in this patriarchal society, where women risk being sexually abused, by daring ignore the unspoken rule against going to certain places, at certain times. Harmony/melody and lyrics destabilize the order. Irony appears again in the relationship between the so called 'queen of spades' and her peers, by means of the comparison between the use of the male, 'macho', and how fast she goes through her clothes, to illustrate the superficial nature of her relations. 'Have a say on almost everything' goes against patriarchal rule, against the expectation of a subservient being, opposite to the one Iara

17. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BCMs5noGdVM

Ferreira brings here. Adichie (2015) points out that many men feel their personally attacked when they cannot exercise their dominant social behavior (Adichie 2015, 43-44), and this is one of the challenges women face to obtain acceptance of social proposals, and policies that serve feminist purposes, both by men and women. If a woman wants to 'have a say' she must be assertive and autonomous, and this attitude deviates from the *status quo*, Another statement that contradicts this system is raised when women's womb, considered sacred by Judeo-Christian tradition, is said to carry 'the afflictions of the world'.

Between part A and the chorus, there is a bridge (which I called B) and encompasses the verse "He was a perfect *lord*" to "Will make their men dehydrated". It is worth noting that, while in part A Ilessi and Iara paint a picture of this woman, during the bridge there is a harmonic path that does not have a fixed tone and is not defined. The process of showing what actually happened starts. This blues has greater harmonic and melodic complexity, with a frequent use of subV, of 'dominants to dominants', causing a delay in resolution of the tensions that are always expanded in part A, as well as the bridge to the chorus. What did cause this instability (present in the lyrics, in the harmony, and in the melody) of the male image? The answer is: The woman is a man eater. The "*lord*", is upset (de bode) because he cannot deal with this woman's autonomy, generating a discrepancy between these two antagonist images *lord*/bode in the song in Portuguese. It is the moment of greatest distancing from the tone and of greatest expectations, with increased tension and resulting expansion of the desire for conclusion ("He was a perfect *lord* | But he was upset with his *lady* | On bedtime these queens of spades| Will make their men dehydrated"), where we observe the progression: \\ Esus \ E7(9) \ Fsus \ F7(9) \ F#sus \ F#7(9) \ C7(13) F7(9) \ Bb7(9)(13) \\). It is Worth noting that the transition describes the path of the man who was a victim of the queen of spades. This man's fragility is present in the harmonic instability that does not come near the tone again until the last two compasses of this fragment, returning the dominant for Eb, Bb7 chord, preparing for the chorus that is developed with the harmonic sequence of the classic blues and which is announced and which is announced with the verse "Will make their men dehydrated". The female body thus loses its sacred quality and the woman is portrayed as sexually voracious, a passage that is highlighted by the peak of the relationship between melody and harmony.

The chorus is, as expressed by Ilessi, a cry for freedom, sung with the singer's highest vocal power, narrating the story of the queen of spades' lethal love which is finally described as "women like this | Exactly like me", at a lower volume and with an intent to be a peacemaker. Women no longer die from a heartbreak, from waiting for their lovers or the love

of their lives, they imply go on with their lives, as the autonomous and empowered beings they are.

In "Sam Jones Blues", Davis (1998) observes the musical contrast used by Bessie Smith in that song to translate a real contrast between two cultures, white hegemonic and black. The ideas of marriage disseminated in white culture show a difference from the place black women occupy in their culture. In "*Dama de Espadas*" or *Queen of Spades*, this theme is brought also through the use of the titles in English; "*lord*" and "*lady*", opposing, with irony, the wild woman, who is the so-called queen of spades, to the white civility, a male normativity. There is no romance, women are not treated as inferior. The ones who are used here are men, as are men the ones who die from a heartbreak, and the ones who are the boss in bed are the women. "The female figures evoked in women's blues are independent women free of the domestic orthodoxy of the prevailing representations of womanhood through which female subjects of the era were constructed." (Davis 1998, 13). Sexuality is, as in classic blues, the key to this 'queen of spades' transformation and freedom, a new generation of women in the world.

About this, Davis states: "The new music had old roots, and the old music reflected a new ideological grounding of Black religion. Both were deeply rooted in a shared history and culture". (Davis 1998, 6). The author states that, what we perceive to be 'God' and the 'Devil' used to coexist in the same semantic universe during slavery, for they were no longer seen as opposing elements, but as complex characteristics that represented different powers that integrated human relations. With the creation of the *blues*, the secular content of the spirituals (i.e. everyday lives and human relations) join this new genre, leaving to spirituals the sacred aspect of the lyrics (praise) and the sound (harmony, melody and vocalization). From then on, the blues is popularly seen as the 'Devil's song', being the primary genre that uses the lyrics to tell the story of the everyday lives of the African American population, but still reproducing its sacred aspect by means of its element of sound, in charge of representing the search for connection with the sacred inherited by African beliefs. Davis (1998) stated:

> They are secular in the same sense that they confine their attention solely to the immediate and affirm the bodily expression of Black soul, including its sexual manifestations. They are spirituals because they are impelled by the same search for the truth of black experience" (Davis 1998, p. 8).

Davis understands that the blues were condemned as the Devil's music: it was because they drew upon and incorporated sacred consciousness and thereby posed a serious threat to religious attitudes." (Davis 1998, 8). Blues composers experienced the connection with the sacred through their sexual freedom and autonomy. There was no separation between these two forms of existence. Such experience is also upgraded in "*Dama de Espadas*", as well as by means of similar, as well as in similar songs, seeing as there is a growing group of Evangelical congressmen seizing more political power in Brazil, and on the streets, with the people. The blues now treats sexuality as a tangible expression of freedom.

When the chorus states, an octave above the start of the melody, "I know that, after all | He wasn't to blame | He bled on the dagger | He gulped the hemlock down", which represents the power of these 'queens of spades', music transposes this narrative to a sacred relationship that is present in the melodic/harmonic construct, which translates a sense of worship like in spirituals. It is a final cry whose feeling behind is intensified through the interval leap: the woman, who is the boss of her own body, reaffirms and seeks her own freedom.

Such observation seems to find confirmation in Ilessi's line, when she discusses her relationship with music, as a singer:

> [Question: What would you say is an important point when choosing a song to sing?] I choose it for the music, if I like the melody, the harmony, if has something that moves me... This is very important, it is crucial to me. I also feel like I'm wearing a piece of clothing that fits just right. I'm very picky in that way. I may love a certain song, that I will not sing, nevertheless. I may find that it doesn't fit me well. Just like I can judge that a song fits me right, and it doesn't matter if someone else does not think so, still, it is my judgement. And the lyrics, I... I like it when I can relate to the lyrics, somehow. It's not about what they say in the lyrics, objectively, but sometimes the meaning of things that, in real life, I don't get to be, or that I don't have the room to be. I believe singing has always been a space that is so... There is no way not to talk about it, is there? But I believe that, because of my color, singing has a very central importance to me, because it has something... Besides being a way for me to vent, like something spiritual, of putting it all out... I don't know... The racism that I suffered, the struggle that I have been, that I go through. There is something about the vibration of the song that also helps unload all this, every mishap that I faced, but I think that there is also the place music gets me, that life doesn't. I feel it very clearly when I am singing. Sometimes, I will find myself singing certain songs, and the sound, the vibration, and the melody, along with the lyrics, everything gets me in such a proud state, in such a place that, you know... Like: they may have got me down, but when I am singing, I get there... I guess I used to feel self-conscious

talking about it, but now I feel like royalty, in a way. (Ilessi in interview to the researcher, in November 2017)

Ilessi's observation about how music helps her recognize and assert her personality, bringing elements of autonomy and pride becomes very noticeable in her rendition of "*Dama de Espadas*" and even more aligned to Davis' idea. (1998), Davis saw the blues as "communal channels of relief[18] (Davis 1998, 9) and expression for black people, particularly black women. Davis states that "[1]"The blues woman challenges in her own way the imposition of gender-based inferiority." (Davis 1998, 36) and that "the female portraits created by the early women served as reminders of the African-American women's tradition of womanhood, a tradition that directly challenged prevailing notions of femininity." (Davis 1998, 37), thus redefining women's place in that society.

In the political concert "Feminist Spring", comprising over 30 female musicians, actresses, dancers, producers, and visual artists, and highly attended by the female public, "*Dama de Espadas*" is part of the repertoire and is seen as one of the concert's highlights. Regarding this praise and empathy by women, Iara Ferreira recalled the first time she heard her lyrics in a song:

> "Holy shit, this is some fucking great blues!" I didn´t realize it when I first heard the song. Then I kept listening to it nonstop. And it is a hard melody, it's not easy. […] [sings the part "ele foi um perfeito lord, mas ficou de bode com a sua lady"] Ya know? It's not easy! It is not the most common path. And people can relate to it, and they just start singing! I think this is the most amazing part! And then Luisa Lacerda started singing, Luana too, Luana Dias. Julieta sings… It was from the "Feminist Spring". [We talked about Elisa Addor who started singing at the Feminist Spring, in Ilessi's absence, and I commented on how excited she was to be singing that song.] It is not easy to be putting these words into song. Many people can't relate. There was [composer X], who said … "Oh I can't sing this! I think it is great, but I am not singing it!" [researcher: "it is not an easy place to be at".] […] It depends greatly on your life experience, if that hits home for you… Luisa said that she went was singing in Belém. She sang this song there and brought the house down. Women were shouting! [laughter] Women in Belém are iffy about it, people are super sexist there. (Iara Ferreira in interview to the researcher, in November 2017).

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18. "Blues was threatening because its spokesmen and its ritual too frequently provided the expressive communal channels of relief that had been largely the province of religious in the past." (Davis 1998, p. 8-9)

gis – gesture, image and sound

Elisa Addor started singing this *blues* at the "Feminist Spring" in Ilessi's absence. When asked what made her want to sing that song, she explained:

> I was introduced to the song "*Dama de Espadas*" amidst the work done in Feminist Spring, our feminist group, and it is a song that makes me feel free, very much the boss of myself when I sing it. It speaks with irony and wittiness of many situations that we experience as women, in our relationship with the world, with our partners, and with how it is seen. I feel like it is a shout for freedom. I always get happy, whenever I can sing this brilliant song by Ilessi and Iara. (Elisa Addor in interview to the researcher in December 2017).

Elisa once again commented on reaffirming her freedom and on how elated she felt for singing it, she same relief that Woolf (2018) seems to have felt when silencing the intermediate voice that bothered her so, and that falsely drove her to be someone she wasn't (Woolf 2018, 14).

Another person who commented on the challenge of affirming the personality in the song was Luana Dias. Also, a singer composer, Luana said that Iara Ferreira and Ilessi showed the song to her right after composing it, with the intention that she sang at LUA [Livre União de Autoras], a composer collective the three of them were members of. Luana stated that rock and blues had a strong influence on her, and for that reason they offered her the chance to sing it. About her relationship with "*Dama de Espadas*" she also said:

> It is such a wonderful song, with such force! I can relate to several points, others, not so much [laughter]... I am experiencing my feminine self, my capacity, not in such a complete way, like the characters in this song. But I believe that there are things in it that I can see in my life, in my voice, in the steps I took, and I believe that is what we are walking towards, to experience our freedom. So, we can feel like equals. I feel like it is the most important part (Luana Dias in interview to the researcher, in December 2017)

In her book "Professions for women" Virgina Woolf (2018) confesses she embarked on two adventures in her career. One of them was "killing the Angel in the House", which was deconstructing the idealized image of the woman. She tells of a situation where the personification of this "Angel in the House", this social model, manifested through an internal voice, interjecting in a review, and it "said": "My dear, you are a woman. You are writing about a book by a male author. Be kind; be sweet; be flattering; mislead him; make use of every art and craft of our gender. Don't let anyone realize that you have your own opinion Above all, be pure" (Woolf 2018, 12). Woolf (2018) tells that would struggle against this voice, and there were many struggles until that voice was silenced for good. This episode, retold with a certain degree of irony and

sarcasm, represents the same challenge in singing "*Dama de Espadas*", taking over the voice of an autonomous woman who made her own decisions, with her own identity, contrary to *status quo*. This image of the "Angel of Light" will always be in the back of women's minds and actions. Breaking free from it is an exercise of liberation, attention and experimenting of a different way of wearing this other woman's skin and being the woman who does not have to please anyone but herself first and foremost (Adichie 2017).

We have noted, through the voices of four women who are active in the Rio de Janeiro music scene (Iara Ferreira, Ilessi, Luana Dias and Elisa Addor), as well as possible relationships established through listening and experiencing this song. We have commented on Ilessi's video where she interprets the song in the series produced by Luiza in the project Meninas do Brasil[19], the video of a presentation carried out by Luisa Lacerda and Luana Dias[20], the Feminist Spring[21] video, which gets more agents involved in this music distribution, and more recently, of Ilessi singing at the 6th Mostra Cantautores in Belo Horizonte[22]. These voices are part of the same cooperative network in the music world.

CONCLUSION

We have seen the power of music, more specifically, of the song, to promote transformations in society. We have highlighted its importance, presenting a feminist content, for its project's themes to society themes that otherwise would not have visibility, making public different forms of female oppression, exploring what hasn't been said, exposing the violence to change it through the pursuit of justice and gender equality.

"*Dama de Espadas*" seems to be a milestone in a new era for women's music in Brazil, maybe a new phase in urban popular music, where composers and instrumentalists are increasingly engaged in outlining their aesthetics and territory, long despised or even forbidden to them. In this sense, "Feminist Spring" also promoted a possible 'Brazilian Music Spring.

19. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Z-bcFSYzI4
20. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sWCavDRzcTI
21. https://www.facebook.com/Showprimaveradasmulheres/videos/526900661018707/
22. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BCMs5noGdVM

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"WELCOME TO JAMROCK": RASTAFARIAN POETICS AND POLITICS ON THE STREETS OF KINGSTON

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ABSTRACT
In this essay I reflect on the ways through which Rastafarians have created and transformed Kingston by inhabiting the city with their presence, narratives, and lexicon. The Rastafarian Kingston is built on several semantic and political layers, and the question of toponyms emerged in the most diverse interactions I had with my interlocutors throughout fieldwork. I also reflect on their presence; bodies marked by indexes of belonging to the Rastafarian Movement; the decoration of walls and houses with Rastafarian colors and motifs, and the narratives of events that took place in certain parts of town. Exploring the Rastafarian occupation of Kingston is a way of unpacking how different individuals and collectives reflect upon and act on issues such as social memory, citizenship, belonging, the uses of and access to public spaces, the access to rights and reparation for the cycles of violence to which they have been subjected throughout history.

FIGURE 1
A wall in Half Way Tree.

I. INTRODUCTION

This picture I snapped in 2016 shows a mural with a few seminal figures from the Rastafari Movement. The wall stands in a bustling area of Kingston, where commerce thrives and many public and private services are available. The figure on the left is Mortimo Planno, a historical leader of the Rastafari Movement. His name is written beneath his portrait. The last figure to the right is Emperor Haile Selassie I, portrayed inside a map of the African continent. Africa is marked by the colors of Imperial Ethiopia—red, yellow and green. Marcus Mosiah Garvey is depicted beside Selassie I on top of a red, black and green background—the colors of UNIA. I could not find anyone who could identify the other people depicted in the mural, painted over a background of the same colors.

Rastafari is a political and spiritual movement that emerged in Jamaica in the early 1930s. The history of its origin is well known and began with the coronation of Ras Tafari Makonnen as Emperor of Ethiopia in November of 1930. Upon being crowned, the Ras—a word that means "head" and "prince" in Amharic, the language spoken by the Makonnen family, of the Amhara ethnic group[1]—adopted a new name: Haile Selassie I. The chosen name means "Power of the Trinity"—Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

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1. There are several languages spoken in Ethiopia. According to the 2007 census, the four most widely spoken languages are Amharic, Oromo, Somali and Tigrinya. For languages, ethnicities and other demographic details on Ethiopia, see Central Statistical Agency (Ethiopia), 2007.

The history of the Makonnen family has been entrenched in biblical poetics since at least the Middle Ages, as reported by Chevannes (1995: 9). Like other Ethiopian noble families, they claim descendance from King Solomon, King David's son who, like his father, ruled the city of Judah according to the biblical mythological tradition. The Ethiopian monarchy emerged from the union of Solomon and Makeda, the Queen of Sheba. Chevannes asserts that "[s]elf consciously, therefore, the new Emperor in appropriating his title 'King of Kings', 'Lord of Lords', 'Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah', was reaffirming the ancient roots of Ethiopian civilization and its independent place in Judeo-Christian traditions" (idem).

Word of the coronation of Haile Selassie I arrived in Jamaica through imported copies of *Time Magazine* and *The Blackman* (a newspaper conceived and directed by the Jamaican Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey[2]). Soon after, several prophets began to appear around Kingston, claiming the name Ras Tafari or Ras Tafarian for themselves.[3] These men proclaimed the African monarch as the reincarnation of the biblical Christ. Christ, in the language of the Rastas, was a living black man who had returned to redeem the chosen people from the hardships imposed by their oppressors. His chosen people, according to Rastafarians, is the African people, divided and spread across the mother continent and the diaspora. This narrative framework, which evokes biblical prophecies and recontextualizes them in a Pan-Africanist perspective, was strongly influenced by the cultural translations of Marcus Garvey's speeches and writings that the Rastafarian prophets put into circulation.

In an article published in *The Black Man* on November 8, 1930, Garvey extols the potential of Haile Selassie I's coronation, a black African monarch, for the development and emancipation of Africa, Africans and African descendants scattered across the diaspora. Below I reproduce the article penned by Garvey in its totality:

> Last Sunday, a great ceremony took place at Addis Ababa, the capital of Abyssinia. It was the coronation of the new Emperor of Ethiopia—Ras Tafari. From reports and expectations, the scene was one of great splendour, and will long be remembered by those who were present. Several of the leading nations of Europe sent representatives to the coronation, thereby paying their respects to a rising Negro nation that is destined to play a great part in the future history of the world. Abyssinia is the land of the blacks and we are glad to learn that even though Europeans have been trying to impress the Abyssinians that they are not belonging to the Negro Race, they have learned the retort that they are, and they are proud to be so.

2. For a biography of Marcus Garvey that connects his anti-colonial efforts to the emergence of Pan-Africanism, see the work of Jamaican political scientist Rupert Lewis, 1987.
3. These pioneers of the Rastafari Movement, whom I refer to as prophets, were Leonard Howell, Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley, Robert Hinds and Ras Napier. For accounts on the beginnings of the Rastafari Movement in Jamaica see Chevannes, 1994 and Barnett, 2018.

Ras Tafari has traveled to Europe and America and is therefore no stranger to European hypocrisy and methods; he, therefore, must be regarded as a kind of a modern Emperor, and from what we understand and know of him, he intends to introduce modern methods and systems into his country. Already he has started to recruit from different sections of the world competent men in different branches of science to help to develop his country to the position that she should occupy among the other nations of the world.

We do hope that Ras Tafari will live long to carry out his wonderful intentions. From what we have heard and what we do know, he is ready and willing to extend the hand of invitation to any Negro who desires to settle in his kingdom. We know of many who are gone to Abyssinia and who have given good report of the great possibilities there, which they are striving to take advantage of.

The Psalmist prophesied that Princes would come out of Egypt and Ethiopia would stretch forth her hands unto God. We have no doubt that the time is now come. Ethiopia is now really stretching forth her hands. This great kingdom of the East has been hidden for many centuries, but gradually she is rising to take a leading place in the world and it is for us of the Negro race to assist in every way to hold up the hand of Emperor Ras Tafari. (quoted by Hill 1990, 442)

I have chosen to cite the entire article, as Rupert Lewis does when he analyzes it (1998, 145-6),

> because often commentators refer only to the last paragraph and stress the religious, prophetic dimension, that of a prince coming out of Egypt and Ethiopia stretching out its hands to God (Psalm 68:31), at the expense of other aspects of Garvey's thinking. But Garvey addressed many issues: the attempts by Europeans to separate Ethiopia from the rest of Africa, European attendance at the coronation and its impact, the coronation as a symbol of black pride, and, most important, Garvey's expression of hope for a reign based on modernity within the framework of Pan-African solidarity. In Garvey's thinking and work, Ethiopianism functioned in accordance with his strong modernizing Pan-African outlook (Lewis 1998, 146).

As Lewis explains, the strength of Garvey's argument is also in its political tenor: the recognition of the African reign by European governments; the pride that a Black nation inserted in modernity would bring to Blacks all around the world; the possible leadership role of Ethiopia in the world; the possible reception in Ethiopia of Blacks who want to settle there to work for the progress of that nation. Yet one should not lose sight of the biblical poetic framework intertwined with these political aspirations, for it is precisely the connections between the biblical prophecies and Pan-Africanism in Garvey's language that have inspired Rastafarians' criticism and meditations since the 1930s.

Selassie I and Garvey are recurring characters in Rastafarian visual and oral compositions. In 1976, Rastafarian singer-songwriter

Winston Rodney, better known as Burning Spear, released his fourth studio album, entitled *Garvey's Ghost*. Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican who influenced the Black world with his Pan-Africanist movement anchored in the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), had died 36 years earlier[4]. His ideas, however, especially those related to the return to Africa and the appreciation of Blackness, have continued to thrive. First came the Garveyites. Then, in the 1930s, the Rastas emerged, elevating Garvey to the position of a prophet who had announced the time for the redemption of Black people from the diasporic exile. Through a Rastafarian biblical translation, this man, by his deeds and words, became John the Baptist; the revelation of the coronation of Haile Selassie I and his wife, Empress Menen, was attributed to him. Garvey remains alive through the language of Rastafarians, who evoke the Pan-African hero in their liturgical services, in their daily speeches, in the decoration of their bodies—using garments as varied as t-shirts, brooches and scarves printed with Garvey's face and sayings.

1976 also marked one year since the death of Haile Selassie I—an event that none of the Rastafari Orders recognize. The body of the last Ethiopian emperor, after all, was never publicly displayed and no funeral ever took place. Like Garvey, in Kingston, Selassie I lives and is a major actor in Rastafarian memory. This memory—one could call it an afterlife—manifests itself through several channels, such as Burning Spear's album mentioned above.

What follows is an essay on how Kingstonian Rastas perform politics and poetics through their ways of inhabiting the Jamaican capital, with attention to narratives about places and events and to the native toponymy. My aim is to reflect on and with the ways Rastas created and recreated Kingston throughout history by inhabiting the city with their physical presence, their narratives about it and their lexicon. I want to underscore one point: the physical places of Rastafarian Kingston are built on top of several semantic and political layers. The naming and narrativizations of these places are fundamental parts of a metapragmatic process: they *perform* what the words describe. As described by Austin (1962), words have an illocutionary power to not only describe things and contexts, but to also *create* them. By renaming a Kingston landmark with a biblical name, for instance, the Rastas translate their experiences into biblical experiences, as much as they inscribe their experience in the biblical narratives. Let us pause for a moment to consider the question of parallel naming.

Benedict Anderson (2002 [1983]) and Charles Carnegie (2017) reflect on the naming of cities with identical names plus the indicator "New" as signs of

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4. For a reflection on the confluences and divergences between Garveyists and Rastas in the early years of the Rastafari Movement, see Lewis 1998.

a sense of being able to live parallel lives in parallel locations afforded by the technologies of the Age of Exploration. It is clear that the authors refer to cities of the so-called New World named after those of the Old World—names such as New Amsterdam, New York and New Zealand. In the case of the Rastas, however, this process of parallel naming, which generally evokes biblical toponymy without using the indicator "New", rather than actualizing a notion of living in a parallel reality, frames the reality experienced by them as an actualization of what the holy texts describe.

Above I referred to the illocutionary power of words and defined them as operators of metapragmatic processes. In doing this, I take into account Webb Keane's (1997, 51) remarks about one of the functions that the recitation of sacred texts might assume: "[r]ather than being construed as accounts of actions that were carried in the past, the words are taken from the reports on and directives for the action they themselves carry out in the moment of speaking." There is a great difference between the recitation of sacred texts and the naming of places, but there are also parallels. The parallel that matters here is precisely the power of the word; its creative force of contextualization that transforms a name into an experience. Calling Jamaica Babylon or Egypt, for example, refers to the experiences of slavery of the chosen people described in the Bible and instigates a reflection on the present conditions of Black people—the chosen people in Rastas' point of view—on the island. On the other hand, the naming of Ethiopia as Zion inscribes in that place the possibility of redemption for the chosen people, who are suffering the hardships of captivity in a foreign land. Here the geographical and cosmological toponymies transform the biblical narratives into lived experiences.

Throughout my fieldwork, Rastafarian toponymies emerged in the most diverse interactions I had with my interlocutors. But the place names, this toponymy of biblical appeal, are not the only signs that embody Rastafarian experiences and memories in the landscape of the Jamaican capital. The decoration of walls, gates, curbs and fences with the colors of imperial Ethiopia; images of Haile Selassie and Marcus Garvey; biblical quotations and song lyrics also compete for the making of the Rastafarian Kingston. And there are, of course, the very Rastafarian bodies that inhabit the city. Some of them dress like Haile Selassie I, following the attire he used in public. They sport khaki-colored military uniforms decorated with medals of a holy war waged against the pagans. Some of these medals depict the emperor's face—often accompanied by one of his sayings—while others feature Garvey's face. They might also take the shape of the letter R. This letter is related to the words Rastafari, Righteous, Redemption, Reparation, Repatriation; important Rastafarian concepts. Other medals, in turn, are shaped like the African continent and feature sayings uttered by or attributed to

Selassie I, Garvey and other prophets—many of them, of course, are biblical quotations. Other Rastas decorate their bodies with Ethiopian garments, such as tunics or T-shirts, trousers or robes, turbans or wool caps. Symbols such as the Lion of Judah and the Egyptian ankh are also popular in the making of Rastafarian bodies.

Naming places, decorating them and reciting their names in narratives are ways of *evoking* stories and memories attached to them—as much as they are ways of *attaching* stories and memories to them. They also connect these stories and memories from the past to the experiences of the present and the expectations of the future. Inhabiting a city also means laughing, weeping and being moved in some way by the stories related to its parts, to its temporalities—to its existence. In Kingston, toponymy is a field of political disputes where the Rastas fight against the specter of British colonialism and the neocolonialism of the Jamaican state by mobilizing biblical and Pan-Africanist poetics.

Since the 1930s, collectives—now called Orders, Houses or Rastafari Mansions—have been formed, dissolved and refashioned in Kingston and other parts of Jamaica. When American sociologist George Eaton Simpson undertook his pioneering fieldwork among Rastas in West Kingston, there were already plenty of collectives in that area alone. In his own words:

> In 1953, there were at least a dozen Ras Tafari groups operating in West Kingston, with memberships ranging from approximately twenty to one hundred and fifty or more. Among these groups were: United Afro-West Indian Federation, United Ethiopian Body, Ethiopian Youth Cosmic Faith, Ethiopian Coptic League, and the African Cultural League. (Simpson 1955a, 133)

Simpson conducted his fieldwork at a time when the Orders of the first epoch were perishing, while two Orders of the second epoch, the Nyahbinghi Order and the Ethiopia Africa Black International Congress (EABIC, also known as Bobo Shanti Order), were being formed[5]. The Twelve

5. Jamaican Rastafarian sociologist Michael Barnett, who teaches at the University of the West Indies in Kingston, suggests a periodization of the history of the Rastafari movement into five epochs. According to him, "the first epoch of Rastafari history [stretches] from 1930 to 1948 and [i]s characterized by the first generation of Rastafari leaders, who were in large part inspired to announce the arrival of Black God by the royal coronation of Ras Tafari as HIM Haile Selassie I on November 2, 1930. The second epoch I conceive to stretch from 1948 to 1968 and to be characterized by the second generation of leaders of the movement. This second generation of Rastafari leaders led to the establishment of the major mansions of Rastafari, as well as the wearing of dreadlocks that have now become the signature feature of the movement. The third epoch stretches from 1968 to 1981, and is characterized by the movement's firmly established symbiotic relationship with reggae music. (...) The fourth epoch stretches from 1981 to 2007 and is characterized by Rastafari's waning influence on reggae music as a whole, as well as the death of its key second-generation leaders, who forced the movement to confront a potential existential crisis. The fifth epoch, which begins in September 2007, marks an entry into a new millennium, based on the Ethiopian calendar, and is characterized by a necessary reconfiguration of the major mansions; they are now headed up and directed by councils, as opposed to being guided by charismatic leaders" (Barnett 2018: 23). For a different periodization of the Rastafari Movement, proposed 23 years before the one sketched by Barnett, see Chevannes 1995: 11-15.

Tribes of Israel, another Order which is also associated with the second era of the Movement, was established fifteen years after Simpson completed his fieldwork, in 1968.

The Nyahbinghi Order sprang from a collective named Youth Black Faith, formed in 1949 by young Rastas, among them Bongo Wato, also known like Ras Boanerges. Youth Black Faith was founded in a West Kingston ghetto called Trench Town, a place that still exists today. It was in a *yard*[6] on Ninth Street that Bongo Wato joined two other Rastas, Brothers Taf and Pete, and began to disseminate his ideas and practices related to Rastafari (Chevannes 1994, 152-153). In addition to being a congregational site, the Youth Black Faith headquarters in Trench Town had two important activities: the trade and use of ganja (ibid., 153).

The Bobo Shanti Order has its origins in Trench Town as well. A long history of state violence, though, forced Emmanuel[7] and his followers to wander through different parts of Kingston before settling in Bull Bay. The place where they have settled is known as Bobo Hill and many Bobo Shanti still live there today. In their pilgrimages, the Bobo Shanti were connecting their experiences, Kingston's landscape and the sacred narratives, appealing to a biblical toponymy in the naming of places. "Ackee Walk was Nazareth, where Jesus cometh from", for it was there that Emmanuel announced himself and was proclaimed as the reincarnated Christ;

> Harris street was Galilee, where Jesus went after leaving his native home; Eight Street, Capernaum; and Ninth Street, Bethlehem, for it was there that Jesus, Queen Rachel's son, was born. The settlement in Bull Bay they named Mount Temon, where God is supposed to have come from, according to a passage from Genesis. (Chevannes 1994, 174)

I heard stories about the pilgrimages of Emmanuel and his followers from Bobo Shanti elders on several occasions. The place names that

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6. Before proceeding, let me describe what are the *yards*. It is true that many Jamaicans use this word as a synonym for home, in the same way they use the word gates. "Come over mi gates" or "come over mi yard" can be translated as "come to my place". But yards also have another connotation. It refers to peculiar types of housing developed in Kingston since at least the 1960s. They are called tenement yards and rent yards. The rent yards are compounds whose owners rent out space for families or individuals to build their own small houses. In her ethnography of everyday life in two Kingstonian ghettos between the 1970s and 1980s, Diane Austin-Broos described one of the rent yards where she conducted fieldwork as follows: "yards are surrounded by high zinc fences and contain within them a number of rented dwellings constructed of the same material. There are no facilities provided in the yards other than a stand pipe and shared toilet. (...) Between two and five households may be situated on a lot, and residents describe their accommodation as a *yard* because they share common facilities and yard space at the back of the lot" (Austin-Broos 2018 [1984]: 42-43; emphasis in original). The tenement yards consist generally of single buildings "with individual rooms let to a single household" (Clarke 2006: 35).
7. King Emmanuel, also known as Prince Emmanuel and Emmanuel I, was the Bobo Shanti Order founder and supreme leader until his death in 1994.

emerged in these stories were always glossed and connected to the biblical narratives that inspired them. Today the Bobo Shanti call Bobo Hill *Jerusalem*[8].

The last Order formed during the second epoch of the Movement is called the Twelve Tribes of Israel. It was founded by Vernon Carrington, better known as Prophet Gad, in 1968. Prior to founding the Twelve Tribes of Israel, Gad had already explored biblical theology and connected it to Pan-Africanist ideas and practices through his work at the Ethiopia World Federation (EWF)[9]. He developed a philosophy that connects people to one of Israel's Lost Tribes according to their month of birth[10].

Although Bobo Shanti, Nyahbinghi and Twelve Tribes of Israel Houses are the most prominent Orders in Kingston and other parts of Jamaica, there are several other active Orders, such as the House of Dread, Ethiopian Zion Coptic Church, Church of His Imperial Majesty and certain Chapters of the Ethiopia World Federation. The existence of different Orders is something that divides the Rastas. Some of my interlocutors showed great tolerance towards the existence of several Orders. A young Rastaman told me, in downtown Kingston, that "in di end wi a fight di same fight, wi just doan agree on a few details". He claimed not to belong to any Order, but considered himself a Nyahbinghi. For him, being a Nyahbinghi "means to fight down di white man and di Black man and di chiney man oppression. Yeah, man! A each and every kind of oppression from each and every man I n I a fight 'gainst! A dat a Nyahbinghi style!" Other Rastas, like Priest Menelik, an elderly Bobo Shanti

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8. For an ethnography of the Bobo Shanti see Montlouis 2013.
9. The Ethiopia World Federation is an organization that remains active to this day. It was established in the context of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War, which occurred between 1935 and 1939. During this period, troops commanded by Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini invaded Ethiopia and confronted the army of Haile Selassie I. In the second year of the war, Haile Selassie I exiled himself in Bath, England, returning to Addis Ababa only in 1941. During the exile, Selassie received the moral and financial support of several Black communities in the diaspora that came to frame the war as a battle between Europe and Africa; between white colonizers and colonized Black people. As a way of aggregating pro-Ethiopia actions, Selassie I sent an emissary to New York in 1937 to establish the Ethiopia World Federation. The institution started hosting events to promote Ethiopian history and culture and raise funds for the war efforts. In 1939, two years after its establishment in the US, the first branch of the Ethiopia World Federation was established in Kingston by Paul Earlington, a former UNIA activist. After a few years, the stories of the Ethiopia World Federation and the Rastafari Movement in Kingston began to intertwine, with several Rastas frequenting the headquarters of the institution and requesting official affiliation to it. For a history of the Ethiopia World Federation, see Bonacci 2013.
10. Along with this association there is also a rich symbolism that connects people to certain colors, to the focus on certain parts of the body, to zodiacal signs, and to the Hebrew months. For more details on the theology and symbolism of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, see Van Dijk 1988 and Bonacci 2016.

High Priest[11], see the existence of many Orders as a major problem to the Movement:

> Rasta dem split. Nowadays in Jamaica yuh 'ave over twenty Rasta Mansions. No man agree wid di other man, many a dem disrespect Emmanuel I. A dat mek it tuffer fi wi as Rasta, cah wi cyaan channel our efforts towards Repatriation, which is what I n I a deal wid. Strictly Repatriation wi a deal wid.

If from a certain point of view (a native one in this case) differences and dissent are detrimental to the Rastafari Movement, from another one they can be seen as productive, as sources of power and self-reflection. Let us now turn to the scenarios where these dissents between individuals and collectives take place.

II. SEDIMENTS OF HISTORY AND MEMORY: FRAGMENTS OF THE RASTAFARIAN KINGSTON

"Wi troddin 'pon Back o' Wall, man", Ras Cover told me as we zigzagged through the streets of Tivoli Gardens. I asked him when he had started visiting that part of the city. "Since mi was a yute, man. Haha! Long time gone, yuh know?" he said, without slowing his pace. I contemplated the place and the walk of this septuagenarian Rastaman. How many layers of history was he able to see through with his gaze? What kind of experience did he recollect while walking through streets that no longer exist? There he was, pointing at places and telling me where good old Rastas used to live; where they played their drums and cooked food; where he and other dreadlocks had been brutalized by members of the Jamaica Constabulary Force and the Jamaican Defense Force. His utterances were not restricted to speech—the naming of persons, places, the storytelling. By *walking* he was uttering the past and the present of the place into existence. Walking, as Certeau asserts (1984 [1980]), is a way of spatially performing a place.

Ras Cover usually walks holding onto a staff decorated with the colors of Imperial Ethiopia. He does not need it for support; he is in very good health and has a strong body. The staff is part of his performance. It gives the impression that the Rastaman came out of an old biblical movie. Ras Cover is a Black biblical prophet. He sports gray dreadlocks, usually arranged in the shape of a turban on top of his head. His thin, austere face is frame by a beard also matted into dreadlocks. When he

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11. The Bobo Shanti hierarchy consists, in ascending order, of Prophets, Priests and High Priests. Women cannot fill hierarchical positions, so they do not receive any of these titles even if they devote their entire life to the Bobo Shanti Order. They can receive, however, the title of Empress. (But see Montlouis 2013: 85.) The prohibition of women taking on hierarchical positions in the Rastafari liturgy is not exclusive to the Bobo Shanti; women are forbidden to fulfill these roles in all Orders. This does not, however, prevent some women - also called Empresses by Rastas from other Orders, or Queens - to reach prominent positions and respect among Rastas, as is the case of Empress Enid Steele, an important voice of the Nyahbinghi Order until her death in 2015.

is not wearing his green, red and yellow tunic, Ras Cover usually wears long trousers and a long-sleeved buttoned down shirt. On that day in Tivoli Garden he was wearing his tunic.

 "Have you ever lived around here?", I asked.
"No, man. Mi never live deh yah."
"Where did you live before settling in Portmore?"
"Well, mi 'ave lived in many different places. Mi born inna Trinity Ville. Yuh know where Trinity Ville is?"
"I have no idea."
"It inna St. Thomas Parish, not far from Yallahs. Then mi a move a Morant Bay. Yallahs. Port Morant. And then many different place down inna Portmore mi a live."

Most days Ras Cover hops on a Coaster Bus in Portmore and heads to Kingston. His main network of friends, acquaintances and interlocutors moves, like him, between Kingston and its surroundings; an area that stretches from Spanish Town and Portmore to Port Morant. I had the chance to accompany him on many of his trips. We walked a lot. We would hop on a bus or a fixed-route taxi only when we were traveling long distances, from Downtown to Papine or from Slipe Pen Road to Half Way Tree. All around Jamaica, most of the population relies on fixed-route taxis for commuting. The fare for shorter journeys was JM$100 when I was conducting fieldwork between 2015 and 2016. These vehicles are easily identifiable. If they are on the move, one only has to pay attention to the driver—usually "a man with dollar bills between his fingers shouting", as Marlon James (2014, 115) describes. The shouting calls inform the taxi route. If they are parked waiting for customers, drivers usually rely on a helper who also calls costumers by shouting the routes. When the car is full, with about five passengers in the rear seat, one in the front seat and still another one in the trunk, the helper closes the doors and the taxi departs. He then moves on to help other drivers.

FIGURE 2
Another wall in
Half Way Tree.

During our wanderings, Ras Cover introduced me to many other Rastas of all ages. I asked older ones about important places in the history of the Rastafari Movement in and around Kingston. Many iconic places for the Movement are buried under layers of time, cement and state interventions. Colin Clarke (2006, 33) observes that in the early 1960s the Rastafari Movement was circumscribed to two areas of Kingston: "the fringe of the tenements and the periphery of the city, and the heaviest concentrations were found on the foreshore [Road] in West Kingston, at Back o' Wall and in Trench Town". These areas, which have historically concentrated large numbers of Rastas in West Kingston, were completely destroyed and remodeled by the state[12].

As noted above, it was in this area of the Jamaican capital that American sociologist George Eaton Simpson conducted his pioneering fieldwork. His research gave rise to the first academic papers on the Rastafari Movement, both published in 1955 (Simpson 1955a and 1955b). In 1960, Roy Augier, Marcus Garfield Smith and Rex Nettleford—a historian, an anthropologist and a sociologist, dancer and choreographer, all of whom were from Jamaica and linked to the University of The West Indies (UWI)—conducted research on the Rastafari Movement (Smith, Augier and Nettleford 1967a [1960] and 1967b [1960]).[13] The report resulting from this project should have informed public policies of the expectations and desires of the Rastas who lived in Kingston. To the contrary, three years after the publication, the Jamaican government demolished the most densely populated areas by Rastas[14].

In 1963, Public Works Department bulldozers and employees, following orders from Edward Seaga, a Member of Parliament for West Kingston, tore Back o' Wall down. After dismantling the community, apartment buildings and low-cost houses were erected and distributed to supporters of the Jamaican Labor Party. The area was then renamed Tivoli Gardens. An important voice from the Rastafarian Movement, Ras I-rice I-ons, told Homiak (1995, 170) that "'Egypt' [Back o' Wall] was a serious

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12. For a history of the political and geographic transformations of Kingston see, Robotham 2003, Clarke 2006 and Carnegie 2017.
13. I must note, however, that Smith undertook fieldwork in Wareika Hills, also in Kingston, but not in the western part of the city.
14. Jan van Dijk (1995) points out that in the years leading up to Jamaican Independence from the United Kingdom there has been an escalation of state violence against Rastas. One of the reasons for the burgeoning repression, according to Thomas (2011), was the strong criticism by Rastafarians against the nationalist project of the brown elite. I must add, however, that physical and symbolic violence directed at various Rastafarian individuals and collectives have continued after independence.

gaddering dem time. Yuh see, Egypt was like a court where reasoning[15] and chanting is 'round the clock". Note the name by which the Rasta refers to Back o' Wall: Egypt, the place where Jehovah's chosen people lived in misery during their first captivity described in Hebrew mythology.

Ras Cover introduced me to some elders who lived in Back o' Wall until the early 1960s. One of them has become a close friend and an important interlocutor in the research that resulted in this essay. Bongo Trevor, or Ras Gabre Selassie— as he prefers to be called[16]—was a victim of state-sponsored violence; he was one of the many people who, along with their families, were expelled from the area where Back o' Wall existed. He told me the story more than once. Today he no longer lives in West Kingston, but in another part of Downtown Kingston where political ghettos thrive[17]. His stories and memories about the destruction of Back o' Wall are interwoven with his life trajectory:

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15. Rastafarians have a praxis known as *reasoning*. In the literature of Rastafari, reasoning if often described as a ritual practice. This is because reasoning is a fundamental part of Rastafarian liturgy and the speech behavior of the participants in the liturgical occasions is notoriously marked. They evoke Bible verses and images; use the Shakespearean language present in the King James Version of the scriptures; and cite key quotes uttered by Selassie I and Garvey. Chevannes (1994) defined reasonings precisely as rituals where the emphasis is on oral performance; a performance that enhances the social dramas experienced. John Homiak (1995) defines reasoning as a speech event where Rastafarian culture and history emerge. These are moments in which a style of symbolic language is mobilized in order to create meanings; where the present is poetically and politically connected to the past and to the future. Through reasonings, everyday events are linked to biblical events. During reasonings, the words of Selassie I, translated as prophecies, are put in dialogue with experienced situations. The word *reasoning*, as it is used in Western literature, usually refers to cognitive processes. As a native Rastafari concept, however, "a reasoning is not only a thought process, it is also the materialization of this process in a conversation or a debate. A reasoning is indeed the name given to a conversation through which a Rastafarian makes a point" (Montlouis, 2013: 10). Homiak (1999:96) argues that "[i] t would be misleading to present reasoning as a disembodied intellectual and 'bloodless' activity"; that it is a practice in which "words and thoughts are impassioned."

16. An essay that deals with toponymy and history should not ignore a personal name preference; especially when this personal name refers to physical and symbolic places. Ras Gabre Selassie was baptized as Trevor Campbell in his early days. This name, however, was given to him by a Catholic priest before the Jamaican society. When the Ethiopia Orthodox Church was established in Kingston, though, Bongo Trevor and many other Rastas decided to approach the Abuna (the highest authority in that institution's hierarchy) and request to be baptized in that church - the church to which Selassie I belonged. This time Trevor was baptized with an Ethiopian name. The process of adopting this new name was part of what Bongo understands as a set of acts that favor an Ethiopian patriotism. "Suh Trevor Campbell a mi Babylon name, yuh understand? Hmm. Mi Ethiopian name a Gabre Selassie."

17. The political ghettos I am referring to are known in Jamaica as garrison communities. The name refers to the paramilitary presence in these communities. These neighborhoods are controlled by one of the two ruling political parties, the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP). In these communities, the overwhelming majority of residents vote for the party that financed the housing scheme— either because of political sympathy or the imposition of community leaders linked to the parties. Weapons, financial and material resources are redistributed to the community through such leaders. For more on the garrison communities see, among others, Sives, 2002; Bogues, 2006; and Jaffe, 2001, 2012a and 2012b.

> "Dem a burn people dem tatu and dem a bulldoze di place. Dem a set mi tatu a fyah too. Mi babymother was pregnant of Walatta. Yuh memba Walatta?"[18]
>
> "Yes, I do remember her. She's your eldest daughter."
>
> "Yes, man. She a fi mi eldest dawta. Mi babymother was pregnant of Wallata when dem a set wi tatu a fyah. Wi 'ave lost everyting. And wi had fi move inna room down deh so [pointing to the road] inna ms. Chin board'ouse cah wi cyaan aford fi rent a yard, yuh understand?"
>
> "Tough times."
>
> "Yes, man! A tuff-tuff time!"
>
> "So where have the Rastas who used to live in Back o' Wall moved to?"
>
> "Many a dem a move inna di countryside, some bredren a move fi other parts of town. Some a dem a brutalized and dead."

Meandering through the streets, corners, alleys and buildings of Tivoli Gardens with Ras Cover and listening to his and other elders' narratives about past events and processes, I experienced another time and place. The place that now houses the political garrison once housed a Rastafarian enclave. This other Place, Back o' Wall, haunts Tivoli Gardens with its memorialized presence. Its afterlife stretches forth, for instance, in Ras Cover's gesture of pointing a finger to a place and describing the past. The pointing finger was accompanied first by silence and the elder's fixed stare. Then the Rastaman's words revived Back o' Wall:

> "Coo deh. Ras Trent did live wid him queen and him pickney dem ova deh. Him madda did live next door."
>
> "Was she a Rasta too?"
>
> "Yeah, man."

In 1966, after a month of intense conflict between the citizens of West Kingston, the Constabulary and the National Forces, the low-cost houses on Foreshore Road and adjacent areas, which were other Rastafarian enclaves, were also destroyed. About 800 shacks were destroyed and the squatters were expelled (Lacey 1977, 90). Two years earlier, in 1964, the US oil company Exxon had bought a large plot of land in the region and built a refinery on the site. The refinery operated under Exxon until 1982, when it was sold to the Jamaican government and converted into a public company under the name Petrojam. The refinery is still operational.

Ras Sam Brown, one of the main characters in the history of the Rastafarian Movement in Kingston, lived on Foreshore Road when the houses were destroyed. Brown— who unsuccessfully ran for parliament in 1961—was a source of fascination for academics in the 1960s and 1970s, especially Leonard Barrett, Colin Clarke and Rex Nettleford.

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18. Once again, the chosen name is Ethiopian: the word walatta means "daughter" in Amharic, and is used as a compound name to indicate filiation. Walatta Petros, for example, a saint of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, had this name because she was the "Daughter of Peter". But the choice of the name Walatta by Bongo evokes the history of the Ethiopian throne as well: the baptismal name of Empress Menen Asfaw, Selassie I's wife, was Walatta Giyorgis.

Leonard Barrett's classic book, *The Rastafarians* (1997 [1977]), is based largely on the sociologist's 1968 interviews with Brown. In a review of the revised edition of *The Rastafarians*, published in 1988, Chevannes (1992) underscores the central role of Brown in Barrett's argument. For him, because the revised edition was based on fieldwork undertaken over twenty years earlier—the original book is the product of Barrett's doctoral dissertation, defended in 1968—the book "suffers from a kind of time warp: an excessive reliance on the author's earlier source, namely Sam Brown" (Chevannes 1992, 243).

Brown is one of the main characters in two field journals of British geographer Colin Clarke (2016) as well. These journals resulted from two periods of fieldwork in Kingston; undertaken in 1961 and 1968. For Clarke, the Rasta was a Marxist "in his political-theological crusade against Babylon" (ibid ., 18). His experience with Brown and other actors of radical Black politics in Kingston led him to contact the British Colonial Office in order to report what he had heard and witnessed amidst them (ibid ., 13-15)[19].

Let us return, however, to the physical transformations in West Kingston. Foreshore Road, an important artery that connects Downtown and West Kingston to the nearby town of Portmore, was renamed Marcus Garvey Drive. After the destruction and evictions of Back o' Wall and Foreshore Road, some of the Rastas who remained in the capital moved into areas that surround Downtown. The Rastafarian occupation of Downtown is more recent and followed the process of abandonment of that region by the city's social and financial elite. It took place during the 1970s, when the elite began to move towards the recently founded area of New Kingston. Colin Clarke points out that New Kingston

> gradually acquired a variety of government and private offices, banks, travel agents, hotels, and a few high-quality shops and restaurants. New Kingston, with its car-parking facilities, was soon regarded as a secure place by the middle class, and rapidly acquired many of the high-rise characteristics of the central business district (Clarke 2006, 57).[20]

Downtown Kingston—now a stronghold of political, economic and racial ghettos—was designed as a center for commercial activity, public and private services and distinction long before New Kingston gained form and fame. I mention *distinction* because of the institutions located in that area: the Urban Development Corporation, established in 1968;

19. For a critique of Clarke's political stance and his occasional exaggerated or questionable interpretations, see Gray 2017. Rex Nettleford also interviewed Sam Brown in the early 1960s; he shared his impressions in an interview he gave to David Scott (2006).
20. For more reflections on the founding process of New Kingston, see the texts by Jamaican anthropologists Don Robotham 2003 and Charles Carnegie 2017.

the Jamaica Stock Exchange, founded in 1969; and the National Gallery of Jamaica, inaugurated in 1974. The Institute of Jamaica, founded in 1879 by Sir Anthony Musgrave, then Governor of Jamaica, is also in Downtown Kingston and promotes the arts, sciences and literature. Ward Theatre, since its foundation in 1912, is the main stage for performing arts in the capital. It was at this establishment that Alexander Bustamante introduced the Jamaican Labor Party to the public in 1943, after founding the political party that same year.

In a passage from *A brief History of Seven Killings*, Marlon James (2014) depicts the experience of a poor Black young man as he walks through the streets of Downtown Kingston in the second half of the 1970s. The scene occurs in 1976 and Bam-Bam, a fifteen-year-old boy, reflects on the opulence of one of Downtown Kingston's busiest streets, King Street:

> you follow a man in a suit down King Street, where poor people never go and watch him throw away a sandwich, chicken, you smell it and wonder how people can be so rich that they use chicken for just to put between so-so bread, and you pass the garbage and see it, still in the foil, and still fresh, not brown with the other garbage and no fly on it yet and you think maybe, and you think yes and you think you have to, just to see what chicken taste [sic] like with no bone. (James 2014, 9-10)

James also reflects on two other important points through this character. The first is the fact that Downtown Kingston was considered "uptown" in the past. The second concerns the occupation of that space, that part of the capital, by certain types of people and bodies. First Bam-Bam says that King Street is a street "where poor people never go" (ibid., 10). He then reflects on police violence directed at the Black and poor bodies who ventured to walk through Downtown streets among the "decent" population:

> boy like me can't walk downtown for long before we get pounce [sic] on by Babylon. Police only have to see that me don't have no shoes before he say what the bloodcloth you nasty naiggers [sic] doing 'round decent people, and give me two choices. Run and he give chase into one of the lanes that cut through the city so that he can shoot me in the private. Plenty shots in the magazine so at least one bullet must hit. Or stand down and get beat up right in front of decent people, him swinging the baton and knocking out my side teeth and cracking my temple so that I can never hear good out of that ear again and saying let that be a lesson to never take you dutty [sic], stinking, ghetto self uptown again (ibid.).

When I questioned my interlocutors about their experiences of wandering and roaming around Kingston and its surroundings, many narratives of abuses by the state and civil society emerged. Violence against Rastafarian individuals and collectives is a recurrent theme in

the literature on the Movement. Roger Mais (2006 [1954]) and Jan Van Dijk (1995), among others,[21] narrate the abuses suffered by Rastas in the first decades of the Movement. Owens (1976) has also denounced the violence suffered by his Rastafarian interlocutors in the 1970s. Recently, however, this picture has changed. One still finds, of course, people who disapprove and reject the Rastafarian *livities* and their philosophies. Nonetheless, a large part of the population recognizes the value of Rastafarian experiences and struggles for building a more just society, a society that respects the rights of individuals and collectives. For many sectors of Jamaican civil society, Rastafarians' historical experiences are regarded as processes of struggle for citizenship and the appreciation of Blackness and Africanity.

Many people greeted Ras Cover during our wanderings through Downtown Kingston. Most of these people did not know him. "Up! Up! Up, Lion!" "Big up yuhself, Rastaman!" "Respect, binghiman!" The elder remained impassive. At times he would not even acknowledge the greetings. At others he would raise his staff and reply with a "Highly I!" or a "Yeah, man. More fyah!" Such scenes, where people of varying ages greet Rastas on the street, are in stark contrast with the episodes of physical and verbal violence described in the literature on the Rastafari Movement. Public displays of respect and appreciation by non-Rastas aimed at Rastas in everyday situations show how Jamaican society's view on Rastas have changed over time. This transformation, of course, became a subject of dialogues with Ras Cover and other interlocutors. Notwithstanding, it does not mean that the violence of the past is completely erased from Rasta lives and memories. Many of my interlocutors have stated, for example, that terms spent in prison for possession or sale of ganja have had a strong impact on their lives. Many of these men were arrested after being denounced by neighbors or people who spotted them dealing with marijuana. In prison, many of them had their dreads and beards cut off, suffered other types of physical and psychological torture and received death threats. Some Rastas told me that the prison officers, knowing that they were following the I-tal diet, only offered them food with meat and salt in it. The officer would often provide pork—which is highly prized in Jamaica, but strongly forbidden in the I-tal diet, inspired by the Book of Leviticus[22].

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21. See, e. g., Nettleford 1998 (1970); Chevannes 1994; Homiak 1995; and Thomas 2011.
22. The I-tal diet is an important part of the Rastafarian movement. It consists of a politics of consuming only live food, i. e., food that comes from the earth and is not processed. Preference is given to products planted by the consumer or purchased directly from a farmer. Organic vegetables—grown without the aid of agrochemicals—are the most prized. Consumption of meat is prohibited. On the I-tal diet, see Homiak 1995, Dickerson 2004 and Jaffe 2010.

Ras Natty I, who served two years in prison for ganja possession between 2012 and 2014, has told me that

> Babylon a try fi break yuh physically, morally and spiritually, bredrin. Dem a feed yuh pork when dem know seh yuh a vegetarian. Dem a put yuh in a cell wid fifteen other bredrin suh dat yuh can only stand, cah dem want fi 'ear yuh beg fi lie dung. Suh yuh feet dem a get swollen and hurt, hurt, hurt. Dem a terrorist mi seh!

Many of these men were, at the time of their imprisonment, the sole providers for their families. Their arrests have further compromised the already precarious financial situation of their households. When Bongo Trevor was convicted for ganja possession his children were small. His wife looked after them while he supported the family financially with the income from his carpentry work. With his first arrest, in 1972, the workshop he had set up with much effort a few years after being evicted from Back o' Wall went bankrupt. These are the kind of memories that, when brought to life through narratives, make the smiles disappear from the Rastamen faces. Their foreheads inevitably furrow, their words harden, their gestures become harsh. Pain becomes present and embodied. I must add that while nowadays there is a certain sympathy for Rastas and their Movement, there are also some Christians and Muslims who continue to regard Rastafari as a blasphemy and a cult of fanatics whose theological premises are illogical.

Ras Cover was neither the first nor the only Rasta whom I witnessed being greeted in public by non-Rastas. The first time I witnessed such an act I was walking with Ras Wolie Yesus, an octogenarian with dreadlocks, on Orange Street in Downtown Kingston. We had met earlier at the bus stop across William Grants Park. The Rastaman had arrived from Portmore, where he went to visit one of his sons, on a JUTC bus. We had talked about visiting Bongo Trevor in a previous phone call. Our intention was to reason, drink some rum, roast some breadfruit and cook ackee with tofu in the elder's yard.

Ras Wolie had agreed to show me some of Downtown's important places for him before heading to Bongo's yard. From the bus stop we headed to King Street and took a side street. He had worked in a joinery shop on that street in the 1960s before becoming a freelance joiner. Despite the fact that he already sported dreadlocks and a long beard at that time, he claimed to move through that part of the city without any fear.

FIGURE 3
Outside a
Rastaman's yard
in Allman Town.

We stopped opposite his old working address, leaning against the wall of a store. The building's marquee protected us from the sun. While Ras Wolie made a spliff for himself, I went into the shop to buy us some cold drinks. I returned with two soda bottles and handed one to Ras Wolie as we resumed our conversation. I asked him if in the past he had felt unsafe as he moved through those streets. The Rasta frowned and gently shook his head in denial as he took a sip of his grapefruit-flavored Schweppes. "No, man," he replied. He stared at me for a few seconds, took a draw from his spliff and then continued:

> Mi neva 'fraid fi trod pon dese streets. Cah His Imperial Majesty a walk wid I, yuh 'ear? Mi know seh dem a brutalize Rastaman dem all around town and Downtown a nuh different. Suh when walk mi a walk pon dis yah part a town mi a keep Selassie I pon mi mind and 'eart and Babylon dem cyaan touch mi, yuh undastand? Cah mi walk wid His Majesty. Yeah, man! A nuh bloodclaat Babylon cyaan touch mi!

When Ras Wolie finished smoking, we proceeded with the walk. He kept pointing to several places, recalling stories and people. When we went down Orange Street, he showed me the former locations of Augustus Pablo's old studio and other places that exist today only in memory. He pointed to alleys, streets, corners, sidewalks and buildings where Rastas used to meet for reasoning and smoking ganja—despite police repression and civil society's surveillance. Still on Orange Street, we

stopped in front of another retail shop owned by a Burmese couple.[23] Ras Wolie began to tell the story of a police raid on Rastas who were gathered at that very place many decades ago. He was holding a little bit of ganja in one hand. With his other one he alternated between crushing the weed and pointing to the places where the Rastas stood and the direction from where the police vehicle came forty years before that sunny afternoon. While he was describing the scene, somebody called him: "Yo, Lion! Big up yuhself, seen? Keep dat fyah burning, man! Up! Up everytime, king!" The greeting came from a very young man who, accompanied by others, was drinking white rum mixed with energy drink and smoking ganja in front of another wholesale across the street. Ras Wolie had one of his arms outstretched and his index finger pointed to the South and to past events. Hearing the greeting, without retracting his arm or changing his position, the elder turned his head in the youth's direction and replied "Love! Love! Love, mi yute!" and then went on with his narrative.

III. CONCLUSION: "JAH JAH CITY, JAH JAH TOWN!"

By moving through, settling in and reflecting on the city of Kingston, several Rastafarian individuals and collectives have altered more than the geography, demography and sociology of the Jamaican capital. Rastas have altered the historical, poetic, and political perceptions of the city as well. The politics and poetics of naming places is one of the ways through which Rastas alter and frame the Kingstonian experience. Rastafarian toponymy, with its evocations of biblical names, narratives, and places, interweaves memories, poetics and politics of the black experience in Kingston. As Keith Basso (1988, 101) points out, when people talk about a landscape or place, "whenever they name it, or classify it, or evaluate it, or move to tell stories about it—they unthinkingly represent it in ways that are compatible with shared understandings of how, in the fullest sense, they know themselves to occupy it." The processes of place naming and the stories linked to these names have an illocutionary force. Here I return to the notion of Austin (1962): words that articulate toponymies not only describe places, they also create them in parallel to the description. Ways of naming countries, cities and places in general, as well as their assigned names, also tell stories. Names and naming are ways to create relationships and to reflect on and with them. According to Keith Basso,

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23. Many of the small retail shops in Kingston, called wholesale, are owned by Chinese and Burmese families. In Jamaica, Asians and their descendants are generally referred to as Ms. and Mr. Chin, regardless of their nationality. Many of them, especially the Chinese, arrived in Jamaica as indentured servants shortly after the legal abolition of slavery in 1838. On this chapter of Jamaican history, see Schuler 1980.

> Landscapes are available in symbolic terms as well, and so, chiefly through the manifold agencies of speech, they can be "detached" from their fixed spatial moorings and transformed into instruments of thought and vehicles of purposive behavior. Thus transformed, landscapes and places that fill them become tools for the imagination. (Basso 1988, 102)

By wandering through cityscapes, one learns to "think and act 'with' them as well as about and upon them, and to weave them with spoken words into the very foundations of social life" (ibid.). In the case of the Rastafarian Movement, the mobilization of biblical names for labeling places in Jamaica connects the Rastafarian experiences to the narratives of the holy book. They frame the Rastafarian experiences with the themes of captivity in a foreign land, the struggle of the chosen people to return to their Promised Land, the belonging to Africa. These themes, in turn, are mobilized in order to refashion the past, the present and the future; they articulate memories, expectations, demands and needs.

But there is also dissent on toponymy within the Rastafarian Movement, and to illustrate that I would like to compare two very distinct stances towards place-naming and its political implications. The first position is based on the notion that Jamaica is not an inherently bad place and argues that the association of Jamaica with Babylon, land of captivity, does not have a physical relationship. The relationship lies in the political, social and economic structures—slavery, racism, and their aftermath—to which black people were subjected in that place. This idea has been crafted through decades of reasoning and indicates that the name *Jamaica* is phonetically and prophetically connected to the Creator's name, will, and eternal power: *Jah-mek-yah*. In this perspective, *Jah Make Here*, the experience of black people in Jamaica is connected to the Creator's higher purposes. During my fieldwork I heard from several interlocutors that it is possible to live in Jamaica *in an African way*; that it is possible to be an Ethiopian-Jamaican; that the Rastafarian Movement gained strength and body on the Caribbean island because Jah wanted the revolution of his chosen people to begin there.

The second position is a criticism of the first one. I once raised the subject of Jamaica as *Jah-mek-yah* among Bobo Shantis in Bull Bay. We were in a High Priest's quarters, where three young Priests were preparing an evening meal while two elderly High Priests were separating and cataloging medicinal leaves and roots. A young Priest began his objection:

FIGURE 4
Young Rastaman
selling his arts
and crafts
beside an I-tal
Rastaurant (Photo
by Akemi "Sue"
Suzuki. R. I. P.)

> My Lord! It is most naturally dat Jah created everyting, including dis yah likkle island dem a call Jamaica. Dis island, however, is not di place weh wi belong. Wi belong in Ethiopia, Africa, and dat is why I n I a deal strictly wid Repatriation, yuh 'ear?

"My Lord!" I said, "I understand that. And at the same time, I hear from seriously zealous Rasta brethren that you can live as an African in Jamaica and Repatriate yourself spiritually." One of the High Priests, a very old man, cracked a smile and closed his notebook. A black turban covered his very long dreadlocks, a sign of his long walk in the Rastafarian Movement.

> My Lord, mek mi tell yuh a story. When di people from Israel was brought to Egypt, some a dem a start imitate di Egyptian dem in their habits. Dem a drink like di Egyptian dem. Dem a eat like di Egyptian dem. Dem a get used to life in Egypt and dem a start fi like dem wicked ways. So dem a become like di Egyptian dem. And dat is why wi nuh mix wid dem, yuh understand?"
> "My Lord!", I said, "I had not thought from that angle."
> "My Lord! If dem really wanted Repatriation dem would a come and separate from Egypt and live deh yah pon Jerusalem until di time of Repatriation come", said the High Priest.

With this reflection on a dissent that articulates toponymy and the Return to Africa, I close this essay. One of my objectives was to show how the toponymy, the occupation of spaces and the narratives associated with them are fundamental parts of the poetics and politics of making sense. The Rastas who inhabited Kingston and other parts of Jamaica have connected biblical nomenclatures and stories to the landscape, intertwining the events and promises of the holy book with the places

they inhabit, their experiences, desires and expectations. These expectations, desires, and experiences are also targets of dissent and indications of differentiation among Rastas, and inspire different stances and practices towards places, their names and the narratives associated with their meanings.

Kingston is a town where the displacement of a large number of people due to state violence is closely linked to the history of the two main national political parties, the PNP and the JLP. The favoritism practiced during the distribution of houses, food, sanitary products and leisure items so prevalent in Jamaican history affects the lives of real people like Bongo. His shack was burned down with his scarce belongings inside when Back o' Wall was demolished to make way for Tivoli Gardens, a housing project funded by the JLP to benefit its constituents only. Events like this give rise to the connection of biblical narratives with the experience lived in Jamaica, as when the experience of a Rastaman living in the ghetto under the yoke of a violent government is compared to the experience of an Israelite living in Egypt under the rule of the Pharaoh or in Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar. The themes in these stories, however, are not confined to captivity: they also promise and actualize redemption. When the Rastas link these biblical narratives to their experiences, they are not just representing reality in a poetic way. They are mobilizing a poetic style of reflecting on violence, oppression and life conditions, and also on aspirations, desires and possibilities of emancipation.

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"I AM A HALLUCINATION ON THE TIP OF YOUR EYES": POETRY READING AT THE ROBERTO PIVA LIBRARY

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ABSTRACT
This article develops a visual approach of the meetings for reading poems present in the works that belong to the Roberto Piva library, located at São Paulo downtown. By presenting photographs taken during the encounters, extracts of poems and a description of the environment, the reader is invited to participate of the reading sessions and of the urban landscape to which the poet Roberto Piva belonged.

VISION OF SÃO PAULO AT NIGHT[1]

It was seven o'clock on a hot Thursday night at São Paulo. Downtown, the streets were filled with an infinity of red lights coming from the rear lamps of cars, as if an almost motionless fire snake was slithering. The heavy traffic on the streets reaffirmed, each night, its metropolis character; but, for a moment, it was the garbage trucks and the constructions of the gas company that were giving the tedious rhythm to the scene. The city then invited me to get off the bus. From the pavement of República Square, it emerged people talking on the sidewalks, tents that belonged to people that live on the streets, sellers of cell phone cables, smoke coming from barbecues, very loud music and some piles of garbage. Perhaps I have also passed by rascals playing with yo-yos by the abyss' door, Chet Baker howling on the gramophone and sparrows drunk of soda, the same ones that Piva saw there, decades ago.

One could smell the urban summer all over the place. But the synesthetic experience of walking in downtown's streets did not smooth over my hurry to arrive where I had planned. Not even when I passed by the "monument of time" – description of Nichile's watch made by the poet Guilherme de Almeida – that stands eight meters above the floor of Antônio Prado Square. I kept going a few more steps by São Joao Avenue, crossed the corner of Martinelli building and, finally, stopped in front of the number 108.[2] The entrance door of the building announced a shooting range on the under floor. I checked the address: the Roberto Piva library was really there, but on the second floor.

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1. Reference to the poem "Visão de São Paulo à noite / Poema Antropófago sob Narcótico", the fourth of *Paranoia* (1963), by Roberto Piva. A facsimile of the book was reedited by Instituto Moreira Salles (IMS) in 2000, with the same graphic project designed by Wesley Duke Lee. In 2009, the work was republished by IMS, but this time it received a new graphic and editorial project, as well as a preface by Davi Arrigucci Jr.
2. From the window of the room used for the meetings, there is a view of Pedro Lessa Square, at Anhangabaú Valley, where is located the Correios Cultural Center and, across the street, is Martinelli building (photo 1). On the background, the iconic Banespa Building emerges as a continuation of the lines of the sidewalk and of the other buildings, almost like a mirage.

PHOTO 1

"The world would have to be divided
horizontally by affinities,
not vertically, and without borders."
(Joan Brossa, *Sumário astral*)

Located at Bertolli Palace, the library began its activities, open to the public, on March 27th. The collection has around 6 thousand volumes that belonged to the poet Piva, and began to be known and consulted by people that did not visit his apartment at Canuto do Val Street, next to Santa Cecilia's church. Instead of being fragmented into thematic collections to be donated or even sold to public institutions or universities, the library was conserved in its unity and began to have a double role. On one hand, it allows the work of Piva to be contextualized through his own literary references, since he read classic authors, like Dante; surrealists, like Artaud; and he did not leave aside a variety of works on occultism, anarchism, use of drugs and social sciences. On the other hand, the library gathers people around the practice of reading and listening to poetry, which permit – as the poet, editor and responsible for the project Gabriel Kolyniak told me later – "people to reach certain states of poetry".

I hurried up. On the second floor of the building, one of the poetryreading sessions, that take place on Tuesday nights, had just begun in the library. I was a little late, but since the meetings are open to the public, nobody was waiting for me. Actually, people arrive and leave all the time during the sessions because they are free to do so. I decided to go up it by the stairs that go around an ancient elevator with manual closing of the doors, going through the innumerous shoe marks impregnated on the steps over the decades. In the aisles that connect the different

rooms, the floor was covered with an adhesive paper that looks like par-
quet floor. A curious contrast between the industrial modernity from
the plastic and the big ancient windows from where one can see the
windows of the other apartments and a small courtyard covered with
cement. I was very curious to see some people that were smoking on
the windowsills. On the exact window in front of where I stood, I saw
Gabriel talking to people in one of the rooms.

I have met Gabriel Kolyniak by a common friend, Tomás Troster, perhaps
in 2012. Tomás and Gabriel have met at PUC-SP a few years before, where
they studied philosophy and literature, respectively. Their interest and
enthusiasm for poetry and visual arts – besides a great friendship – led
them to create, in 2010, *Córrego* journal (and, later, Gabriel created Cór-
rego publisher). Tomás had invited me to make a contribution, so I had
sent them a poetic prose,[3] which was published in the third edition of
Córrego – and I would have become a collaborator in other editions – so
Gabriel and I had met in a few occasions.

Since October 2015, Gabriel and other poets and Piva's friends were in-
volved in the creation of a cultural center for Piva's collection, which
was consulted by many people in the poet's apartment.[4] I have heard
about this project due to a financial campaign on crowdfunding[5], and
I contributed to it even though I did not attend this literary group. The
project seemed important and urgent to me and I also believed that Ga-
briel was a serious editor. Besides that, there was something both mov-
ing and courageous in preserving the private collection of a marginal
poet, especially because it was an independent project in a city like São
Paulo. Finally, on March 2017 the project succeeded and the result was
the reading sessions on the collection's works. Those were the steps that
conducted me to that library for the first time.

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3. The poetic prose is a modern genre of literature and seems to indicate a contradic-
tion. However, it consists in a literary composition that presents poetic qualities or tech-
niques, such as symbols, metaphors, fragmentation, poetic voice etc., without present-
ing line break or metric, which are usually characteristic of poetry writing. Fernando
Paixão, writer and professor of literature, mentions *Finnegans wake* (1939), by James
Joyce, as a radical example of this modern genre which has an experimental character
and "explores, in an integrated way, the formal, musical and imagistic aspects of writ-
ing" (Paixão 2013, 152). In Portuguese, a work of a comparable magnitude is *Grande sertão:
veredas* (1956), by Guimarães Rosa, in which Riobaldo's narrative is charged with a strong
poetic which is integrated to the environment and to the Brazilian sertão's language.
4. Among those who collaborated with the beginning of the project were Gabriel Kolyn-
iak, poet and editor of Córrego; Claudio Willer and Roberto Bicelli, poets and close friends
of Piva; Gustavo Benini, ex-companion of the poet and also copyright owner of his works;
Vanderley Mendonça, editor of Demônio Negro; and Guilherme Ziggy, poet and translator
(Kolyniak 2017).
5. In the last few years, it has been common to appeal to crowdfunding, which is an
online platform available to receive funding to develop projects (for example, to publish
a book, to make a reportage or to open a cultural center). The donations can be made
during a certain period of time on a webpage where the project and the way the financial
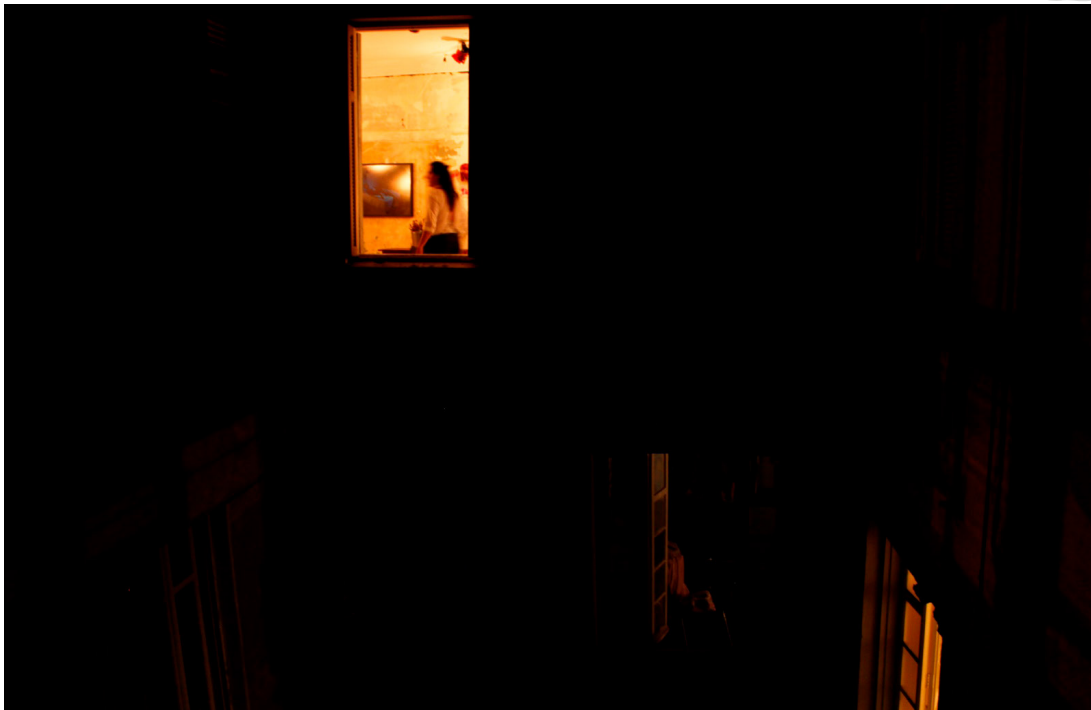resources will be used are explained to the public.

PHOTO 2

"This society is a cage for the mammal."
(Michael McClure, "99 theses")

I AM A MACHINE GUN IN A STATE OF GRACE:[6] THE POET ROBERTO PIVA

Roberto Piva was born in São Paulo, on September 25th, 1937, at the Pro Matre hospital. He spent his childhood between Brotas and Analândia (cities in São Paulo's countryside), where his parents were farmers and, during his adolescence, he studied at Mackenzie, Piratininga and Oswaldo Cruz, returning to the farm on weekends by train. Piva said that he had no interest whatsoever in formal studies, considered by him as "a dead wisdom", "neither efficacious nor efficient", so he abandoned school (Piva, cited in Hungria and D'Elia 2011, 11). According to his memories of this period, Piva said the following:

> *Before I first came to São Paulo, I did not have any access to literature. (...) There [at the farm], my father's personal library had Stefan Zweig's romances. It was heterogeneous but full of useless books that do not reveal the human soul in its deepness. When we moved to the city, I started to read. My parents bought an apartment on Major Sertório Street, close to João Sebastião bar, number 577, Jacobina building. They did not like poetry, did not encourage it and did not have any interest whatsoever* (Piva, cited in Hungria and D'Elia 2011, 12).[7]

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6. This is a verse of "Poema vertigem", from the book *Ciclones* (1997), by Roberto Piva, re-published in volume 3 of his complete works, edited by Globo (2008).

7. This statement is in the beautiful work *Os dentes da memória*, by Camila Hungria and Renata D'Elia, who organized a series of interviews done between 2007 and 2010 with Roberto Piva, Claudio Willer, Roberto Bicelli and Antonio Fernando de Franceschi, along with many people that knew them and made part of this group of friends. All four of them were poets born in São Paulo's state, and have animated the cultural scene in the city, circulating in the streets, bars, theaters, movie theaters and poetry readings. In this journalistic book, full of photographs, the authors have not only recovered the trajectory of the four friends, but also São Paulo's cultural events and scenarios that have left their mark on the history of Brazilian contemporary poetry.

Therefore, we can notice that Piva did not have any contact with what is considered acclaimed literature during his childhood and part of his adolescence. This contact would happen– very intensely and by means of a profusion of writers that appear in Piva's work in a dialogic and intertextual way, with citations and references to authors, and also in epigraphs and mentions – only when he arrived at São Paulo. Curiously, when mentioning some of his artistic references when he was young, he evokes comic books and movies, rather than literature:

> (...) my formation years, as I always say, consisted in soccer, sex with boys, Hegel and São Paulo's countryside woodlands. And comic books, which are something very important. Those days there was no television. (...) Most people would skip the movies to go to school, I skipped classes to go to the movies (Piva, cited in Cohn 2009, 166).[8]

A few years later, Piva graduated from high school in an adult school so he could work. Between 1971 and 1974 he studied Social Studies at Faculdade Farias de Britto, located in Guarulhos, and also studied Social Sciences at Escola de Sociologia e Política. Then, Piva taught History, Moral and Civic Education, and Brazilian Social and Political Organization, both in public and private schools, until 1983, when he abandoned teaching for good (cf. Hungria and D'Elia 2011, 97-101). One of his former students, the artist Maria Teresa Louro, tells her bewilderment at the unconventional classes of that eccentric teacher:

> Piva was the teacher of my first class, at 7:30 a.m., at Externato Assis Pacheco, located in the neighborhood of Perdizes. It was the fifth grade, and the gave classes of Brazilian Social and Political Organization. Sometimes he would not follow the program and read Marquis de Sade. No one would say a word, but none of us understood a thing. Suddenly he decided to give us practical exercises: "well, we will make a surrealist poem". Then each one of us took a piece of paper and wrote a phrase, then we folded it and passed it to the person behind us. And the one that was behind us wrote another phrase without reading what was written before. Then Piva read all that. It did not make much sense, but he explained us that it was a surrealistic process of creation and he said to us that he should be teaching us poetry (Louro, cited in Hungria and D'Elia, 2011, 100).

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8. The influence these media have had on Piva's poetry can be noticed. In an introduction to Piva's work, Claudio Willer states that the images present in *Paranoia* "have a cinematographic syntax, which justify everything that Piva has declared on the importance of the cinema and the comic books in his formation" (Willer, cited in Piva 2005, 152). Still on the matter of cinema to the poet, it is interesting to notice that Piva had a peculiar interest in Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922-1975). In the library, there is a whole section filled with rare works of the Italian filmmaker and also a file with newspaper cuttings about him. Gabriel Kolyniak says that Piva's fascination for Pasolini can be found in at least three elements: the possibility of having an erotic relation in unexpected places (behind a bush, in a park, at a sauna) and the freedom to openly talk about these experiences; the interest for the eroticism of marginality, the underworld, as well as the political provocations done to the right and the left wing; and the obscure and controversial circumstances involved in Pasolini's brutal assassination, which – due to Piva's provocative personality and life style – could have resulted in a similar act against himself.

Piva's explosive, transgressive, scornful and excessive personality, associated with his muscled body and deep voice, made him very known in São Paulo. Claudio Willer reminds of his first impressions of Piva, in 1959, of whom he became a very close friend:

> Piva was already a legend in this town in late 1950s, when I studied at Dante Alighieri School. I already knew who he was since he was renowned as a perverted and a pederast, and for getting involved in all sorts of mess, but he was also known for being cult, erudite and for participating of groups and studying philosophy. He was "the character" (Willer, cited in Hungria and D'Elia 2011, 9).

Piva has said in several occasions that "there is no experimental poetry without an experimental life" (Piva, cited in Hungria and D'Elia 2011, 35). His verses express this almost total identification between lyrical and empirical subject: his experiences in the cities he has been through, the authors he read, his lovers, his lysergic experiences and also his interest for shamanism are in his poems.

There is a beautiful introductory essay to Piva's work, written by the poet, essayist and translator Claudio Willer (2005), published as the postface to the first volume of Piva's complete works published by Globo. In this essay, Willer organizes and comments Piva's works and, also, he makes clear the inseparability between his biography and his poetic work. Piva emerges in the literary scene in 1961, in the *Antologia dos novíssimos*, edited by Massao Ohno, who has gathered 24 young authors. In that same year, Ohno published *Ode a Fernando Pessoa* as a pamphlet in a long paper stripe. However, the author's first book, *Paranoia*, was published only in 1963 by Ohno. In this book, Piva could not "be situated and [did not] fit himself in any literary movements, in which the Brazilian poetry was spread in the second half of the XX century", and also this work moved between "the scatological, the pornographic, the grotesque" and "the lyrical and passionate, the sublime and the marvelous". Nonetheless, it has had a cold reception among the critics.

In the following year, Piva published *Piazzas*, which was full of poetic images and visuality, just like the previous book. After twelve years of an editorial silence – but not of poetic production – emerges *Abra os olhos e diga Ah!* (1976), a work full of enthusiasm and with a lyrical subject who is accompanied by "an angel in the bathroom loving the Paris Commune". A few years later, Piva publishes *Coxas* (1979), a work with a lot of erotic and erudite elements, with references to *Mèphisophélès et l'androgyne* (1995), by Mircea Eliade, as well as other references to myths, rites of initiation and shamanism. *20 poemas com Brócoli* (1981) was the following book, which resulted of a rereading of Dante Alighieri's *The divine comedy* – one of Piva's favorite works, of which he had a deep

knowledge – but without leaving aside dialogues with other authors. In *Quizumba* (1983), he suggests a pact with the devil; according to Willer, "if, formerly, he had visions of Dante's Hell, now he meets he Devil himself" (2005, 176). After another long pause, Piva makes a comeback with *Ciclones* (1997), which has shamanic trance poems, and he finds sacred manifestations and the nature inhabited by gods, and also contains the libidinous ecstasy that characterizes all of his works.[9]

Even though Piva had a large poetic production – about which its quality and unique diction was never denied – in several moments there was a silence concerning his work coming from the literary critic and the academia. Even considering that Piva declared himself as a marginal writer, who made part of counterculture and who has never been attached to schools of institutions, the new readers of each generation probably did not read his works and remained unaltered. Moreover, the recent publication of Piva's complete works and the re-edition of *Paranoia* have attracted a new interest for him. He may have been boycotted in a few periods but he was never completely forgotten. As he stated himself: "I am not a marginal poet, I am marginalized. And it means that my poetry has its own dynamite and reaches generations that I have never expected to reach" (Piva, cited in Lima 2005).

Roberto Piva died on July 3, 2010, at São Paulo, at dawn, a few weeks before turning 73 years old. According to Camila Hungria and Renata D'Elia, a moment after the group of friends that were saying their final goodbye to the poet arrived at the Vila Alpina crematorium, an immense hawk flied over carrying a dead bird on its beak (2011, 186). The hawk was the animal that Piva considered as his shamanic animal.[10]

ON POETRY AND PHOTOGRAPHY
I have participated of some reading sessions in the beginning of 2017 but it did not last very long, due to the winter and to the rushing routine in the metropolis. A few months later I came back to the library to produce a visual narrative, searching for ways to relate photography and the experience of reading poems. More than portraying what happens during the reading

9. In the introductory note to the third volume of Piva's complete works (2008), Alcir Pécora, professor and literary critic, says that Piva's poems that were written after 1980s are oriented in a contemporary poetry style that is known as "etnopoetry". This term was created by the North American poet Jerome Rothenberg (who is cited by Piva in the epigraph), and it refers to poems that gather the roots of native North Americans' chants, its ritual power and native's cosmovision. Piva preferred to define his works that were written in such style as "shamanic poetry".
10. Piva's approach to shamanism has remote origins. His interest for archaic techniques of ecstasy – to mention one of the ways the poet used to refer to these spiritual manifestations – begins in his childhood, in his family's farm. There, he had meetings with a "*mestiço* of Indians and black people, who light campfires" and read people's visions (Hungria and D'Elia 2011, 89). In the 1960s, he started to attend to Dona Mãezinha's Umbanda *terreiro* [backyard], at Cidade Dutra. Later, he was initiated in Catimbó (a traditional ritual that incorporates Pajelança, Spiritism and some Catholic influence), and he even worked as a healer shaman for a period. Furthermore, Piva said that he had a great interest and a bibliographical knowledge on this subject (Piva, cited in Weintraub and Damazio 2001).

sessions with photographic images, with the intention of "attributing authority and realism to the ethnographic account", I aimed to construct a visual narrative that allowed to "elucidate non-verbal communication", that is, "situations, lifestyles, gestures, social actors and rituals" of the library's attendees (Bittencourt 1998, 199). In the process of constructing this narrative, I realized that both poetry and photography "are world's cuttings transformed into language, a window that separates and also communicates with reality through its distances" (Navas 2017, 20).

Therefore, photography seemed to be a way of establishing a dialogue between poetry and the library's images: the photography mediates both and, at the same time, it turns the image's meaning into a quicksand, with no fixed points. The reading sessions become, then, an open poetic space, provoking the imagination of the ones that look at the photographs.

Photography and poetry produce images by cutting reality, beyond codification – this is what assures keep their relation with the present, despite of their historical localization. Ultimately, the cut, that is, what is occulted and presented, shows both the production and the interpretation of these images and, consequently, compels the person who receives the image to find meanings for it (Navas 2017, 21). The visuality created by the photos presented in this article, which implies a cutting and an organization of that space and temporality, is also constituted of a temporal suspension. Barthes calls attention to a certain immobilization of time in photography, to "an enigmatic point of inactuality, a strange stasis, the very essence of a *stoppage*" (1984, 136). In this sense, images produce meaningful cuts in time, which can be stressed by discontinuities of space itself.

In making the assemblage of this visual narrative, I tried to construct an *imaginary* of the reading sessions, where the atmosphere is only suggested by the photographic image (fragmented by definition) and an excerpt of one among the poems that have been read in the meetings. For this reason, I withdraw any realist pretension of photography, leaving open to interpretation to you, the reader-participant of the reading sessions, an articulation between description, poem and photography, as you visually explore the photos presented here, as an invitation to a visual *flânerie*.

To blend visual images with poetic images does not indicate an intention to illustrate or to represent the library. I present here just some cutouts of my presence in the field, symbolically negotiated through the camera lenses. For this reason, the excerpts of poems that go along with the photographs do not correspond to what was being read in that moment, in a synchronic logic. From affinities that I found as I re-read some poems of the reading sessions, poetic and photographical images agglutinated.[11]

11. It should be mentioned that the poems read on the reading sessions that took place in the library – and that make part of this montage – are in works that can be found in Piva's collection but also in other books that are eventually brought by the attendees to be read in the group.

PHOTO 3

"(...) there was no more space for the words to grow, unless they got entangled in each other and their screams mingled and the words were all inevitably united and screamed all at the same time in a way that far away it was one huge scream, that further away it was transformed into a whisper and even further one could not hear a thing."
(Ana Hatherly, "39 tisanas")

WHY GATHER TO READ POETRY? SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON SURREALISM

On October 10, I went to Palacete Bertolli again. That time, I went to a room on the third floor. Since last July, reading sessions started to take place in a room that serves as dressing room, meeting room, collective art studio of painting, photography, engraving and printing. Since the use of the room is multiple, its configuration is permanently changing: the chairs and the tables are each day in different places, depending on the activity that has taken place there; new objects appear and also disappear on the next week; the lighting can be dramatic and emphasize certain places, being sometimes cold and harsh, other times being warm and intimate. In that room, daily time and space are suspended. The participants read and talk about poetry in a time and space artificially created by the reading session and by the poems read.

The collection itself had been transferred to the 4th floor, in a room with controlled access at the Lâmina studio[12], which shares certain rooms

12. "Place dedicated to polymorphous art and to make inventions in contemporary art, located on the 4th floor of a building that was constructed in the 1940s, at São Paulo's historical center. It was inaugurated on November 2011 as a gallery, creative studio and artistic residency, as an independent cultural center. Lâmina studio stimulates research on art and promotes the works of new artists in the contemporary scene, creating an environment where there is a permanent exchange between visual arts, music, dance, contemporary circus, cinema and poetry. The studio animates debates aiming new poetic narratives and new public and cultural policies in Brazil, since it is located on the center and the margins of São Paulo" (Circuito Polifônico 2014). In photo 3, it is pictured one of the studio's bathroom walls, in which the writings make prominent the relation of this cultural center with theater, poetry and visual arts.

with Roberto Piva library – like the one where the reading sessions take place. The books that Piva had in his apartment were not kept in a strict organization. On the contrary, the books were organized solely based on how they were close to his research or his poetic thoughts (Pavam 2016).[13] And, according to Gabriel, many volumes were sold in antiquarians or offered as a gift by the poet to his friends or to people he knew and had relationship with. This has significantly changed Piva's collection throughout his life and, in its final form, presented some gaps.

Despite of Piva's non-systematic organization, as the collection was being assembled in the library that has his name, Gabriel and a librarian have catalogued the volumes to make it easier to search for books. However, this organization cannot be understood from the logic of many large institutions that have libraries, since the collection's categories present, in a way, Piva's aesthetic outlines and interests. After all, they were organized and structured by friends who knew him and know his work deeply.

Piva's works were stored by Gustavo Benini, a young man who had a spiritual, affective and intellectual relationship with the poet. Gustavo lived in the same apartment with Piva; he took care of him, especially in his final years, when he was ill, until Piva's death, in 2010. Before his death, he bequeathed his collection and his work's rights to Gustavo, since he had long been distant of his biological family.

A few years later, Gustavo moved and the collection still had not found a destiny. As Gabriel told me, he stored himself the books and, in 2015, he started to think about creating activities around the collection, to have the library as a reason to gather people around it and to discuss literature. The focus of all that has always been the young people; Gabriel said that Piva has always been interested in transmitting his knowledge, and has showed interest for this kind of activity: "Poetry allows us to enter into realities that are not experienced by most people", according to Gabriel. "These are practices that allow us to enter another level of thought. We do not necessarily meet true information, in the sense of poetry's efficacy as a method to obtain knowledge".[14]

Besides the books, the collection has manuscripts of Piva's works, notebooks and folders where he worked on his verses, and also some

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13. The German historian of art Aby Warburg (1866-1929) adopted a peculiar organizational system in his vast library (which had more than 65 thousand works when he passed away), named *Mnemosyne*. The arrangement of the volumes was not based on a chronological order or on the author's names. Warburg organized the books according to a "law of the good neighborhood", in such way that the themes and the correspondences oriented the process, which were always changing and allowed him to constantly recreate the library. Did the organization adopted by Piva follow, perhaps, a similar logic?
14. All statements by Gabriel Kolyniak that were quoted in this article were given during a conversation we had in a morning of December 2017, at the library.

unpublished texts. Córrego is in charge of editing this original material and has already published *Antropofagia e outros escritos* (with texts from 1984 to 1986, written in the same notebook), and *Poesia e delírio* (small handmade book [*plaquete*] with an essay that has the same title, with the manuscript's facsimile).

During the reading sessions, poetry is taken very seriously, read out and loud by the participants with presence and intensity, even if the atmosphere is relaxed. The choice to make the reading sessions at São Paulo's downtown and at night seems to make a reference to Piva's emphasis in nocturne scenarios. In the postface of the second volume of Piva's complete works, Eliane Robert Moraes says that the urban landscapes of the metropolis' downtown of his poems bring

> the mundane nights of the clubs, of the illicit stores, of the suspicious galleries, of the bars full of anonymous people, of the suburban saunas, of the lascivious public restrooms and, above all, of the urban sidewalks, where there are drunks, artists, poets, prostitutes and other beings that are not seen in daylight (Moraes 2006, 153).

As we go up the stairs of Bertolli building, part of downtown's landscape remains on the street. It is not the "beings that are not seen in daylight" that attend the library. The room remains open all night on Tuesdays (and, actually, people's entrance and their circulation on the building does not have controlled access), but has something secret in it. Those who arrive at the library know what they are looking for and they have heard about it through a friend or the promotion work. Nevertheless, the city is present in the room, with its urban excitement and its contradictions, since the vision, the aromas and the sounds that come from the city insist to penetrate the windows. It is no more the provincial *Paulicéia desvairada* pictured by Mario de Andrade – evoked by Piva in some of his promenades – or the city where Piva lived and strolled. But certainly, the chaos and the contrasts between the mundane and the ethereal remain as a common experience. On the inside, T. S. Eliot, Wyslawa Zimborska, Joan Brossa, Raymond Carver, Verônica Stigger, Rodrigo de Haro. Outside the windows, funk, Alceu Valença, car horns, The Doors, forró, Michel Teló, sirens. The poems and the music cross each other and seem to be in contradiction. Even though there the contrast between them is obvious, both compose a dense and complex soundscape, so typical from São Paulo's downtown for being part of its social contrasts and of its urban fauna.

PHOTO 4

"The still environment really waited that vibration;
the ordinary paper representing forests with tigers,
a Supper where the characters do not eat a thing
the table with its holed tablecloth
the wall calendar with advices followed by the housewife
and the piano that they do not have on the living room."
(Murilo Mendes, "Perspectiva da sala de jantar")

What motivates Gabriel to make the reading sessions at the Roberto Piva library? Would not it be enough to open the collection for visitors to know what Piva read, his literary universe, finding the multiple references present in his works, recognizing him as an author-reader? Not for Gabriel. After all, it is about creating the possibility to maintain this *practice* of poetry, something that Piva himself has cultivated since he was young. For Gabriel, reading sessions are a more complete form of experimenting poetry than in an institutional environment. "I believe that the school environment, for example, is not enough to assure the transmission of practices of poetry", he said, referring to the meetings to read and to talk with this idea behind it. Besides, he believes that it is necessary to adopt procedures to reach a state of poetry.

To reach such state, Gabriel says that there is an analogy with the esoteric practices: "There are some things that only those who are familiar with the universe of poetic creation can understand. People think that it is madness, that it is nonsense, that it has no effect". To clarify the procedures necessary to reach this universe, I asked him to give an example:

Piva was much more interested, let's say, on surrealist practices than on the very formalization of surrealist language. He has his own diction; his work does not look

like a surrealist production; it does not look like Breton's work. That is not what he reproduces. But surrealists had something that was interesting to Piva: certain ways of being in the city, certain procedures. For example, the objective chance: you have a route but establish a few rules before you go and observe what happens in that walk. The walk proposed by the surrealists had its own rules, making you deviate from your usual route to walk through the city without the intention to arrive at a determined place. Just walk to see something. Then one begins to see certain coincidences and extracts the elements of a poem. For a person who is not stimulated by the task of finding elements for a poem this may seem nonsense, I mean, for a person who just intends to make an utilitarian walk to do the daily tasks.

PHOTO 5   "You hear me I know. My head inclines towards yours which inclines towards mine sliding to the shoulder. We go back to the house. The first leaves appear. Look my love look you tell me."
(Ana Hatherly, "Tisanas (inéditas)")

It is very intriguing to find elements for a poem in the modern urban landscape. It is not anymore possible to make a distinction between reality and fiction in the metropolis, what makes them suggestive and sometimes phantasmagoric. This can be noticed, for instance, in Eugène Atget's (1857-1927) Paris photographs. In this scenario where the city transforms itself, full of artifice, spectacle and unreality, emerges the possibility of a new vision of the modern metropolis. In the crowd, observing it without distance, someone begins to feel a voyeur pleasure during his erratic walks through the city's labyrinthine streets.

This subject is the *flâneur*, a social type described by Charles Baudelaire in the essay *The painter of modern life* (1863/2010), a witness of the transforming society, a "passionate observer", who "goes into the crowd as into an immense electric battery" (1863/2010, 30).

Walter Benjamin approaches this subject in his *Arcades project* (1927-1940/1994), describing the *flâneur* as the hero of modernity who, in the rush and the urgency of the metropolis, gets carried away by the crowd, not by the acceleration:

> There was the pedestrian who wedged himself into the crowd, but there was also the *flâneur* who demanded elbow room and was unwilling to forgo the life of a gentleman of leisure. He goes his leisurely way as a personality; in this manner he protests against the division of labor (...). Around 1840 it was briefly fashionable to take turtles for a walk in the arcades; the *flâneurs* liked to have the turtles set the pace for them (Benjamin 1927-1940/1994, 185).

In Piva's poems, the various references to places in São Paulo, as well as the characters that appear, show his intense *flânerie*. However, even if Piva is one among the three Brazilian poets that are mentioned on the *Dictionnaire général du Surréalisme et de ses environs* (Biro and Passeron 1982), Gabriel says that the surrealist practices used by Piva for his poetic writing cannot be taken as an aesthetic rule.

Piva participated, in 1963, of the São Paulo Surrealist Group, alongside with many other poet friends of his, who knew surrealist works, even though he has never followed a surrealist school. Piva's so-called surrealism was, largely, much more related to a rupture with the bourgeois order, a subversive attitude. His book *Paranoia* (1963/2009), where "the poet emphasizes the nocturnal scenarios, [which] supposes a strong refusal of the emblematic day world, characterized by capital's rationality and work routine, to embrace a vertiginous plunge in the darkest domains, where chaos is predominant" (Moraes 2006, 152).[15] According to Piva, *Paranoia* is

> a huge nightmare. I have applied the critical-paranoid method created by Salvador Dalí: the paranoid person fixates on a detail and transforms that in an explosion of colors, themes and poetry. He builds a hallucinatory, imaginary world (Piva, cited in Hungria and D'Elia 2011, 54).

15. *Paranoia*'s lyrical subject is a delirious beatnik, full of oneiric visions of São Paulo. Nevertheless, Claudio Willer, who was Piva's close friend, claimed, during a course on his work (the course was given at the library in March 2018), that Piva did not use any drugs whatsoever to write this book, not even alcohol. According to Willer, Piva had drunk a lot during his adolescence (in the 1950s), and would do it again later on. Besides, LSD (which was tried by Piva later) arrived in Brazil only in mid-60s. Considering that *Paranoia* was written between 1960 and 1961, the delirium makes part of the lyrical subject and of Piva's readings at the time, instead of being based on an actual lysergic experience.

Besides, French surrealism's official journal, *La brèche: action surréaliste*, even published a book review:

> *Paranoia* is the first delirious poetry book in Brazil. Piva, whose intellectual formation is deeply influenced by the Italian culture, finds his inspiration on the great classics of decadence, from where the exuberant images typical of Latin peoples come from. Freud and Lautréamont have a huge importance to him. Lastly, the modern North American *beat* literature has transmitted to him the fascination for neon and the hallucination for the metallic metropolis evoked by the photographs of São Paulo included in his book (Le surréalisme à São Paulo 1965, 127).

Even though Piva incorporated surrealist elements, practices and inspiration in his poems, Gabriel notices that he has his own diction, especially due to what Eliane Robert Moraes sees as "an effective Brazilian quality in the surreal imaginary that it [his poetic voice] shines through" (2006, 158). So, the experience of Baudelaire's urban *flâneur* or the attitude of shuffling the order (making strange what is familiar and familiar what is strange) are present in the oneiric visuality of the city's places that Piva visited and mentioned in his poems. Lautréamont's Maldoror, *e.g.*, is seen "in a dream in Santa Cecília's staircase".

PHOTO 6

"the head in the clouds
the hair in the poetry
and then
one perceives
the Shadow
that our face is."
(Roberto Piva, "Pimenta d'água")

That book was Piva's first one and it was published by Massao Ohno in 1963 with São Paulo pictures taken by Wesley Duke Lee, in the artist's projection of what the city would be like in the future. The artist spent a few months with Piva strolling around the city, looking for images that brought "the visual expression of the poet's despair, with whom he had make an immersion in the taboo universe of pederasty, which was an aspect of Duke Lee's sexuality that he had never dealt with but that has always frightened him" (Costa 2005, 56-8). Duke Lee's visual language does not constitute a mere illustration of Piva's poetic images. As Willer emphasizes,

> images are not a homogenous territory. Those from *Paranoia* vary, in each poem, from one verse to another. They alternate between a more descriptive and a hallucinatory style, a lyrical and a vehement one. This book's poems are, therefore, like collages (2005, 152).

This preamble on surrealism was necessary to explain some of the historic and symbolic reasons for the library to be situated at São Paulo's downtown. But let us return to the reasons why the reading sessions are a fundamental activity to reach certain states of poetry, which are, in a way, analogous to the *esoteric* practices – a fundamental component of Piva's life and work.

Gabriel claims that "the magma from where Piva has produced his poetic discourse was the issues that have crossed civilizations". In this sense, he explained that Piva has always been interested in researching on for peoples that do not correspond to the model created by European civilization; cultures that were in the peripheries of knowledge, so to speak. Then, on occultism, the poet searched for different paths from those of his contemporaneous: he was way more interested in shamanism and pajelança in a period that people were more interested in Eastern religions. In Piva's collection, there is actually a large section of books dedicated to a variety of themes that Gabriel interprets as occultism and esotericism. Some of the themes that Gabriel has already identified and organized are: ufology, tarot, occultism of European origins (demonology, alchemy, druid magic, pre-Romans, pagan magic), Egyptian magic, Sufism, Zen Buddhism, Taoism, Tibetan Buddhism, Hinduism, pre-Colombian cults, religions of African origins, Inquisition, shamanism and parapsychology.

PHOTO 7   "We walk by the river. It is nighttime we walk among the holes on the pavement and the ruins from someone else's everyday life. There are huge piles of boxes."

(Ana Hatherly, "Tisanas (inéditas)")

Books on this subject have an important role in a poetry library. For Gabriel, the role is to understand that "poetry has a rite, similar to that of different religions" and, in this sense, "different areas of occultism can collaborate to learn poetry". As he affirms, "there are many historians of occultism that have done a history of images or even a history of occultism through images". An example mentioned by Gabriel is the *Treatise on the History of religions* (1970), by Mircea Eliade, which is in Piva's collection.

In this work, Eliade approaches religions not by looking for affinities or historical developments, but approaches the images that are present in not lettered religions. Images related to agriculture, for instance, form a *land of images*. The sowing, the planting and the seasons make part of this land, which can cross different cultures and religions, which in turn do not necessarily attribute the same meaning to those images. What these images have in common is the agricultural experience and the forms of constructing a minimal knowledge on how to grow plants; to be in contact with the soil and its own time generate certain images that are recurrent. For Gabriel, this is one of the key points on the formation of images in poetry. After all, there are images that form territories in the thought, creating regions in it and agglomerating. The images form a unity of imaginary and appear in cultural symbols, even though they change throughout history.

In this sense, there is a relation between this inspiration of Piva's poetry and a certain ethnographic attitude that was close to surrealism in the first decades of the XX century. The ethnographic juxtaposition of certain objects is done, according to Clifford, "with the intention of disturbing the established symbols" (1998, 151), and

> share with surrealism the abandonment of a distinction between "high" and "low" cultures, [giving] both a source of non-western alternatives and a predominant attitude of ironical participative observation among the hierarchies and the meanings of collective life (Clifford 1998, 148).

Such disturbance allows "natural" entities to be recoded, authorizing the surrealist and the ethnographer to clash with non-conventional objects or identities. For this reason, non-European cultures, considered as exotic, become privileged as they question reality deeply. "The exotic", says Clifford, "was the main court of appeals against Western standards of rationality, beauty, normality" (1998, 144). Poetry deals with the imaginary's geography in producing images and dealing with culturally produced images. Perhaps its proximity with photography is, I believe, in that point. After all, photography also creates images, which are not merely on the domain of visuality. Images are culturally contextual in its production and its interpretation, and that means they can be continuously interpreted and re-signified. It is in this visual perception, tensioned by what is veiled and unveiled by an image (whether photographic or poetic), that the moving territory of culture and imaginary is. We develop, then, a "grammar of seeing" (Sontag 2016, 13), a way of seeing things: the world becomes visual and it seems that images dominate not only photographs but also poems.

The photographic image has a temporal discontinuity, between the "That-has-been"[16] that Barthes mentions in his *Camera lucida* (1984), and connotation, culturally codified, of *studium*.[17] When it comes to images used in anthropological research, there is a mismatch between two shores: the

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16. According to Barthes, the photography's referent can be distinguished from that of other systems of representation. In the painting, for instance, it is possible to "simulate reality without seeing it" (1984, 115). In photography, by contrast, there "is the *necessarily* real thing which has been placed before the lens, without which there would be no photograph" (1984, 115; highlighted by the original author). In this sense, for Barthes, the essence of photography is the conjunction of reality and past, in such way that the reference is photography's foundational order. Nonetheless, this is what makes photography a form of hallucination: "false on the level of perception, true on the level of time" (1984, 169).

17. In photography, Barthes identifies the co-presence of two distinct elements, *studium* and *punctum*. *Studium* is the field of cultural interest, of the elements (scenes, gestures, figures, actions etc.) present in the photographic image (Barthes 1984, 44-8; 141). The interest of a *spectator*, that is, "ourselves, all of us who glance through" (1984, 20), for a photograph comes through culture, which allows the spectator to read, to recognize and to understand what is being informed, represented and signified in the image. The *punctum*, on the other hand, is the chance in a photograph, which contains a point that causes an effect over the spectator. It is not just any effect but something in the photograph that pierces the spectator, whose effect "is acute yet muffled, it cries out in silence" (1984, 83).

moment in time frozen by a reality scheme that survives in time (Bazin 1991), and the spectator's memory,[18] evoked by the discontinuity between the present and what has already been. So "photographs are like intermediary symbols of ethnographic research and need explicit and interactive interpretations of the creative process of the image and of the context in which the image's meaning rests" (Bittencourt 1998, 208).

PHOTO 8
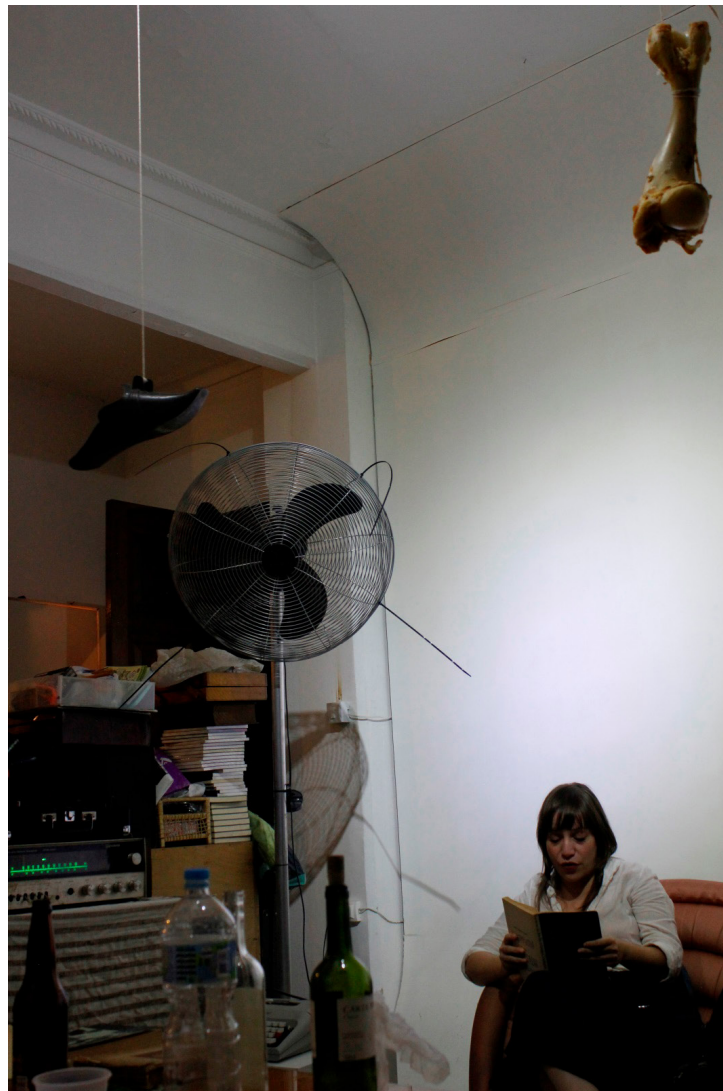
"the minds were dreaming hung by the phosphorus skeletons
invoking the thighs of the first love like a
saliva flower"
(Roberto Piva, "Visão 1961")

18. It is interesting to notice that Barthes makes a distinction between the *spectator* (the ones who look or spectators), already mentioned; the *operator* (the photographer or producer of the image); and the *spectrum* (what is photographed or the referent) (Barthes 1984, 20).

HANDS AND FEET: ELOQUENCE AND LISTENING

People in the reading sessions are organized in a circle, where each one sits on chairs, armchairs and other furniture in the room.[19] This organization allows any person to get in and out of the circle or to start reading a text without the need to go to a special place, detached from the other participants. The circular organization favors, then, this dynamic. During the sessions, I realize there is a *polyphony* of readings: everyone reads, listens, discusses or propose text or approaches but there is also the voice of the authors read. Even though some of the participants are more familiar with poetry – its writing, reading or editing – everyone is authorized to express themselves and also has to listen to the others.

Taking that into account, it is possible to understand another reason why the library does not have formal relations with educational institutions. After all, this kind of reading and discussions would not work in a scholar environment. Gabriel endorses this perception:

> The school has rites – like the evaluation rite – which would ruin these dynamics. The time of reverberation of a poem is not the same of the duration of a class. Sometimes, a person mysteriously remembers of a verse. It can even happen for years. I have written a text on what would it be like some activities involved in a literary formation without the academic rites.

19. It is important to mention that the reading sessions presented in this article have taken place between October and November 2017. For this reason, it is an ephemeral portrait of the library, which has been through many significant changes since then. In the end of 2017, Raul Fiker (1947-2017), who was a poet, translator and Full Professor of philosophy at Unesp, has donated his collection to the library, which has become a neighbor collection but conserving its own unit. In the first semester of 2018, the library was contemplated, alongside with Lâmina studio, with financial support by the Program of Cultural Action (ProAc), from the Secretary of State of São Paulo for Culture. In July 2018, Piva's and Fiker's collections started to occupy a new place at São Paulo's downtown and, due to Gabriel's intense editing work at Córrego, the meetings for reading sessions have taken place less frequently.

PHOTO 9

"Ah, so this is the Himalaya.
Mountains running to the moon."
(Wislawa Szymborska, *Poemas*)

To maintain the library's independence regarding academic rites turns out to be a very important choice, since *reading* and *listening* to poetry are considered by Gabriel as other fundamental components to reach certain *states of poetry*:

> A poem is not a theater play. Some people believe that reading well a poem is to read it as if it was a theatrical interpretation. I disagree with this point of view. A poem has to be understood as a musical score. Therefore, the line and strophe breaks, the use of punctuation and other graphic signs that collaborate to describe the aimed reading rhythm – are all musical score elements. It has to be said the way it is written. For this reason, the tempo and the intonations of a poem should not follow the rules of a dramatic text. To learn how to read and to listen to a poem in this level of (musical) tension allows you to fill the literary conventions with sense. It allows that they stop being just poetic conventions and to become tools to produce poems. For instance, many people think that to rhyme is a rule. But it is not a rule: it is a poetic resource.

During the reading sessions, the organs that correspond to the senses used to read (the eyes) and to listen (the ears) perhaps are not the most adequate to understand social phenomena through visual language. Well, at least not in a narrative in which the adopted language consists of photographical images instead of words.

I observed, in the occasions that I was in the reading sessions, that the *hands*, or should I say, the way people hold books, papers, cell phones, cigarettes or glasses can transmit the actions and the affections of the moment. By means of a closed composition and framing, and of a dramatic cut of the body and the face that express the action, it is the *spectator*'s task to recreate or imagine the intensity and the musical tension of the scene. These are images without voice – an apparent absurd for poetry reading – but, still, they are eloquent. After all, as Navas remarks, poetry and photography "are metonymic arts *par excellence*: they take the whole by its parts, they are synthetic – regardless the reason and the objective" (2017, 21). In this sense, there is an emphasis in the particular before a more general set of things.

PHOTO 10   "The floor is a difficult space to define on the framing, unless it is the basis of the total image. A horizontal plane in relation to the vertical ones formed by the delimitation of the total image consented by the framing. Inside the rectangular zone the eyes perceive the diagrams in a fan."
(Ana Hatherly, "O pastor em imagens")

As I organized the photos, I realized that I had produced another series of images, considerably extended, of people's *feet*. Since the participants usually remain seated most of the time, I noticed that feet are directly related to listening. Covered, naked, fresh feet. Sometimes, feet and legs can be compulsively shaken. In other cases, they are still but reflect an attentive listening of verses.

PHOTO 11

"Forget about the Web.
Observe the spider,
its concentric legs
of star. The huge
ancientness of the deaf
spider on the wall."
(Rodrigo de Haro, "Inseto")

The circle that is formed, the lighted cigarettes, the glasses of wine or beer, the books that pass hand by hand to be read and shared, the reading aloud, the complex choices of intonation, rhythm and dramatic tone: more than practices of poetry, there are many rites associated with poetry at the library. Perhaps part of the gesture of these rites involve the creation of an atmosphere that demands contemplation but also action. By contemplating the poetic images, the body is available in a way that it makes possible the listening, and creates an imaginary of how the poem affects the body.

PHOTO 12

"Following the steps of the thought
even beyond appearances,
today I only pay attention
to triangular forms."
(Joan Brossa, *Sumário astral*)

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: A PSYCHOLOGICAL ALCHEMY

The reading sessions at Roberto Piva library develop in different ways and can be either linear or not. Some nights develop calmly; other nights are inevitably less focused. The course of authors and affections are unpredictable and unusual relations can be established. Poetry seems to be equally untamable, so to speak. Gabriel said that some poetry books present a propositional composition, in which poems are placed in a certain order to be read. However, this order does not need to obey a unidirectional sequence. According to him, there are book's constructions that need to be revisited; textual reflux, in a way. "There is a need to go back and forth. Poetry's linearity is pretty different from other genres". And he continues: "It is like an opera; there is an evolution of states of spirit. In a pre-established sequence, there can be a real psychological alchemy".

Certainly, this alchemy happens at each reading session, where different elements can meet, provoking unexpected and, in some cases, magical reactions. Piva was known for having a libertarian personality, a new and potent voice among the cultural transformations of his time. He wandered in his neighborhood, in the streets, in the bars, he was

known in town, talked to lots of people and was able to mobilize and gather people – not only his poems but also his friends testify this. The library makes possible to keep alive this power of mobilization. It is possible by means of the materiality of the books but, above all, by means of an imaginary of Piva.

PHOTO 13

"my soul my song open pockets
of my mind
I am a hallucination on the tip of your eyes"
(Roberto Piva, "Meteoro")

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ARTISTS' LISTS ARE NEVER ONLY LISTS, VERSION 2.0.

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ABSTRACT
These are thoughts on the working process of contemporary artists and consequently the resulting artifacts that assume forms of lists. It includes references to auto-narratives and autobiographies of artists working with impressions of disorientation, impermanence and foreignness. Focusing on the making of lists, catalogs, archives and on the interest in alphabetical, numerical, cartographical organization, and thus also on the unclassifiable, on what cannot or has not been decoded, on disorientation, and on all that can fit into the category of "etcetera". As examples of lists, the video *10 Delírios em 10 Sutras* and *100 Words to Describe Images of Displacement* (2017) are presented as tools to pinpoint spatial and temporal aspects of a possible ethic-aesthetic of displacement.

1. PhD, video artist who also creates games. At the moment, Vaitsman is developing a series of board games called *Games of Alterity*. As an independent researcher, Vaitsman attempts to keep an ongoing dialogue between diverse academic areas and the art world. Originally from São Paulo, Brazil, she has lived in eight countries and now writes from Red Hook, Brooklyn, NY, as an artist resident of De-Construkt.

This text has been originally part of an investigation named *Imagens do Deslocamento* (or Images of Displacement)[2], an inquiry into the aspects of a possible aesthetic-ethic of foreignness, transit and impermanence. One of the early recognized problems in this study was the validation of auto-narratives as reliable sources of knowledge, to be able to approach art not only through artifacts, but also by observing the life of artists, as witnesses of their own processes of making and thinking. Because the study was going to touch areas such as traveling, migrating, art, and subjective processes of making, another early recognized problem was the necessity of a transdisciplinary vision or, how we preferred to frame it, of an *ecosophic* approach. This concept created by Félix Guattari (1990) describes an analytical, amalgamated, *ecosystemic* science that includes political, ethic and aesthetic efforts. This ecosystemic science would establish new codes to value life itself, in the sense of increasing the value of life and living, as parameters for political decision making, considering gentle relations between genders, generations, ethnicities and races. Also considering larger meanings of *eco* – less human-centered – as relations with other things, entities, articles, existences. A sort of "ecology of knowledge" that necessarily attempts to grasp human and other subjectivities in their complexities. This effort needs persistent reinventions in a world where socio-cultural ruptures are constantly being brewed anew, and so generating unprecedented and transversal variables and challenges. Guattari recognized this ecology of knowledge and the effort to approach human subjectivities in the practices familiar to artists[3], what I call *knowing-making*[4] art. It does not mean "to know how to make art", instead *know-make* art describes a process in which *thinking* and *making* have equivalent hierarchical places. As if in philosophy the thought would follow a fading thread on an unknown path into an abstract substratum, in art the making would follow a fading thread on an unknown path into a substratum of matter and transformation. My suspicion is that artists fluctuate between these different types of substrata.

The first solution regarding the need of an *ecosophic* approach was the elaboration of lists, which were simple at first (X and Y), and later gained more complex designs (X and Y)^Z. It is possible to imagine Z as other fitting factors or as simple modifiers of the very first list. In some cases, Z could be the addition of time, as in the example of a video; or multiple versions of the same list; or until even its translation which required a different alphabetical order, forcing new relations between the items. There were endless possibilities for the values that the Z variable

2. *Imagens do Deslocamento*, doctoral dissertation in Contemporary Art, consisting of a 331-page text, a board game, a video and a book of maps (Vaitsman 2017).
3. (Ibidem).
4. *saber-fazer arte* (Vaitsman 2017).

could assume because in an art studio there are very few fixed initial parameters. As a matter of fact, Z could be the ever-changing factor in art: for instance, the same blank piece of paper (X) in relation to a pencil (Y) could gain endless forms, placements, functions etc. (Z).

As these lists evolved, in this article as version 2.0, ideas also evolved, reformulations, a new rhythm and therefore a new form, from the first findings and impressions that at the very beginning came directly out of the contemplation of artifacts and working processes, mainly from auto-narratives. Later these first findings were contaminated by different areas of knowledge, and by my own perception of existing as an artist, by *knowing-making* art. In short: lists to contemplate these relationships or "inventories of the world"[5] that are transpiring from our own studios. And because they are entangled relationships, the type that our sapiens condition as humanity allows us to do, following the idea of *com-plex* (which includes, within its own meaning, also what is around it) likewise it accepts the approach of the same situation, from different points of views. And so, we talk about things from various angles. We present lists made by a Swiss artist, a British filmmaker, a Brazilian artist who was institutionalized almost his whole life as a psychiatric patient, a Brazilian artist who addresses the issue of displacement. We also speak of displacement as disorientation, even for people who never left their homes, as the lack of feeling of belonging to a communal locality or temporality; as traveling and migrating; as contacting an alien; as the lack of understanding of foreign languages or ciphered texts; as transformations of the psi, as aesthetic experiences and as mutations in the cognition patterns[6]. We will speak of art as an audiovisual production, as the power and possibility to make, as the power and possibility to know, as words that protect us, as representations of what we are as humanity, as an activity that connects some areas of knowledge.

By chance, on the coffee table in the house where I was living in Bangalore, there was a book by Pipilotti Rist with 69 words, or 70, if we include the name of the publication itself: *Glossary*. It came together with a box of printed photos called *Your Saliva is my Diving Suit in the Ocean of Pain* (2016). Saliva as protection in the ocean of pain creates in me an image of saliva as a negotiator of words, of meanings, in a collective environment, but the protective saliva belongs to the one who reads the title: "your saliva", you, and the collective environment is pain. There are many protective words on that list, such as anxiety, blood, evil, feminism, friends, lust, mother, skin, space, rituals, chromosome XX[7]. Sali-

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5. (Maciel 2008, 121, translated by the author).
6. (Lichtenberg-Ettinger 1994).
7. (Rist 2016).

va is also in the concept of *texto-baba*[8] (or dribble text) created by Suely Rolnik (2016), which proposes a kind of fluid writing that challenges the rigidity of discourses, especially the academic one. Saliva is also Lygia Clark's *Baba Antropofágica* (or anthropophagic slobber) 1973, a gestural proposition for sedimentation of the collective upon the individual body.

Artists make lists. Movie scripts are textual tools listing synchronized instructions for photographers, actors, costume designers, stage directors and producers. Media art pieces running from databases, automated or not, are command lists that interconnect actions, texts, graphics, sounds and images. On Kawara's pieces are lists that show painted dates on canvas or dates printed as books, such as the two volumes of *One Million Years* (1999), that bring years listed one after another, one million years in the future and one million years in the past, looking like this: 748207 BC, 748206 BC, 748205 BC... The dedication on the first and second volumes reads "'For all those who have lived and died' (Past) and 'For the last one' (Future)"[9]. The embroidered pieces with names of towns, as undated works by Bispo do Rosário, Brazilian artist, are also lists. He created endless inventories of day-to-day objects, relating them to cataloged countries, maps, collections of irregular geometric shapes. His work is directly related to Peter Greenaway's list of *100 Objects to Represent the World*, opera-pop from 1997, designed to represent humanity in case of contact with the Other - in this case, indeed the Other, meaning an extraterrestrial. "In 1997 two spaceships were launched from Cape Kennedy containing material to represent life on earth. The project's ambition was to make hypothetical contact with extra-terrestrial intelligence. The choice of material was subjective to an American, scientifically educated, from a community in the 1970s, with a paternalistic attitude towards the rest of the world. But who consulted us?"[10] For ten years, I carried with me the catalog of Greenaway's opera, which I watched in São Paulo, a document that reminded me that others also sought to distill some sort of list-image of what we are, collectively, as humanity.

In Greenaway's visit to Nise da Silveira's Museu de Imagens do Inconsciente[11] (Museum of the Images of the Unconsciousness), in Rio de Janeiro, what drew his attention to the work of Bispo do Rosário was how he treated his taxonomies: mocking the intellectual attempt to catalog everything and fit the world into encyclopedias[12]. Greenaway, in his at-

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8. We worked this concept in a group guided by Suely Rolnik during the seminar Novos Povoamentos (or new populations) organized by Núcleo de Subjetividade, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, Sep 29-30, 2016 ("Novos Povoamentos" 2016).
9. (Nuova Icona 2017).
10. ("Peter Greenaway: 100 objects" 1997).
11. Brazilian psychiatrist who opposes treatments such as electroshock and lobotomy. She collected more than 50 thousand pieces of art made by patients. ("Nise da Silveira, Vida e Obra - Imagens do inconsciente" 2014).
12. (Greenaway apud Maciel n.d.).

tentiveness to investigate, collect, and group, identified himself with the catalogs made by Bispo, not because of an illusory wish for completeness, but because he understood that, in addition to the functional, the importance of alphabetic, numerical, statistical, and cartographic is their existence in itself[13].

> Bispo's encyclopedia embodies what the French encyclopedists excluded from their cataloging projects, in order to render them achievable: redundancies, residues, unclassified knowledge and things, primordial subjects of vital experiences, marginal reports, at long last, everything that could be placed under a generic and unprecise label of "etcetera". Therefore Bispo's encyclopedia is much unlike the modern encyclopedic models and suchlike the previous ones from the 18th century (particularly the renaissance tendency) and the encyclopedic works by contemporary writers and artists such as Jorge Luis Borges, Ítalo Calvino, Georges Perec, Umberto Eco and Peter Greenaway, who, each in their own way, created truly anti-systems of classification, shaking – by the parodic laws of fiction or by the destabilizing principles of poetry – the taxonomic logic itself that would define their works as "inventories of the world".[14]

10 DELÍRIOS EM 10 SUTRAS[15]

While trying to find a solution for a more laboratorial part of the investigation *Imagens do Deslocamento*[16], which later became a video called *10 Delírios em 10 Sutras*, there was still something uneasy about a study that would "talk about too many things". At the same time, instinctively there was the certainty that it was talking about one thing: the perception of a state of impermanence – in form of a question "*o que estamos*?" (or what are we [now]?). In Portuguese, there are two verbs translating "to be", *ser* and *estar*, the first is permanent and the latter temporary. To the question, many other variations: how, since when, until when, where "are we now"? The larger investigation about images of displacement should be understood as: *images* in the sense of perceiving and contemplating, and *displacement* in the sense of existing in a state of impermanence continuously, situation that the Portuguese language potentiates with the verb *estar* (to be now). *10 Delírios em 10 Sutras* is a video in color with soundtrack made by Cristiano Moro, to be seen at https://vimeo.com/218848422, and it is an important part of this text. It approaches foreignness, disorientation, acceptance of becoming, chance, velocity, and lack of control. It is also a piece about lists, as an attempt to hold on to some type of order. There was also the attempt to work these ideas in an audiovisual language, in the post-production of hyper synthetic images, almost like a pop-up collage book; in the

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13. (Maciel n.d.).
14. (Maciel 2008, 121, translated by the author).
15. (Vaitsman 2017a).
16. (Vaitsman 2017).

audio, a continuous out of tune guitar improvisation; as text, a double function, serving sometimes as text to be understood and sometimes as texture (text + rupture), when language stops making sense. The texts are in Portuguese, English, German and some of them ciphered using Vigenere, even the author does not recall anymore the ciphered texts' contents. The short time the texts remain on the screen also suggests some sort of drift and lack of control, you may be able to read them, or not. They may appear and disappear without serving the function "to be read", what for some people creates the feeling of disorientation. The video, as its title, is not meant to be translated because if the text is not understood or read, it operates as texture or ornament. It recalls sensations of foreignness and disorientation, when it means nothing to be literate in one alphabet only, like when in some places in India there are street signs showing words in Kannada alphabet or when in some parts of Tokyo, we see texts in Kanji. The fragmented and polymorphic type of memory of a foreigner reflects their situation, as a sort of puzzled language that can hardly represent their past as a compact and continuous recollection, because the exile destroyed their sense of belonging[17]. Attached to the video there is this introductory thought:

> On one side, things are so complicated that the texts, that once translated reality into news or documentaries of their current time (and which in the future would be a script of today), became now an irregular texture full of folds, holes and contradictions. Texts today are written continuously by millions of people and ejected in real time into a transparent public space, existing in black boxes, the servers, infinitely bigger on the outside than on the inside. Our "scripts of reality" are now a ripped texture, a topographic map of sinkholes, with a unique notation: the word "rupture", [text+rupture=texture], defining things at the moment that they cease to be.

> On the other side, a more tranquil space, infinitely larger inside than outside (like Doctor Who's Tardis, as a proof that this is possible). Space of little changes, where the mathematical disorder [text+rupture=texture] from the outside becomes nothing more than a radio playing in the background, at a neighbor's house, on a sunny Sunday in the city of São Paulo – while we bake bread. Suddenly, the scenes get exchanged and the calm image approaches a vision of what is natural. And the other, the overloaded one, looks more like what happens inside of our minds. Initially it is a binary order, and gradually the situations repeat within themselves: like a box inside another box, inside other disorienting and pulsating boxes[18].

17. (Kristeva and Roudiez 1991).
18. (Vaitsman 2017a)

DISPLACEMENT

How are the conditions to be, to know, to make in situations of transit and displacement? The journey is part of humanity's history. They are accounted for since Hanuman's[19] walk to the west or the journey through the desert by the Jewish people in the search for a destiny, promised by Jehovah, in form of a reachable territory. The ancestral "mythological travellers' tales are analogous to psychological experiences; to identity transformation, to artistic processes and works, to aesthetic experiences, and patterns of cognition"[20]. "[...] precisely what is theoretically at stake in travelling: not discovering far countries and exotic habits, but making the slight move which shapes the mapping of a 'there' to a 'here'"[21]. However, as Virilio and Richard describe, the contemporary sedentary feels at home anywhere, with their cell phones continuously connected to other sedentary ones, visiting locations which were standardized by the tourism industry. In another hand, the nomad is never home anywhere because they are excluded from belonging to anywhere, from being able to stay where they are, excluded even from the concepts of locality and place. It is possible that in the future some strange fusion will occur between tourists and the masses of exiled people – there will be nearly one billion displaced people in the next decades[22].

Still according Virilio and Richard (2012), two other aspects of displacement related to disorientation are fear and velocity. The first one as a tool for control and power over the Other. Velocity, a phenomenon that creates disorientation in large scale, tame the population in a better hypothesis. In the worst hypothesis, it paralyzes people in panic. This is how Hannah Arendt described the *Nazi Bliztkrieg*, which caused materialized terror when it accelerated reality[23]. The amazing informational and communicational technologic accomplishments in real time generate a synchronized march, a sudden live globalization of affects, all in name of progress, such as panic[24] and sad passions[25]. "In just a few decades our most familiar surroundings have been transformed. The categories of sensation, perception and imagination have been disrupted by technological innovations and the power of the industrial apparatus projecting them"[26] while "[...] the industrial revolution produced standardization and the computer revolution produced synchronization"[27], who does not move in this controlled rhythm will be excluded from the concepts of contemporaneity and even temporality.

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19. In the Indian epic poem *Ramayana*, Hanuman is the god of apes.
20. (Lichtenberg-Ettinger 1994, 38).
21. (Rancière 1994, 30).
22. (Virilio and Richard 2012).
23. (Apud ibidem).
24. (ibidem).
25. Reference to texts about sad passions by Suely Rolnik (2014) and by Marilena Chaui (2016).
26. (Augé 2015, 48).
27. (Virilio and Richard 2012, 83).

At the beginning of the investigation *Imagens do Deslocamento* in 2014 it seemed that the approach to disorientation would be particularly linked to my autobiography of migrant and the journeys, to have lived in eight countries but after the environmental disaster in the city of Mariana, in Brazil, called "death of Rio Doce" (referring to the river), when a toxic damn broke and astronomic quantities of mercury, arsenic, chromium and manganese reached the waterway[28]; after the political coup of 2016, midst 450 kg of cocaine paste found in the helicopter of one of the Brazilian senators who was in the commission ruling and sentencing President Dilma Rousseff's impeachment[29]; after the lawfare against former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and the obscure elections of 2018 decided by abusive fake news on WhatsApp and off-booking donations[30]; the whole game board started to fall apart – "displacement" started to assume new forms. Even people who never left Brazil started to feel symptoms of disorientation[31] caused by the velocity of the successive blows and scandals, rush changes in what they recognized as *reality*. So, aren't we also talking about a sort of *foreignness-at-home*? And more, from all that has been produced by artists abroad and also at home, in all conditions of transit, can we perceive an ethic-aesthetic of impermanence? This complexity felt almost unbeatable if it were not for the flexibility and, at the same time, the intensity of "being able to make art" as means to "being able to understand things". The investigation of these images of brutal changes and disorientation, as a formal academic research, had also to refer to a state of art, to the accumulation of knowledge, to the theoretical: how would an artist approach such expected magnitude if not by making art? There was not much left than to return to the video *10 Delírios em 10 Sutras*. 10 and 10 denoting the numeral 100 of Greenaway's opera, a magnificent number to describe the whole humanity. From this all, always attempting to include the aspect of art in the academic formalism, a list with 100 concepts, as articulations of thoughts, emerged. As a list of connections shaped between words, sort of sutras, threads, sutures. Concepts interlinked like the saliva imagined by Rist, Clark and Rolnik, from the slobber to the meanings of things found. When delusions, hallucinations, concepts and sutras crossed these 100 words appeared to help us read and understand, to grasp some aspects of these transitory images of displacement. Clearly these words also come from the study of the previously described artifacts of art, the lists of other authors, the videos,

28. ("Brazil dam toxic mud reaches Atlantic via Rio Doce estuary", 2015)

29. (Soares 2016).

30. (Mello 2018).

31. As a member of five political feminist and LGBTQ discussion groups, it was clear to perceive that the feeling of disorientation, fear and insecurity are today's most urgent subjects. The groups are: Mulheres pela Democracia (560.869 members), Mulheres da Resistência no Exterior (3.897 members), LGBTQI+ Resistência pela Democracia! (438.922 members), Mulheres Unidas Contra Bolsonaro (3.744.165 members) e Mulheres e Homens unidos contra Bolsonaro (374.798 members). Group names and numbers from Nov. 9, 2018.

the books, in addition to the investigation of biographic texts from these artists. This list leads us to a cycle of contemplation: from artifact to life to thought to artifact. These 100 concepts listed do not try to exhaustively explain motivations and thinking processes of artists, it should substitute this useless revealing effort. They support this movement in thought, passing through artifact, concepts, order, knowledge, experience, saliva, drift etc.

Lists may outlast their initial utilitarian character and keep on existing in their own beautiful logic, quoting Peter Greenaway again, and so we may experience lists made by artists not only as instruments but as inventories of the world in their own taxonomic logic[32].

32. (Maciel 2008).

[2]

LIST OF IMAGES
[1] Stills de *10 delírios em 10 sutras*, 2017.
[2] *100 palavras que descrevem as imagens do deslocamento*, 2017.

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PERFORMANCES ON PLANET BREAK[1]

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PERFORMANCES ON PLANET BREAK
6'24'', 2018

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1. This work is a result of my PhD research on Anthropology (Raposo, 2013), which also produced the documentary "A galera" (2016). It was funded by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT) and developed at University Institute of Lisbon and Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology.

Bodies sway to the rhythm of funk and breakbeat. Dancing is joined by clapping hands and attentive gazes, revealing closeness among those taking part. Snapback caps, designer trainers and colourful t-shirts bearing symbols connected to "hip-hop culture" predominate among the young people, visual fronts that embody their adherence to the same lifestyle (Pais 2004). After all, it is not enough to do breakdancing[2] to be a b-boy or b-girl, you need to show that you are one. Both actions (doing and showing) are part of a dancer's performance (Schechner 2002) and are compulsory in embodying that identity.

As music begins to fill up the space, the number of cyphers multiplies, where b-boys and b-girls contend for the privilege of dancing. The performances are no longer than thirty seconds. For each "entry", they must display a range of varied movements while others watch, waiting for their turn to enter the cypher. Displays are individual and follow the formula toprock – footwork – freeze.[3] But there is no obligation to adopt that pattern. Many start the dance with some acrobatics or a spin (power moves), which can also happen in the middle or at the end.

Unlike battles which, as the name suggests, simulate fights, cyphers favour socialisation among dancers through dance. However, intense competitiveness transforms some of them into lively "battle fields". Attitudes become defiant, with no shortage of faces and other facial expressions pulled to simulate aggressiveness one minute and taunting the next, fundamental components of the performance to unsettle adversaries and achieve the status of best dancer.

From this moment on, complex networks of alliances and rivalries among b-boys are revealed, marked by encouraging some and censuring others. In one of the cyphers, the provocation moves up a gear. Young people from the same crew[4] defend each other, supporting their performances in the cypher: they applaud, make encouraging gestures and shout out praise. When anyone else challenges one of their own during the dance, using gestures or expressions to intimidate them, they come together to exclude the common adversary. A huge repertoire of imitations, mockery and head movements come into play as a way of signalling mistakes and disqualifying rivals' performances: fingers pointed, sarcastic smiles, cries and several forms of derision.

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2. Breakdancing or breaking is the dance component of hip-hop, an urban movement that also includes another three forms of artistic expression: rapping, DJing and graffiti. Dancers are called b-boys or b-girls.
3. Toprock is the part of the dance done in a standing position in a stylised funk rhythm; moves done on the floor, using the hands as support, are called footwork or downrock; freeze is when the dancer freezes a specific movement in a demanding pose.
4. Influenced by hip-hop, crews are groups of young people who identify with common practices, in this case, breakdance.

At a certain point, two b-boys go into the cypher at the same time. In an attempt to mark his territory, one of them dances uprock[5], in a rhythmic struggle simulating punching and stabbing. The other young man motions for him to move out of the middle of the cypher, and he is supported by friends who say it is time for "one of theirs" to dance. After he retreats, the young man faces up to his opponent with gazes displaying mockery and disapproval. Crouching down, he points to his right ear, meaning that the other one dances off beat. The atmosphere in the cypher was heating up, but it reached boiling point when one track in particular, famous among dancers, began to play. The dance becomes more intimate, and the young people use several stunts to disparage the quality of the competing group. They play out a dramatised violence where anything goes except touching adversaries to interfere in their performances.

This battle, and those that followed, staged symbolic confrontations where bodies were the favoured means of expression. These were not merely gestures: they communicated feelings and claimed values – such as solidarity within groups, originality, determination, respect, love for dance – in elaborate performances. They were rituals that celebrated friendship, socialising and belonging to the same urban culture. Even at the tensest moments, the dancers' faces displayed genuine joy, showing that the violence dramatised by many of their gestures in the cypher was essentially theatrical, a way of having fun and celebrating affinities in the context of a party paying tribute to hip-hop.[6] There are spectacular performances where aggressiveness was part of a specific ritual situation operating in the context of the same "province of meaning" (Schutz 1979).

The set of codes, aesthetics, attitudes, gestures and movements followed in the cypher places the body at the epicentre, and a common understanding of these aspects meant that, after all the challenges and provocations, dancers hugged each other and fights were rare. Sharing feelings and experiences was fundamental to being able to join those interactions (Agier 2011), when liminal moments are experienced – outside time, structure and routine – that are unforgettable and are able to transform a mass of dancers into a sense of community (Raposo 2014), an integral part of a renowned, global culture.

TRANSLATION
Thomas Williams

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5. Inspired by the first b-boys, uprock emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. It uses gestures and imitations that represent attacks on opposing dancers.
6. Filming was carried out in December 2010 in São Paulo at one of the most prestigious breakdancing events in Brazil: Master Crew.

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ABSTRACT

The "cyphers" are the privileged places of experiences exchange between the breakdancers, when young people of diferente crews and territories socialize through dance. From the filming of theses cyphers in a break dance event I problematize the performances of b-boys and b-girls, composed of a rich repertoire of movements, aesthetics, gestures and facial expressions. Experienced as liminal moments, these performance simulate sometimes symbolic confrontations of dramatized violences, sometimes feeling of belonging to the same urban culture, transforming a mass of dancers into a sense of community.

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THE RATHA YATRA RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL PARADES IN THE PUBLIC SPACE OF "INTERCULTURAL LISBON"[1]

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This photo essay presents the second edition of the Ratha Yatra religious festival in Lisbon which has been organised by ISKCON (International Society for Krishna Consciousness)[2], since 2016. Ratha Yatra, also known as the Chariot Festival, was initially celebrated in the city of Jagannatha Puri in India. The Hare Krishna Movement has been organising this same festival for decades in several cities, including London, Paris and New York. It is the activity that gives the most recognition to the Hare Krishna Movement nowadays.

The Ratha Yatra Lisbon proposes to unite different groups, entities and communities of immigrants in a collective performance through the streets of the city centre, performing what could be called a "citizenship parade". In Lisbon, the festival parades through some of the main streets of the city centre, starting from the recently gentrified Largo do Intendente, passing by some of the main tourist attractions, such as the recently renovated Praça do Comércio, towards Ribeira da Naus, located on the banks of the Tagus River. Along with its path, the Hare Krishna mantra is sung and, just like in a carnival group, its lyrics and melody are repeated by most who follow the parade, thus providing feelings of integration among those who participate. The Ratha Yatra festival can also be seen as a result of the Hare Krishna devotees' efforts to participate in the city's expressive practices as a vehicle for its growth as a movement. They follow the notions of "diversity" and "multiculturalism", which have been proposed by the Lisbon City Hall.

The Hare Krishna Movement has sought to integrate itself into the everyday and festive practices of the city of Lisbon, organising activities that, despite being of a religious nature, are presented as cultural events of the city. The Hare Krishna Movement's activities are aligned with the change of the city's dynamics, focusing on promoting the image of Lisbon as a multicultural and cosmopolitan city, which has been changing the services, activities, and events which it offers, including those that have a religious aspect. The Hare Krishna Movement is increasingly occupying the city's festive space by treating spiritual practice as a public spectacle (Rasmussen 2010: 125). Devotees and participants in the activities of the Hare Krishna Movement, mostly immigrants, appropriate the public space to express themselves as citizens in the city where they live.

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2. Although the Hare Krishna Movement (ISKCON) is a branch of Hinduism, it was not developed in India. In fact, when the ISKCON (International Society for Krishna Consciousness) was registered in the United States in 1966, its founder Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhuphada described the practice as a "spiritual movement." In Lisbon, there is a coexistence agreement between devotees of Krishna and Hindu families who are not devotees of Krishna. ISKCON and Hindu communities have become more collaborative recently, as the Hare Krishna Movement has been helping these communities to gain visibility in the city with the Ratha Yatra Festival.

The parade's warm-up happens in Largo do Intendente. Hare Krishna devotees and members of various Hindu communities play instruments such as the mridangam (Indian drum) and sing mantras to keep the public engaged.

FIGURE 1
Devotees play mridangam, which is the main instrument of the parade.

FIGURE 2
A devotee blows a shell, known as shankha, which reproduces the Ohm sound. The sound of the shell is also used to draw attention to the ceremony from those present, even helping people to focus on the mantras.

The parade begins with carriages at the front, where deities are found. Among the deities (religious statues), the founder of the Hare Krishna Movement, Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, leads the group of small carriages.

FIGURE 3

The following two pictures show the group walking behind the carriages and performing choreographies to engage participants. In the background, you can still see Largo do Intendente, where the parade began, and also one of the most critical points of the gentrification of Lisbon.

FIGURE 4

In the photo below, you can see a group of Bangladeshi immigrants in t-shirts with the festival's self-created logo, parading effusively as they pass by the Hotel Mundial, in Martim Moniz, on the way to Praça da Figueira.

FIGURE 6

Since the Hare Krishna Movement doesn't have a significant number of devotees to make a large-scale parade, the Ratha Yatra festival cannot happen in Lisbon without the support of the Hindu´s communities. The festival was ISKCON´s first attempt to create a dialogue with Lisbon City Hall. It focused on showing the Ratha Yatra and the Hare Krishna Movement as a hindu tradition which has a good dialogue with other Hindu communities such as Hindu Community of Portugal, Shiva

Temple, Gurdwara Sikh Sangat Sahib (Sikh temple), BAPS Shri Swami-narayan Mandir, Bangladesh Community in Portugal and Durga temple, all collaborators of the festival. Although most Hindu communities are not interested in an in-depth dialogue with the Hare Krishnas, the Ratha Yatra create a possibility for Hindu representation and occupation of the public city space.

FIGURE 7
A group of women with different backgrounds make choreographies at Rua Aurea, walking just behind a group carrying the Hindu Community of Portugal's flag.

In the 2017 edition, the ties between the hare krishna movement and the Hindu communities became stronger and more recognized by City Hall. The reflection of this was a protocol of support and co-organization was signed with the Lisbon City Council, which included the festival as part of the CML's activities focused on "interculturality", which defines Ratha Yatra as: "a universal festival made by all and for all."

FIGURE 8
In Praça da Figueira, a group of tourists watches the parade through their balcony.

FIGURE 9
In this picture, you can see two representatives of the Lisbon City Council (wearing orange), but not actually participating, just passing by the large group of tourists who watch the parade, while waiting their turn to go on Santa Justa Lift.

The cosmopolitan character of Lisbon, along with the process of *touristification* of the city, has changed the cultural activities of the city, which has also influenced the way spiritual/religious practices work and function in the public space. This cosmopolitan characteristic allows religious/spiritual practices like the Hare Krishnas to broaden their dialogue with cultural associations of immigrants, such as those related to South Asian countries, which seek greater visibility as immigrants in the city. The cultural policy of the Lisbon City Hall aims to respond to the needs of its inhabitants and visitors, making the public space a stage for all kind of celebrations, including religious ones. These are presented as the city's cultural activities and expressive practices participating in the process of *festivalization* of religion.

FIGURE 10
Musicians are walking together with participants already halfway through the end of the parade.

This photo below highlights the flag of the Hindu Community of Portugal arriving at the final destination of the parade, where presentations take place in the "Interculturality Stage", set up by the Lisbon City Council.

FIGURE 12

Through these images, I have emphasised the importance of musical performance, dance and other expressive practices as forms of individuals, articulating collective identities which are fundamental for the formation and sustenance of social groups and indispensable for survival (Turino 2008: 2). I have also sought to emphasise the importance of performances associated with music and dance in public spaces to the understanding of transnational experiences (Trovão & Rosales 2010). Its influence is interspersed with understanding self-identification at their place of origin and migratory integration "(2010: 11), represented in this essay by the congregation of immigrant devotees of various religious groups at the Ratha Yatra festival in Lisbon.

TRANSLATION
Débora Baldelli

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ABSTRACT

This photo essay presents the second edition of the Ratha Yatra religious festival in Lisbon which has been organised by ISKCON Lisbon (International Society for Krishna Consciousness) since 2016. The Ratha Yatra Lisbon proposes to unite different groups, entities and communities of immigrants in a collective performance through the streets of the city centre, performing what could be called a "citizenship parade";. I sought to emphasise the importance of performances associated with music and dance in public spaces to the understanding of transnational experiences.

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BETWEEN ART AND ANTHROPOLOGY - AN ENCOUNTER WITH ARND SCHNEIDER[1]

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In his recent book *Alternative Art and Anthropology: Global Encounters* (Bloomsbury 2017), reviewed in this edition of GIS, Arnd Schneider examines the intersections of art and anthropology, a field he has explored for many years, but here through trajectories far from the global North, through conversations with artists in Africa, Bhutan, Chile, China, Ecuador, Indonesia, Japan and the Philippines. His interest in collaborating with artists goes back more than two decades to his fieldwork in Argentina (*Appropriation as Practice: Art and Identity in Argentina*, Palgrave, 2006), to European projects, like the HERA-funded project 'Creativity and Innovation in a World of Movement' (2010 - 2012), and 'TRACES: Transmitting Contentious Cultural Heritages with the Arts' (2016 - 2019), financed by the European Union's Horizon 2020 programme.

In the seminal conference 'Fieldworks: Dialogues between Art and Anthropology', co-organised by Schneider at London's Tate Modern in 2003, and available online (https://www.tate.org.uk/search?q=Fieldworks&type=media), and in the series of books with Christopher Wright, *Contemporary Art and Anthropology* (Berg 2006), *Between Art and Anthropology* (Berg 2010), and *Anthropology and Art Practice* (Bloomsbury 2013), and with Caterina Pasqualino *Experimental Film and Anthropology* (Bloomsbury 2014), it is possible to trace the emergence of this field that intersects contemporary art, film, and anthropology, with its emphasis on practice and collaboration.

This interview was made at Castiglioni del Lago in Italy in October 2018, during the International Seminar of Visual Anthropology co-organized by the University of Siena's Laboratorio Ars Videndi-Dispoc, the University of Perugia's Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni DEA, and by the University of São Paulo's Laboratório de Imagem e Som em Antropologia. Over three days we were amongst anthropologists who in different ways build their research around collaboration and exchanges with artists. We, the authors of this interview, are also experimenting with the connections between anthropology, film and music, and in this conversation with Schneider we talk about a visual anthropology that opens up to other senses beyond vision, to mastering the other's disciplinary language, and to the idea of a school that might train anthropologist-artists. Schneider's work is itself a practice that demonstrates the potential of loosening disciplinary boundaries, and the theoretical and analytical richness that emerges from collaborative working in the inbetween.

JASPER: Can a term define a field of practice? You have suggested that visual anthropology is a bit of a misnomer. Should we be talking about sensory anthropology, or should we be talking about sound and visual anthropology?

ARND: Well, I don't know if I have said that visual anthropology is a misnomer, but certainly it is now a much expanded field, because it has all these elements. It includes, obviously, sensory data. The visual itself is one of our senses: vision. But it goes far beyond that, what is perhaps assumed to be vision, which would mean perception only through our eyes. In fact, speaking about cinema, in the book *The Skin of the Film* (1999) Laura Marks introduced the term *haptic vision*: that is other senses are also involved when we see something. This is very obvious in cinema in the perception of cinematic projections. Just think of *Un Chien Andalou* (1929), the famous film by Luis Buñuel, where a calf's eye is cut with a razor blade. Of course, in that particular story it is meant to be a human eye (shown shortly before the cut with the razor next to it), and the sensation that causes, even when we speak about it now, certainly provokes something like an inner shudder in all of us, if such a thing should happen to a living being. That is an obvious example, but many other haptic sensations can be produced. And then, just thinking about the senses as they are classified (and of course this is historically contingent also in the West), we can add the sense of smell and not only how it is used sometimes in cinema in recent times - that you can evoke smell or directly have smell effects in the theater - but also how smell is *evoked* by particular images. But further than that, in other cultures, but also in our own knowledge of cinesthetic experience, this is where the senses crossover. And this can be induced both by particularly strong images, but also in other cultures with the aid of

hallucinogenic drugs, or through particular rituals, or through practices of trance. So there are many things to consider when we speak of an expanded field of visual anthropology.

JASPER: Thank you. I'd like to attend to something we spoke of yesterday, but we didn't take it in this direction, which is ontological incommensurabilities. What are the incommensurabilities between art and anthropology as you see them now, quite a few years after you started this line of research?

ARND: The incommensurabilities? Yes, certainly I have used this term to speak of the disciplinary subject, if you like, often called objects, but really they are subjects, because they participate in research, in a way *the other* we are investigating. So in terms of cultural difference obviously the problem of alterity or of incommensurability is posited, which is there where terms cannot be translated, or where we have to stop making an attempt at understanding and just perhaps accept or consider and take into account the position of the other. Marisol de la Cadena in a recent book, *Earth Beings* (2015), but also in other writings, uses the term *the uncommons.* Now, with the commons, and this comes from the political debate, we often associate terms which refer to resources that are finite and limited in the environment: water, and other resources, any natural resources. But *the uncommons* in the ontological sense are also those elements of another 'culture', of a way of thinking, of a cosmology, which *cannot* be translated. In the political discourse this sometimes produces difficulties – this is Marisol de la Cadena`s argument – even when well-intentioned agencies such as NGOs, or other people who in solidarity associate themselves with the struggles of, for example, indigenous people, try to negotiate with other powerful agents of the government or multinationals. Because indigenous people, in her case I think Quechua-speaking people of Peru, bring in completely *other* agents; for example, the mountains, which are then introduced into that debate. And how do we negotiate that? Or as you might know, in New Zealand certain mountains have now for the first time been recognized as legal persons, which means if you do something to them, or if you damage them, it is the same as if you damage a person, a human. And that is of course completely different to just doing something that we would call a destruction or an intervention, or an irreparable intervention into the environment, because there you have the concept of the person.

Now, as far as concerns transfering this thinking to art and anthropology, it would mean that we have to respect each other's differences. And the differences are on the one hand perhaps still methodological in anthropology, but perhaps, and this is quite interesting, also ethical. Anthropology, not because it has the privilege of an ethical position, quite

the contrary, because of our colonial history we have in a way learned, or had to learn, how to deal with ethics because our ethical standards were so compromised. And not only colonial, but also postcolonial, if you think of anthropologists and social scientists who collaborated in the Vietnam War and were embedded in military campaigns by the Americans, but also elsewhere. Therefore, for example, the American Anthropological Association, which has distanced itself from such enterprises, has developed a certain code of ethical practice, like many other anthropological associations. When we deal with people, we are aware of very simple [ethical] things as visual anthropologists: we ask the other person whom we are interviewing, or whom we are photographing, or filming for permission. And also later we make that research material available to them, so that it becomes really a sort of participative shared enterprise.

Now, as concerns art, this ethical discourse is a little bit different, not as I have said, because anthropologists are more ethical people, quite the contrary, but because the ethics are not codified in this way. And sometimes artists deliberately, in order to make visible the historical or particular contingency of the ethics of the moment, or of ethical systems, transgress them. So, artists (I am not saying often or always), do transgress [ethics]. So, you can think of the art of the *Viennese Actionists* of the 1960s who were using blood, naked bodies and violent destruction, or of other artists who have worked, for example, on a particularly thorny issue which is the representation or not of the Holocaust, or of other massacres or atrocities and so forth. And sometimes artists have transgressed the ethical parameters of society precisely to make them visible, which we in anthropology cannot any longer. So, there is also a discussion to be had, and there is perhaps a kind of alterity in this sense.

I could come to the more obvious alterities, but they are the ones which are more on the beaten tracks, and I think they've been superseded somewhat, which would be that the anthropologist is the more systematic person, the more methodological, whereas the artist has a more subjective approach, and comes to a more individualized and poetic vision in his or her research. But I think there actually the difference or the alterity between the two is not as rigid as it is perhaps in the case of ethics, but that is because of a particular history of anthropology. And, of course, it doesn't apply to all art, it is just when you observe the artwork sometimes what seems to be gratuitous to the outsider as an act of ethical transgression, stands for a particular purpose precisely to make the ethics visible. But in anthropology, a kind of risqué anthropology, it wouldn't be supported by the majority of anthropologists. Perhaps, there are people who do that...

JASPER: Artists have more agency than anthropologists?

ARND: Yes, perhaps that's how we could summarize this in a way.

JASPER: More typically, you talk in your books about how anthropology institutionally had a problem with beauty, with the idea that we can't be doing art practices as research method because it is somehow more subjective, we're removing ourselves from what defines our discipline, our field has to be a little bit more structured perhaps. But I'm going to ask [a different question], which is about the global popularity of White Cubes and the bienalization of the art world, and how you think that might have impacted on the way otherness is represented by the cases you know very well from working with anthropologists and artists who work inbetween these spaces. How does it change the dynamics of representational practice?

ARND: Yes, I would certainly agree that it has in a way [changed the dynamics of representational practice], or what we now call the art system, but then again, it is perhaps a historically contingent phenomenon, which has globalized now. That is the way the art work is talking and that's the kind of box or parameters or frame it is using to represent itself. In the terms of the historical encounter between art and anthropology there is the example of 1930s France, when the Surrealists created around a particular journal, *Documents*, a very fertile discourse of collaboration, dialogue and common interventions, also of representations. But, this was not connected to a particular art world, even though certain artists participated in it. Rather at the time it was connected to institutions like the newly founded *Musée de l'Homme* in Paris, the Institute of Sociology and so forth, and to certain people, some of whom gained even more prominence after the Second World War. But of course, this was also still a time when you didn't have one particular figure who has now become very prominent in the global art world of the White Cube, and that is the person of the curator. Curators now are basically the gatekeepers of what is happening in the art world, as I see it. And I don't mean it too negatively, but in a certain way they are almost like anthropologists. They are scouting the art world, or what is out there in terms of production, almost ethnographically, and trying to appropriate that, and then to present it in certain venues. So, the curator permanently employed at the state, institutional, or municipal gallery – the scenario we are familiar with up until the 60s and early 70s – also still exists, but is rather in the minority. Even those institutions now hire outside and freelance curators. Some of them very talented, very interesting, and that also has allowed the inclusion of more global viewpoints, if you think of the prominent role the late Okwui Enwezor has taken, for example as a curator of *Documenta 11*, the *Venice Biennale*

but also of the *Palais de Tokyo* show 'Intense Proximity' (2012), as key-note speaker at the *Dakar Biennale*, and many other things. The White Cube world of the contemporary art scene itself has become the subject of ethnographic research and of the biennials. My colleague Thomas Fillitz, from the University of Vienna, has written about the Dakar biennials and about the position of African artists there, but we now also have many works which investigate art worlds, the world over; this started in Stockholm and other places, but we now have also many studies of 'local' /'global' art worlds, including Brazil. Yes, I think the White Cube system is an important factor to take into consideration.

ROSE: I'd like to ask about the state of the art of these collaborations, dialogues and approaches between anthropologists and artists, and in your own experience how the collaborations, approaches and dialogues between you, as an anthropologist, have been with artists?

ARND: Yes, thanks for that question. And here I would like to introduce this term *uneven hermeneutics* very briefly which I spoke about yesterday. This comes from a thinking which was introduced first as 'speaking terms', which James Clifford used to characterize this historical collaboration of the surrealist anthropologists and artists in the 1930s. Now, I think this term has to be made productive, has to be filled with content in the present, and that is what is happening in collaborations between artists and anthropologists. That is why I'm also, and it comes back to the first question, that's also why I'm reluctant to say how the two are different, because these differences are in a way relational. They have to be established in a dialogue in the present, as soon as there is a common interest or a field of investigation, such as happened between me and Leone Contini in a recent project, the exhibition project coming out of the TRACES Horizon 2020 project from the European Union about contested cultural heritage (www.tracesproject.eu). And together with the artist Leone Contini, we investigated colonial heritage buried in the Pigorini National Ethnographic Museum in Rome. But, how did we collaborate, and how did we collaborate with the curators at the museum, and then later with our interview subjects, elderly Italo-Libyans, Italian settlers, who were expelled from Libya in 1970 by Gaddafi? This is up to negotiation, you cannot set up the terms at issue, you have to find that out in conversation. *Uneven hermeneutics* also means that you have to account for differences. In this case, we were all operating in a first world context. But, of course, the subject also included other parts of the world, so that has to be taken into account. Between these participants there were no essential differences, only a very slight degree of power, status, rank, education, and so forth. But in any case not in such a pronounced way as I have experienced working in Argentina, when I worked with artists in the north-eastern province of Corrientes

bordering Paraguay. It was there with artists from the local art school that I pretty quickly, and through a steep learning curve, found out that they came from a completely different background. Both in their understanding of anthropology, but also in the terms they practiced art, or indeed what I understood. And they had perhaps different expectations of the project, because what counted for them is that the art works would then enter the art world of Argentina and would be visible. Whereas for me, I wanted information from them about their methodology, and how they worked as artists, and how they related – as they were themselves from that part of Argentina – to the local population. And in the interviews which I reproduced first in *Critical Arts*, and now a part in a recent article in the *Field Journal*,(1) it comes out pretty clearly that they actually say to me: "you were using us as translators, you were using us as conduits for your anthropological research". So, there is a direct charge in there that I was using them, also that I had a different background, that this was for the benefit of academia, but what was in it for them? This has to be negotiated and even though in this case we continued, we made a [co]production, it had its contested part. But perhaps, sometimes, such projects have to be abandoned, or cannot be taken further, or can be taken only half way. You cannot know that from the beginning.

JASPER: How do you advise your research students to be able to make that kind of decision?

ARND: Well, this throws us back basically to the ethics I mentioned earlier. I think as an anthropologist in any project you have to learn the language in many senses. That means both the language of the place, but also, if you collaborate with artists, the disciplinary language of the other. You cannot come with presumptions such as that the artist is less informed, perhaps less informed academically, less academically trained, or does not have a knowledge of anthropology, or has a less systematic way of proceeding in his or her artistic research, for example. These have often been the prejudices established or mainstreamed in anthropology. This is indeed very visible in many discussions around classical works of visual anthropology, if we recall the discussion in the 1980s around the film *Forest of Bliss* (1986) by Robert Gardner, on daily life in Benares (India), including funerary rites, as well as his other works. These were very poetic investigations of other worlds and of other cosmologies, but by the specialists of anthropology of these areas of the world this has been very much attacked and visual anthropology taken to charge that it was not analytical, that it was not ethnographically grounded in the same way. But I think before we do that, we have to understand the toolkit and also the thinking of the other. In this case, the disciplinary other. That comes, of course, with the third, and the

third subject here in this case are the people we are working with in the field, if it is this kind of anthropology.

ROSE: In terms of these two ways – artists in relation to anthropology and anthropologists in relation to art – do you think that still we have more interest from artists in anthropology than the opposite?

ARND: That's difficult to say, this harks back to a debate, to an article of Foster, which became very influential: "The artist as ethnographer". It's often cited, and quite correctly, from one of the anthologies of Hal Foster's writings (*The Return of the Real* 1996). However, it was first published as an article in an important collection by two anthropologists, George Marcus and Fred Myers, *The Traffic in Culture* (1995). And basically Foster establishes an argument – he was quite right I think – that in what has been called the ethnographic turn in the arts, in the 1990s, sometimes, the incursions of artists into the ethnographic field was just for greater exposure in the art world and furtherance of their own careers. And vice-versa, of course. So, it's both from anthropology, then there's also what has been called an "artist envy" or an "anthropologist envy" towards the arts. That we, perhaps, would like to be as good, that we see the shortcomings if we are not trained in this field of only having writing skills and analytical skills, and would quite like at least to also draw well, and perhaps even to paint or to do sculpture, just to think of some very classic forms of visual art (not yet superceded, thought we cannot just think in this compartmentalization). And beyond that, of course, the moving image of filmmaking or photography, just to mention some genres. We would like to be very good at that once we open ourselves or expand into these fields. And we're envious of practitioners who have learned that and who also have a talent, have done this for a very long time, and are mastering these techniques and have these abilities. But for me personally it has always been a question of collaboration, where I think one works across these boundaries. There are of course others, very importantly Tim Ingold, who have argued that certain forms of practice, such as drawing, have a value in itself also for anthropologists. Even if they don't perhaps reach the level of virtuosity, of mastery, of mastering, like an artist would do, they have other intrinsic qualities and characteristics, which make them useful for anthropologists. So, yes, ideally I would also dream of a school (perhaps your Brazilian department is one of them, certainly in terms of the camera, both stills and moving camera), a department or an interdisciplinary place where people are trained in different fields and abilities, and then become artists-anthropologists.

(1) Schneider, Arnd "Contested Grounds:

Reflecting on Collaborations with Artists in Corrientes, Argentina", *Critical Arts*, 2013, 27 (5), 511 – 530;

Schneider, Arnd "Between Uneven Hermeneutics and Alterity: The Dialogical Principle in the Art-Anthropology Encounter", *FIELD: A Journal of Socially Engaged Art Criticism,* http://field-journal.com/issue-11/between-uneven-hermeneutics-and-alterity-the-dialogical-principle-in-the-art-anthropology-encounter

ABSTRACT

In this interview the anthropologist Arnd Schneider addresses questions about the relations between contemporary art, film and anthropology, a field explored in several books and events that he has organised since the early 2000s. He emphasises collaborative practices between artists and anthropologists, and the widening of disciplinary boundaries.

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INTERTWINED FIELDS: PHOTOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY

CAIUBY NOVAES, Sylvia (Org.). 2015. *Entre arte e ciência: a fotografia na antropologia*. São Paulo: Edusp, 224p.

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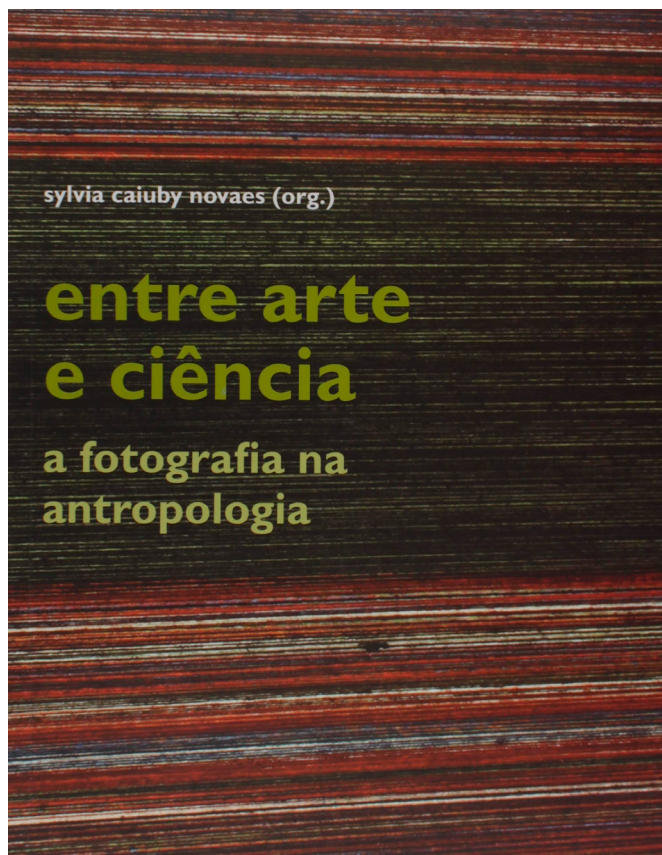
Since the first half of the nineteenth century, the histories of anthropology and photography had intertwined chapters, showing a proximity relation along their trajectories. Currently, considering the saturated universe of the image world, referred by many authors as "post-photographic"[1], as a kind of confidence between photography and anthropology, which subscribes it as a scenery of critical reflections on "the uses" and "the thought" of photographic images in their anthropological perspectives. This scenery also produces a range of problematizations over a knowledge that belongs to the images, raising questions such as "what is the place of images?" and "what do we want from them?".

Entre arte e a ciência: a fotografia na antropologia (Between art and science: photography at anthropology), a collection of nine articles written by Brazilian researchers organized by the anthropologist Sylvia Caiuby Novaes (2015) is a set of works that elicits evidence to testify the pressing need of enhancing intersections between art, literature and sciences on the development of anthropological studies. The work reassures, in the present, a necessary vision to dismiss historical divisor lines that had set art, literature and sciences apart, creating "disciplines" and "boundaries", hindering the establishment of a place for images on anthropological thinking during the twentieth century.

In the dawn of the twenty-first century, which was troubled by a scenery of visual storms and excessive imagistic appeals, other urgent, imperative challenges were presented to an anthropologist-photographer, urging reinvention, new methodologies and visual experiments.

Anthropologist-photographers interested in producing photos conveying the senses of the images must consider, among other reinvention factors, the challenge of making the "small lights" survive. Denis Roche, describing his experience as a poet-photographer, in his work *The disappearing of fireflies*, published in France in 1982, writes that photographers[2] are similar to wandering bugs, travelers, with big eyes sensible to the light. They form "a troop of aware fireflies. Fireflies that are busy with their intermittent light, flying in low altitude in the misguidances

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1. The so-called Post-Photographic Era is recognized mostly in th twentieth century, after the Second Digital Revolution, characterized by the internet, social network and mobile phones. Juan Fontcuberta wrote, in his book *The Fury of the Images* (2016) a "manifesto" in which he highlights the reflexes of this post-photographic context to the operation of a photographer. He points out in his manifesto that to the photographer it is more important prescribing meanings to the images than taking pictures. According to the author, the decisive value of creation is not only manufacturing images, but knowing how to manage its function whether in new or old photos.

2. This quote is elicited by Georges Didi-Huberman in his book *Sobrevivência dos vaga-lumes* [Surviving of the fireflies] (2011) when he recalls, among his references, the text on "the disappearing of the fireflies", by Pasolini, to consider political and aesthetic aspects of philosophy, history and image.

of hearts and spirits of contemporaneity. A silent tic-tac of errand fire-flies, little brief illuminations [...]" (Roche 1982, 149-150)[3].

In this sense, the collection reminds us of authors, researchers and anthropologists engaged with the decision of working with images, under the sensible effect of those intermittent lights of errand fireflies and their brief illuminations, among a world of strong lights. As reported by the book organizer, the bountiful meeting of photography and anthropology is due to the fact that the "photography expresses, far more than text, relationships" (Caiuby Novaes 2015, 18)[4]. She argues that proximity, field depth, and an attentive sensible look could summarize, with good photographic lexicon metaphors, the senses that are capable of permeating the fieldwork in anthropology.

The hybrid character of photography placed between art and science, as Caiuby Novaes highlights in the introduction of her work, opens alternative expressions and knowledge processes that are able to make a thicker ethnography by using other non-verbal narrative forms. Especially, as she argues, it allows the expression of a "sensible truth" resulting from an observation guided by the trained sensibility of the anthropologist.

Jacques Rancière, in *The Distribution of the Sensible* (2004), says that it is the representative regime that counterfeits the so-called aesthetic arts and the sensible regimes. Namely, an experience and a thinking of other species over things of the world or even other possible worlds.

> In the aesthetic regime, artistic phenomena are identified by their adherence to a specific regime of the sensible, which is extricated from its ordinary connections and is inhabited by a heterogeneous power, the power of a form of thought that has become foreign to itself: a product identical with something not produced, knowledge transformed into non-knowledge, *logos* identical with *pathos*, the intention of the non-intended, etc (Rancière 2004, 22-23)

The collection addressed here elucidates two branches: first, it amplifies the two-decade debate, object of the endeavor of a generation of anthropologists from which Sylvia Caiuby Novaes belongs — and induces an attentive analysis on the current advances in the scientific anthropological production supported by the use of image and its intersection to art.

In the history of anthropology, the purpose of photography has different chapters due to its use as a "tool" or "registration technique", particularly with field journals. As Caiuby Novaes retraces in the first pages of the book presentation, Franz Boas was one of the first to work with photography in 1883, when he began his career as a geographer and headed

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3. The excerpts from Roche's works quoted here were freely translated.
4. The excerpts from Caiuby Novaes's works quoted here were freely translated.

to Baffin Island, in a period that the use of photography belonged to the field of physical anthropology studies.

Even though authors such as Radcliffe-Brown lacked interest in photography, according to Caiuby Novaes, the photographic image had great relevance in Bronislaw Malinowaski's monographies since 1922[5], predominating from 1936 to 1939, when Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, studying the Balinese, aimed to connect the fieldwork research data to a double register: the verbal and the visual. This ethnography originated the work *Balinese Character: a photographic analysis* (1942), considered the first work of the visual anthropology discipline.

As stated by the organizer of the collection, who wrote[6] an important article on Lévi-Strauss and the photography in 1999, the image also earned an important dimension in Claude Lévi-Strauss' work[7], as a registration technique combined with his field journal, although the anthropologist had not affirmed — nor even directly recognized — the importance of the photography in his anthropological works.

Drawing special attention to a "transversal perspective", the collection of articles neglect to solve the hybrid question of the photography between art and science. Actually, this perspective aims to highlight how this character creates effective invention possibilities and new ways of expression capable of taking anthropology closer to other areas, such as literature and arts, distancing, thus, the photography of a place of mere instrument or representation. As the organizer highlights, in anthropology, photography is what help us to reflect on the "processes of constructing reality".

Therefore, the tone of the selected articles offers the reader the prolific possibility of visually immerse on the photos to understand how they compose the studies and how they are expressions and a way of knowing. The set of articles orchestrate a range of knowledge from the studies guided by the confidence on images (the photography), which inhabits and occupies places that go from "lyric expressivity" to the "exchange element on the study", passing by the "way to give visibility to the people", "power of agency" and "pathogenic object", without forgetting the place of photography as "sacred image" or expression of "sensible states of visions, enchantments and magic".

5. On this topic, Etienne Samain wrote a long article called "Ver e Dizer na tradição etnográfica. Bronislaw Malinowski e a Fotografia" (To See and to Say in ethnographic tradition. Bronislaw Malinowski and Photography), published in *Horizontes Antropológicos*, Porto Alegre, ano 1, n. 2, p. 23-60, jul/set. 1995.
6. In the article "Lévi-Strauss, Razão e Sensibilidade" [Lévi-Strauss, Sense and Sensibility] published in *Revista de Antropologia* vol. 42, n. 1-2, São Paulo, 1999.
7. Part of Lévi-Strauss' photos produced during his ethnographic studies in Brazil were published in Tristes Trópicos (1955/1996), and on the album *Saudades do Brasil* (1994).

The first article of the book, "O objeto, a arte e o artista" (The object, the art and the artist), by Sandra Rosse de Araújo Costilhes, is a photographic essay on the manual weaving in Minas Gerais and Chincero (a weaving community in Andean Peru). With photos in double page sequences, the essay aims to emphasize a symbiosis between the body of the artisan/artist and the tool. The sequence of 34 images focuses on gestures and unveiled materials by an attentive and sensible loon on the weaving, the braiding and the netting. Thus, the photographic images go beyond the mere register, not only describing, but almost making us feel the materials by its colors and textures.

The next three articles cover the photography in anthropological study as a way to give visibility to certain communities and minority groups, namely, quadriplegic rugby players, Bangu II penitentiary inmates and older people in nursing homes. The photos by Joon Ho Kim, in the article "O rugby em cadeira de rodas: um breve ensaio sobre a (des)construção da imagem da deficiência física" (Rugby in wheelchairs: a brief essay on the (de)construction of the image of physical disability), were produced during a rugby game and instigate the reader to have another way of looking at quadriplegic people, who are almost invisible to society.

According to this researcher, who worked with the Associação de Esportes Adaptados de Campinas (Adeacamp — Adapted Sports Association of Campinas), photography was a way to join the studied groups, while answering, as a researcher and "official photographer", the team demands. The visual language chosen by Kim is structured by the elements: strength, speed, tension and struggle, as they move with extreme ability on their chairs, almost as if the chairs have become extensions of their bodies. Thus, the 21-photo essay reaches a place of "deconstruction", making the quadriplegic body a "visible body".

Similarly looking to the social invisibility axis and to the place of the body as an image, Bárbara Copque writes the article "Fotografar: expor (e se expor) — a utilização de fotografia no contexto da violência" (To photograph: to expose (and to self-expose) — the use of photography in the context of violence), an essay produced with the photos of 15 inmate's tattoos at Alfredo Tranajn (Bangu II), a maximum security prison. The photos translate the tattoos as an inscription of a codified and ungovernable silence, even if imprinted in an "imprisoned body" in the jail context. Assembled in diptychs by the author, the images figure as vertiginous grafts of photographic frames filled by body fragments (arms, legs, hands, bellies, mouths and chests). Bárbara had established a shared research process, dialoguing to gain the trust of the 15 subjects, who could decide together with the researcher what should and should not be showed as image.

The article by Clarice E. Peixoto, "As coisas não são como a gente quer...: viver e morrer em instituição asilar" (Things are not how we want...: to live and to die in a nursing home), comes after the photos of the anthropologist Bárbara Copque, who joined this study on family and institutional violence against older people. The black and white photos focus on the way older people live in a nursing home and show the tiniest gestures, as hair combing, listening to a portable radio or smoking hand-rolled cigarettes, thus creating compositions that highlight the ordinary and daily expressions, affecting us and making us reflect.

The fifth article of the collection, "Quando a imagem é a pessoa ou a fotografia como objeto patogênico" (When the image is the person or the photo as a pathogenic object), by Alice Villela, aims at thinking and rethinking the notion of "agency" of the images, recalling Alfred Gell's (1998), applied to the notion of an Amerindian person in the asurini society in Xingu, a Tupi-Guarani group. From the relationships the society establishes with the images of their own people, reproduced in photos, the author argues that, for the asurinis, the photo can become a "pathogenic object". The asurinis consider that the photo camera absorbs the *ynga* (vital principle or "shadow") of the portrayed person, because it reproduces the person's image, known as *ayngava*. Even if the photo is not a replacement to the person, it becomes an entity, which is part of the person. "This is the danger of the photo image: the uncontrolled agency on the body of the portrayed person, considering the fusion of the *ynga* between person and image" (Vilella 2015, 119)[8].

The power of agency, the sacred and cult state attributed to the photo is the issue debated by the researcher Ewelter Rocha in "Memória e verossimilhança nos retratos pintados da ladeira do Horto" (Memory and verisimilitude in the painted portraits of Horto hill). Rocha analyzes the mnemonic mechanisms of the painted portraits in the region of Juazeiro do Norte, Ceará, which shares the privileged space of the house as a kind of shrine. Portraits correspond to a fragmentary and inventive narrative "deprived from a actually lived real past referent", which aimed to restore and modernize an old picture, for instance, a photo from a deceased relative, the house owners' wedding or people gathered at the same image via an original photo lent to the photo painter as a visual reference.

This verisimilitude of the sacred is also what Rafael Hupsel proposes in his essay with eight black and white pictures in the article "Ayahuasca e visualidade: a expressão do sagrado na narrativa fotográfica" (Ayahuasca and visuality: the expression of the sacred in the photographic narrative), in which the images reflect sensations experienced in shamanic

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8. The excerpts from Vilella's works quoted here were freely translated.

rituals using *ayahuasca* in ceremonies of the Irmandade Beneficiente Natureza Divina, to which he has been attending for the last ten years. Hupsel questions: "What is the capacity of the photo image to express the experience of the sacred and to report sensorial experiences related to the practice of faith?".

The researcher says that it is from the visual poetics, constructed by elements of photography, such as light, shadow, graphisms, focus, speed, perspective and framing, that the bridge between the indicial referent and the expression of the sacred can be established. "The visual poetics is the door through which the glance enters and experiences the sensation of the invisible" (Hupsel 2015, 149)[9]. Beyond representation, Hupsel aims at enhancing the capacity of the photos to show not only what is in a surface visually impregnated by a referent, but also what expresses sensations and emotions, going from one image to the other, enabling, thus, the imaginative, the magical or even "the invisible in the expression of faith" to rise.

Aiming to explore the same perspective, the work has two other articles — by Vitor Grunvald and Fernando de Tacca — problematizing the referential and indicial character of photography in anthropology. Grunvald in "Alter-retrato, fotografia e travestimento" (Alter-portrait, photo and *travestimento*) — begins with a portrait that does not mirror or imitate "the real", the self-portrait by Duchamp travestied as Rrose Sélary — proposes a reflection on the photo image as a place of "construction of the becoming", which is placed in the desire and imagination. The author argues that Duchamp's self-portrait can be understood as an "alter-portrait", because what is at stake is the notion of simulacrum. In this article, Grunvald recalls several images of paintings and photo portraits — as a way to open visual possibilities to think and follow his reflections — until reaching an important photo by Man Ray, taken in 1920/1921, where Marcel Duchamp is travestied as Rrose Sélavy.

The final article of the collection is Fernando de Tacca's: "Fotografia: intertextualidades entre ciências, arte e antropologia" (Photography: intertextualities between sciences, art and anthropology). The author also states that the main feature of the image is that it has always being impregnated by "ambiguities and polyssemies". Tacca debates about the expressive places of the anthropological work, claiming to the photography an "other standard of meaning, beyond its intrinsic 'truths'" (Tacca 2015, 203)[10]. The author emphasizes the necessity of "allying the text strength of a thick ethnography to the parameters planted and seeded by Clifford Geertz with the photographer's expressivity as creator, beyond

9. The excerpt is from Hupsel's works quoted here were freely translated.
10. The excerpt's from Tacca's works here quoted were freely translated.

the method chains" (Ibid., 204). Tacca defends that visual anthropology must appropriate photography "beyond method and discipline", heading to "the frontiers of art, in which the anthropologist can aspire to the artistic, making fiction and friction" and inspiring him or herself in the literary form to "let the photographic look free from words, without losing its anchoring, and the photographer-anthropologist shall seek a personal aesthetic, an authorship, not only by text" (Ibid., 204).

The collection of nine articles is also an invitation to the researchers interested in the anthropological production *with* the visual and *of* the photographic visual, triggering a necessary exercise, to go beyond the silent debate and to echo movements of studies anchored by the contribution of images in anthropological thinking. A reading to explore ways to see, think and show through images, guided not only by the "realist form", but, as the organizer summarizes, "engaged in showing it from a point of view that is capable of expressing the visual poetic reality that carries its own truth" (Caiuby Novaes 2015, 18).

TRANSLATION
Ana Letícia de Fiori

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SCHNEIDER, ARND
ALTERNATIVE ART AND ANTHROPOLOGY: GLOBAL ENCOUNTERS

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The book *Alternative art and anthropology: global encounters*, edited by Arnd Schneider, addresses a conversation between anthropologists, artists, ethnographers and curators from outside the Euro-American axis who discuss their anthropological experiences in contemporary art. Among articles, interviews and images by authors from around the world, Schneider reiterates the proposal for a global conversation that broadens the debate between anthropology and contemporary art. The book proposes a decentralization of this debate by reading other experiences that were, until recently, not on the axis of this debate.

Through each chapter, the editor develops a string of narratives that build engagement between the fields of anthropology and contemporary art through different perspectives and interpretations. The book is drawn through the personal stories of artists, anthropologists and curators who explore art and anthropological research in their countries. After each chapter that reports an experience, there is a chapter that is a transcription of an interview between Schneider and the artist, anthropologist or curator, debating the experience and interpretations of the experience. Through these interviews, fundamental perspectives for the debate between art and anthropology emerge.

The work discusses contemporary art through photography, film, sound, installations, paintings, sculptures, poetry, and other art forms. In each chapter, there are pictures of the spaces and exhibitions of these artists. Through these images, conversations and stories of each other, we enter into a debate about methodology and theory in the field of discussion.

The premise that permeates the edition is the intersection between art and anthropologies. The focus of the volume is to bring other traditions of contemporary art and anthropology into the discussion and place them as central for the debate, based on the notions of difference and alterity.

Schneider writes about alterity, and how it implies what is irreducible. The author suggests that there are ways to go beyond alterity, to transcend radical alterity itself. These ways mainly consist on the possibility of communication and especially of translation. Schneider points out a question about contemporary art in a temporal and spatial sense – how contemporary is Western art when viewed from a non-Western point of view? How contemporary is the art produced in other spaces? What are the specific conditions of our contemporary when we think about the encounter between art and anthropology?

Athropologists work with the translation of written and oral texts, and more broadly the "translation" between cultures. That means that anthropology could be considered part of a broader science of translation.

Schneider states that we must understand differences and the contemporaneity of difference, involving alliances between different perceptions of the world or ontologies. It is possible to think a transversality between anthropology and the contemporary arts which also use ethnography in their approach. The author calls unequal hermeneutics a way of understanding and learning through the Other that is not part of the same semantic territory as you. The project's proposals in the book attempt to decentralize any universal or unified discourse on contemporary art and anthropology.

The composition of various formats of bringing together art and anthropology brings a multitude of dialogues to the discussion. The essays that compose the text carry reflections of artists interested in anthropological theory and fieldwork, texts about what should be anthropology of art, exhibitions that started from ethnographic practices, curatorship as a form of anthropological research, anthropological studies about artistic practice, and thoughts about using fieldwork to bring together artists and anthropologists. All these reflections entail art and anthropology as an intersection, and propose to produce and discuss knowledge from these disciplines together.

Several essays in the volume work together as different point of views for the understanding of what constitutes anthropology of art. Shinichi Nakazawa, for example, wonders – how are we able to combine art and anthropology into one field? What results from this synthesis and what are its benefits? The author states that we can go beyond the disciplines of the social sciences that are confined to rational thought, and recreate anthropology as a new discipline that thinks through fluid intellect. This thought reveals the field of anthropology of art. In his conversation with Schneider, Shinichi postulates that in the concept of anthropology of art is the opposition between the asymmetrical rational logic of language and the symmetrical logical fluid of art. Language, for him, has linear time; the unconscious, on the other hand, does not. It is important for Shinichi to research art by combining symmetrical mind and out-of-mind expression using linear structures. For him, that is where the intersection of art and anthropology arises.

Lili Fang, within the same discussion that permeates anthropology of art, discusses why different Chinese cities began building art districts in factory spaces in the late 1990s. She recognizes that artistic ideas and the cultural industry do not always have the same interests, but they have a symbiotic relationship. Thus, she brings out the idea that artists have a role, within the postmodern city, as part of the political and economic vitality of these cities.

X. Andrade gets into the same discussion in a more provocative way. He brings a debate about Full Dollar's collaboration with art in Ecuador, and through this discussion he argues against public artistic projects. Working on collaborative projects primarily with non-artists, Full Dollar uses ownership strategies to develop a critical institutional ethnographic look at different visual economies. By "visual economies", the author understands complex ways in which images are affected by being part of concrete processes of production, distribution and consumption. X. Andrade talks about two projects in which the ethnographic method was used to collaborate with artists and artisans – in both projects, the discussion around ways in which neoliberal ideologies homogenize the public space is substantial.

Other essays think about an exhibition as a way to propose interdisciplinary encounters between different cultures, and reflect around that. In these texts, there is a discussion about the transformation of culture when in different contexts. Almira Astudillo Gilles, for example, brings the context and personal reflections that surrounded the project "Art and anthropology: portrait of the object as Filipino", focusing on the intersection between art and anthropology. His aim was to think ponder over the production of knowledge. Focusing on both the process and the artistic creation, five Philippine painters and five Filipino-American painters from Chicago created art that portrayed their cultural identity and their relationship to the ethnographic object. The project was inspired by the notion of co-curatorship, but it also reflects about the specific constructions of cultural identity. The question – "what is or who is a Filipino?" is asked, and the results of the dialogue are shared with the public.

Tomoko and Tadashi also think themselves as curator-anthropologists, who do not necessarily seek what would traditionally be thought as 'finished work'; they take into account an active role in fieldwork and research. They proposed an exhibition that combines elements of rural life in Shambei with window-flower handicrafts. Window-flowers are paper clippings that people from Shambei use to decorate their homes at the Spring Festival. From that proposition emerged an ambitious project of an art-anthropology exhibition – which would allow them to go to the field for the exhibition and to film daily scenes.

Another exhibition that draws up an essay in the book is *Dobrak!*, an exhibition of 5 collaborative projects developed by expert artists from fields of anthropology, cultural studies, and social sciences. This collaboration was curated by Adeline Ooi and Mella Jaarsma. The five projects in this exhibition are the result of six-month partner processes in each team – processes in which every team chose the way they wanted to work. The word *dobrak* means, in Indonesia, "to break". In the project,

breaking was thought in the positive sense, as a renewal process, as breaking traditions. The exhibition opens up space for collaborative processes as an alternative to the individual characteristic of the artistic world. There were five works that made up the exhibition, and each one suggests interpretations of topics that reflect contexts and layers of the everyday life in Indonesia – from thinking religions as spectacles to a discussion on batique (manual method of printing fabric).

Through this construction of narratives, the book becomes an important production to expand the fields of anthropology and contemporary art. The volume addresses traditions of contemporary art and anthropology that are outside the Euro-American axis for discussion and puts them as central into the debate. In this way, Schneider, as a meticulous editor, builds a narrative that makes a contribution to the field of anthropology through voices from around the world, decentralizing the debate, and demonstrating the potential of artistic research for anthropology, and anthropology for the contemporary art.

This book does not adhere to point of views in which anthropology engages with art as a form of translation, or simply when art uses ethnographic methods without critical positioning. The volume goes beyond these discussions, and in fact proposes a way of producing both artistic and ethnographic knowledge. Thus, throughout the book, art is thought not as an end in itself, but as a form of knowledge production. Schneider's proposal to present artists, curators and anthropologists who are not at the center of the Western debate broadens the discussion. In this way, the debate is decentralized, and paths of intersection between art, anthropology and social practices emerge.

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SPEECH BY AILTON KRENAK, ON 09/04/1987, AT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, BRASILIA, BRAZIL

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Ailton Krenak is an indigenous leader, environmentalist and writer. Born in 1953 in the state of Minas Gerais, in the Middle Rio Doce region. At the age of seventeen, he moved with his family to the state of Paraná, where he learned how to read and write, and became a graphics producer and journalist. In the 1980s, he began to devote himself exclusively to the indigenous movement. In 1985, he founded the non-governmental organization Indigenous Culture Center (Núcleo de Cultura Indígena), which aims to promote indigenous culture. During the Constituent Assembly of 1987, Ailton produced a striking scene: in a speech at the podium, dressed in a white suit, he painted his face black to protest against what he saw as a setback in the struggle for indigenous rights. In 1988, he participated in the founding of the Union of Indigenous Peoples (União dos Povos Indígenas), an organization that seeks to represent indigenous interests on the national scene. In 1989, he participated in the Alliance of Forest Peoples (Aliança dos Povos da Floresta), a movement that seeks the creation of nature reserves in the Amazon, making possible economic subsistence based on extraction of latex from rubber trees, as well as collection of other forest products. He returned to Minas Gerais, where he dedicated himself to the Indigenous Culture Center (Núcleo de de Cultura Indígena). Since 1998, this organization has held, in the Serra do Cipó region, in Minas Gerais, a festival designed by Ailton: the Festival of Indigenous Dance and Culture, promoting the union of different indigenous populations.